

**Building Common Ground:
Learning and Reconciliation for the Shared Governance of
Forest Land in Northwestern Ontario**

by

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Abstract

Historically, First Nations in Canada have been marginalized with regards to the governance of forests. This has contributed to racial tensions in places such as northwestern Ontario, where First Nations and settlers have come into conflict over land allocations and forestry practices, causing a great need for reconciliation within the institutions built around forests. Recent socio-economic shifts have influenced forest tenure reform in Ontario, and in the northwest this has contributed in part to examples of collaborative forest governance involving First Nations, as well as First Nations involvement in the business side of forest management.

This research used a case study approach and considered two interconnected case studies. The first is Wincrief Forestry Products Ltd., a forest products company that is 49% industry owned and 51% First Nations owned. The second is the Miitigoog General Partner Inc., a larger collaborative organization (inclusive of the first) that was set up to manage the Kenora Forest through a Sustainable Forestry License with decision-making authority shared equally by First Nation and industry partners. The purpose of my research was to understand the implications of transformative learning within cross-cultural settings, particularly how such learning can inform collaborative governance of shared land and resources. Qualitative methods were used, including document review and semi-structured interviews with key informants and those involved in governance [n=43]. Data related to governance were analyzed using institutional mapping, and other data were coded according to the learning and transitional justice literature. Findings are presented as learning outcomes and processes, and contextualized forms of learning relating to cross-cultural collaboration.

The research makes several contributions to understanding governance, learning and reconciliation within the context of cross-cultural forest management. Key results included evidence of the importance of informal learning and learning together prior to formal collaboration. Another key result was that learning outcomes may depend on when partners enter the collaboration, and in relation to this that working through initial conflicts were an important aspect of learning through collaboration. This research highlights the importance of learning-by-doing, connections between culture and learning, and the importance of “two-row” (non-assimilative) and decolonizing approaches to understanding cross-cultural learning.

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Dedicated to my grandparents, Vonne and Richard Zurba.

And in honour of my mother in-law, Edith Fast.

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Acronyms and short forms

BCR: Band Council Resolution

CAQDAS: Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software

CFSA: Crown Forest Sustainability Act

CGRF: Common Ground Research Forum

CURA: Community-University Research Alliance

Enhanced SFLs: Enhanced Sustainable Forestry Licenses

GCT#3: Grand Council for Treaty #3

GIS: Geographic Information Systems

KFP: Kenora Forest Products Ltd.

KILA: Kenora Independent Loggers Association

LFMCs: Local Forest Management Corporations

LOWAC: Lake of the Woods Arts Collective

Miisun: Miisun Integrated Resources Management Co.

Miitigoog: Miitigoog General Partner Inc.

MNR: (Ontario) Ministry of Natural Resources

MOU: Memorandum of Understanding

NFMC: Nawiinginokiima Forest Management Corporation

NRI: Natural Resources Institute

NREM: Natural Resources & Environmental Management

NRM: Natural Resources Management

OMNDM: Ontario Ministry of Northern Development and Mines

OMNR: Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources

PAR: Participatory action research

RPCGSO: Rat Portage Common Ground Stewardship Organization

SSHRC: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (of Canada)

SFL: Sustainable Forest License

Shooniyaa: Shooniyaa Wa-Biitong Training and Education Centre for the Treaty #3 Area

TLUA: Traditional Land Use Area

UNDRIP: Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

Wabaseemoong: Wabaseemoong Independent Nations

Weyerhaeuser: Weyerhaeuser Company Limited

Wincrief: Wincrief Forestry Products Ltd.

Glossary

Anishinaabe learning: Learning processes and outcomes identified by Anishinaabe people as being anchored in the traditional and/or contemporary practices, ways of knowing, and worldviews of Anishinaabe people

Annishinaabemodaa: Language of the Anishinaabe people

Collaboration: A form of communicative action existing within a social-political space (i.e., such as governance) where autonomous parties work towards mutually favorable outcomes

Communicative learning: As described by Mezirow (1991), is a domain of transformative learning, which involves the creation of reciprocal understanding between individuals, where learners search for alternative meaning perspectives, and metaphors in turn becoming empowered to self-interpret the knowledge that is being acquired

First order governance: As defined by Kooiman (2003), is problem solving and the creation of opportunities for governance

Institution: As defined by Crawford and Ostrom (1995), are the structures, rules, norms, and shared strategies affecting human actions and physical conditions

Instrumental learning: As described by Mezirow (1991), is a domain of transformative learning, is directed learning and is a means to an end

Governance: As defined by Peters and Pierre (2004), are the processes in which institutions are involved as at least semi-autonomous parties within multi-level decision making

Learning: Process and outcomes relating to a person's cognitive, relational, affective, emotional and spiritual development

Lifeworld: The progressive evolution of systems such as those that are democratic, as well as the norms in a society (i.e., broader political and social environments are affected by social and other forms of action)

'Post-conflict' learning: A conceptual way of understanding learning that occurs in cross-cultural and 'post-conflict' settings (i.e., those dealing with past and ongoing conflicts) drawing from Jansen's (2009) 'post-conflict pedagogy'

Manito Aki Inakonigaawin: The Great Earth Law, currently being articulated by the Grand Council for Treaty #3, is handed down to the Anishinaabe people by the Creator, and is a guiding framework for resource development with Treaty #3 communities

Reconciliation: As described by Arbour (2007), is an on-going dialectic relationship building process that is mutually favourable and helps build equanimity

Relationship building: A process that develops mutual understanding and trust amongst and between individuals and groups

Second order governance: As defined by Kooiman (2003), is the individual characteristics and maintenance of institutions in governance

Social action: A form of communicative action capable of transforming socio-political spaces

Structural oppression: A type of oppression embedded within an institution (e.g., policy, entry point), prejudicially affecting a particular group of people, and often a product of discriminatory or exclusionary laws or policies

Structural reconciliation: A process working towards the dismantling of structural oppression

Third order governance: As defined by Kooiman (2003), is the interactive and social-political framework driven by norms and values intrinsic to governance (a.k.a. 'meta-governance')

Transformative learning: As described by Mezirow (1997, p. 5), is an adult learning theory which describes “the process of effecting change in a frame of reference”, and can be qualified in terms of instrumental or communicative learning

Transitional justice: Is the full range of processes and the field of study focused on understanding and coming to terms with past oppressions and/or abuses

Two-row approach: Analogous with the common understanding of the Treaties between Indigenous and settler communities; it is an approach for understanding processes, such as learning and governance, as being distinct while involved in a relationship of sharing

Working circles: A forestry unit that foresters and forest managers work with and prescribe activities within according to particular features

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Foreword: Personal identity

Identity is much more than worldview. It is not only how we operate in the world, but also who we are and where we are coming from both geographically and ideologically, which is at the foundation of every action (Norton & Walton-Roberts, 2014). Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars are increasingly acknowledging that when conducting place-based research it is important to acknowledge our own sense of place and identity. This foreword is a reflection on the qualities of my personal identity. It is also an attempt at reciprocity with my study participants and other people from the community who shared their life experiences, perspectives, worldviews and cultures so generously.

I was born in Calgary, Alberta, Canada in 1981. My family moved to Winnipeg, Manitoba when I was two years of age, and therefore I consider myself to be very much a “Winnipegger”, especially because I have not taken long-term (over 4 months) residence in any other city. Shortly after my arrival in Winnipeg, my parents separated and my father moved to a different city. This early aspect of my life is important to acknowledge in my overall description of identity because I know this to be the earliest root of my values relating to social justice. My mother and I lived in a one-bedroom apartment in downtown Winnipeg. My mother was quite young (24 years old at the time of her divorce) and found work in a sewing factory in Winnipeg’s Exchange District. She eventually started university when I was about five years old and majored in Human Ecology with a focus on costume design. The four years of her degree were enriching to her and me alike. Due to her many classes in fine arts I was surrounded by art supplies and books about culture, clothing and textiles. My mother’s favorite class was on Inuit culture and clothing, and she

would often tell me about it. This is one of the roots of my creative identity – one that is very important to me when considering myself as a whole person.

My grandparents also contributed very heavily to the development of my worldview and identity. While my mother was in university I spent great amounts of time with them, and in many ways they were responsible for a great deal of my upbringing. My grandparents lived a bohemian lifestyle. My grandmother was a former teacher turned model, designer and shop owner, and my grandfather worked for a one of the larger recording labels of the time. There was art on every wall in their home and music was part of everyday life. My grandfather was also always interested in and imaginative with the roots of our last name since it is not typical of the Ukrainian community, though that was supposed to be the origin of “Zurba”. Somehow we needed a better explanation and my grandfather conjured up family mythology relating to our name as one that traveled around the Mediterranean region. More recently, thanks to modern tools for researching ancestry I am learning that there is likely truth to this mythology. I believe that this story of belonging to a traveling people has also contributed to my identity, as I have always felt drawn to these stories.

My mother’s ancestry, however, is more representative of my identity as a “white” Anglo-Canadian. My mother, aunt, and grandparents are working class people from Leicester England. Their influence on my early identity was mainly through their strong (at times extreme) conservationist value systems – *nature and [non-human] animals are good, and humans are intrinsically bad, and are a problem that needs to be controlled*. However, this was not the only parental influence affecting my worldview in relation to nature. My stepfather came into my life when I was eleven years old. He is Mi’kmaq Métis, and even

though culture was not strongly practiced in the home, he was involved in coordinating cultural activities, such as the military powwows held on the air force bases where he worked throughout his entire career. However, due to the didactic power of the conservation narrative, I adopted this value system for much of my early life. It was not until the later part of my undergraduate degree, which was in biology with a focus on social-ecological systems that this changed considerably. It was during this time that I participated in an exchange program in Australia where my strict conservationist value identity was challenged through learning about community-based resources management. This was the gateway to the personal identity that I hold today, which is oriented towards social, environmental and other forms of justice.

Most recently I have honed my interests and yen for justice both personally and intellectually by taking a field course in South Africa as part of my doctoral program. The course, offered through the Peace and Conflict Studies Department, was titled *Truth, Memory, and Reconciliation*. This course aided in building the theoretical framework to guide the thesis and further solidified my identity as a researcher with a strong ally identity with those who are living under different forms of oppression. Awareness of this is important for several reasons: 1) identifying as an ally is a particular form of identity that acknowledges the existence of oppression, and aims to balance power through action; and 2) this identity can be perceived as a bias, though often incorrectly because the alliance is connected to balancing power rather than to a particular (social, cultural, economic, etc.) group.

Lather (1986, p. 64) states that, "...research that is openly valued based is neither more nor less ideological than is mainstream positivist research. Rather, those committed to

the development of research approaches that challenge the status quo and contribute to a more egalitarian social order have made an “epistemological break” from the positivist insistence upon researcher neutrality and objectivity...” My research is openly based on certain values. The values are steeped in a belief that equality is desirable and necessary for building justice and reconciliation, and the sustainability of social-ecological systems. In this sense I am working as an ally with those who wish to contribute to elevating voices equally on all sides of collaboration, essentially working against dominating forms of discourse.

Chapter 1.

1.1 Introduction

The quest for land and resources has created a global legacy of oppression, conflict and systems that justify colonial marginalization of Indigenous peoples (R. Sinclair, 2004). Colonization in Canada's mid-West began in the late 17th Century following the establishment of the Hudson Bay Company (est. 1670). During this time, French and English settlers came to Canada to seek new opportunities and a wealth of newly "discovered" natural resources. This was followed by other European settlers, then by settlers from many corners of the globe making Canada a culturally diverse society. Colonization had tremendous effects on local Indigenous peoples' lives. Battles were fought, new diseases wiped out large numbers of people, and many were displaced from their traditional lands and forced onto reservations (White, 1991).

The history of colonization in Canada, as has been the case in many other colonized parts of the globe, has created dramatic shifts of power and dispossession of land and resources from Indigenous peoples. Through colonization, the stage was set for the development of many forms of structural inequalities that would become enshrined through Imperial laws (Treaties, the *Constitution Act*, and the *Indian Act*), which would be revised and continue to take on new shapes and contexts as decades went by (Stevenson, 2013). More recently, Canada has begun to consider how to begin reconciling its relationships with First Nations (TRC of Canada, 2014). Most notably, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada was established following the formal apology for the residential school system and the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement in 2008

(TRC of Canada, 2014). The TRC's primary focus is the residential school system, and therefore is only one part of the overall reconciliation processes that need to occur around various historical injustices. First Nations, governments, citizens, and companies are involved in a slowly changing Canadian society (Teitel, 2000), which is faced with the challenges of reconciling wrongdoings with regards to land (Coates & Carlson, 2013).

New relationships surrounding the governance of land and resources will be needed in order to contribute to the broader picture of reconciliation in Canada (Tindall & Trospen, 2013; Zurba, 2014). Governance is understood here as the way it is defined by Kooiman (2003 p.4): "the totality of interactions, in which public as well as private actors participate, aimed at solving societal problems or creating societal opportunities". New governance systems for land and resources in Canada will need to be explored if 'societal problems' associated with Canada's colonial legacy are to be solved and 'societal opportunities' are to be realized. Such scenarios fit into what Rittel and Weber (1973) described as 'wicked problems', which are contentious, highly complex, and characterized by indeterminacy. 'Wicked problems' require researchers to bring together disciplines to develop multidisciplinary understandings and work creatively to understand 'real-world' multidimensional problems (Buchanan, 1992; Coyne, 2005).

Resources and environmental management scenarios are often too complex to be governed by any single party and often require joint action from multiple partners (Berkes, 2003; Kooiman, 2003; Ostrom, 2005; 2007). As resources and environmental management has moved towards the inclusion of multiple parties, deliberative and participatory processes, including those found in civil society, have been found to be important for sustainable and socially responsible resource and place-based management (Wals, 2007). In order to

understand how such management can occur, past systems based on hierarchy will need to be reformed through public participation (Ross, Buchy, & Proctor, 2002). In the context of community participation in natural resource management, Ross, Buchy, Proctor (2002) refer to collaborative relationships as ‘laying down the ladder’. They also describe the advantages of accounting for diversity in public participation in environmental management and how diversity can be strengthened or enhanced (Ross et al., 2002). Collaborative governance therefore can be thought of as a form of action taken by autonomous parties for developing mutually favorable outcomes (Ross & Innes, 2005).

Collaborative management, however, is not always easily implemented, especially if there are multiple centers of authority and interested parties involved (Andersson & Ostrom, 2008). Collaborations by their very nature increase complexity in decision-making processes because of the numerous perspectives, interests, and values at play in regard to the resources and places in question. Many scholars, managers and community leaders have questioned the meaningfulness of past collaboration strategies (Skelcher, 2005; Sunderland, 2008). Further, there are several attributes of governance systems that can impact success and make collaborations vulnerable to collapse, including changes in membership or leadership (Pahl-Wostl et al., 2007). Variability in futures markets, resource scarcity, and other complex economic, ecological and social dynamics can also impact governance, which may or may not be capable of adapting and/or recovering to major shifts (Holling, 2001).

Nevertheless, collaborative agreements have been praised in many instances for providing the potential to explore shared values for common interests and on-going collaboration (Folke, Hahn, Olsson, & Norberg, 2005). In other instances they have been heavily criticized for not providing conditions for power to be shared equitably when it

comes to formal and final decision-making (Rangan & Lane, 2001). In order for parties to experience meaningful governance for land and resources, new forms of participation will need to be explored. To this end, and given the recentness of cross-cultural collaboration in land governance, it is increasingly important to further knowledge through learning about how to make collaboration equitable and meaningful (Sipos, Battisti, & Grimm, 2008; Skelcher, 2005).

1.2 Purpose and objectives

The overall purpose of my research was to understand the implications of learning within cross-cultural settings, particularly how such learning can inform collaborative governance of shared land and resources. The specific research objectives included the following:

1. Identify the key actors and relationships involved in leading examples of shared land governance in the Kenora region;
2. Explain the learning outcomes that are generated through cross-cultural collaboration;
3. Describe how these actors participate and learn in different types of cross-cultural, collaborative forums;
4. Explain any connections among the learning outcomes, reconciliation processes, and regional land governance; and,

5. Consider the broader implications of this research for governance in other rural communities undergoing similar transitions.

Towards fulfilling the purpose and objectives of this research I considered two interconnected case studies that illustrate a shift towards collaborative forest governance. The first is Wincrief Forestry Products Ltd., a forest products company that is 49 percent industry owned and 51 percent First Nations owned. The second is the Miitigoog General Partner Inc., a larger collaborative organization (inclusive of the first) that was set up to manage the Kenora Forest through an Sustainable Forestry License (SFL) with decision-making authority shared equally by First Nation and industry partners.

The research took place within the scope of the Common Ground Research Forum (CGRF), which is a Community-University Research Alliance (CURA), Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) supported project seeking to explore the topics of cross-cultural communication and reconciliation within the context of shared land governance involving Anishinaabe and settler communities (A. J. Sinclair, 2008). The CGRF is a partnership involving the University of Manitoba, the University of Winnipeg, the City of Kenora, the First Nations of Obashkaandagaang, Ochiichagwe'babigo'ining, and Wauzhusk Onigum, the Grand Council of Treaty 3, and various other community partners interested in exploring common ground. The research forum is focused on documenting and providing insights and knowledge of on-going cross-cultural initiatives within the community (A. J. Sinclair, 2008).

1.3 Study Area

1.3.1 Northwestern Ontario: ecological and socio-economic *characteristics*

In northwestern Ontario, the social-ecological systems of past and present have been shaped by the availability and demand for resources, the movement of people, and the rules that have been constructed to facilitate these interactions. Northwestern Ontario is a region rich in natural resources. The area has over 70,000 freshwater lakes and thousands of islands, major river systems, with lands dominated by boreal coniferous forests (Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 2010). The forests mainly consist of black spruce (*Picea mariana*), jack pine (*Pinus banksiana*), trembling aspen (*Populus tremuloides*), and balsam fir (*Abies balsamea*) (Zoladeski & Maycock, 1990). Fauna and flora of the boreal forests of northwestern Ontario include over 85 species of mammals, 400 species of birds, 80 species of reptiles and amphibians, and 3,200 plants (Ontario Ministry of Natural Resource, 2003).

The town of Kenora is nestled along the shore of the Lake of the Woods, the largest of the region's freshwater lakes (4,348.6 km²) containing over 14,500 islands. The lake is fed by two major river systems. Rainy River, Shoal Lake and Kakagi Lake are the inflows, and the Winnipeg River is the primary outflow, with outflow eventually going to the Hudson Bay via the Nelson River system. The lakes and rivers create habitat for numerous species of aquatic plants and animals including lake sturgeon (*Acipenser fulvescens*) that was a once abundant species until it was excessively fished commercially in the early 19th century (Houston, 1987). The lakes of northwestern Ontario continue to be commercially and recreationally fished today, with walleye (*Stizosteidion canadense*), smallmouth bass (*Micropterus dolomieu*), rainbow trout (*Oncorhynchus mykiss*), lake trout (*Salvelinus*

namaycush), northern pike (*Esox lucius*), and muskellunge (*Esox masquiinongy*) or “muskie” being some of the most popular food and sport fishes (Cano & Parker, 2007).

Before addressing relevant historical events, it is important to define history as a written tradition grounded within one’s personal perspective (Wurgaft, 1995). Many historians have found in reviewing colonial history that the recounting of events is generally written from the perspective of the colonizer (Dirlik, 1996; Fixico, 1996; G. R. Miller & Hamell, 1986). This manipulation of history occurs concurrently with other forms of on-going colonization such as claims over land based on only acknowledging Eurocentric ways of knowing and expressing relationship to or claims over place (Chamberlin, 2003). With this in mind, I present here an account of the social history of the area by first laying out a chronology of contact, settlement and industrialization. This is followed by a more recent history and an introduction of concepts relating to the exploitation of resources, and the development and decline of the resource industry sector.

In 1688, Jacques De Noyon, a French explorer was the first European to sight the Lake of the Woods (Mary-Rousselière, 1984). It was not until 1732 that Jean Baptiste de La Verendrye established the Fort St. Charles trading post. He was later massacred by the Sioux along with twenty others (Lee Nute, 1951). In 1836 the Hudson Bay Company as an amalgamation of the Hudson Bay and the Northwest Companies established a trading post at Old Fort Island. Two years prior the Rat Portage trading post was moved to the mainland and became the Rat Portage community. The early 1870s marked the arrival of the Wolseley Expedition (a contingent authorized to take military action against Louis Riel and the Métis people), the opening of the Dawson Trail, the first steamboat on the Lake of the Woods, and

the signing of Treaty #3 at the North West Angle on the Lake of the Woods in 1873 (McNab, 1999).

Forests have been the center of industry in northwestern Ontario and have shaped the economy, allocation of lands, and the relationships between Indigenous peoples and settler populations since colonization (A. J. Sinclair, 2008). Davidson-Hunt (2003) describes the beginnings of industrial forestry in the Lake of the Woods area from settler historical and Indigenous perspectives. He highlights the influence of the many European settlers who were moving through the Lake of the Woods area in the 1870s on their way to the prairies via the Dawson trail. The forestry industry formally began in the late 1870s-to-early 1880s with the building of the Keewatin sawmills, which facilitated the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway in Kenora in 1882 (Davidson-Hunt, 2003). The Kenora forestry industry experienced a boom in the late 1880s. In 1889, after contentious disputes with the Province of Manitoba, Rat Portage (the original name for Kenora) officially became a town in the Province of Ontario. In 1892 and 1895 John Mather, the owner of the sawmills built a dam at the Lake of the Woods outlet to the Winnipeg River. This had profound effects on the water levels and was detrimental to wildlife, wild rice abundance, and First Nations' livelihoods (Freeman, 2000).

In more recent times, shifts in economy as well as demographic variations and inequalities are noticeable in regional employment statistics in northwestern Ontario. Overall employment rates in primary industries remained the same between 2001 and 2006, however during this period the percentage of Indigenous people employed in primary industries decreased (Southcott, 2009). According to the 2011 census, the overall unemployment rate for Kenora is 10.2% (Statistics Canada, 2011). The overall unemployment rate for

Indigenous people in Northern Ontario is 14% for those living in urban areas, and is 17.7% for those living on reserve.¹ Few Indigenous people are involved in high paying professional or business-oriented occupations (Southcott, 2009). This socio-economic disparity is viewed by some as a form of oppression rooted in policies which have created severe limitations to opportunities for local Indigenous peoples (Fillion, 2010).

In northwestern Ontario, conflict relating to forestry has taken shape as direct confrontations, such as blockades. Grassy Narrows First Nation, 88 km northeast of Kenora, was involved in the longest standing anti-forestry protest in Canadian history (Willow, 2012). The protest involved direct conflict, including physical conflict, between Grassy Narrows band members, forestry professionals and worker, and Ontario police (Willow, 2012). Elsewhere in Canada (primarily British Columbia), these types of conflicts between First Nations, the state and forestry companies have been referred to as "war in the woods" (Dale, 2013, p. 229). "Peace in the woods" has also been used to describe the end of direct form of conflict and the building of new forms of collaboration (Smith, 2013, p. 98). The next section introduces the 'common ground' ethic, movement, and physical place. 'Common ground' in many ways is an attempt to generate new forms of relationships in the region between First Nations, settlers, and land.

¹ Statistics relate to those peoples with legal Indigenous status ('Indian status' or 'Native status') in Canada according to the *Indian Act* (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2014).

1.3.2 Common ground: the ethic, the movement, and the place

The history of colonization in northwestern Ontario has resulted in significant disparities between settler and First Nations people, and many argue that the processes of colonization have not ended, but have merely shifted (R. Sinclair, 2004). Racial divides continue to exist within the community and have been punctuated by times of conflict and violence. The later half of the last century was particularly volatile between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations in Kenora. In 1974, there was a six-week standoff between the Kenora regional municipality and the activist group, the Ojibway Warriors over the ownership of a ten-acre parcel of land known as Anicinabe Park (Anderson & Robertson, 2007). The Kenora news media has been blamed for contributing to and perpetuating discrimination through its discourses, which have since been analyzed in order to depict the divided and often discriminatory sentiments within the community at the time (Anderson & Robertson, 2007).

When I read the letter from the Ojibwa Warriors Society I was filled with a general feeling of disgust and nausea. Why should you get more than I just because your skin is brown and if your argument is that you were bought out by the white man, whose fault is that? It isn't your country any more than it is mine.

- Source: *Bended Elbow* (Jacobson, 1975)

The above quote speaks to the conflict at the time of the Anicinabe Park occupation, and the lack of cultural sensitivity and understanding of the effects of colonization. Racist attitudes persist and are not unidirectional, and racial disputes between populations in Kenora are ongoing and at times result in different forms (physical, economic, and structural) of violence (Fillion, 2010). However, the situation more recently in Kenora is one of increased

awareness of the need to reconcile differences and move towards a common vision (Wallace, 2010). The desire for such a vision in the community may not be unanimous, but is strong enough to have created momentum for a number of like-minded initiatives (Wallace, 2010). ‘Common ground’ is now not only used as an informal way of speaking of relationships in the community, it has more recently been adopted as a term for formal initiatives focused on developing systems for working together and the shared governance of land (Robson, A. J. Sinclair, Davidson-Hunt, & Diduck, 2013). Common ground or Wassay Gaa Bo (Anishinaagemodaa / Anishinaabe language) as a vision and philosophical movement began in 2001 as an initiative started by regional leaders to support discussions about topics related to areas of mutual interest (Common Ground Research Forum, 2014).

The conflicts in northwestern Ontario are now being countered by the common ground movement, which includes a unique opportunity for shared governance of the place that is known as Common Ground (Figure 1). This opportunity runs parallel with the broader ethic of cross-cultural collaboration that has emerged in the area, pointing to the potential for building mutual understanding, peace, reconciliation, and collaborative governance structures. The specific area of land under consideration is a large parcel in Kenora, which Abitibi Consolidated Paper Company divested itself of in 2005. This land has great historical, social, and spiritual importance to both Anishinaabe and settler communities.

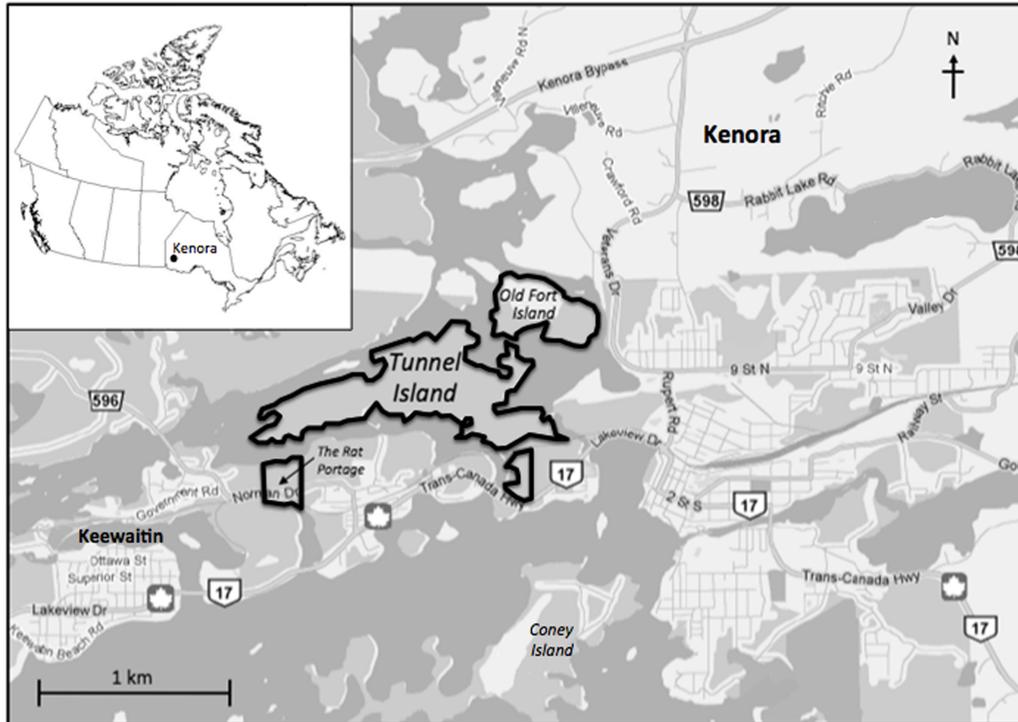


Figure 1. Map of the study area known as Common Ground or Wassay Gaa Bo (Anishinaagemodaa) including Tunnel Island, Old Fort Island and the Bigsby’s Rat Portage. (Base map source: Google Maps with added features by M. Zurba)

Another manifestation of the common ground movement in the area is the formation of the Rat Portage Common Ground Conservation Organization (RPCGCO), which became a legal entity in 2008 (Common Ground Research Forum, 2014). This organization was formerly referred to as the Common Ground Stewardship Group and includes the partners who signed under a memorandum of understanding (MOU) stating that the signatories would be partners in stewardship of *Wassay Gaa Bo*. The land was formally written into the agreement in 2006, and transferred as a gift to the City of Kenora and Grand Council of Treaty #3 First Nations. Tunnel Island and Bigsby’s Rat Portage were the first portions to be transferred in 2007 followed by Old Fort Island in 2008 consisting of over 400 acres of land

(Common Ground Research Forum, 2014). Ochiichag First Nation, Obashkaandagaang First Nation and Wauzhushk Onigum First Nations are the Anishinaabe nations involved in deliberations over the area because it is part of their traditional lands (Common Ground Research Forum, 2011).

1.3.3 First Nations sovereignty and resurgence in northwestern Ontario

Personal and collective transformation is not instrumental to the surging against state power, it is the very means of our struggle.

- Taiaiake Alfred, *Wasáse* (2005, p. 5)

Resurgence is being defined by First Nations peoples in Canada (also occurring among Indigenous groups elsewhere) as a deeply connected and culturally driven process that will guide the future of Indigenous rights, recognition, and relationships with other nations (Simpson, 2011; Corntassel, 2012; King, 2012; Saul, 2014; Coulthard, 2014). Simpson (2011) describes the qualities of resurgence as a movement that is focused primarily on strengthening the culture and relationships among a people before turning that attention outwards to relationships with Canadians. Resurgence is therefore an important component of the bigger picture of the discussions around First Nations sovereignty in Canada, which is typically discussed in the broader Canadian society according to the Canadian Constitution and the “position of First Nations as self-governing polities within Confederation” (Slattery, 1992, p. 261).

Sovereignty, along with nation-building and traditional governance, is a central mandate of the Government of the Anishinaabe Nation in Treaty #3, the Grand Council of Treaty #3 (Grand Council of Treaty #3, 2015). The Grand Council of Treaty #3 asserts, "Treaty #3 established a shared sovereignty over some matters between the British and the Anishinaabe, therefore, it is an important effort to reconcile the pre-existing sovereignty of the Anishinaabe with the asserted sovereignty of the Queen and her divisional governments" (Grand Council of Treaty #3, 2015). The Grand Council of Treaty #3 negotiates territorial sovereignty and assists individual Treaty #3 First Nations in their dealings around land-based and other forms of sovereignty (e.g., child welfare) issues (Grand Council of Treaty #3, 2015). Matters of sovereignty are also dealt with by individual First Nations governments (i.e., Chief and Council) and at the community-level as grass-roots action (Willow, 2010).

Indigenous resurgence among the Anishinaabe in the Treaty #3 area has been taking shape and has been expressed through several actions, including but not limited to the Grassy Narrows anti-clearcutting protest (Willow, 2010). The *Idle No More* movement, which swept across Canada starting in December 2012, has also been active in northwestern Ontario (J. Thompson, 2012a; 2013). The movement has the slogan: "Turn the tables. Self determination, not termination" (Idle No More, 2015a). *Idle No More* was initiated in part as a protest against the omnibus Bill C-45 put forward by the Harper (Canadian) Government, which threatened to impact First Nations land and Treaty rights by reducing the requirements around environmental assessments for resource projects (Coulthard, 2014). *Idle No More* rallies against Bill C-45 took place in Kenora along side other rallies elsewhere in Canada in December 2012 (J. Thompson, 2012a), and January 2013 (J. Thompson, 2013). The movement has continued across Treaty 3 territory and has been connected to other land-

based actions (Figure 2), such as the forty-year commemoration of the Anicinabe Park Occupation, a solidarity walk/dance for the Elsipogtog First Nation in Nova Scotia protesting against shale gas exploration, and protests of the TransCanada Energy East pipeline project (Idle No More Kenora Facebook page, 2015). The movement continues to have platforms on the Internet including a presence on the *Idle No More* official webpage (Idle No More, 2015b) and *Idle No More - Kenora / Treaty 3* Facebook page.

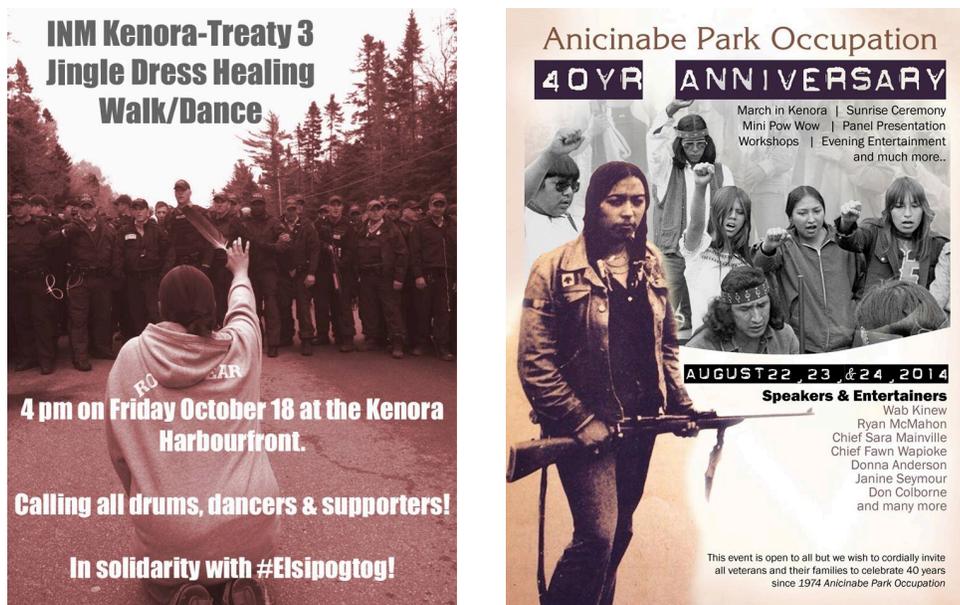


Figure 2. Facebook invitation to the *Idle No More* Kenora / Treaty 3 Jingle Dress Healing Walk/ Dance (left), and poster for the Anicinabe Park Occupation 40 year anniversary (right). (Sources / Retrieved (permission obtained) from: Idle No More Kenora / Treaty 3 Facebook page, 2015)

Indigenous scholars, including Simpson (2011; 2014) and Coulthard (2014) have discussed Indigenous resurgence in detail, and have connected it to state processes such as reconciliation. Alfred and Corntassel (2005) and Coulthard (2014) discuss the politics of

recognition² and critique Canada's approach to reconciliation, which they assert is designed to neutralize Indigenous claims. Smith (2013, p.89), however, connects recognition to Aboriginal rights by stating, "the negotiation of effective co-management regimes will require the state to recognize Aboriginal rights to lands and resources, including the right to self-determination equal to that of the state. Without this recognition, co-management becomes one more tool in the continued colonization by the state of Aboriginal peoples."

First Nations sovereignty and resurgence are separate from (i.e., practiced outside of the movement and among Indigenous peoples) and important parts of the 'common ground' movement (i.e., practiced in cross-cultural settings), as well as other community driven (distinct from state driven) efforts to foster collaboration and reconciliation in northwestern Ontario. As efforts to build collaboration and reconciliation are made it will be important to critically assess the influence of colonial power on such processes (i.e., who is driving the process) (Coulthard, 2014). This is important for determining if collaboration and reconciliation are working as forces for decolonization and the rebuilding of authentic relationships, instead of working as new systems for colonial oppression (Coulthard, 2014).

Saul (2014, p. 5) speaks of resurgence as a "comeback from a terrifyingly low point. A low point of population, of legal respect, of civilization stability" to a "position of power, influence and civilizational creativity". Saul (2014) also speaks of the power of narrative and how resurgence means shifting away from the myths that have been supporting a fragmented and racist society in Canada, towards a new narrative where Indigenous peoples in Canada are not categorized as victims and take on roles as strong drivers of change in their

² Coulthard (2014, p. 17) speaks of the politics of recognition in terms of "the perceived role in the constitutions of human subjectivity: the notion that our identities are formed *intersubjectively* through our complex social interactions with other subjects."

communities and the broader society. Indigenous leaders may have diverse perspectives on culture and politics, and equally unique forms of expression (Saul, 2014). It is these diverse cultural interpretations, actions, and forms of leadership that are creating resurgence and will continue to influence the shifts occurring in northwestern Ontario (and in other parts of the globe).

1.4 General conceptual framework

This research uses multidisciplinary thinking, and brings together three thematic knowledge areas in order to address the purpose and objectives set forth in this thesis. These areas are unpacked in Chapter 2. The first knowledge area, described further in Section 2.1, pertains to how governance can be understood as a dynamic multi-party system, capable of affecting change. This includes accounting for collaboration as a unique form of governance that has particular characteristics relating to the sharing of power amongst parties. The second knowledge area, described further in Section 2.2, is grounded in learning theory and ways of knowing relative to the cross-cultural context of the research. In a broad sense, learning creates the potential for describing what is occurring during collaborative governance, as well as some of the reasoning behind personal and institutional changes (Najjar, Spaling, & A. J. Sinclair, 2012). The third knowledge area, described further in Section 2.3, considers social action and the connections to governance and learning, and also draws from outside of the field of natural resource management. *Reconciliation* is used as a concept coming from the ‘transitional justice’ and ‘peace and conflict studies’ literature. Reconciliation, as a concept, is used in this research as a way of understanding the process as well as some of the

outcomes of cross-cultural collaboration in governance, and the effects on the broader society and norms in northwestern Ontario. Relationships between the knowledge areas are explained in Section 3.3.3, which presents a detailed analytical framework.

1.5 Methods

This research used a qualitative social sciences approach and a case study research strategy. Case studies were selected according to pre-defined criteria that reflected the objectives as they relate to cross-cultural collaboration, learning and reconciliation in governance in northwestern Ontario. Field research took place between April 2012 and November 2013. Forty-three participants were selected using the snowball sampling approach, as well as other approaches to determining the actors directly involved in the selected case studies. The in-depth semi-structured interview was the primary method for gathering data. Therefore, particular forms of discourse analysis that were suitable for understanding data on collaboration in governance, learning, and relationships (including reconciliation) were the primary categories for analysis. Coding was conducted thematically in order to organize the data according to the three broad thematic areas (governance, learning, and relationships) and into several sub-themes in order to bring detail to the reporting of results and the discussion. The methods are detailed further in Chapter 3.

1.6 Organization of the thesis

The thesis is organized into eight chapters. This first chapter outlined the problem and context, purpose and objectives, as well as a brief intro to theoretical concepts and methods.

As described above, the second chapter is an in-depth exploration of the research concepts, knowledge areas, and theory relating to this thesis. Chapter 3 is a detailed description of the research approach, including information on the study area, reflections on methodology, the research strategy and methods used in the field, and the types of analyses. Chapter 4 reports results and provides discussion in relation to institutions, governance, and the broader context. Chapter 5 reports results and discussion about learning outcomes tethered to cross-cultural collaboration. Chapter 6 reports results and discussion about learning processes achieved through cross-cultural collaboration, as well as how outcomes fit within the relevant learning domains. Chapter 7 reports results and discussion on the cultural aspects of learning. Chapter 8 is the final chapter of the thesis, and provides several conclusions including key findings, practical contributions, and concluding comments.

Chapter 2. Research concepts

This chapter presents the detailed literature review, which provides the theoretical background and framework for the research. Literature was selected according to three broad themes: governance (Section 2.1), learning (Section 2.2), and social action and reconciliation (2.3). The themes have been chosen as the best approach to meeting the purpose and objectives of the study, as well as being suitable to the forest governance context in northwestern Ontario.

2.1 Governance and cross-cultural collaboration for land and resources

2.1.1 Institutions & governance within cultural contexts

As noted in the introduction, in relation to this thesis, governance is understood the way it is defined by Kooiman (2003, p. 4) as, “the totality of interactions, in which public as well as private actors participate, aimed at solving societal problems or creating societal opportunities”. The term *governance* then describes the structure and processes in which institutions form and evolve within multi-level decision-making (G. Peters & Pierre, 2004). Further, the thesis adheres to Kooiman’s description of institutions as providing the context establishing the normative foundation for governance processes. Crawford & Ostrom (1995) speak of *institutions* in terms of the structures, rules, norms, and shared strategies affecting human actions and physical conditions. This broad definition is useful for recognizing that institutions are manifest in an array of social organizations – from formally enshrined entities, such as government agencies, to more loosely structured community groups involved in some form of collective action (Ostrom, 1990). Structurally, Kooiman (2003) describes governance as having three orders. First-order governance is described as problem

solving and the creation of opportunities. Second-order governance is found in the individual characteristics and maintenance of institutions. The third and final order of governance, or '*meta-governance*' accounts for the interactive and social-political framework, which is ultimately driven by the norms and values intrinsic to a governance system (Kooiman, 2003). Understanding the different governance strata as such is important if one is to also understand the dynamics occurring at various levels and how a transformation at one level may affect or provide learning for another.

Within the context of this research it is also important to acknowledge that governance systems are also influenced by cultural factors. First Nation governance in Canada was drastically affected by European colonization. However, several traditions remain central to decision-making processes affecting First Nations communities, such as the involvement of elders and the inclusion of ceremony (Stiegelbauer, 1996). Also, the persistence of traditional and new forms of governance differs among First Nations with no two communities having precisely the same system. Therefore, each First Nation ought to be regarded as having unique articulations of leadership and resistance shaping governance (O'Malley, 1996). Corporate and government institutions are also largely influenced by cultural characteristics (Hillman & Keim, 1995; Licht, Goldschmidt, & Schwartz, 2005). It is often the case that systems of power in a society (i.e., government, large corporate entities) have the characteristics of the cultural group (e.g., belief steeped in religious values) that were the drivers of colonization. Such is the case in Canada (Milloy, 1999).

2.1.2 Cross-cultural collaboration in governance

Historically, resource relationships between the Indigenous peoples of Canada and the imperialist government have been based upon the fur trade relations and the practice of Treaty-making, which was enshrined in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, stating that treaties would be made if ‘Indian Nations were “inclined” to part with their land’ (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1996). Imperialist *Acts* and their interpretations have until relatively recently largely restricted the development of collaborative governance (Tindall & Trospen, 2013). The *Indian Act* provides the guidelines for the determination of Native status as well as the legal rights of First Nations, including rights pertaining to land and other resources. The *Indian Act* was born out of the Royal Proclamation, which was overridden by the *Constitution Act 1867*, and later consolidated in the *Indian Act 1876* (Government of Canada, 1999). Historically, the *Indian Act* was responsible for displacing Indigenous peoples onto small portions of land with limited resources and little or no autonomy. There have been several reforms to the *Indian Act*, as well as other forms of policy affecting Indigenous peoples’ ability to participate in governance that have been legislated, and these provide the legal frameworks for what is possible in terms of rights and the potential for meaningful collaborative governance between First Nations and government (Dale, 2013; Zurba, 2014). Today, the *Indian Act* is considered by many to be paternalistic and discriminatory, and many working on governance from both sides are challenged by how the *Act* should continue to be reformed (Provard, 2003).

The history of Canadian policy reforms also provide part of the context for understanding the governance of land and resources between First Nations and the imperialist government in Canada. For the most part, consultation with First Nations governments and

people has been conducted because of legal obligations, with a fairly limited regard to culture or other issues that would be critical to successful future collaboration (Coates & Carlson, 2013). However, the international community, and advisory bodies such as the IUCN and the United Nations have been bringing together multi-institutional perspectives (i.e., grass-roots organizations, larger NGOs, national and regional government departments) to contribute to building guidelines for new policy affecting Indigenous peoples (IUCN, 2012; UNESCO, 2012). The United Nations' *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) is one example of such a policy. Canada joined UNDRIP in November 2010, as one of the last signatory nations (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2010). Fifteen of the forty-six declarations relate to the right of Indigenous peoples to participate in decision-making processes that affect their livelihoods (United Nations, 2007). This monumental declaration indicates a major shift in international values, norms, and politics regarding Indigenous peoples, their roles in governance and their rights to sovereignty and other forms of decision-making power. Within evolving regional policy spheres, both advisory bodies and communities have the potential to contribute to the development guidelines for governance frameworks (Alfonso & Castro, 2001).

As mentioned in the introduction, collaboration, here is described as a form of social action existing within a social-political space (i.e., such as governance) where autonomous parties work towards mutually favourable outcomes (Conley & Moote, 2003; G. Peters & Pierre, 2004; Ross et al., 2002). There are two main types of collaboration in natural resources governance, which can be conceived of as working at different scales. A collective can be in very simple terms defined as a group of individuals coming together to work towards a common interest or a shared goal (Ostrom, 2005). The second kind of

collaboration is a conglomeration. This type is much more complex because it is a group of institutions coming together, each having their own distinct institutional norms, behaviours and structures (Schlager & Ostrom, 1992). For the sake of moving through the discussion with ease in further sections I will use the general term 'collaborative' when speaking of governance, while keeping in mind that collaboration has more than one institutional form.

Collaborative land and resource governance efforts are relatively new (beginning in the 1970s), and have generally taken shape as different kinds of memoranda of understanding and co-management arrangements between communities and government agencies (Armitage, Berkes, & Doubleday, 2007; Berkes, 2010). Such arrangements have typically been led by government agencies or have been pursued through legal action. There, however, there have also been highly valued instances in Canada in the past decade where collaboration has been driven by advisory groups and the internal workings of institutions outside of government (Dale, 2013). Several agencies are now acknowledging that collaboration is not only desirable for dealing with the complexity of 'real world' issues, but it is also linked to social justice and human rights (Sunderland, 2008).

Several new models for collaborative governance have been implemented across Canada in recent years, many of which have been developed to address disputes between forestry companies and First Nations (Tindall & Trostler, 2013). The Whitefish Lake First Nation in Alberta / Treaty 8 territory found that participating in policy development and negotiating agreements was highly pragmatic and very helpful. They found "strategic value in establishing interdependent relationships with government and industry as a means of enacting fundamental change in the institutions most responsible for the management of their traditional used land and resources" (Natcher, 2003, p. 171). The Clayoquot Sound Science

Panel, created by the British Columbia government, is an example of policy innovation fostering collaboration and new forest management practices between the communities and a forestry company that had previously been in conflict, namely the Nuu-chah-nulth people and the multi-national forestry company, Weyerhaeuser (Smith, 2013).

There are several examples of First Nations involvement in forestry in Canada, which Wyatt (2008, p. 171) describes as a "spectrum" ranging from "forestry with First Nations" to "forestry by First Nations" and which Wyatt et al. (2013) uses to establish a typology of institutional arrangements and desired outcomes. This typology includes i) *treaties, agreements, MOUs*; ii) *management and planning*; iii) *influence on decision-making*; iv) *forest tenures*; and v) *economic roles*. Sharing features with examples on the collaborative end of Wyatt's (2008) "spectrum", several types of community forestry plans – some involving First Nations – have been developing in Canada since the 1990s towards mitigating conflict among communities, forestry companies, and governments (Bullock & Hanna, 2012). This kind of policy mechanism has had mixed outcomes in terms of sharing benefits and costs from forest management, and are still considered to be experimental (Bullock & Hanna, 2008). Most examples of community forestry herald from British Columbia, and are a product of BC's Community Forest Agreement Program, introduced in 1998 (Bullock & Hanna, 2008; Bullock et al., 2009). The early stage of most community forests means that outcomes of such agreements are not yet fully realized; however, outcomes are beginning to take shape as enhanced local control, the inclusion of local knowledge, sustainable community development, and other benefits to communities (Bullock & Hanna, 2008; Bullock et al., 2009). However, in several instances the outcomes of community forestry

have been limited by the capacity of communities to participate in decision-making processes (Bullock & Hanna, 2008).

In the context of Ontario, Bullock and Hanna (2012, p. 56) describe the policy and practice around community forestry as a series of "experiments and false starts", and explain that characterizations such as "pilot" or "small scale" have been the norm for new approaches to forest tenure. With mixed outcomes and disappointments related to experiences with different forms of collaborative forest management agreements in Canada many First Nations have chosen to argue for inherent rights³ instead of joining partnership agreements or negotiating with the Crown (Smith, 2013).

Looking more broadly across natural resource governance, the benefits of engaging in collaboration include increasing the knowledge-base for solutions, engaging critical community participation, and contributing to local sustainability (Kearney, Berkes, Charles, Pinkerton, & Wiber, 2007; Wiber, Charles, Kearney, & Berkes, 2009). These benefits are not necessarily a given, and when seeking to understand existing participation in different governance fora, it is important to understand potential barriers to meaningful participation that can exist at a given time. It is also important when seeking to understand participation in different forums to understand the potential barriers to participation. 'Involuntary complexity' (e.g., personal pressures, process exhaustion), 'process deficiencies' (e.g., lack of funding for participants), 'alienating dominant discourses' and a 'lack of institutional capacity' are all potential structural barriers to participation (Diduck & A. J. Sinclair, 2002), which need to be acknowledged and mitigated where possible when public participation in

³ Inherent rights are those rights existing prior to colonization and not requiring colonial recognition (Smith, 2013).

deliberation is the desired outcome. For this reason it will be important to assess the existing barriers to participation as well as the institutional barriers that may prevent community perspectives from affecting the development of policy (Zurba, 2009). In order to understand the root of these restrictions it is important to understand how institutions transform to accommodate new forms of participation, decision-making, and structural change.

Sharing management responsibility often requires an institutional development and trust building phase involving various partners and collaborative problem solving (Berkes, 2010; Zurba et al., 2012). Meaningful collaboration includes key elements for long-term management partnerships that function and adapt to address issues in an effective and continuous manner (Berkes & Folke, 2004; Zurba et al., 2012). To this end it is also important to have mechanisms (e.g., different forums, communication strategies, etc.) capable of accounting for perspectives across cultures (Maclean, Robinson, & Natcher, 2014). Such mechanisms in turn contribute to the equity within decision-making forums and the ability of communities to affect policy across different scales of governance (Berkes, 2009b; Buchy & Hoverman, 2000; A. J. Sinclair & Diduck, 2001; Zurba, 2009).

As collaboration has become increasingly necessary, a focus on relationships has become concurrently prevalent in the natural resources and environmental governance literature (Adger, Brown, & Tompkins, 2006; Andersson & Ostrom, 2008; Berkes, 2010). Respect and rapport have been identified as fundamental components for successful relationships leading to meaningful and effective collaborations (Berkes, 2009b; Zurba et al., 2012). From this foundation parties can be more assured that the collaborations will follow a system of integrity based on group norms and values (Imperial, 2005). Devolved governance collaborations, that is those which are inclusive of decentralized governance parties (Berkes,

2010), have often proven to be effective in the governance of shared resources (Innes, Connick, Kaplan, & Booher, 2006; Wiber et al., 2009). However, local participation and collaboration in environmental governance is not without criticism amongst academics and practitioners.

Collaboration has been found to in some cases to create further complexity within bureaucracies, adding to the complexity of communication, decision-making and implementation of actions (Margerum & Whittall, 2004). Additionally, Castro and Neilson (2001) found that collaborative situations have the potential to create new sources of conflict and/or agitate existing conflicts. Other authors have highlighted the difficulties in bringing collaboratively made decisions into the realm of policy, namely because of the inability of bureaucratic systems to incorporate collaboratively generated knowledge and aspirations (Papadopoulos, 2003; Zurba, 2009). All of these critiques have then led other authors to questions about the effectiveness of collaboration in terms of environmental outcomes (Koontz & Thomas, 2006).

In order to effectively address the critiques of collaboration in environmental governance it is helpful to pay attention to whether the collaboration is occurring in first, second, or third order governance. Through the development of a greater understanding of collaboration itself, as well as the effects of collaboration on institutions, governance has the potential to become more effective for producing equitable and environmentally sound outcomes. By beginning with analyses of learning outcomes, and the innovations that come through collaboration, it is possible to provide valuable information for understanding new forms of governance (J. S. Brown & Duguid, 1991). The work, learning, and innovations, however, are only effective for producing equitable and environmentally sound outcomes if

collaboration is open to a variety of perspectives and equal opportunities to participate free from coercion (A. J. Sinclair & Diduck, 2001).

Cross-cultural collaboration in the governance of land and resources requires the parties involved to learn about how collaboration happens, and this needs to occur both within and among institutions (Bowen & Taillieu, 2004; Daniels & Walker, 2003). Through learning, parties also have the potential to develop an awareness and understanding of cross-cultural elements of collaboration. Such elements include thinking and communications that occur within and between cultural groups (Schmidt, 2009), culture practices and cultural exchange (Davidson-Hunt & O'Flaherty, 2007), and definition and understanding of the collaborative space within a cultural context (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). Another very important element that ought to be accounted for in regards to cross-cultural collaboration is the historical context of collaboration, including attributes such as privilege and oppression, as well as other forms of power imbalance (Sagie & Aycan, 2003).

2.2 Learning as a lens for understanding cross-cultural collaboration and reconciliation

2.2.1 Transformative learning

Shared space in which public deliberation is possible has proven to deliver socially transformative outcomes, which are often more sustainable (Diduck, 1999; Sims & A. J. Sinclair, 2008). Berkes (2010) presents a perspective on community-based resource management scenarios as all being unique and worthy of individual consideration, and calls for an 'integrated interdisciplinary view' based on 'adaptive feedback' or 'learning-by-doing' principles that are developed through the deliberative process. Social learning theory has

been applied to natural resource and place-based management scenarios and often within the context of individuals learning within groups (Schusler, Decker, & Pfeffer, 2003; Sims & A. J. Sinclair, 2008; A. J. Sinclair, Diduck, & Fitzpatrick, 2008). Armitage, Marschke and Plummer (2008) also found that social learning promoted collaboration and innovation in resource management. It is clear that on-going research on learning in the natural resources field will be important for continuing to develop better understanding of how learning outcomes can be directed towards more environmentally and socially sustainable outcomes.

The reformation of governance structures often requires the accommodation of independent thinking and learning in relation to self, the "other", language and historical context (Douzinas, 2002). To this end, learning within collaborative decision-making has been heralded as being essential for overcoming obstacles at various institutional levels (Pomeroy & Berkes, 1997). Scholars have conceived of adult learning in many different ways. Some view adult learning to be vastly different from childhood learning patterns (Knowles, 1975; Mezirow, 1991), while others assert that the patterns and pathways for learning amongst children and adults are tremendously similar if not the same (Cranton, 2000; Houle, 1972). Regardless of this debate amongst learning theorists, there seems to be a general consensus that learning is a natural process that is based on the need to interact with one's physical and social environment (MacKeracher, 2004).

MacKeracher (2004, p. 22) defines three conditions for learning: 1) "Enough raw data or experiences must be provided, with enough repetitions and variations on themes to allow differences in patterns to emerge"; 2) "Enough time and freedom from threat must be provided to allow the patterns to emerge naturally"; 3) "Sufficient prior meaning perspectives and strategies must exist in the learners memory to handle new experiences". MacKeracher

(2004) emphasizes that if these conditions do not exist, they will need to be provided within the learning environment, or else learning will not be possible. What, when, where, and how we learn can differ considerably depending on culture and individual values. Learning paradigms describe how knowledge is held, acquired, and understood (Mezirow, 1996). Even what it means to learn varies depending on the paradigm to which one subscribes. It is therefore necessary to consider the different archetypes for learning and their origins.

MacKeracher (2004) distinguishes learning as either belonging to the ‘technical-rational’ paradigm or to the ‘participatory-liberatory’ paradigm. Within this Western categorization of learning paradigms, the ‘participatory-liberatory’ paradigm would be the most suited for “social transformation and the development of organizational effectiveness” (MacKeracher, 2004, p. 22). This broad category for learning will provide the starting point for the rest of the discussion on Western learning paradigms, since it is best suited to the context described in the previous section. The remainder of this section is a discussion on learning theories that fit within the ‘participatory-liberatory’ paradigm. Here, I focus on transformative learning theory because it has been found to be suitable for working with natural resource problems (A. J. Sinclair et al., 2009), and provides a way to critically analyze social transformations through learning.

Transformative learning was first conceived by Mezirow, and is defined as “the process of effecting change in a frame of reference” (Mezirow, 1997, p. 5). This relatively new, but well established theory has roots in Habermasian understandings of instrumental and communicative learning, which is grounded in occidental rationalism as described by Habermas’ predecessor and fellow German sociologist, Max Weber (Habermas, 1981). Mezirow (1991 p.xvi) elaborately explains transformative learning as a system of “critical

self-reflection, which results in reformulation of a meaning perspective to allow more inclusive, discriminating, and interactive understanding of one's experience." Mezirow describes this as a form of metacognitive reasoning that is uniquely adult, which can ultimately create pathways to knowledge and understanding and lead to a change in a person's frame-of-reference (i.e., a person's cognitive framework), thus creating the possibility for transformation of beliefs and emancipation, potentially leading to social transformation (Mezirow, 2003).

Following Habermas, Mezirow divides learning types into two main categories, communicative and instrumental (Mezirow, 1991; 2003). Mezirow (1991, p. 9) regards communicative learning as being geared towards creating reciprocal kinds of understanding between individuals, where learners search for alternative meanings, perspectives, and metaphors in turn becoming empowered to self-interpret the knowledge that is being acquired. Communicative learning therefore is central to pedagogy that is focused on transformations towards equity and liberation (Freire, 1970; Mezirow, 1991; Mezirow et al., 2000). This type of learning is especially relevant for learning situations that are aimed at building understanding across groups with potentially divergent perspectives or different cultural epistemologies (Tisdell, 2003). In the classical view of transformative learning, communicative learning is meant to be a reflexive process unlike instrumental learning, which is a means to an end where the learner is not always engaged in deciding what is learned (Daniels & Walker, 2003; Reed et al., 2010). Instrumental learning, however, cannot be excluded from learning aiming to have emancipatory outcomes, as it accounts for learning pathways that lead to potential mutually decided goals, such as learning how to collaborate (Moyer, 2012; Moyer, A. J. Sinclair & Diduck, 2014). It is therefore important to understand

each type of learning within its respective context, and recognize that learners may also guide parts of instrumental learning.

Mezirow (1991) identified the starting point of transformative learning as being related to a ‘disorienting event’, which could be either epochal (i.e., dramatic) or incremental (i.e., gradual). In order for a person’s frame-of-reference to be changed a person must also have the capacity for reflexivity in relation to the judgment of others and themselves (Mezirow, 2003). This makes transformative learning an ideal lens for understanding the occurrence and development of cross-cultural collaboration since it describes how experiences of difference can provide access to alternative perspectives and/or understandings (Mezirow, 1991; 2003). Such understanding can, through self-reflection, inform the revision of one’s perspectives and/or understandings. Mezirow (1991, p. 177) describes three phases of critical self-reflection. The first phase involves the identification of underlying assumptions about what we know to be relevant or true. The second phase involves a scrutiny of such assumptions in relation to our connections to reality, and the third involves an inclusion and/or integration of such concepts. These phases of self-reflection provide a basis for understanding transformation at the individual level and an important foundation for broadening such understandings toward how people learn in social settings and potentially form a group culture.

In contrast to the early work of Mezirow (1981), Harri-Augustein & Thomas (1991) describes learning as both something that is possessed, as well as something that happens as an ongoing cycle. Mezirow (2003), however, later describes transformative learning as ‘critical-dialectical discourse’, involving ‘analogic-abductive’ (instead of positivist hypothetical-deductive) reasoning. This is, however, contrasted with von Emmel’s (in Fisher-

Yoshida, Geller, & Schapiro, 2009, p. 250) perspective on transformative knowledge as ‘the concourse of participation’ rather than solely as ‘discourse’. In this regard, action and the creation of meaning are the qualifiers of transformative learning. In order for discourse and action to result in transformation individuals must have the opportunity to reflect on what is being learned. Such reflexive processes are described as second order experiences (those that challenge and transform), and are described as being the platform for transformative learning (Percy, 2005).

Transformative learning has the potential to provide points for creating new ways for understanding how collective learning leading to institutional transformation could be conceptualized, measured, and put into practice (Armitage et al., 2008). However, in order to further understand the potential for collective transformative learning, it will be important to understand social learning and communication at the individual scale so that extensions to institutional scales can potentially be discerned through further empirical research. Pahl-Wostl, Mostert, & Tabara (2008) describe social learning in resource management as building new relational capacities and also highlight the need to account for institutional diversity. Engaging citizens in decision-making processes is important for developing mutual support among societal spheres (i.e., public, expert, government) and creating governance systems that are socially responsible and transparent (Landman, 2005). Within the context of resource and place-based management, relational capacities are particularly important because a multitude of users will have connections and aspirations based on different values (Berkes, 2003).

2.2.2 Transformative learning: a theory in transition

While transformative learning is well suited to answering complex questions about how individuals change their meaning perspectives, the theory is still very much evolving, particularly in terms of its application in resource and environmental management settings. The gaps that have been identified within transformative learning can be understood as fitting within several distinct categories. These will be discussed in sequence. First, a major limitation of the theory is that it only pertains to learning within the frame of the individual and does not have fully formed conceptual frameworks for the social action outcomes of learning beyond the individual (i.e., collectives, groups, institutions) (Reed et al., 2010). Nevertheless, several authors have attempted to understand how synthesis happens in collectives by extending the applications of learning to whole groups (Baumgartner, 2001; Marsick & Neaman, 1996; Weick, 1991).

Weick (1991) proposes that learning beyond the scope of the individual has a ‘non-traditional’ quality, so far as it is based on different measures of change of cognition and behaviour. Individual concepts of learning that have evolved from the psychological tradition are based on observing change following repetitions of the same stimuli (Weick, 1991). Weick (1991) explains that the difficulties related to observing organizational learning may be related to this focus on repetitive stimuli that are the same, and that this kind of measure is not suitable for organizations because within this setting it is more common for stimuli to be ever changing. Weick (1991) goes on to describe how organizations are known for the sameness in their responses, and that when the organization is affected by different stimuli it can either respond with a similar or a different response, but are most likely to respond the same way to similar stimuli. This incompatibility between the definition of learning and

organizational behaviour highlights the need to broaden what learning means within the scale of the collective.

Bowen & Taillieu (2004) discuss participation in environmental sustainability deliberation and describe transformations in organizational structure as ‘learning moments’ or ‘small wins’. Similar to individual transformative learning, collective transformative learning could also be described in terms of action and deliberation, but within the context of group processes leading towards changes within groups (Cranton, 2006, p. 46). Collective learning of this type could be observed through the reflection period following disorienting dilemmas encountered within collectives. Within these periods there may be an action-response similar to that of individual learning, in turn creating memory within the collective (Baumgartner, 2001; McDonald, Cerevero, & Courtenay, 1999; Mezirow et al., 2000). This would especially relate to the notion of disorienting dilemmas as being continuous and at times unidentified punctuations along the course of a process or a lifetime (Kovan & Dirkx, 2003; Mezirow et al., 2000). Several studies on learning have also reframed the axis of transformation as being a sequence of disorienting events rather than something that is singular or easily definable (Kovan & Dirkx, 2003; Mezirow et al., 2000). Collective transformative learning could be built up through on-going collaborative processes guided in such a way that facilitates individual transformative learning and allows and encourages meaningful moments where learning can lead to systems being challenged and collectives transformed (Ansell & Gash, 2007).

The notion of the collective perspective or ‘mind’ has also been explored by scholars extending transformative learning often with the use of Jungian philosophy, which looks at archetypes and the collective unconscious as a way of understanding human behavior

(Cranton & Roy, 2003; Dirkx, 2006; Gozawa, 2009; Kovan & Dirkx, 2003). Scholars extending transformative learning theory in this way often also includes emotional and cultural depth for understanding different contexts (Alexander, 1999; Cranton, 2006; Dirkx, 2006). This has been described as transformative learning with an ‘extrarational approach’ that is meant to provide opportunities for understanding cultural archetypes (i.e., Jungian) within learning (Cranton, 2006; Dirkx, 2006). This is an approach that can be used to understanding the cultural, historical, and ‘post-conflict’ contexts as they relate to collaborations and deliberation (Rosen, 2009).

Dirkx (2006) contends that we must have a better understanding of the emotional drivers behind learning and that Jungian cognitive psychology provides a foundation for this type of work. Jung (1921) described individuation as a cognitive developmental process that is distinct yet inseparable from collective psychology. Cranton and King (2003) follow a similar line of thinking as Dirkx (2006), and explain that individuation and authenticity (i.e., the expression of genuine self in relation to the community) are the key components to emancipatory communication, and form a cyclical process where learners question values and assumptions and then in turn express the individuated self to the community. This questioning process in relation to the concept of the individuated and authentic self can then be connected to the various forms of habits of mind. These habits of mind then create the context from which we critically evaluate our society and the institutions in which we work, also making habits of mind crucially important for understanding the effects of institutional power dynamics.

While the concept of ‘group mind’ within current literature is still questionable to several authors (Brookfield, 1986; Cranton, 2006; Rodela, 2011), it does have the potential to

contribute to other knowledge areas that transformative learning theorists have begun to question, such as, the effects of emotions, culture, tacit and spiritual experiences, which are important for processes of transformation and creating new habits of mind (Fisher-Yoshida et al., 2009; Tisdell, 2003). These acknowledged gaps in the theory have created the pathways for how we understand learning, and areas where further research will be important. Taylor (2008) views the new directions in transformative theory as being fresh and encouraging toward research and practice in the field.

Merriam (2004) asserts that the fundamental limitation to Mezirow's theory is the exclusive use of the cognitive developmental approach, which works solely within a male Western perspective that does not sufficiently account for emotional or spiritual attributes of learning (though Mezirow did start to acknowledge concepts beyond cognitive development in his later work). Merriam and other scholars advancing transformative learning have called for affective and intuitive types of learning to be viewed as being on equal footing as those based on the critical reflection and rational reflective discourse, which are central to Mezirow's work (Dirkx, 2006; Rosen, 2009; Taylor, 1994). Broader understandings as described by Merriam (2004) are especially important in light of learning contexts that are post-colonial. Non-Western, as well as more spiritual approaches to understanding learning are becoming increasingly recognized and encouraged (Fisher-Yoshida et al., 2009). Tisdell (2003) directs further investigations of collective learning to pay special attention to factors that influence group processes such as cultural and spiritual elements.

Other scholars have been furthering the contributions within transformative learning theory related to the cultural, tacit, and emotional components of learning (Cranton, 2006; Gozawa, 2009; Tisdell & P. M. Thompson, 2007). Cranton (2006, p. 37) frames

transformative learning within the epistemic (knowledge-based), sociolinguistic (society, norm and culture based), psychological (self-concept based), philosophical (worldview based), and aesthetic (broadly - value judgment based) habits of mind, which are related to content, process and premise-reflection. Within this form of learning there is an awareness of emotional contexts, and the people who are behind the messages being shared within the learning environment (Alexander, 1999; Dirkx, 2006; Illeris, 2009). The emotional influence on learning is contextualized within the process of individuation, which is a self-reflexive process in which learners develop deeper understandings of who they are in relation to their broader personal, social or cultural contexts (Dirkx, 2006). Through this the learner develops a sense of ownership of emotions that had initially been externally evoked (i.e., through media, dialogue, etc.). Mezirow's depiction of critical reflection in learning is described as being the foundation for this kind of cognitive stream.

The focus on culture is relatively new in the collaboration and transformative learning literature, however, it is possible to apply such new concepts so that the dynamics of culture and communication may be better understood (Sagie & Aycan, 2003). Intercultural competency is the ability of one to understand the culture of another, and the level of such competency within groups may affect transformative learning and social transformation (Taylor, 1994). The move towards inclusion of a diversity of perspectives and acknowledgement of institutional diversity is also consistent with communicative forms of transformative learning theory (Tisdell, 2003). In addition to the focus on collectives and culture, Tisdell (2003) also highlights the importance of accounting for the constantly shifting power dynamics that exist within and across groups.

Foucault (1980) defines power as a flow of knowledge and discourse relating to time, domain, place and consciousness. As such, power comes into play in just about any human collaboration or learning environment. However, it is particularly pronounced in those that are connected to decision-making processes that are value laden and related to post-colonial transitions (Hays & Biesele, 2011). As such, it is important to understand the kind of shift in power that may be happening or may be possible. Inglis (1997) broadly defines empowerment as the possession of capacities to work within existing systems and emancipation as a process that challenges structures, which may themselves be forms of oppression.

Within the transformative learning literature there is also an identified need for different ways of measuring and accounting for multi-party governance systems that reflect cultural contexts (Birner & Wittmer, 2004; Ostrom, 2005). DiMaggio (1997) argues that culture is important for affecting the development and actions of institutions. Gozawa takes the concept further and highlights that institutional frames ought to seek to represent cultures without imposing personal values as to what is the 'right', 'wrong' or 'best' way to go about a process (Gozawa, 2009). Inglis (1997) suggests that in order to work towards emancipation, there needs to be a shift towards a more realist and/or structuralist view of power. Inglis (1997) also suggests a drawing of attention to the structures that maintain oppressive forms of discourse, in addition to understanding the individual. Power is therefore central to understanding transformative learning within a social context (Inglis, 1997; Mezirow et al., 2000; Percy, 2005). Taylor (2008) describes gaps in transformative learning as being related to: 1) the role of the student in creating learning; 2) role of the student in relation to the educator; 3) how the student transforms institutions through their own transformation, and

concludes by stating that transformative learning is not a set of strategies but is rather a worldview. Such considerations make a good starting point for understanding interpersonal learning and power dynamics within collaborative settings.

Baumgartner (2001) describes power as being grounded in Freire's (1970) work, and states that power creates an understanding of learning and knowledge as a series of interpretations of new experiences. Diduck (1999) proposes a model to account for power dynamics based on addressing change, complexity, uncertainty, and conflict. The central argument of this model is upheld by Freire's (1970, p. 45) liberationist and praxis (action-reflection-action) approach and the literature on democracy and participation in education, which is influenced by Lenin's revolutionary theory. Freire's (1970) liberationist-praxis approach is especially suited to research that works to understand cross-cultural governance with a history of conflict because of the transformative, emancipatory and humanizing approaches to defining learning and forms of collaboration (p. 79). This is especially relevant because the approaches are directed towards ultimately achieving genuine forms of reconciliation between the 'oppressed' and the 'oppressor(s)' (p. 72).

Traditional transformative learning, through understandings of instrumental and in particular communicative learning, provides a foundation for understanding how shared experiences result in learning, process transformation and social action. Extending these theories outside a single person's cognitive process will, however, require different tools for understanding the nature of the collective. The gaps and new directions for transformative learning provide a guide for understanding learning occurring within cross-cultural settings that are also collaborative. Investigations into the workings of power, emotion, tacit experience and spiritual concept formation will be particularly useful in revealing new

knowledge about collective experience and change that may reveal learning at different scales. To conceptualize collective change as learning it will be important to accept that collective learning will most likely have unique features. The challenges of explaining collective learning will perhaps be met through working with and outside of the traditional Western learning frameworks towards connections to other ontological frameworks (Weick, 1991). The following section is a discussion on indigenous learning: what it means, and how concepts of indigenous learning complement and contrast with the Western forms of learning.

2.2.3 Indigenous learning: traditional and contemporary Anishinaabe systems

So then, never forget this. Some time you will definitely come to know this. Maybe tomorrow, or the day after, as you are from a different place, you go around working, and maybe you won't remember it. But one time when you are there, you will know about these things I'm telling you.

- Source: Melvin Eagle, in *Living Our Languages: Ojibwe Tales and Oral Histories. A Bilingual Anthology* (Treuer, 2001)

The existence of an 'Indigenous paradigm' is something that is problematized by the scale at which we consider groups of peoples and their interactions (Loppie, 2007). Nevertheless, many Indigenous scholars are keen to find the interconnections and create frameworks for working with Indigenous knowledge systems in a broad sense. In contrast to transformative learning, Indigenous learning systems generally follow place-based culture, connection to environment, and the building of understanding of relationships (Wilson, 2008). Wilson (2008, p. 70) states, "Relationality seems to sum up the whole Indigenous paradigm to me."

Wilson continues to describe relationality as being the common thread linking Indigenous ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology. With regards to methodology, core principles include the non-appropriation of local knowledge, the recognition of connected knowledge through story telling, and the inclusion of relational accountability⁴ (i.e., “being accountable to all your relations”) as part of the research axiology (2008, p. 77). Commonalities within learning approaches such as holism, oral histories and the practice of storytelling have been identified as occurring in most Indigenous learning systems (Loppie, 2007). It is also generally agreed upon that Indigenous constructions of reality are based on plurality and a multitude of layers existing beyond the usual ‘Western’ deductive forms of reasoning (Loppie, 2007). Gilbert and Clark (2007) speak of there being four dimensions of ‘true learning’ existing in the *Twelve Principles of Aboriginal Philosophy*, which are spiritual, mental, physical, and emotional, making a person a whole and balanced learner.

Before undertaking a detailed discussion of Indigenous learning, it is important that the term Indigenous is framed. Broad statements about an Indigenous ethic and way of life have often been misused in literature, for example creating a narrative of the ‘noble savage’ (Visgilio & Whitelaw, 2003). This portrayal has at times led to prejudices based on expectations of how Indigenous peoples will approach different subjects, such as learning.

The characterization of learning as being “Indigenous” is also often considered by many to be a continuation of the colonial tradition (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999), therefore it will

⁴ Relational accountability is described by Wilson (2008, p. 77) as, “The knowledge that the researcher interprets must be respectful of and help to build the relationships that have been established through the process of finding out information. Furthermore, the Indigenous researcher has a vested interest in the integrity of the methodology (respectful) and usefulness of the results if they are to be of any use in the Indigenous community (reciprocity).”

not be used in this discussion. Instead, I will attempt to narrow the discussion and make it as culturally relevant as possible to the First Nations that are involved in the resource governance collaborations particular to my study area in northwestern Ontario. I will also refrain from the all too common misconception that culture and tradition are static and rigid through time (Hulsether, 2004). I will take a chronological approach to describing Indigenous learning by beginning with a discussion of pre-colonization and ‘traditional’ learning systems. I will then extend the discussion to the transition in learning systems that occurred through colonization to the present, and the possibilities for what culturally specific ‘Indigenous learning’ means in a contemporary context.

The First Nations of northwestern Ontario are Anishinaabe; therefore the discussion on Indigenous learning here will be focused more specifically on Anishinaabe traditions and experiences. Anishinaabe (Anishinaabek, plural form) is an autonym for Ojibway, and is part of the Algonquin language group – one of the largest Aboriginal language groups in North America (Davidson-Hunt & Berkes, 2003). The word Anishinaabe means “that human beings derive their goodness from their intent” (Johnston, 1995, p. 239), and the cultural meaning of the word is ‘first peoples’ (Spieldmann, 2009). This is not to say that all Anishinaabe Nations and individuals would share exactly the same learning systems, or agree to have the same cultural protocols (just as ‘Western’ learning theorists do not). Anishinaabe learning is intended to create a foundation for understanding the perspectives and information that participants share that may be related to culture.

Elders from the Anishinaabe communities of Pikogan and Winneway believe that a teacher is one capable of demonstrating the relationship between philosophy and practice (Spieldmann, 2009). Traditionally, Anishinaabe learning has deliberate and non-deliberate

forms that are acknowledged as being of equal value (Peacock & Wisuri, 2002). The quote by Melvin Eagle at the beginning of this section is an example of learning that happens by doing, which is subconscious until the time at when it becomes required knowledge (Treuer, 2001). Spieldmann (2009), in his book *Anishinaabe World*, describes ‘traditional education’ as being a knowledge system where the unknown is accessed by its connections [or relationship] to the known. He also speaks about non-deliberate learning arising only when it becomes needed or crucial. Alternatively, with deliberate traditional learning, knowledge is accessed and built through ceremony, dreams, visions, spiritual connections, and other tacit experiences instead of through theory (Peacock & Wisuri, 2002; Spieldmann, 2009).

Peacock and Wisuri (2002) describe the traditional Ojibway education system as having three phases. During the first phase, which lasts until approximately seven years of age, grandmothers, aunts and elders are the primary teachers. Anishinaabe elders are often the sources of knowledge, however, becoming an elder is not an attribute of aging, but rather wisdom, and even young persons may become teachers if they are capable of understanding and demonstrating the relationship or subtleties of a topic (Spieldmann, 2009). During the second phase of education boys and girls are divided and taught gender specific cultural activities. The third phase comes later in life and is the ‘search for wisdom’. This is a phase that aims to bring honor to one’s life, is about understanding both subtlety and complexity, and can last the rest of a person’s life (Peacock & Wisuri, 2002). The quote below speaks to this phase of learning and the meaning of attainment. It highlights the importance of practice in creating a path towards learning, and how learning happens.

It was during this final state in life that the learner realized his want of knowledge, and sought out the wise to teach him. A man or woman begins to learn, when he seeks out

knowledge and wisdom; wisdom will not seek him. He may never attain it but he can live by those principles given to him.

- Source: *Giikinoo'amaadinwin, We Gain Knowledge* (Peacock & Wisuri, 2002)

In Anishinaabe traditional learning, the whole community will have various teaching roles throughout a person's life, while remaining aware of the individual nature of what a person will learn. Often the totemic system, which is paternally determined, helps to guide a person along his or her path (Johnston, 1982). It is acknowledged in the traditional system that different people will have different powers, ways of accessing knowledge, and therefore will have different roles and responsibilities for which they must learn (Spieldmann, 2009). In addition to gaining a variety of practical knowledge, learning is also meant to promote the growth of a person's spiritual existence (Peacock & Wisuri, 2002). At the appropriate age, all boys and some girls (only if they request, since all females are considered to be born spiritually fulfilled because they are the givers of life) would experience a vision quest, which is a core element of the traditional Anishinaabe education (Peacock & Wisuri, 2002). The quest involves fasting and purification, and could be anxious and uncomfortable for some (Johnston, 1982), but ultimately it is meant to give a person the main spiritual teaching to help guide him or her through life.

Before the discussion can move to contemporary Anishinaabe education it is important to consider the history of how traditional education was affected by colonization. Colonization caused great changes to culture due to contact and conflict with Europeans causing various forms of physical and social decimation (White, 1991). Traditional territory was reduced to allocated lands known as reservations, many people were lost to disease and armed conflict, and families were separated when children were forcibly removed and

entered into the residential school systems (White, 1991). Residential schools were focused on assimilation to the Christian traditions of European colonizers, and did not allow children to speak their language or practice their traditions (Rosaly, 1991). Families were often separated for months or years making intergenerational learning nearly impossible for many families (Spieldmann, 2009). Children never learned their traditions and parents lost the learning experience that comes through parenting (Peacock & Wisuri, 2002). Residential schools created tremendous damage to the Anishinaabe social fabric and substantial losses in intergenerational learning. Many children were abused and/or died while attending residential schools, and many of those who attended call themselves survivors (Peacock & Wisuri, 2002). The residential schools in Canada began to close in the 1970s, and the last one closed in 1996 (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2014). Jansen, an Indigenous South African man who became the first Black person to achieve the position of Dean of Education in a previously all-white university in South Africa in 2001, has explored and has identified new concepts for understanding intergenerational and cross cultural learning affected by trauma. (This is presented in full in the next section, Section 2.2.4.)

While the discussion on Anishinaabe learning has been inclusive of all ages and the experiences of children, it is important to note that these experiences are formative to adult learning. Residential schools not only affected the generations who attended, but also affected their parents by forcibly removing them from their roles as teachers (Rosaly, 1991). This affected the intergenerational transmission of language, spirituality, and custom, which are all important to adult learning and the later phases of learning in the Anishinaabe tradition (Peacock & Wisuri, 2002). This is not to say tradition was lost completely. The fourth episode of CBC's *8th Fire: Aboriginal Peoples, Canada & the Way Forward* series

was one illustration of many who found ways to maintain tradition and there are many who are finding ways to bring traditional learning into contemporary Anishinaabe settings (Morin & Paquet, 2012). Today, Ojibway learning is facilitated by a mixture of traditional and contemporary teachings with the balance depending on the more specific history of the area and the people driving education (Peacock & Wisuri, 2002). Most importantly, when conducting research it is important to be aware of the traditional and contemporary attributes of learning, and to be open to a variety of combinations of both.

Given the ideas above, research aiming to consider the potential for cross-cultural learning scenarios first needs to explore areas of compatibility and discordance between the new directions for [Western] transformative learning and contemporary (inclusive of traditional) Anishinaabe ways of understanding learning. These learning systems come from different paradigms, but seem to be moving towards one another, perhaps making collective learning experiences more possible. The new directions in transformative learning open the theories to new ways of understanding what learning is. Weick's (1991) thoughts on organizational learning drew conclusions and comparisons that the extensions of learning beyond the individual are foreshadowed by what is known about notions of Indigenous individual learning. Also, the inclusion of the spiritual, cultural, and tacit components of learning are not dissimilar to the Anishinaabe learning paradigm here described.

While there are many ways that different learning systems can be related to one another, there are many attributes that are and will continue to remain unique. Work that builds understanding between different worldviews will need to be mindful and respectful of differences, while finding areas of commonality that could in turn create the possibility for building understanding for each other's experiences and values. This physical and

epistemological movement of Western and Indigenous learning coming closer together may create the space for meaningful learning experiences relevant for deciding a shared future. In practice, such learning environments would likely emphasize the need to pay keen attention to the power dynamics of learning, and balancing such power would be crucially important for maintaining learning that is emancipatory rather than assimilatory (Diduck & Mitchell, 2003). A mutually created pedagogical approach to this kind of learning would then need to be decided and employed with equal influence. The next section focuses on Jansen's 'post-conflict pedagogy' as a tool for working in such settings, and the potential for awareness of 'indirect knowledge' to build greater understanding between groups with a history of conflict (Jansen, 2008; 2009).

2.2.4 'Indirect knowledge' and Jansen's 'post-conflict pedagogy'

Jansen's (2008; 2009) conception of knowledge systems and the development of a 'post-conflict pedagogy' provides a starting point for developing methodologies and explaining how research in the context that I am working might be approached. Jansen's writing comes from his experiences as the first black Dean of Education at the University of Pretoria, a previously all-white institution, following the end of Apartheid in South Africa (Jansen, 2009). Knowledge developed from the South African context is relevant to northwestern Ontario, and Canada more broadly, because the two nations share many historical and contemporary cross-cultural issues in common (Zurba, 2014). Both Canada and South Africa employed (which in many cases persist) nation-building structures that implemented institutionalized racism, have gone through formal reconciliation processes (i.e.,

commissions), and are yet to determine how to mitigate persistent forms of structural forms of oppression (Zurba, 2014). In his book *Knowledge in the Blood*, Jansen (2009) explores personal experiences within a newly cross-cultural educational system and how learning approaches could transcend cultural narratives towards building deep and meaningful understanding of "others" (Jansen, 2008; 2009).

Jansen creates propositions for changing the 'institutional canopy', and provides insights for understanding multi-level knowledge systems in transition (Jansen, 2009). The paradigm also helps for understanding knowledge that is deeply emotionally embedded and culturally appropriated (i.e., indirect and intimate knowledge). The term 'post-conflict' is used in Jansen's framework does not mean that conflict no longer exists (Jansen, 2009). Instead, it is meant to signify that "intervention has to go beyond acknowledgement of embracing victims of racism" and that teachers and learners need to "bring-in their own identities, [and acknowledge that] they also carry their own knowledge of the past" (Jansen 2008, p. 59).

Jansen's 'critical theory for a post-conflict pedagogy' sets out nine principles, which could have direct applications to a variety of learning settings such as classrooms, boardrooms, and facilitated participatory focus groups or workshops. These guiding principles would be useful for framing learning themes, questions, and the reiterative process required for intellectual and ideological transformation when helping people to learn together in cross-cultural situations. The following are Jansen's nine key elements to critical theory as a post-conflict pedagogy:

1. the power of 'indirect knowledge';
2. the importance of listening;

3. disruption of received knowledge;
4. the significance of pedagogical dissonance;
5. reframing victors and victims;
6. acknowledgement of brokenness;
7. the importance of hope;
8. the value of demonstrative leadership;
9. and, the necessity of establishing risk-accommodating environments.

One way of understanding the phenomena of knowledge that is culturally embedded and transmitted amongst groups in society is through identifying and understanding what Jansen (2009) calls 'indirect knowledge'. The framework for understanding 'indirect knowledge' is built upon concepts presented in Eva Hoffman's (2004) *After Such Knowledge: A Meditation on the Aftermath of the Holocaust*. This is a kind of knowledge that people possess as a result of indirect experiences (i.e., those that are informal and deeply socially embedded), which in turn shapes meaning perspectives with regard to difference. Indirect knowledge aims to understand *what* is known (e.g., notions of difference and/or superiority), and *how* people hold to views in relation to the "other". However, while indirect knowledge may be at the foundation of collective rhetoric, it does not necessarily denote the presence of collective thought or group mind. Jansen explains how indirect knowledge is deeply emotionally embedded and may often take shape as 'racial exclusivity', 'racial supremacy', and 'racial victimization'. Understandings of indirect knowledge can help in understanding how collectively generated concepts of "otherness" translate into action.

In cross-cultural learning environments, the indirect knowledge held by different groups can come into conflict with one another. A post-conflict pedagogy is one that acknowledges this, wherein teachers and leaders are prepared to be emotionally engaged, forthcoming and compassionate in bringing learners together within the 'learning commons'. This is described as overcoming dissonant knowledge and crossing the 'allegorical bridge', wherein facilitators guide learners to break free of their indirect knowledge and find the common humanity with "others". Jansen describes this as a kind of 'brokenness' that is not a weakness, but is rather something that is required in order to understand and move past injustices and work towards the dissolution of the 'us/them' worldview and the notion of "others". This 'brokenness' resonates with the ways that Western and Indigenous paradigms may converge to create opportunities for building common understanding.

Jansen uses reflexivity and demonstrates the power of personal narratives when illustrating how to work with indirect knowledge, which is often intimate, partial or emotional and is grounded in human experiences and interactions. Jansen's concept of 'disruptive knowledge' is also similar to Mezirow's disorienting events which lead a person to change his/her frame-of-reference thus opening a pathway to transform deeply embedded knowledge systems. The drawing of such parallels is important for conceptualizing Jansen in relation to research on the connections among knowledge, learning and the potential for social/institutional change. The nine key elements relating to critical theory as a post-conflict pedagogy provide additional support for understanding post-conflict (or in-conflict) transformative learning and the ability for such transformations to effect institutional change.

The concepts in transformative learning that relate to the individuated and authentic self can be thought of as being polar to the concepts of self that are rooted in indirect

knowledge. There are also parallels in terminology with Mezirow (2000) and Jansen (2009) with regards to ‘received knowledge’, which is the knowledge that is expressed in discourses that may be responsible for narratives that create notions of difference within one groups over another. These broad concepts relating to transformative learning may provide a pathway for insights on collective transformative learning. Transformation will need to be understood in terms of whether it is occurring intrinsically and/or extrinsically, the institutional point of transformation (i.e., through what processes has the learning occurred), and if the collective has experienced a perspective transformation (i.e., a collective shift in habits of mind; indirect/received knowledge).

Taylor’s (2008) accounts of the new directions for transformative learning, in particular ‘social emancipatory’, ‘cultural-spiritual’, and ‘race-centric’ forms, complement Jansen’s (2008; 2009) post-conflict pedagogy to a great degree. Taylor illustrates extensions and alternatives to Mezirow’s psychocritical view of transformative learning. These are the ‘psychoanalytic’ (involving thought process and individuation), ‘psychodevelopmental’ (looking at transformative learning across a lifespan as incremental and epistemological change), and ‘social emancipatory’ perspectives (rooted in Freire, people reflect as actors in their world seeking greater equity for all – the goal is social transformation and the ‘development of critical consciousness’). Taylor then outlines the more specified directions of transformative learning and what they can offer, such as cultural-spiritual transformative learning, which acknowledges connections between individuals, social structures, and the crossroads of positionality. This form of inquiry is achieved through engaging with narratives at an individual and group level. Taylor also describes the ‘race-centric’ view, which has African roots and is built upon concepts of promoting inclusion and empowerment and

learning about cross-cultural negotiation (Taylor, 2008). This view on transformative learning works towards debunking notions of the "other".

Often in emancipatory forms of research there is a tendency to focus all of the attention on the victims (Jansen, 2009). In the opening created by post-conflict pedagogy, there is an opportunity to humanize the perceived perpetrator population (which may be perceived on both or all 'sides') and overcome barriers to establishing common ground and mutual systems for understanding. This contributes to the potential for meaningful cross-cultural collaboration and learning that does not isolate or degrade the practices or values of one population over another (i.e., what Jansen calls the 'crux of multi-cultural education').

Jansen's concepts complement and provide the potential to apply learning theory to situations that are post- (or in a continued state of) conflict. The inclusion of different cultural values in the creation of collective learning objectives could be made possible by exploring forums that account for cross-cultural collaboration and acknowledge the values and learning aspirations of the different cultural groups. By merging Jansen's principles, in particular those related to indirect and received knowledge, with the new directions for transformative learning a foundation could potentially be set for a decentralized form of institutional development. This would allow for an exploration of "knowledge in the blood" as it relates to northwestern Ontario, such as the culturally embedded and institutionalized knowledge that has caused persistent forms of racism and racial divisions within Kenora (as discussed in Section 1.3).

2.3 Social action and reconciliation

2.3.1 *Culture, the creation of the "other", norms barriers to participation*

Stories of cultural contact and change have been structured by a pervasive dichotomy: absorption by the other or resistance to the other. A fear of lost identity, a Puritan taboo on mixing beliefs and bodies, hangs over the process. Yet what if identity is conceived not as [a] boundary to be maintained but as a nexus of relations and transactions actively engaging a subject? The story or stories of interaction must then be more complex, less linear and teleological.

- Source: James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture* (1988)

The quote from *The Predicament of Culture* (Clifford, 1988) draws attention to how we frame culture and how this may result in different sorts of outcomes between groups, and draws attention to the notion of "otherness". Essentially, the quote illustrates that when lines are drawn between groups based on culture differences, there will be fewer opportunities to explore alignments in the values and the potential for mutually meaningful opportunities. Moving beyond the concept of the "other" does not mean that either group would be required to compromise their culture in order to communicate in a cross-cultural fashion. Rather, building understanding around cultural boundaries could create the potential for the sharing of culture and the development of a greater understanding for each other's perspectives. This is not to say that divisions are without reason and are not understood given certain contexts. Often the fears and rational explanations for remaining discrete are grounded in social-historical situations and events (Lake & Rothchild, 1996). However, the more differences, cultural and otherwise, are acknowledged, explored, and reconciled (not assimilated), the more equipped individuals and institutions will be to move forward with greater trust and confidence in the people and situations involved.

The field of natural resources and environmental management (NREM) is interdisciplinary and focused on 'real world' and complex social-ecological issues (Berkes, 2003). In keeping with the ideas presented above there is an increasing awareness amongst academics and practitioners that a strong understanding of human dynamics is necessary for the successful implementation of policy and programming for managing resources (Ross et al., 2002; Zurba et al., 2012). This awareness is accentuated by the fact that in almost all resource management scenarios there will be more than one party with a vested interest in the place, species, and/or mineral in question. The interests may be dynamic, and the groups diverse. However, many groups may not be included in decision-making processes affecting resources, or may reflect on their involvement as less than meaningful. Those who are involved in such social-political patterns and interactions are said to be part of the governance system for the particular resource(s) being managed (Kooiman, 2003). Within this social-political space, the values of individuals and of groups will determine the way in which decisions are made through the relevant hierarchies or through collective action (Kooiman, 2003).

Before the discussion can move on to how learning may take place for the development of meaningful and equitable governance systems for land and resources, it is also important to further contextualize how norms affect the structural dynamics of a given situation (Kooiman, Bavnick, Chuenpagdee, Mahon, & Pullin, 2008). Because decision-makers are ultimately human beings with unique value sets and conceptions of the "other", it is important to understand their positionality and how such positions in relation to "others" may have evolved (Jansen, 2009). This can be achieved through understanding knowledge systems (Jansen, 2009; Mezirow, 1981). These concepts will be explained here and then

synthesized in relation to the Canadian resource governance context. Through further discussions on learning and knowledge systems that influence societal norms, I will explain how these points are connected and can be viewed as affecting each other through time and process.

Learning will be required as a driver of change that has the potential to transform institutional systems according to spirits of intent, such as the creation of more meaningful and equitable collaboration (Kasl & Yorks, 2002). Therefore, in order to start working towards building understanding between groups in such a way that enables meaningful cross-cultural collaboration in natural resources governance, it is important to understand the dynamics of learning in such settings (Schusler et al., 2003). Through learning, normative frameworks can influence institutions to be more supportive of participation (Ostrom, 2007). A detailed analytical framework is explained in the next chapter (Section 3.3.3) as a synthesis of the concepts for learning described in the previous section (2.2).

2.3.2 The learning, collaboration, and social action nexus

In my research, collaboration and learning are focal points for understanding the transformation of regional governance systems for land and resources. These concepts, however, will be embedded in understandings of social action, which will act as the conceptual link making a collaboration, learning, and social action nexus. The concepts relating to social action and normative values provide a framework making it possible to understand this nexus, and potentially forming a different lens for viewing learning beyond the individual. The nexus also gives the opportunity to explore what learning outcomes may

look like when they are driven by principles that foster equity and the building of meaningful relationships.

One of the grandfathers of normative sociology, Max Weber, developed the concept of social action as action that is oriented by the behaviour of others (Parkin, 1982). Secher (1962) in his book *Economy and Society*, shifted the attention from understanding meaning to accounts that more directly explain action. There have been numerous scholars who contributed to the development of the theory of social action, as it is known today. Parsons and Shils' (1951) seminal book *Toward a General Theory of Action* created a framework for the structural-functional analysis of social action based on actors' orientation and motivation for action. Orientation for action according to Parsons and Shils (1951) is based upon either physical (objects or 'accumulated cultural resources') or social objects (individuals and collaborative actors). Parsons and Shils originally conceived of meaning-making in terms of dichotomies, but updated this in later editions to acknowledge the greater scope and complexity of the influences affecting actors.

Both understanding the meaning of social actions and direct accounts explaining them will be important for social contexts involving learning and collaboration (Altrichter, Kemmis, McTaggart, & Zuber-Skerritt, 2002). Thoughts on social action have evolved as academics and practitioners have studied and engaged in the various forms of communication that lead to action. However, the nexus between learning, collaboration and social action is a relatively new area being covered in the literature especially as it pertains to land and natural resources. Resource collaborations that are built upon foundations of respect and rapport, a mutually decided allocation of responsibilities, local engagement and capacity building have demonstrated the possibility for improving relationships through on-going 'learning-by-

doing' (Berkes, 2009a; Zurba et al., 2012). Through the on-going sharing of experiences, groups with different values can begin to find common goals and develop relational accountability, which within an Anishinaabe cultural context can underpin the desire for continued engagement in collaborative relationships (Wilson, 2008). This coincides with power, and how it must be shared and the structural dynamics of the emerging collective must be accounted for in a way that makes relationship building a felt reality for all parties.

Galtung (1969, p. 171) introduced the concept of 'structural violence' and explained how it is "built up into a structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances". He illustrates this by presenting the analogy of one husband beating a wife as being a clear case of personal violence, and a million husbands keeping their wives in a state of ignorance as being structural violence (Galtung, 1969). This can be related to my research by understanding it in this way: when one person chooses to deprive another person of an opportunity (i.e., personal, social, economic) because of race this can be seen as a personal act of violence (conceding that not all violence is bodily), and when a group of people (i.e., a First Nation) cannot achieve the same opportunities as other groups of people living in the same society because a legal framework or other institution (e.g., the *Indian Act*) is preventing them, then structural violence is present. Thus, structural violence is a direct inhibitor of emancipatory social action and enabler of oppressive social action because it limits the ability of people to act on their interests through fear of consequence or direct inability to participate. Institutions that bring together various parties to collaborate have the added challenges associated with institutional diversity (Ostrom, 2005). Structural violence is often at play within such institutional spaces, reflecting power imbalances and creating barriers to equitable and meaningful collaborative governance.

Amartya Sen contends:

The linkage between freedom and responsibility works both ways. Without substantive freedom and capability to do something, a person cannot be responsible for doing it. But actually having the freedom and capability to do something does impose on the person the duty to consider whether to do it or not, and this does involve individual responsibility.

- Source: *Development as Freedom* (Sen, 1999, p. 284)

In essence, in order to take action one must be free, but when one is free, one then has responsibility. If parties are to share responsibilities with regards to decision-making and other actions linked to land and resources, they will need to understand that being a free and empowered actor in a collaborative setting comes with responsibility (i.e., to communicate, be accountable, etc.) to those who are at the table. It is also important to note that freedom is not merely the subtraction of structural violence. This is congruent with Galtung's (1967) concepts of 'negative peace', instead of a more enduring 'positive peace', which includes collaboration. The subtraction of structural violence involves the balancing of capacity wherein parties who may have benefited from oppressive structures would in turn find ways of supporting the capacity of oppressed or disadvantaged groups towards their becoming increasingly independent (Berkes, 2010). This would then create more equal opportunities for groups to act and be counted.

At the centre of this discussion on learning and social action is the bettering of relationships so that collaboration can become possible and sustainable. For this sort of meaningful relationship to be achieved, it will be necessary to work with concepts of learning that push the boundaries beyond that of the individual. If we think of this on a very basic level, it begins to make sense. A question that illustrates this and reduces the complexity

could be framed as follows: *How do people learn to engage in meaningful and enduring friendships?* Friendship is a notion that is common to most if not all people, and it would be fairly safe to assert that most adults would understand that we learn how to be someone's friend in a very different way from how we learn to engage with some other aspects of our lives, such as learning how to drive a car or even impress an employer (which is perhaps a less reciprocal type of communicative relationship).

The interpersonal attributes of friendship come over time, and involve being present, sensitive, and responsible to the needs of the other party. A personal relationship such as a friendship also requires the building of trust, reciprocity, and rapport. These have been documented as being the pillars for supporting relationships to share responsibilities for directing the futures for places and resources (Zurba et al., 2012). In this sense individuals are learning from the social setting, and the collective is also learning how to function in relationship. Relationships, as such, can enhance the potential for navigating collaborative actions that may have arduous components in need of the type of social cohesion that is afforded through relationship building. Another way to understand the relational quality of collective learning is through Morgan and Ramirez's (1984) description of different types of systems, and what they mean for action learning. Morgan and Ramirez (1984) use the brain as an example of a non-linear system. They describe how the brain will continue to function unlike other human-designed machines when a large portion of the main component (the cortex) is removed. They explain that the continued function is due to the way the system (the brain) works on holographic principles where one component has attributes to rebuild the whole system (Morgan & Ramirez, 1984).

Morgan and Ramirez (1984) described a non-linear type of system, which they compared to institutions. Their focus on non-linear systems was mainly directed towards the potential for institutional resilience; however, their discussion also reinforces the case for collaborative governance and learning. The concept of a non-linear and more holographic system ties in well with what collectives have, and what they could potentially become if they are built upon relationships in addition to the linear functions that they are supposed to serve. Within collectives, there is the potential for the development of shared meanings and vision, collective identity, group consciousness, solidarity, and organization, which have been identified as key components to both the approaches and outcomes of collective learning (Kilgore, 1999). These attributes of collaboration are connected to the ‘social vision’ that drives the common goal, and is built on the complexity of the differences amongst actors and the social spaces existing between actors (Kilgore, 1999).

Social action takes place within the collective space described above; however, the willingness to participate and collaborate amongst members of a collective may vary depending on what may be gained and what is at stake (Mezirow, 1989). This point reinforces the importance of mitigating power dynamics within the collective environment, and the necessity of minimizing structural forms of oppression (i.e., Galtung’s structural violence). Milbrath (1989) coined the term ‘learning our way out’, which links social justice and action with learning. This model brings together sociocultural learning theory and contemporary social movement theory to describe how groups challenge dominant ways of thinking about social change, thus constructing a new set of norms along the way. Eliminating structural forms of oppression may take time, which is likely one of the largest challenges to developing meaningful collaboration (Brown, 2004). However, acknowledging

the existence of oppressive structures can provide a starting point for building understanding between groups that face different levels of oppression and opportunity.

Structural violence also relates to ‘post-colonial’ thought, which refers to the kind of thought that comes after the end of colonialism (Childs & Williams, 1997). Post-colonialism, however, is debated by scholars and Indigenous peoples who contend that colonization never ends completely, and instead just changes from one form to another, maintaining the same systems that do not account for the Indigenous paradigm (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Decolonization theory or thought therefore is a more useful terminology for describing the modes of action that work as a force against colonial forms of oppression. Decolonization theory can also create the opportunity for understanding shifts in normative values, and how they are manifested and can be observed in society through different grassroots movements, and corporate and organizational developments (Andersson & Ostrom, 2008; Zurba & Friesen, 2014). Decolonization also fits with what Habermas (1987, p. 119) called changes to the ‘lifeworld’, which is “the horizon within which communicative actions are ‘always already’ moving”. The lifeworld is said to represent the progressive evolution of systems such as those that are democratic, as well as the norms in a society. The concept of lifeworld is important because it contributes to explaining social justice and the effects of structures (including structural violence), and how institutional change can affect the broader norms in society. Within the lifeworld, we produce meaning, and amongst those factors influencing the meaning-making process are systems (e.g., capitalism) and organizations (e.g., government agencies, NGOs, conglomerates, etc.), which are constantly penetrating into the lifeworld and affecting the actors therein and the actions they take.

The importance of the connection between systems and the lifeworld can be illustrated within my research as follows: if local actors involved in governance are following systemic protocols that do not afford groups the opportunity for meaningful collaboration then the lifeworld will be affected. The effects of this would be that the actors would continue to conceive of reality as being divided based on cultural or social drivers, and a lack of opportunity for affecting the system could become normalized. In short, if the system maintains structural violence, the lifeworld will continue to deform with such fractures affecting other parts of society (e.g., racism, and other forms of physical and structural violence). One need not look far for an example of this. The standoff at Anicinabe Park is a regional example of a municipal system affecting meaning-making processes of citizens of the lifeworld. The standoff was a form of social action resulting in complex and profound implications for regional communities. Social action in its various forms and levels of intensity can change social structures subtly to greatly.

There is an emerging literature on how the values of collectives transform into actions (Ross et al., 2002; Wiber et al., 2009). It will be important that social actions are driven by appropriate mutually agreed upon guiding principles if they are to affect the lifeworld and make continued meaningful relationships a possibility. Normative values can be representative of movements towards greater equity in society, but they have also justified such things as violence, slavery, dispossession of land and other forms of colonization (Harris, 2004; Hudson, 1999). It is therefore crucially important to understand where the current baseline is for normative values within a given society before pathways to transformations can be considered. Informal norms within institutions manifesting contemporary normative values have been identified as essential for facilitating governance

frameworks that have multiple networks, such as those which are based on collaborations (Skelcher, 2005). Therefore, through collaborative interactions these normative values may become manifested in different institutional actions such as grassroots movements, institutional planning and reform, policy development and multi-lateral agreements.

Normative questions are also at the core of the belief systems that influence how those who hold power open the gates to those who do not, and equally how those seeking power might find their way into more empowered positions and how they may act once they have attained that position (Rao, Morrill, & Zald, 2000). Normative goals within institutions often take shape in the form of buy-in, willingness, initiative, and other forms of planning and structural bureaucratic reform (Douzinas, 2002). By identifying the broad normative values and knowledge systems that are either driving or hindering social action it may then be possible to develop a greater understanding for learning systems (Sims & A. J. Sinclair, 2008). Therefore, if normative goals are to work towards transforming institutions towards becoming more socially just, then understanding and integrating such norms into learning arenas will be important (Sandstrom, 2009). Specialized learning approaches will also be necessary for working with indirect and received knowledge (Jansen, 2009; Mezirow et al., 2000). Therefore, in considering what kind of learning strategy is best for collaborative action based on decolonizing ways of thinking we need to consider the normative values driving transformation (Sims & A. J. Sinclair, 2008), the level at which the transformation will be occurring (Alexander, 1999), and the dynamics existing within the at least partially autonomous groups (G. Peters & Pierre, 2004).

By viewing collective systems as having qualities that are unique from individuals we can better understand how meaningful collective experiences can evolve and be maintained.

Social action provides a framework for creating the collaboration, learning, and social action nexus, and conceptualizes it as an elaborate system worthy of exploration and further situated inquiry. My research aims to work with this nexus within the context of a community that has begun to move into this challenging new realm.

2.3.3 Transgenerational trauma and reconciliation

Most intractable conflicts have been over places and things that are deeply emotional, spiritual, evocative of memory, and attached to peoples' identities (Blackstock, Kelly, & Horsey, 2007). Under these circumstances, it matters not whether the 'perpetrator' is an individual or an institution, the emotional response is just as real and cannot be removed from the context of interactions of victim, perpetrator, and place (Nadler & Saguy, 2004). Transgenerational trauma is also important to understand within the context of institutional forms of oppression (Galtung, 1996). It has been the case that even if painful social disconnections or oppressions have occurred generations back there may still be feelings of despair, anger, and even hatred towards the 'perpetrator', regardless of whether the perpetrator is an individual, population, or institution (P. Walker, 1999).

Transitional justice is emerging as a transdisciplinary field within social justice that aims to find solutions to complex problems encountered in shifts away from oppression (Crocker, 1999). Facilitating such transitions requires that thought be given to how those who previously had insufficient say in the development of the structures affecting their livelihoods will find equanimity and justice (Arévalo & Ros-Tonen, 2009). Within the field of transitional justice, there may be a focus on prosecution, reparation and restitution, truth

seeking, memory work, and/or institutional reform (Teitel, 2000). Several of these areas relate to this research, which is seeking to understand how relationships are built that enable equitable collaboration in governance (objective 3). Institutional reform will be a special focus, particularly as it relates to the development of a shared governance system for land. Institutional reform will also be important for understanding shared governance within the context of other transitional communities (objective 4).

‘Reconciliation’ is an important term, which lacks a single definition in the transitional justice field. For the purposes of this research, reconciliation will be defined as an on-going dialectic relationship building process that is mutually favourable and helps build equanimity (Arbour, 2007). To be precise, equanimity here is conceived as a relationship favouring equilibrium of power, looking beyond seeking similarities, towards respecting people’s unique ways of being. In order for reconciliation to be an equanimity building process, the capacity to engage in acts of good faith in trying to overcome fears and judgments of the "other" is crucial (Jansen, 2009). There may be many challenges in this, especially when past experiences demonstrated an inability to trust the "other". Also, in terms of discourse it is important to acknowledge that reconciliation often has different meanings to different people and/or groups of people. However, if communities are to move beyond differences and collaborate on achieving positive outcomes affecting people and environment, calculated risks in exploring reconciliation will need to be taken. This does not mean that learning and governance in aid of reconciliation ought to occur in a haphazard kind of way. Great care must be taken in order to create the safest environment for facilitating different forms of collaboration, and trust building will be an essential first step.

2.3.4 Collaboration in governance as a form of on-going reconciliation

The adapted framework presented in this section is used for a platform for discussing research results relating to institutions and reconciliation. This section was also a key component to my research proposal and was subsequently published in an article, which referred to policy in Canada and South Africa.⁵

A Conceptual Framework:

Much like reconciliation, collaborative governance is a process. Collaboration requires parties to learn and come to terms with past systems in order to find common ground and forge new ways forward that are mutually beneficial. Governance seeking collaboration over land and resources often involves several parties, potentially having a diversity of values stemming from different worldviews and connections to geographical place (Daniels & Walker, 2003). Walker (1999) has described how the most intractable conflicts have been over land that peoples' identities are tied to. Such connections are often deeply emotional, spiritual and evocative of memory of place. Connections in this sense are strongly related to the past context of relationships that have fostered or hindered access and sharing of land and resources (Martin, 2001). If memory is connected to being separated or oppressed, the emotional connection can be painful (P. Walker, 1999). Feelings of despair, anger, or even hatred for the 'perpetrators' that are the cause of the divide may be roused. Under these circumstances, it matters not whether the 'perpetrator' is an individual or an institution, the emotional response is just as intense and cannot be removed from the context of interactions

⁵ Parts published in: Zurba, M. (2014). Leveling the Playing Field: Fostering Collaborative Governance Towards On-Going Reconciliation. *Environmental Policy & Governance* 24(2):134-146.

of ‘victim’, ‘perpetrator’, and place (Nadler & Saguy, 2004). Transgenerational trauma has also been understood for some time, and is relevant in the Canadian and South Africa contexts, wherein new generations are impacted by past and ongoing oppression (Galtung, 1996).

All interactions surrounding land and resources can either deepen the rift between parties, or can serve as a platform for building meaningful relationships (Nadler & Saguy, 2004). Crocker (1999) outlines a normative framework for dealing with the transitional societies and past wrongs, which is easily adapted to address land and resources governance and policy development (Figure 3). The framework indicates how an institution can potentially move towards reconciliation. Relationship building is shown as being central to this process with a focus on the building of respect, rapport and accountability. This makes up the relational space, which in turn contributes to the governance system and the development of future frameworks. Learning is presented as a continuous driver for reconciliation as a product of this type of governance. Based on this framework, the first step towards collaboration grounded on the principles of reconciliation would be providing a platform for ‘victims’ of injustices to come forward and speak their truths, much in the way that TRCs do this for human rights violations. Once wrongdoings of the past are identified in a fashion that is inclusive of victims’ voices, voices across the community can be elevated and new systems for the accountability, development and application of laws and policy may be realized (Arévalo & Ros-Tonen, 2009).

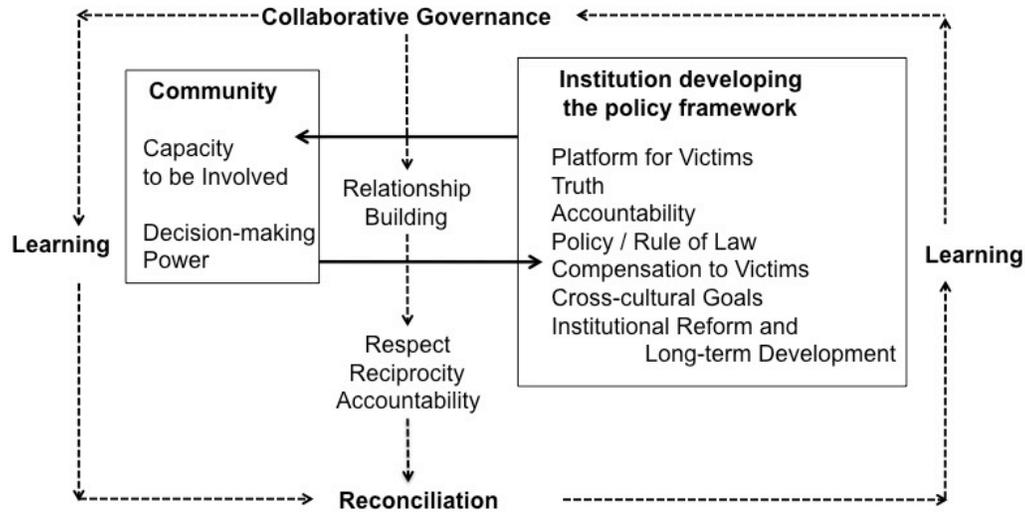


Figure 3. A conceptual model of collaborative governance as a form of on-going reconciliation. The characteristics of the institution developing the policy framework are modified from Crocker’s (1999) normative framework

Figure 3 brings together Crocker’s normative framework into a larger conceptual framework for working towards relationship building and reconciliation within collaborative governance. Governance working towards such goals would require collaboration and learning across multiple institutional levels. This would include community institutions, government, and bridging organizations that would facilitate and negotiate between institutional levels (Berkes, 2009a). The framework presented here operates within certain normative assumptions. The first assumption is that if wrongdoings of the past are identified and solutions are institutionalized, voices from wronged communities can be amplified, creating the potential for relationship building and reconciliation (Hegney et al., 2008). The second assumption is that this would in turn lead to incremental building of peace, stability, communication, common ground, sovereignty and equality. These characteristics are at the

foundation of what could be the natural evolution of governance that seeks to end conflict (Galtung, 1996; Nursey-bray, 2006).

The collaborative governance process would incorporate action in the form of truth telling, various forms of accountability, and compensation. Compensations and reforms would be the main drivers affecting the capacity and on-going changes within governance systems. The totality of these actions in turn could lead to institutional reforms, long-term developments, and goals that are cross-culturally driven. Such changes would make community input more influential in decision-making processes and in turn would serve as equalizing forces enhancing the communities' capacity to collaborate meaningfully in governance. In order to continuously adapt towards empowering and enhancing processes for formerly oppressed populations, the framework is presented as one that is cyclical and based on enhancing feedback with influences moving in both directions between state and community institutions. This dynamic is also illustrated in Figure 3.

Within a space that is geared towards capacity and policy development that favours equality and rights institutions could be created, which bureaucratic processes do not easily account for. By working in a committed fashion States and their actors would be acknowledging indigenous 'truths' and livelihoods through their actions, which would essentially be working towards building important inter-institutional relationships (Richardson, 2008). Respect, reciprocity, and accountability are central to this type of governance system, which is not only meant to be inclusive of community perspectives but is grounded in collaboration and power sharing (Zurba, 2009). Genuine forms of collaboration and power sharing in turn would contribute to enhancing positive relationships between

participants resulting in more meaningful discussions, and the ability to take on increasingly greater challenges.

Mutual participation and commitment grounded in the past but with a view towards a shared future can create the relational space needed for reconciliation as a cyclical and dialectic process. As new and reformed policy is developed through meaningful collaborations, relationships will continue to be forged as we devise new ways for managing resources through democratic processes, public participation, learning and collaboration. In this regard, collaborative governance conducted according to normative values in accordance with a desire to build equitable societies may create a platform for overcoming divisive or dominating structures and act as a unifying force and platform for on-going reconciliation.

The main criticism of the type of conceptual framework presented here would likely be that it is too idealistic and assumes that the actors would be motivated by a desire to build equality and share power. It is true, the political climate of the time is instrumental in how governance takes shape because political will plays a strong role in how different strategies are put forward (Penikett, 2006). A certain amount of good will would be required under any circumstance in order for collaborative forms of governance to be considered, and then implemented. Collaborative governance is not proposed here as a panacea to the problems of any one particular time. It is presented as a pragmatic way of working, where conflict and differences can continuously be reconciled between parties. This will require institutions to work creatively and seek out new ways for engaging with others with varied perspectives. Mediation has proven to be extremely important for establishing new kinds of governance relationships (e.g., the setting of new treaties in British Columbia), providing dispute resolution, representation and comprehension of value systems, determination of the rules of

engagement, and leveling of power dynamics (Penikett, 2006). Changes within reflexive institutions are often incremental requiring not only commitment but also the assurance of clear communication of expectations and timeframes of the process, which may span from years to generations (Few, 2002). According to Jansen's (2009) perspective, reconciliation is not only a positive influence on cross-cultural learning and governance. It is a necessity for improving situations towards a better future for all (Jansen, 2009).

Experiences and Concepts Adding to the Framework:

For institutions to fully acknowledge values that are not grounded in colonialism the playing field needs to be leveled in terms of decision making and power sharing, participation, and collaboration in governance (Ladner, 2009). Within transitional societies, government and community-based institutions are faced with the challenges of new ways of working towards equanimity in governance. However, there is no detailed prescription for developing collaboration and guidelines are being continuously developed from past experiences (Berkes, 2010). In collecting experiences, it is especially important to be respectful of Indigenous sovereignty (Cornell, 2006). Collaboration does not mean assimilation, and it is therefore important to use a similar understanding as that of the principles of multi-institutional 'governance', wherein parties maintain their autonomy within the shared deliberative space (Escobar, 1998). This is perhaps another reason why the relationship building and reconciliation component of such governance systems will be crucially important.

The international literature on land and resource governance collaborations provides many insights on how such relationships can become increasingly meaningful. The following list frames the main concepts, but should not be considered to be a finite set of assertions. Rather, it adds to the proposed framework and is presented here as a set of concepts for working pragmatically towards equitable collaborative governance:

1. Parties should be able to remain autonomous within the collaborative space (Cornell, 2006; Escobar, 1998).
2. Where capacity is lacking there should be an effort made to initiate and support capacity building until a time in which an institution can be self-sufficient (Smyth, Szabo, & George, 2004).
3. In order to be engaging, collaborative forums need to have strong and mutual foundations of trust, respect and reciprocity (Daniels & Walker, 2003; Zurba et al., 2012).
4. Collaborative protocols should be developed in a participatory fashion that is inclusive of the cultural norms and values of all parties (Berkes, 2007; Ross & Innes, 2005).
5. Responsibilities should be sorted out prior to the establishment of formal agreements so that all parties can be accountable (Zurba et al., 2012).
6. Institutions should be given the space to operate outside of their regular bureaucratic processes in order to ensure that transitions are occurring in the appropriate modes and timeframes (Wiber et al., 2009; Zurba, 2009). Flexibility is an important characteristic of successful collaborations.

7. The design of restorative tools, such as compensation and restitution, should be a collaborative process (Cortner & Moote, 1994).
8. There should be clear ways of identifying (e.g., third party reports) how collaboration is affecting institutional reform and the long-term development of policy. ‘Successes’ and ‘failures’ should be by collaborative design between State and community institutions (Blackstock et al., 2007).
9. The qualities of reconciliation, though difficult to measure, should be periodically assessed by individual institutions and communicated back into the collaborative space so that the process may continue (Diduck, 1999).
10. The learning that emerges from collaborative governance processes should be recorded and available to all participants (Sims & A. J. Sinclair, 2008).

The potential benefits of the concepts presented here have been observed within small-scale governance partnerships. They are based on empirical evidence, and are presented here as tools to help guide transitions towards collaborative governance. Within transitional governance systems, the social and political stability often lays on the normative frameworks and the spirit in which they are enacted (Folke et al., 2005). This is mirrored in the desired outcomes of reconciliation processes, which often struggle to find continuity within societies once formal reconciliation processes (e.g., TRCs) have come to completion. Also, each governance system will have unique requirements, and communities will have varying capacities for participation. This is the primary reason for adding this supportive information to *collaborative governance towards on-going reconciliation*, which aims to be a descriptive rather than prescriptive framework.

2.4 Summary

This chapter unpacked the theory and concepts in my general conceptual framework (Section 1.4), which broadly introduced the subjects that are relevant to the purpose and objectives of this thesis. Governance was first explored through the literature as a way of framing institutions and providing a system for understanding their interactions, including those that are collaborative in nature. This review also provided the context for understanding collaboration as governance systems that are influenced by culture, as well as different forms of power sharing. Governance systems were described as being dynamic and capable of transformation through processes. Learning was highlighted as being central to the drivers affecting change in governance systems (Diduck, A. J. Sinclair, Hostetler, & Fitzpatrick, 2012; Sims & A. J. Sinclair, 2008; A. J. Sinclair, Kumnerdpet, & Moyer, 2013; A. J. Sinclair & Diduck, 2001).

Transformative learning was explored in detail as a theory capable of explaining changes in individual cognitive processes that could then affect decision-making processes leading to transformations at higher social levels (i.e., institutions). Some of the more recent foci in transformative learning also provide unique opportunities for exploring changes in governance that relate to meaningful shifts among groups (i.e., ‘group learning’), and the influence of cultural and less rigidly cognitive processes (i.e., spiritual, tacit, emotional) in affecting such change. Major shifts occurring among groups are viewed here as creating the spaces that are necessary for collaborative action, especially that which is of a cross-cultural and/or ‘post-conflict’/decolonizing nature (Zurba, 2014). To this end, learning was also explored more broadly within the literature as it relates to the traditional and contemporary practices and conceptualizations of Anishinaabe people. An understanding of Indigenous

ontology relating to learning also provides the potential for conceptualizing learning outside of Western theoretical frameworks (i.e., transformative learning), which is essential for research aimed at understanding processes such as decolonization and reconciliation.

Jansen's (2008; 2009) conceptualization of 'indirect knowledge' and his articulation of a 'post-conflict pedagogy' were explored further as a novel approach to understanding learning that is geared towards being transformative in the direction of decolonization and reconciliation. The final section of this chapter went into the factors influencing social action and reconciliation, and concludes by bringing concepts together and proposing that collaboration itself can work as a form of on-going reconciliation. The detailed analytical framework (Section 3.3.2) will explain how the theory and concepts can be applied to the data obtained through investigating cross-cultural collaboration in northwestern Ontario.

Chapter 3. Research approach

This chapter covers in detail the research approach. The first section (3.1) covers my methodology including my worldview and research paradigm, a reflection on my personal identity and own cross-cultural learning through research, and an overview and rationale for the use of a qualitative approach. In the second section of this chapter (3.2), I explain my research strategy and detailed methods including how I selected case studies and participants, how I used document review as a method, and a description of the fieldwork and tools used in the field. The third and final section (3.3) describes data handling and analyses, validity and verification.

3.1 Methodology

3.1.1 Worldview and research paradigm

My position as a researcher is influenced by my perception of the world, which is a product of my collective experiences and personal agency in relation to my own thoughts. This is what sets the foundation for my personal ontology (i.e., worldview as it has been experienced through my own senses). Through my personal, academic and professional life I have been exposed to different worldviews ranging from positivism to post-structuralism, as well as those that are non-Western and Indigenous (elaborated in the foreword of this thesis). My personal worldview and ethic, which have been affected by these influences, in turn affect my paradigm as a researcher. I can describe my personal ethic as being based on a desire to create solutions to complex social-ecological problems. At the foundation of this is my

regard for people in terms of social justice, as well as a care for the environment, which has both intrinsic and extrinsic value within my personal worldview.

The purpose and objectives set for this research require the acknowledgement of different worldviews, as well as an ability to reflect upon the outcomes of learning and decision-making processes. In keeping with my personal worldview and in order to draw from data collected in the field and synthesize results, I will use a post-structuralist approach. Post-structuralism is humanistic, rejects binary understandings of the world, and is appropriate for this research because it acknowledges that there are many ‘truths’ regarding reality and that these ‘truths’ can be explored through meta-narratives (M. Peters & Burbules, 2004), which are nuanced and aid in accounting for the cultural elements of expression (Edgar & Sedgwick, 1999). At this point in my journey as a scholar and practitioner, I also am aware that my personal ontology is one that seeks to create equal opportunities for people to affect the structures that affect their own lives.

My personal worldview, as I have described it, is one that believes in a plurality of types of knowledge and truths, in addition to the possibility for mutually beneficial outcomes and solutions. Post-structuralism is therefore dually suitable to the research questions set forth and my standpoint as a researcher. Post-structuralism also shares some similarities with Indigenous paradigms, which resonate with my personal value system regarding knowledge. Understanding this connection is especially important in my research because I worked cross-culturally and with Indigenous knowledge. The Indigenous research paradigm is emergent in academia, and proposes an alternative to Western forms of inquiry that typically view the academy (or other Imperialist institutions such as government) as the primary source of knowledge (Wilson, 2008). The Indigenous research paradigm, like Indigenous

concepts of learning, does not come from one particular culture, but is rather a general approach to working with knowledge that is based on common principles found in Indigenous systems from around the world (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008).

The above concepts are employed in my research approach; however I must also acknowledge that I am working in an academic system, which has an associated structure and protocols founded in a Western scientific worldview. Nevertheless, the academic system is evolving and today allows for different paradigms to function as long as they are justified within the context of the research. Therefore, I will be working with an awareness of personal and external (i.e., institutional) value influences while maintaining a paradigm inclusive of worldviews from different cultural and epistemological backgrounds. I also acknowledge that pragmatism also personally resonates and is suitable for my research because it encompasses depth while looking at ‘workings’ of the bigger picture of a situation in order to find solutions or better ways of working in the world (Creswell, 2009; James, 1910).

Qualitative methodologies were used since they are considered to be the most suitable for research that works across cultures with aims of being inclusive and empowering (Dickens & Watkins, 1999). This is consistent with emancipatory styles of research, which are not aimed at being highly deconstructive in their interpretations (McTaggart, 1991). When responses took shape as full narratives (i.e., stories that were drawn from memory, legend, etc.) they were preserved in the analysis and presented in full in this dissertation. This approach acknowledges the Indigenous research paradigm, and is grounded in mutual accountability that is forged through research as relationship building (Wilson, 2008). Furthermore, when working within an Indigenous paradigm and when doing research

including Indigenous communities, it is also important to reflect on the meaning of ally practices (Wallace, 2013). Wallace (2013) conducted his research in northwestern Ontario, and discusses ally practices relating to the ways in which outsiders such as NGOs, researchers, and government people work with Indigenous voices stating “a key site of critical pedagogy for non-Indigenous allies (“unsettling the settler within”) needed to be anchored in listening and learning from Anishinaabe experiences with colonialism and points of decolonization.” When working with Anishinaabe experiences in my research, I adopt this ally practice by paying keen attention to points about colonialism in the overall discourse and narratives. It is important to also note that being an ally does not mean ‘picking sides’ (e.g., when engaged in LGBTQ research as an ally this does not mean that a researcher is against the ‘straight’ population). One can maintain a critical perspective when conducting ally research.

Several key scholars also contend that when considering and working within the Indigenous paradigm it is important to be aware of and acknowledge one’s roots, the relationships that one has formed with others, and to speak truth about one’s position and personal identity (Chilisa, 2012; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008). My personal identity (including description of ally identity) was reflected upon in the foreword to this thesis. The next section explains my learning experiences with Anishinaabe, Métis and settler cultures in northwestern Ontario, before and during my dissertation research.

3.1.2 Cross-cultural learning through research

Being from outside of the research community that I worked with for this thesis enabled me to have a non-partial perspective, however, as a community-based researcher it was also important for me to develop a greater personal understanding of the cultures operating within the context of my research. Some of the ‘getting to know’ the community occurred prior to this research over several months in 2010. While completing my Masters degree, I proposed *Finding Common Ground through Creativity*, which was a CGRF supported project in partnership with the Lake of Woods Arts Collective (LOWAC). This project involved over ninety participants from the settler, Anishinaabe, and Métis communities (exact numbers of each were not recorded) in creating both collaborative and individual artistic pieces reflecting “what land means” to them (Zurba & Friesen, 2014). I made several trips to Kenora during this time and facilitated two multi-participant cross-cultural discussions about the land. This project was a great first introduction to the cultures and values regarding land in northwestern Ontario. Figure 4 is a photograph of the final art pieces, showcased and discussed at the Lake of the Woods Museum on July 14, 2010.



Figure 4. The completed collaborative components of *Finding Common Ground through Creativity* – the mosaic with the test-tube art installation. Photo taken during the community celebration and public workshop at the Lake of the Woods Museum (Source: Zurba & Friesen, 2014)

While preparing the proposal for my PhD research, much of my learning was through reading books about regional culture and cultural conflict. I also had some first-hand group experiences with Anishinaabe culture at the Spring and Fall feasts held on Tunnel Island, and at several powwows that I visited in the region in 2011. Friendships also played a role in my personal cross-cultural learning experiences. A close friend of mine is from Kenora and has a mixed Anishinaabe-settler family. She shared with me what it was like growing up in Kenora as part of a family that has settler, Anishinaabe, and Métis family members. She shared stories about the racism that her siblings endured and the challenges of reconciling cultural identity in and outside of the home.

During my time in the field I had opportunities once again to learn about the cultures of northwestern Ontario through different lenses. In my first extended period in the field (April to August 2012) I took residence at a friend's cabin on Lake of the Woods. Through this experience I met several people from the settler community who were both year long and seasonal residents. I noticed that there were considerable differences in the relationship with the land and water amongst the different communities living in the region. I would describe the relationships as being based upon connection to the aesthetic beauty of the place, spiritual aspects of being in "nature", the prestige that comes with living in such a place, and the economic gains that could be made through business in the region. This is my personal perspective of the encounters that I had living among the settler community in northwestern Ontario. I describe it here not to place value on this observation, but only to fulfill the personal reflection on different experiences of culture.

My additional experiences with Anishinaabe culture came through my interactions with my research participants, which will be described further in my section on research approach. In addition to the formal research encounters, I had the opportunity to go on outings and one fishing trip with George Land, an Anishinaabe elder from Wabaseemoong. I believe that spending time with George on the land and in coffee shops talking about the research topic, but also family, friends, ceremony, and everyday life helped me to develop a greater understanding about some of the ways that things are communicated. I also participated in the *Traditional Land Teachings Workshop*, which was a two-day session on Anishinaabe values for the land geared towards teaching academics (mostly archaeologists). The workshop was led by Kaaren Dannenmann, the Trapping Educator for Treaty #3, and took place in February, 2013. Through this workshop we were guided through a detailed

description of the medicine wheel and had the opportunity to explore Anishinaabe perspectives through listening, dialogue, and activities such as games and working hands-on with the gifts from amik (“beaver” in Anishinaabemodaa) and other animals.

3.1.3 Qualitative approach

Creswell (2014, p. 3) describes qualitative research as “an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem”. Wickson, Carew and Russell (2006) also assert that qualitative methods are ideally suited to problem-based research, such as my dissertation. Qualitative approaches enable the researcher to see ‘reality’ through the eyes of their participants (Bryman, Bell, & Teevan, 2012a), which is especially important when seeking authentic accounts of learning and personal transformation. A qualitative approach to research is therefore ideally suited for this study, and is also compatible with my worldview (Creswell, 2014), which was described in the foreword. A qualitative approach was also established as being ideal in the research proposal that established the Common Ground Research Forum.

3.2 Research Strategy and Methods

3.2.1 Selection of case studies and participants

The research utilized a case study strategy of inquiry and fits within two different categories for case studies. The first category is the ‘intrinsic’ case study, which aims to generate knowledge only in relation to that particular case (Stake, 2005). The second category is the

‘instrumental’ case study, which is an approach to research where knowledge is generated through the observation of phenomena within a particular case in such a way that it may be applied to other cases. This research fell into both categories because results were both streamlined into a set of recommendations for the cases, and were generalized into knowledge that could apply to other similar rural resource situations. Cases were selected using four criteria:

- 1) A case had to be an existing cross-cultural collaboration for governing forests.
- 2) A case had to be viewed as a leading example of such collaboration by those involved in forest policy and management in the Kenora region.
- 3) A case needed to have a balanced membership from First Nations and non First Nations communities.
- 4) The main organizations in the case had to be interested in generating further learning for on-going collaboration.

Leading examples of collaboration were viewed as those involving First Nations as actors within governance models aimed at being collaborative and based on power sharing. The cases were chosen through consultations, using semi-structured interviews, with selected key informants: a local historian and private consultant for First Nations; four managers with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR); and, two managers with the Grand Council Treaty for #3 (total key informants: n=7). These individuals were selected because of their current roles and extensive experience in dealing with regional forms of consultation or collaboration. Additional OMNR managers were interviewed because they had direct

experience with the collaborative organizations that were chosen as case studies. This included OMNR managers who held offices outside of the Treaty #3 area.

Following the identification of the cases, my academic committee was also consulted before moving forward with the field research in order to confirm the cases as being suitable. Ultimately two cases were selected, based on the criteria and unanimous agreement among those interviewed and my committee that they were the most interesting examples of collaboration that also would have valuable learning for regional governance. Key informants were asked if there were other examples that were demonstrative of the criteria; however, all cited the Miitigoog Limited Partnership Inc. and Wincrief Forest Products Ltd. as being the ones that were being looked to by regional OMNR and First Nations governments as an example of a different way of doing land governance.

Wincrief Forest Products will be referred to as “Wincrief” from hereon in, and the Miitigoog Limited Partnership Inc. will be referred to as “Miitigoog” or the “Miitigoog partnership” from hereon in. Wincrief is a major actor in the Miitigoog case, as is Miisun Integrated Resource Management Co. (referred to as “Miisun” from hereon in), which is Miitigoog’s management company. These cases are described in detail in Section 4.2. Once the cases were selected, information on key people who had been or were currently engaged in the collaborations was gathered through a snowball approach (Creswell, 2009), as well as through attending meetings and other events where members of the case study collaborations would be present. In these instances I approached such individuals and requested their participation in this research.

Both cases involve dynamic governance systems with people entering and leaving at various times for various reasons. At the point in which the fieldwork was concluded the possibilities for further participants had been exhausted and the sample size (n=43) was large enough that themes were repeating given the rich amount of data collected. Table 1 is a breakdown of the 43 participants and their affiliations. The cultural groups were Indigenous people from local and other First Nations (n = 18), settler populations (n = 24), and the Métis community (n = 1). A total of ten people from Wincrief were involved with equal participation from First Nations (n = 5) and the settler community (n = 5). Figure 5 graphically shows the cultural balance of study participants for each institutional affiliation.

Table 1. Research participants and their affiliations

Grand Council of Treaty #3	Ontario Government (OMNR/MNDM)	Wincrief	Miitigoog	Miisun	Independent
S - 016	S - 004	S - 009	FN - 003	FN - 002	S- 001
FN - 018	S - 005	S - 010	FN - 013	S - 014	M - 029
FN - 021	S - 006	S - 011	FN - 015	S - 017	FN - 030
FN - 026	S - 007	S - 012	FN - 022	S - 019	-----
-----	S - 008	FN - 013	S - 023	FN - 028	-----
-----	S - 020	FN - 015	S - 024	-----	-----
-----	FN - 031	FN - 037	FN - 025	-----	-----
-----	S - 042	S - 038	S - 027	-----	-----
-----	S - 043	FN - 039	S - 032	-----	-----
-----	-----	FN - 040	FN - 033	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	FN - 034	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	S - 035	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	S - 036	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	FN - 041	-----	-----

*Some participants were affiliated with more than one group at the time of the research, indicating the number of participants per case study. Descriptors for participants are FN - First Nation / Indigenous (n = 18); M - Métis (n = 1); and S - Settler (n = 24) accompanied by participant code number.

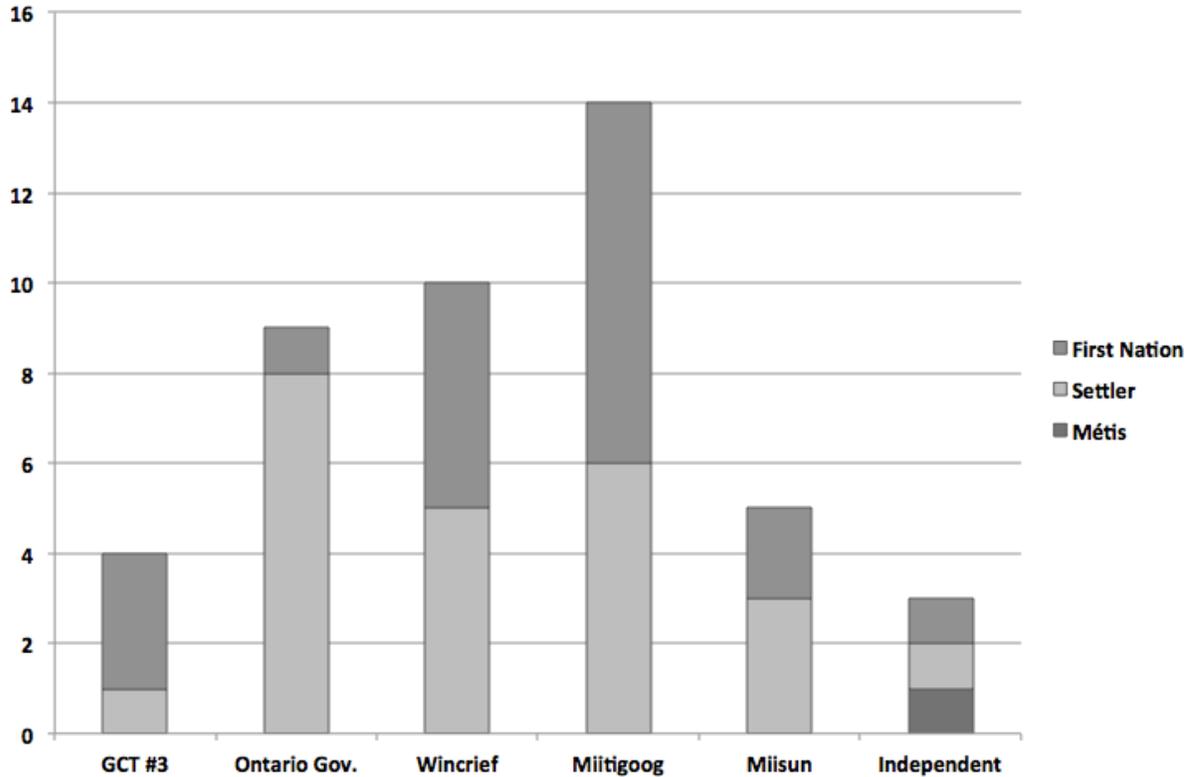


Figure 5. Graphical representation of study participants’ cultural groups for each institutional affiliation.

The fairly even number of participants from First Nations and settler backgrounds was mostly a product of how the case studies were chosen as “leading examples of collaboration” and therefore had balanced membership involved in their own governance. I was, however, also conscious of this in selecting participants, since a disparity between the number of First Nations and settler participants was a possibility with the snowball technique. As can be seen in Table 1, the greater number of settler participants can be accounted for in the large number of settler people working for the Ontario government. Further interviews were conducted with OMNR staff beyond those working in the Kenora office. These were people who had direct experiences were the case study institutions and

were identified by other participants as being the most knowledgeable about the cases and how they affected/could affect OMNR policy.

Gender is an important factor when considering power dynamics in collaboration (Fletcher, 2004). I did not, however, seek to balance the number of participants from different genders because the participants were sought out based on their direct experience with the chosen case studies. Forest management continues to be a male dominated field, and this was reflected in the number of men (n = 35) and women (n = 8) participants.

3.2.2 Document review

Document review is an important tool for fact checking and enhancing knowledge within inquiries focused on governance (Smiley, de Loë, & Kreutzwiser, 2010). Documents provide baseline information and are particularly important for outlining the characteristics maintaining institutions, described earlier as second order governance (Kooiman, 2003). Content analysis of documents can also shed light onto first order (problem solving and the creation of opportunities) and third order (the interactive social political framework) governance through the uncovering of dominant narratives, themes and value-laden assertions (Bryman, Bell, & Teevan, 2012b). Therefore, document review was used as a method before and during fieldwork in order to collect data describing first, second and third order governance relating to the case studies in question. Documents included those outlining the [northwestern] Ontario frameworks for tenure, the forest management policy in Ontario, and the tenure reforms that were already in place or being negotiated at the time of the

research. Documents and other materials were both open source (e.g., available on the websites) and materials that participants chose to share with me at their discretion.

3.2.3 Fieldwork & tools used in the field

The fieldwork commenced with an intensive five-month period (beginning of April to the end August 2012). During this time, I lived on Lake of the Woods, about a fifteen-minute boat ride to Kenora. More than half of the data from participants was obtained during this time. Following this period, I took several months to work with my data and seek out further participants. The remainder of the fieldwork continued until November 2013 and was conducted by making trips from Winnipeg to Kenora that would last from two to four days.

The primary tools used in the field were semi-structured interviews. The interview schedule (Appendix A) was divided into five parts:

- broad questions about cross-cultural collaboration;
- questions about previous learning from cross-cultural collaboration;
- questions more specific about future interests and objectives;
- more specific questions centered on developing potential learning and collaboration workshops; and
- questions about the effects of collaborative governance on reconciliation.

Before proceeding with the questions from the interview schedule, participants were asked about their roles in the cases and, in general, who they were representing within the

collaboration(s), and how long they had been in their roles. Participants were also asked to describe the governance structure according to their own understanding. As is the case with semi-structured interviews (Dunn, 2005), the questions were adapted based on the responses, and probes were used to elicit responses in cases where the respondents gave short non-descriptive responses. This, however, was seldom the case, as all of the study participants were people who were directly engaged in the collaborations, and therefore typically responded quite naturally, often attaching stories to illustrate points being made. Interviews lasted from thirty minutes to an hour and a half with most interviews taking approximately one hour. Most interviews were conducted at the participant's place of work (e.g., the local OMNR, the Grand Council of Treaty #3, the Miisun office, or industry partner offices), but some participants preferred to meet in other locations. Out of office interviews were all conducted at cafés that were chosen by the participants during hours that were a bit quieter to make it easier for discussion and recording. Participants who were hard to reach due to being busy or in other cities or towns were interviewed over the phone. All participants consented to having their interviews recorded with a digital voice recorder.

Informed consent was conducted with participants prior to each interview (Appendix B). At this point participants were given three choices for their level of disclosure: "I do not want my quotes to be used and would like full anonymity in the research reporting"; "I can be quoted, but no information indicating my identity (e.g., name) should accompany the quotes"; or "I can be quoted, and would like my name to accompany my quotes in the research materials". Many participants asked if they could decide their level of anonymity following the interview, which was obliged. Following the interviews the participants were also requested to indicate if they thought there were other participants who were important

for the study and who should be contacted. Small tokens of appreciation were often given to study participants, and in the case of First Nation Chiefs and elders ceremonial tobacco was offered when requesting the interview, as is the protocol in the region. Outside of interviews there were only two other activities that can be considered part of the research. These were attendance at one meeting in which I met Miitigoog board members who were interviewed at a later time, and attendance at two ceremonies that were held on the same day. These ceremonies brought in the Honorable Minister Gravelle (Northern Development and Mines), MPP, and were the official signing ceremonies of two First Nations to Miitigoog, and the opening of the Wincrief pole peeling plant (Figure 6).



Figure 6. The Honorable Minister Gravelle, MPP, at the Wincrief Pole Peeling Plant opening ceremony (left), and a ceremony at Miisun to welcome the Anishinabeg of Naongashing, Ojibways of Onigaming, and Northwest Angle #33 First Nations to Miisun and the First Nations Trust (right), November 6th 2013. The Minister is standing between Greg Moncrief (left) and Chief Eric Fisher (right) at Wincrief ceremony (photo on left), and is shaking hands with the Grand Chief of Treaty #3 Warren White at the Miisun / First Nations Trust ceremony (photo on right). (Photos by M. Zurba)

3.3 Analyses

3.3.1 Conceptual institutional mapping

In order to meet the first objective, relating to key actors and relationships in third-order governance, I used institutional mapping as an analytical tool. This enabled me to develop a visual representation of the parties involved and their respective institutional connections. The technique broadly defines roles and helps understand institutional relationships (Kane & Trochim, 2007). The technique is also effective for describing attributes such as communication and power, which can be visually represented through graphic elements (i.e., different sizes and directions drawn in the maps). The data for this were drawn from documents, from interviews with participants directly involved in the case studies, and from key informants knowledgeable of, but outside of the case. The institutional maps are presented in Section 4.2, and are referred to in other parts of the thesis.

3.3.2 Detailed analytical framework

My detailed analytical framework has been drawn from, and conceptualized according to, the literature discussed in Chapter 2. The framework applies to the first four objectives, which are focused on identifying relationships in governance (objective 1), and learning processes and outcomes relating to cross-cultural collaboration in governance (objectives 2 through 4). Table 2 lists the main concepts in my analytical framework.

Table 2. Key concepts from the literature contributing to my detailed analytical framework

Concept	Definition / Brief description
Institutions	Structures, rules, norms, and shared strategies affecting human actions and physical conditions (Crawford & Ostrom, 1995) Institutions are manifest in an array of social organizations – from formally enshrined entities, such as government agencies, to more loosely structured community groups involved in some form of collective action (Ostrom, 1990)
Governance	“The totality of interactions, in which public as well as private actors participate, aimed at solving societal problems or creating societal opportunities” (Kooiman, 2003, p. 4)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1st order governance 	Problem solving and the creation of opportunities for governance (Kooiman, 2003)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2nd order governance 	Individual characteristics and maintenance of institutions (Kooiman, 2003)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3rd order governance 	The interactive and social-political framework driven by norms and values intrinsic to governance (a.k.a. ‘meta-governance’) (Kooiman, 2003)
Learning	Learning is broadly understood here as both process and outcomes relating to a person’s cognitive, relational, affective, emotional and spiritual development
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anishinaabe learning 	Learning processes and outcomes identified by Anishinaabe people as being anchored in the traditional and/or contemporary practices, ways of knowing, and worldviews of Anishinaabe people
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transformative learning 	Adult learning theory which describes “the process of effecting change in a frame of reference” resulting in action or a change of behaviour, and can be qualified in terms of instrumental or communicative learning (Mezirow, 1997, p. 5)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instrumental learning 	Mezirow (2000) describes instrumental learning as being directed towards the accomplishment of tasks or the development of skills
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communicative learning 	The creation of reciprocal understanding between individuals, where learners search for alternative meanings, perspectives, and metaphors and in turn become empowered to self-interpret the knowledge that is being acquired (Mezirow, 1991)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Post-conflict’ learning 	A conceptual way of understanding learning that occurs in cross-cultural and ‘post-conflict’ settings (i.e., those dealing with past and ongoing conflicts) drawing from Jansen’s (2009) <i>post-conflict pedagogy</i>
[Social] Action	A form of collective action capable of transforming socio-political spaces

Collaboration	A form of collective action existing within a social-political space (i.e., such as governance) where autonomous parties work towards mutually favorable outcomes (Conley & Moote, 2003; G. Peters & Pierre, 2004; Ross et al., 2002)
Broader political and social environments	Is the space described by Habermas' (1987) concept of 'lifeworld', which represents the progressive evolution of systems such as those that are democratic, as well as the norms in a society (i.e., broader political and social environments are affected by social and other forms of action)
Relationship building	A process that develops mutual understanding amongst and between individuals and groups
Reconciliation	On-going dialectic relationship building process that is mutually favourable and helps build equanimity (Arbour, 2007) Reconciliation is also conceived of as potentially occurring interpersonally and/or structurally

Figure 7 is a conceptual map of this framework showing the relationships between the different orders of governance, the types of learning lenses being applied to this research, and the possible outcomes in terms of social action and reconciliation. In the analytical framework, governance is represented as a nested system across which action learning can take place. Individuals and institutions involved in the governance system are all drivers of such action, and the potential changes (including transformations) that can be the outcomes of collaboration. Relationship building and reconciliation are the two main foci in terms of actions and outcomes being investigated through my research (objective 4).

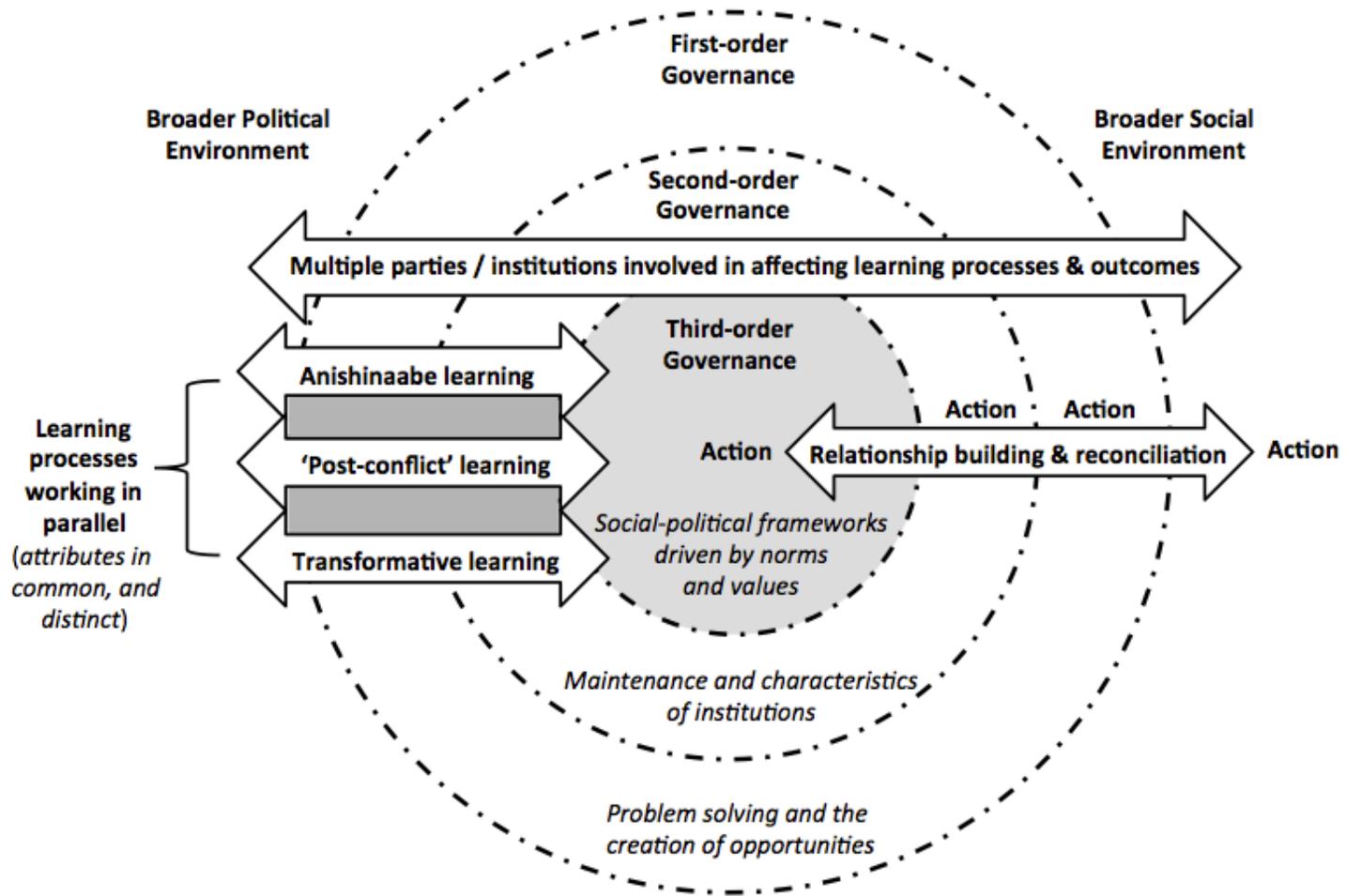


Figure 7. Analytical framework

The different types of learning (Anishinaabe, ‘post-conflict’, and transformative) are presented as working in parallel to one another. All types are relevant to the research and have important contributions to make in understanding the transformation of individuals, institutions, and governance systems. They are distinct frameworks that also share some attributes in common. The non-assimilative / parallel system of learning presented in the analytical framework is analogous with common understandings of Treaties between the Indigenous and settler communities as defining two unique cultures engaged in a relationship of sharing and traveling a parallel path together (Muller, 2007). This parallel system has been recorded in material culture, in particular the two-row wampum belt (Figure 8). The belt is a visual representation of the meaning of the Tawagoni Treaty of 1613 between the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) and the Dutch Government in what is now upstate New York. Even though the belt is particular to this region, it is now a symbol for treaty relationships elsewhere, including in northwestern Ontario.

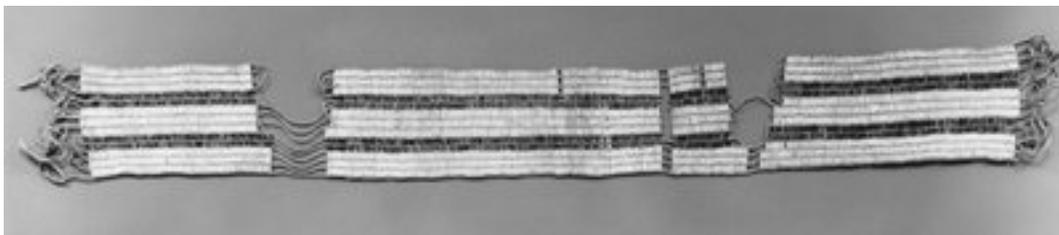


Figure 8. Two row Wampum belt (Source: Museum of the American Indian, New York City ©)

‘Post-conflict’ learning in the analytical framework is not used to insinuate that conflict no longer exists. Instead, it is represented as such to acknowledge Jansen’s post-

conflict pedagogy as an important learning system that is reflected upon in this work. Finally, in Figure 7 all directions point (inwards) towards the creation of social-political frameworks driven by norms and values (third-order governance) and (outwards) towards the broader social-political environment, which has the potential to be changed through the transformation of institutions and governance systems. Data were qualitatively analyzed using coding according to the themes in this framework, as well as according to prominent case-based themes that emerged in the interviews (explained further in the next section). The analytical framework thus in turn helped to explain the interconnections between the three major themes of this thesis (governance, learning, and relationships including reconciliation), as well as other transformations that are identified as the outcomes of learning.

The theories explored through this chapter (governance, transformative learning, transitional justice, social action) are well established, yet they continue to be shaped by further empirical evidence emerging from a variety of different contexts. The analytical framework was also used as a tool for exploring some of the less-developed areas of theory. For example, as reviewed in Section 2.1, governance theory continues to be influenced by new knowledge about how systems are developed and maintained, and how they measure up in terms of power sharing. Transformative learning theory also continues to develop, as discussed in Section 2.2.2, as scholars shed new insights on learning beyond the individual, and emotional, spiritual, and tacit forms of learning, as well as the effects of instrumental learning on social change. Through my research I aim to address such knowledge gaps, as well as explore intersections of learning, culture, and reconciliation, which has the potential to make significant contributions to understanding resource governance scenarios that are cross-cultural and in transition in terms of power sharing.

3.3.3 Coding & CAQDAS

Discourses are the ‘ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities’ (Hajer, 1995, p.264). Discourse was the primary form of data, and was retrieved from both interviews and within documents that were reviewed. I used open, axial and selective coding in order to help me explore relationships within the data (Creswell, 2009; Merriam, 1998). Documents and interview data were coded and analyzed according to the literature for each theme.

Three broad ‘parent’ categories were developed: governance, learning, and relationships (to include both reconciliation and other attributes affecting collaboration). These broad codes were developed following my review of the relevant literature and before entering the field. With axial coding, the ‘parent’ themes had ‘child’ and ‘grandchild’ codes. For example, the 'learning' parent code had 'learning processes' as one of the child codes, and 'learning through spiritual experiences' as one of the grandchild codes. Some themes were also considered to be emergent because they were determined *posteriori*, and were established as being important during the coding due to their frequency and relevance to other themes. The themes that were emergent from the data were generally associated with free codes.

Relationships in the data were also considered (Weitzman, 1999), such as what was demonstrated by the intersections (e.g., when the relationship between themes produced a particular outcome), parallel occurrences (when themes influenced each other over the long-term through multiple, at times subtle, interactions) and directions (e.g., potential cause and

effect relationships) of the themes. I used *Atlas.ti*, a computer aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) package, to store the interview transcripts, facilitate ease of data retrieval, and help me establish connections amongst the data (Peace & van Hoven, 2008).

3.3.4 Data validity & verification

Triangulation is a highly effective way of verifying qualitative data, which involves comparing results obtained through different means (Anfara Jr, Brown, & Mangione, 2002; Stake, 2005). The governance data drawn from documents, interviews with participants directly involved in the case studies, and from key informants knowledgeable but outside of the case were triangulated. In addition to triangulating the data across documents and interview data, the institutional maps were additionally verified by participants involved in the case studies by showing them the respective map(s) and asking them to confirm the accuracy of the drawings or give feedback for improvement. This type of crosschecking helped to determine similarities or differences in the understandings of governance partnerships, roles and responsibilities (Anfara Jr et al., 2002). Results were subsequently corrected as necessary according to the feedback from participants. Further, preliminary results relating to governance structures (including power dynamics) were validated with study participants during the second summer spent in the field.

The research on learning, reconciliation, and other themes that were based on personal perspectives was focused on individual understandings of the collaboration(s) with which the participants were engaged. Therefore, the data retrieved to meet the first three objectives (relating to learning and personal perspectives about collaboration) were verified through

systematically member checking (a form of crosschecking using reiteration and paraphrasing) with participants during the interviews (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Member checking allowed me to iterate my understanding of what the participant was telling me in my own words so as to gauge my understanding of what was being said (Castleden, Garvin, HUU-ay-aht-First-Nation, 2008). This also gave the participants extra opportunity to elaborate on points they felt needed further clarification. Further, if I was unclear how a participant's response was related to a question I would ask the person to explain connections, and describe how the particular response fit with the topic being raised through the interview schedule (e.g., collaboration, learning, reconciliation). This is particularly important when considering learning as well as perspectives that were influenced by peoples' culture, which can add significant context and/or nuance to what is being said.

With all research, but with cross-cultural research in particular, it is important to take precautions and employ certain practices in handling interview data (Sekaran, 1983; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). One participant who is an Anishinaabe elder requested that the interview data be used verbatim because he felt that he had been misrepresented in the past by researchers who had not conveyed the true meaning of what he was saying. I reflected on this point before the transcription process and decided that this would be the procedure with every interview, regardless of cultural background. Transcription of interview data for all participants was, therefore, close to verbatim with only small omissions such as when a participant would utter "um", or other small and obvious speech stammers. This type of data handling is described in the literature as being effective and respectful for maintaining the original meaning of data (Roberts Powers, 2005).

Protocols were also developed to aid in verifying quotes following interviews. The contact information from each participant was recorded at the time of the interview, and when participants requested or gave consent to be quoted and requested that quotes be verified and authorized for use they were contacted for this purpose. If after reviewing their quotes the participant wanted to modify the quote so that it would reflect the meaning that was truest to them they could do so. In addition to the verification techniques discussed here, using Atlas.ti made data retrieval more systematic contributing to the reliability of the analysis by ensuring that data were being considered equally in relation to each theme. Table 3 summarizes the methods and verification techniques employed as they relate to each of the research objectives.

Table 3. Methods and verification techniques for each objective of the research

Research objective	Method(s): fieldwork and analyses	Verification technique
1) Identify the key actors and relationships involved in leading examples of shared land governance in the Kenora region;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Document review • Interviews with key informants • Interviews with case study participants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triangulation of the methods listed • Verifying institutional maps with participants
2) Explain the learning outcomes that are generated through cross-cultural collaboration;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-structured interviews with participants directly engaged in cross-cultural collaboration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member checking during interviews
3) Describe how these actors participate and learn in different types of cross-cultural, collaborative forums;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with case study participants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member checking during interviews
4) Explain connections, if any, among the learning outcomes, reconciliation processes, and regional land governance; and,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of data in relation to the theoretical framework and themes from the literature 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • n/a
5) Consider the broader implications of this research for governance in other rural communities undergoing similar transitions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of the major contributions so that they can be more broadly applied 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • n/a

Chapter 4. Governance and institutions

4.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with an explanation of the institutions and policies that are involved in shaping regional forest governance and collaboration in northwestern Ontario (4.2). This is followed by a detailed description of the interconnected case studies that establishes their governance systems in terms of cross-cultural collaboration (Section 4.3). Emergent themes related to present and future governance and institutions are then explored in relation to issues such as forest tenure reform (Section 4.4.1), collaboration and concerns over Treaty rights (Section 4.4.2), as well as employment, retention and the next generation of people affected by collaboration (Section 4.4.3). This chapter concludes with a summary and discussion, which synthesizes the results that focus on institutions and governance system structure and function in relation to the two cases and the literature.

4.2 Governance of land and resources in northwestern Ontario

4.2.1 Institutions and policies in northwestern Ontario

In northwestern Ontario, the Treaty # 3 area covers over 55,000 square miles of Indigenous territory (Figure 9). This land was set to become the first post-confederation treaty, however the Anishinaabeg maintained sovereignty until 1873 when Treaty #3 was established as a result of the British development of a trade route between Fort Garry and Fort William (Grand Council of Treaty #3, 2011). The Grand Council of Treaty #3 governs First Nations land. Treaty #3 is unique because it is the first of the treaties to have a written record (set of

notes made by Chief Powasson) from the perspective of First Nations. These notes, named the *Paypom Treaty*, were made by Chief Powasson and the wording is significantly different from that of *Treaty #3* written by the Government of Canada (Grand Council of Treaty #3, 2011). Waisberg and Holzkamm (2001) prepared a report for Grand Council Treaty #3, entitled *We have one mind and one mouth. It is the decision of all of us* that outlines past and present traditional governance structures of the Anishinaabeg. Past traditional governance involved hereditary Grand Chiefs as leaders of the different nations (Waisberg & Holzkamm, 2001). Meetings between nations were held in spring or early summer at Rainy River where decision-making through consensual democratic processes took place (Waisberg & Holzkamm, 2001). Waisberg and Holzkamm (2001) contend that such governance processes were conducted in a fashion that was not encouraging of excessive power of individuals. Within tribal governance, decision making occurred at several levels of the community. Heads of families communicated their wishes to the Chiefs who then communicated with outside communities. Therefore, the power structure of the traditional governance systems did have leadership and final authority through hereditary Chiefs; however, much of the decision making is documented to have been located at the level of the community.



Figure 9. Study area including Treaty #3 lands, Treaty #3 First Nations, and local cities and political borders. (Source: elements obtained from Grassy Narrows map of Treaty #3 Area)

Today, the Grand Council is a governance system for the Anishinaabe people led by the Grand Chief through the *Political Office of the Grand Council of Treaty #3*. The Grand Council of Treaty #3 works on five broad mandates including to: 1) “protect, preserve and enhance Treaty and Aboriginal rights”; 2) “accomplish these goals with Treaty/territory wide approaches in cooperation with communities, Tribal councils and organizations that are delivering programs to Anishinaabe citizens”; 3) “support the various councils of the Nation including; the National Assembly and the Chiefs Assembly”; and, 4) “work to reinvigorate traditional governance” (Grand Council of Treaty #3, 2014). The Grand Council of Treaty of #3 did not give up the right to traditional self-governance in the signing of the treaty in 1873,

and continues to acknowledge the spiritual laws of the Creator through The Great Earth Law – Manito Aki Inakonigaawin (Anishinaabemodaa).

Governance relationships and protocols between government bodies, industry, and First Nations in northwestern Ontario are somewhat obscure. Conferences and other forums are being conducted as a way of clarifying such relationships (e.g., the Treaty #3 Area Economic Opportunities Conference held in Kenora in late September 2011). When a resource extraction company enters Treaty #3 territory it is expected to adhere to protocols found in Anishinaabe traditional resource law, Manito Aki Inakonigaawin. This Great Earth Law was approved through an elders gathering and proclaimed into law by the National Assembly in 1997 (Grand Council of Treaty #3, 2011). The law is not a set of written guidelines to be followed without consultation. Rather, First Nations and interested companies are directed to seek counsel on Manito Aki Inakonigaawin through the Grand Council of Treaty #3 Lands and Resources Unit (Grand Council of Treaty #3, 2011). The Grand Council of Treaty #3 has a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the Province of Ontario, particularly in the areas of forestry and mining, to uphold consultation and the Great Earth Law (Grand Council of Treaty #3, 2011).

Individual First Nations leadership is enacted through a Chief, who typically is voted in every four years. Decisions are ultimately made by Chiefs who work with their respective band councils on all issues relating to the community such as health, education, social issues, resource development, etc. Changes in Chief and council can bring about reforms to First Nation policies, similar to other democratic political systems. Each First Nation has distinct cultural and political protocols for engaging with outside interests, and may seek counsel from the Grand Council of Treaty #3 or one of the tribal councils in these instances. There

are two tribal councils with which First Nations communities may be affiliated. These are, Anishinaabeg of Kabapikotawangag Resource Council (ARKC) and the Bimose Tribal Council Inc. These councils provide support and advice for the diversity of issues affecting First Nation communities.

Despite the Treaty, most of the forest land in the study region is crown land (85%), like much of the rest of Canada (Draper & Reed, 2009). In northwestern Ontario, the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR) is vested with the authority to manage Crown forests through the *Crown Forest Sustainability Act, 1994* (CFSA), which came into effect in 1995 and is legislation for forest planning, operations, information, licensing, trust funds, facilities, remedies and enforcement, and transitional provisions (Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 2006). Sustainable Forest Licenses (SFLs) are given to forestry companies to manage Crown forests on a five-year renewable basis for up to twenty years. The OMNR has consultation with First Nations as part of the procedures outlined in their forest management planning process.

The OMNR is divided into a hierarchy of several units, which are responsible for administering different policies and liaising with businesses and communities on different issues (Figure 10). Ontario is divided into five Regional Operational Divisions. The Northwestern Regional Division is in charge of setting out the policies and procedures relevant to the case studies highlighted in this research. The Northwestern Regional Division maintains offices in several towns in northwestern Ontario, including Kenora. However, two of the senior staff members involved in the development of Miiitigoog hold offices in Thunder Bay, which is 486 km northeast of Kenora.

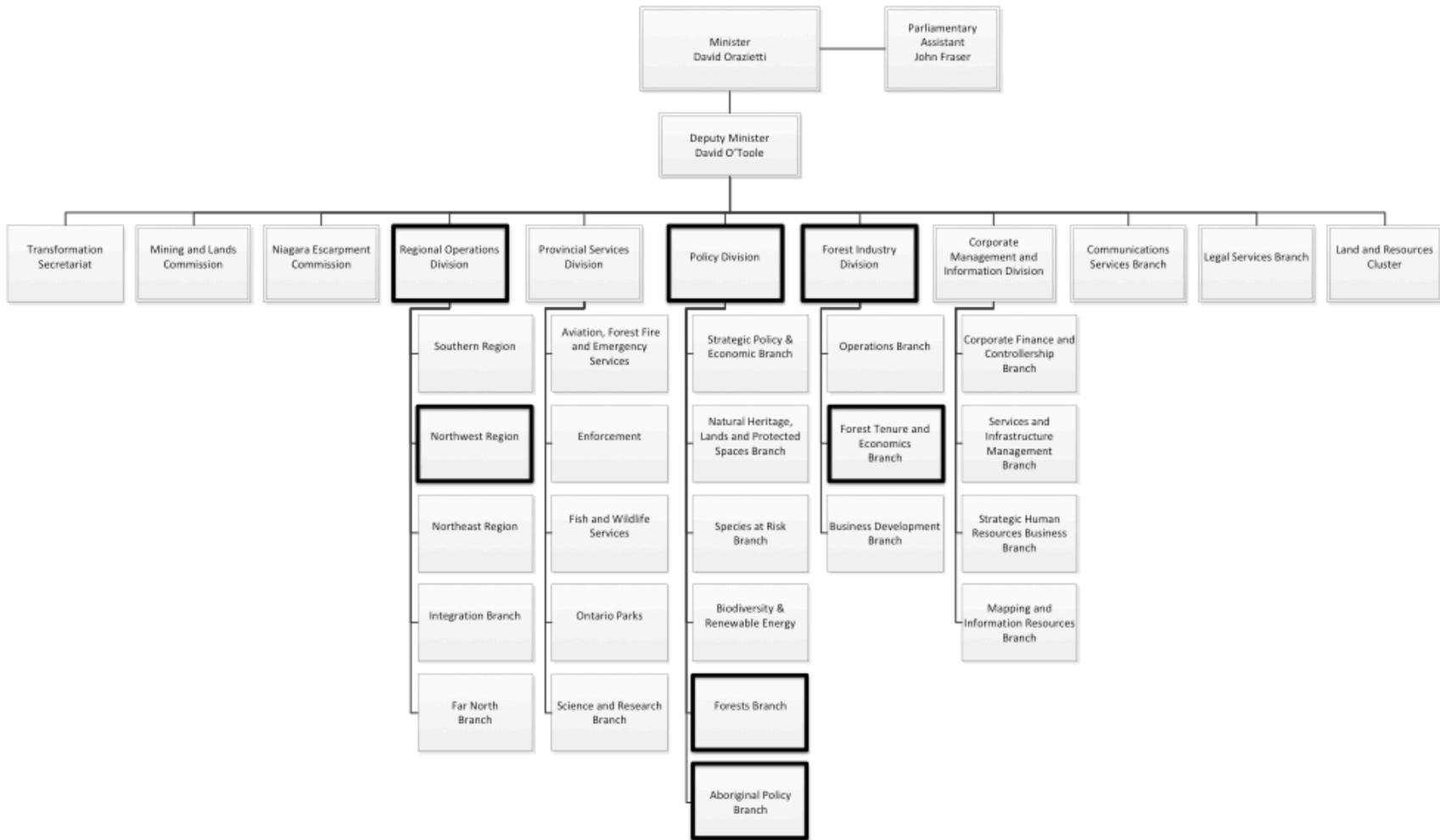


Figure 10. Organization chart of the Ministry of Natural Resources (Source: OMNR, 2012a). Boxes outlined in bold are the units most relevant to the case studies.

While the Northwestern Regional Division plays an important role in communicating policy, it is not vested with the authority to develop policy. Such decisions are mainly made by the Policy and Forest Industry Divisions of the OMNR, often in coordination with other Divisions that have interest in forest policy (Figure 9). The offices for these divisions are not located in northwestern Ontario, but are typically in southern or eastern Ontario cities, such as Toronto and Sudbury. OMNR managers from the Policy and Forest Industry Divisions were not chosen to be participants in this study because the combination of interviews with managers from the Northwest Regional office and the OMNR documents that were reviewed was sufficient for explaining the governance frameworks affecting the case studies. Those OMNR managers who were not local (Kenora office) were interviewed because they had the most experience with the case studies. Such non-local officials would occasionally come from other regions to administer opening ceremonies and other major events, such as the official signing ceremonies of two First Nations to Miitigoog, and the opening of the Wincrief pole peeling plant (Section 3.2.3; Figure 6).

4.2.2 Tenure reforms affecting collaborative governance

Recent reforms coming from the OMNR have created the policy framework for entities like Miitigoog to become reality. As described in Section 4.2.1, the OMNR operates as a hierarchical structure. Policy, tenure, and land reform decisions are, therefore, generally made in a top-down fashion. Land “tenure” or “occupational authority” is defined by the OMNR (2014) as “a legal agreement between the Ministry of Natural Resources and the occupant that spells out what rights the occupant has on Crown land.” Forestry companies that have

intentions of harvesting trees or modifying the land in other ways have been required to lease land from the Crown because the land is being used for “commercial and industrial purposes”, as outlined by the OMNR. However, major changes to the tenure system have occurred over the past fifteen years, which have affected the way in which business is done between forest companies, the OMNR, and local First Nations (participant 035).

Key shifts and associated responses affecting tenure in Ontario were related to the major economic downturn in the forest industry (as well as other sectors) in the early 2000s, which was a culmination of regional disputes over wood allotments and the collapse of the North American housing industry (Oraziotti, 2011). The economic shift resulted in the announcement of the closure of Abitibi Consolidated in Kenora in 2005 - the largest mill in northwestern Ontario. This created the potential for significant change in the governance of forests locally with the largest player leaving the field. It meant that “business as usual” was no longer continuing, giving the opportunity to reconsider resource relationships in the region. Through the downturn, opportunity for a new forms of tenure became possible giving stakeholders the unique prospect of reconsidering relationships, power dynamics, and the structural arrangement of management as collaborations.

An OMNR (2011, p. 1) document explains this shift as, “The economic recession exposed major flaws in this [tenure] system. Mills closed or slowed down, jobs were lost, and wood was hoarded, not harvested.” It continues to say, “A long, constructive dialogue with the forest industry, and northern and Aboriginal communities, confirms that the [tenure] system must be modernized.” The document states that Local Forest Management Corporations (LFMCs) and Enhanced Sustainable Forest License holders (Enhanced SFLs) would be the new management models that the province will transition towards to improve the overall forest

tenure situation in Ontario. According to the OMNR (2011, p.8), LFMCs “will be government agencies responsible for managing Crown forests and overseeing the marketing and sale of the wood in a given area. They will provide for local and Aboriginal community involvement in forestry and help separate the wood-using mills from responsibility for management of the forests.” These were set up to be “self-sustaining business entities governed by a local board of directors” that would hold Enhanced SFLs, would be responsible for forest management and Enhanced SFL implementation, provide economic development opportunities for First Nations, and would be responsible to generate revenue from the wood allotments through marketing and sales (OMNR, 2011).

One participant from the OMNR with specialized knowledge of the changes in tenure and how it affected collaboration in the area described how the licenses changed hands during the tenure transition, as well as what this meant in a practical sense.

The economic downturn led a number of industry corporations that hold these licenses into receivership. When this occurs, the SFL becomes a subject of the receivership, which leads to forests not being managed according to a 10-year plan. In most cases, the SFL is turned back over to the Crown and management then becomes the responsibility of the Crown. In these cases, the Ministry of Natural Resources becomes the license holders and they become the Forest Managers again. Tenure changes include that companies will oversee the management of new Forest Units by creating a company with directors made up of representatives from First Nations, Local Communities, Industry and two independents. The directors will hire an independent Forest Manager to oversee the CFSA legislative requirements. The company directors will still have a fiduciary duty to manage the company in the best interest of the company.

- OMNR (participant 031)

The same participant from the OMNR went on to describe the *Forest Tenure Modernization Act 2011*, and how it worked towards bringing First Nations into more prominent roles in terms of forest management.

The province's goal with tenure reform is the change in the way SFLs are managed. The *Forest Tenure Modernization Act* provides opportunities for First Nations to become engaged in forest management as directors and participants in SFL companies - not just a stakeholder who is advised of the ongoing activity. The Province of Ontario has included the First Nations in the development of terms related to how Enhanced Sustainable Forestry Licenses are managed - direct terms of reference on how fiber is collected and sold on the world market. First Nations, if they are willing can become key players in how the forests are managed in their traditional and Treaty areas. This collaboration with industry and local communities ensures everyone has an opportunity to oversee the management of forestry on their lands.

The *Ontario Forest Tenure Modernization Act, 2011* came out of stakeholder meetings that included First Nations, public hearings, and government solicitation of written submissions (OMNR, 2011). Miitigoog was a formally registered participant in the public hearings for Bill 151 in support of the *Act* (date: April, 2011). The *Act* passed in June 2011, as an amendment to the *Crown Forest Sustainability Act, 1994*. The *Act* makes it possible for Ontario to achieve tenure modernization through establishing LFMCs, which could be extended to include further LFMCs in June 2016 following a review (OMNR, 2013). LFMCs must pay charges to the *Forest Renewal and Forestry Futures Trust* under the Crown, and the Crown has the possibility of receiving a share of revenues if and when the LFMCs generate revenue above operating costs. The LFMCs under the *Ontario Forest Tenure Modernization Act, 2011* are the holders of Enhanced SFLs. These are different from SFLs held by wood using mills, which are called "single-entity SFLs" (OMNR, 2011). Leading up to 2011, there was a shift towards tenure modernization and the introduction of Enhanced SFLs, "under a modernized forest tenure and pricing system, the province would issue SFLs to new management bodies to govern the business of forestry in Ontario" (OMNR, 2011, p.8).

The flexibility permitted in structure of the Enhanced SFL means that the partnerships formed to guide the granted forest licenses can be modified through experiences with governance processes. There are, however, mandatory requirements of the Enhanced SFL related to (OMNR, 2011, p. 13): 1) “providing for meaningful local and Aboriginal community involvement”; 2) “creating greater separation between mills and the responsibility for managing the Crown forests”; 3) “discouraging the hoarding of timber”; 4) “creating provisions to allow for new entrants”; 5) “improving governance practices”; and 6) “enabling additional Crown timber sales through competitive prices”. The full implications of the Enhanced SFLs are yet to be fully realized. This is mainly because the first Enhanced SFL, the Nawiinginkiiima Forest Management Corporation (NFMC), was established in May 2012, around the commencement of this research (NFMC, 2015). The NFMC manages the Big Pic Forest and the Pic River Forest and is located in Marathon, Ontario, which is 300 km (slightly north) east of Thunder Bay, and 770 km (slightly south) east of Kenora (NFMC, 2015). 2016 will be an evaluation year for the Enhanced SFLs, which will include discussions with stakeholders and the development of criteria to support further implementation (OMNR, 2011).

The shifts in policy within the Ontario government will play a central role in the creation of opportunities for new forms of forest governance in northwestern Ontario. Without tenure modernization the status quo of forest companies holding and managing SFLs would have continued, and First Nations would have remained on the outside of governance. Essentially, without tenure modernization First Nations would have only been able to affect decision making through outside actions (e.g., government consultations, policy forums, blockades, protests, etc.). “The duty to consult and accommodate” First Nations with regards to land use is not a formal recognition of First Nations as managers of their traditional territories,

but is primarily “a legal obligation to consult with Aboriginal peoples where [the Crown] contemplates decisions or actions that may adversely impact asserted or established Aboriginal or treaty rights” (Government of Ontario, 2014).

Many OMNR managers expressed that they felt that northwestern Ontario is unique as a region in terms of environment and the important role First Nations have in land governance. The following quote is from the Director of the Northwest Regional Division, and speaks to this issue directly.

We need more autonomy. I’m not a separatist, but we have an almost colonist approach here in northwest Ontario. What we really should be doing is a super-regional government that runs everything including resources out of here, and maybe have Toronto as a policy overseer of some sort, but there needs to be more of a local northern Ontario approach.

- Al Willcocks; involved in development of Miitigoog

Several OMNR managers also spoke of their ongoing efforts to affect policy at higher OMNR levels and influence tenure decisions towards being supportive of collaboration with First Nations. Many were also aware and concerned that future decisions about tenure could be a major source of vulnerability for newly formed collaborations.

4.3 Case studies: Key actors and relationships⁶

The case studies described in this section are presented through institutional mapping, which was described in Section 3.3.1. I created the maps based on data gathered in the field through

⁶ Parts published in: the 14th International Association for the Study of the Commons (IASC) conference proceedings (Zurba, A. J. Sinclair, & Diduck, 2013), and was presented in KitaFuji Japan in June, 2013.

interviews and the retrieval of documents. These data were analyzed and compared, and then verified with study participants.

4.3.1 Wincrief Forestry Products

The first case study focuses on Wincrief Forestry Products, a corporation that is 49 percent owned by the three partners (and brothers) of Moncrief Construction and 51 percent owned by Wabaseemoong Independent Nations (hence the origin of the name: WIN+crief). Moncrief Construction, formed in 1967, is a family owned business started by Harold and Margaret Moncrief and now run by the three Moncrief sons, Gerry, Greg and Alf (Wincrief Homes, 2011). Moncrief as a corporate entity is not a partner in Wincrief. Wabaseemoong Independent Nations encompass One Man Lake, Swan Lake, and Whitedog communities (Wabaseemoong T.L.U.A., 2014). The three communities became amalgamated as one band following flooding from hydroelectric development in the 1950s. The band has one elected chief, and is commonly known as the ‘Whitedog First Nation’ because that is the meaning of Wabaseemoong in Annishinaabemodaa. From here on, I refer to the community, which is located 48 km northwest of Kenora, as Wabaseemoong.

Prior to entering into partnership with Wabaseemoong, Moncrief Construction was harvesting within the First Nation’s traditional lands through forestry licenses administered by the OMNR. This was the origin of the relationship between the key actors in the collaboration. When Wabaseemoong first started working with Greg Moncrief (the son in charge of the harvesting side of Moncrief Construction), they had recently established their Traditional Land Use Area (TLUA) / Da’kii’naan (Annishinaabemodaa) and TLUA committee (Wabaseemoong

T.L.U.A., 2014). The Wabaseemoong TLUA is 6,720 square kilometers (Wabaseemoong T.L.U.A., 2014), covering three quarters of the Kenora Forest and portions of the Whiskey Jack Forest (Figure 11). The exact boundaries of the TLUA are not available as public information. The TLUA is defined by the OMNR as “a polygon feature that identifies an area commonly used for both current and past human activities that are deemed worthy of special consideration” (OMNR, 2012b, p.2). To the OMNR (2012), TLUAs are based on location rather than on formal recognition (i.e., a designation that includes terms legally binding). Through the TLUA, Wabaseemoong has been collecting traditional ecological knowledge and mapping significant areas with GIS technology for the purposes of building capacity and engaging in planning and management with the Ontario government (Wabaseemoong T.L.U.A., 2014).



Figure 11. The Kenora Forest and the Whiskey Jack Forests in relation to Treaty #3 territory. Wabaseemoong Independent Nations is also featured on this map for reference. The map for the Wabaseemoong TLUA is not available for public use.

The way that the OMNR divides forest districts into sub-districts is through “working circles”, which facilitate “the need for the forest manager to tailor management prescriptions and operations to the unique attributes within each Working Circle (i.e., wildlife habitats, forest conditions, socio-economic conditions, access restrictions, etc.)” (Arbex Forest Resource Consultants Ltd., 2009). Essentially, a working circle is the unit that foresters and forest managers work with and prescribe activities within according to particular features. Wabaseemoong’s TLUA working circle, administered by the OMNR, provides Wincrief with areas on their land where wood could be harvested for Wincrief’s industrial practices (e.g.,

homebuilding, hydro poles, etc.). In 2004, a relationship-building period began between Greg Moncrief, the TLUA committee, and Chief Fisher of Wabaseemoong with the aim of developing employment opportunities for Wabaseemoong community members on their traditional lands (Wincrief, 2011). This partnership was solidified through a handshake between Greg Moncrief and Chief Fisher.

So I started working with Whitedog, just with a handshake. We started harvesting on their traditional land use area. Hiring and some training and going to work and that's where it started.

- Greg Moncrief; Wincrief, Miiitigoog

In 2007, Al Willcocks, the new OMNR regional manager, encouraged and financially supported a trip for the partners (Greg Moncrief and the Wabaseemoong Chief and Council) to go to Saskatchewan to observe what other First Nations were doing with ready-to-move housing projects supplied to local First Nations.

We ended up bringing them out to Saskatchewan to have a look at how it's being done there and the model that's done there has been done for 30 years. They talked to the First Nation there and saw what was going on and was able to touch and feel what was there.

- Al Willcocks; OMNR Northwest Regional Director, Thunder Bay

After this visit, Greg Moncrief and Chief Fisher decided that ready-to-move housing was an appropriate direction for the partnership to adopt, and the Wincrief Homes company vision was established. The Wabaseemoong-Moncrief (family) partnership was later formalized with the official opening of Wincrief Forest Products in July 2009, with the first Wincrief homes being delivered to Wabaseemoong in September 2009 (J. Thompson, 2009). Wincrief is located in a 15,000 square-foot shop in Kenora, and continues to specialize in the construction of modular homes, with a recent expansion that includes a hydro pole peeling plant (J.

Thompson, 2012b). Wincrief aimed to provide employment to Wabaseemoong (Wincrief, 2011), and in the past has had as many as twenty Wabaseemoong members working for Wincrief at one time. During the time of the fieldwork, however, Wincrief only had two full-time workers from the community. This change was attributed to lowered production rates, however, other tensions exist within the community that may be contributing to reduced employment levels (participants 009; 011; and 037). This will be discussed further in Section 4.4.3, in relation to employment and retention.

The governance structure at Wincrief is built around an almost equal corporate partnership (51/49 percent split; Figure 12). Wincrief has a Board of Directors and decisions are made through voting. The Board at any one time includes three members of Wabaseemoong and three members from the Moncrief family. The CEO of Wincrief, who is Greg Moncrief, makes decisions about day-to-day activities. The president of the board is a forestry professional from Wabaseemoong. The slightly higher portion of First Nations ownership of the corporation was established so that it would be more likely that applications could be made to government sources for funding allocated to First Nations. Reflecting on the definitions for governance and collaboration (section 2.1.2), the structure described here can be considered as a conglomerate. It involves two interlinked and yet relatively independent (and formal) institutions, coming together to establish a new collaborative entity with formalized rules. The third-order governance framework includes the administrative and regulatory jurisdiction of the OMNR described in Section 4.1.

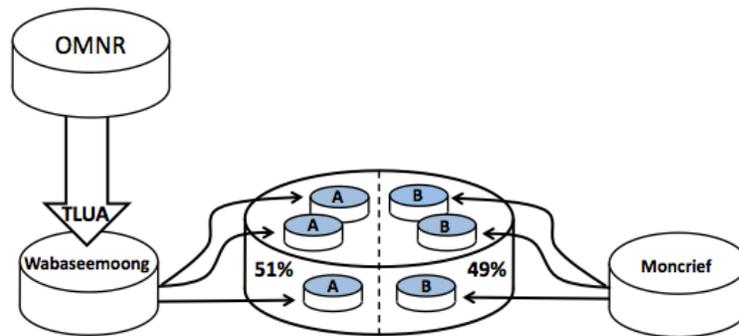


Figure 12. Third-order governance framework for Wincrief Forest Products. The large disk with several smaller (“A” & “B”) disks indicates the board level where decision making happens.

Tannis Romaniuk, a manager who was present during the initiation of collaboration described how the board shifted from equal representation with unbalanced participation towards more balanced participation between Moncrief and Wabaseemoong board members.

When we first started the business it was like, “Ok, you guys go ahead, get the token brown face in there.” Now [Wabaseemoong board members] want to have part in the strategic planning, they want to have parts in the visioning exercises. There seems to be more of an interest in wanting to have an active part in the business. It’s like, “Do you want to be in a business to get a cheque, do you want jobs, what do you want out of the business?” It’s gone from not really getting an answer, getting a glazed and dazed look to now where council is saying, “We want to have a meeting, we want to talk about this, can you put this on the agenda?” That’s really good and it’s just starting now! The structure is set up that there’s two reps on our board from each of the share holders and then we have an independent chairman of the board. The two independents from Wabaseemoong, they couldn’t be Chief or council. There had to be an arms length because you don’t want the politics of the community to enter into the business, but as they learn more about business they’re learning to separate themselves from that and put what’s in the best interest of the community and bring it to the business without the political part of it.

Tannis’ statement also indicates that the governance system was set up to keep community politics at an arms length as much as possible. However, the role of Eric Fisher cannot be

discounted in terms of his influence over the community as the Chief and as the primary initiator of the collaboration from the side of Wabaseemoong.

4.3.2 Miitigoog General Partnership Inc.

The second case study focuses on the Miitigoog General Partnership Inc., which involves local First Nations and industry partners. In Anishinaabemodaa, "Miitigoog" means forest. As in the first case, the main corporate entity is a collaborative endeavor. The partnership, established in 2010, holds an SFL for the 1.2 million-hectare Kenora Forest (Figure 11). The Kenora Forest is 1,225,536 ha with 45% of the total area designated as production forests⁷ (Arbex Forest Resource Consultants Ltd., 2009). The SFL for the Kenora Forest was originally held by the Trus Joist Kenora operations branch of Weyerhaeuser, but was transferred to Miitigoog in 2010. During the initial negotiations of the arrangement, it was determined by the partners that there would be an equal (50/50 percent split) number of shareholders with board-level decision-making authority coming from First Nations and industry (Figure 13). The original First Nations parties to the agreement were Wabaseemoong (a.k.a., Whitedog), Naothamegwaning First Nation (a.k.a., Whitefish Bay), and Ochiichagwe'Babigo'ining Ojibway Nation (a.k.a., Dalles). The Trust has goals of expanding within the Treaty #3 area, and has been increasing membership accordingly. During the first two years of operations, the Trust expanded to include three other First Nations, which were signed in through ceremony held on November 6, 2012. These are the Ojibways of Onigaming First Nation, Northwest Angle # 33, and the

⁷ Production forests is "productive forest land at various stages of growth, with no obvious physical limitations on the ability to practice forest management" (Arbex Forest Resource Consultants Ltd., 2009, p. 9)

Anishnabeg of Naongashing. Other First Nations have recently joined the First Nations Trust, and are active at the board level. These are the individual parties to the First Nations Trust. The originating industry partners are Weyerhaeuser NR Company (Weyerhaeuser), Kenora Forest Products (KFP), Wincrief Forestry Products, and the Kenora Independent Loggers Association (KILA).

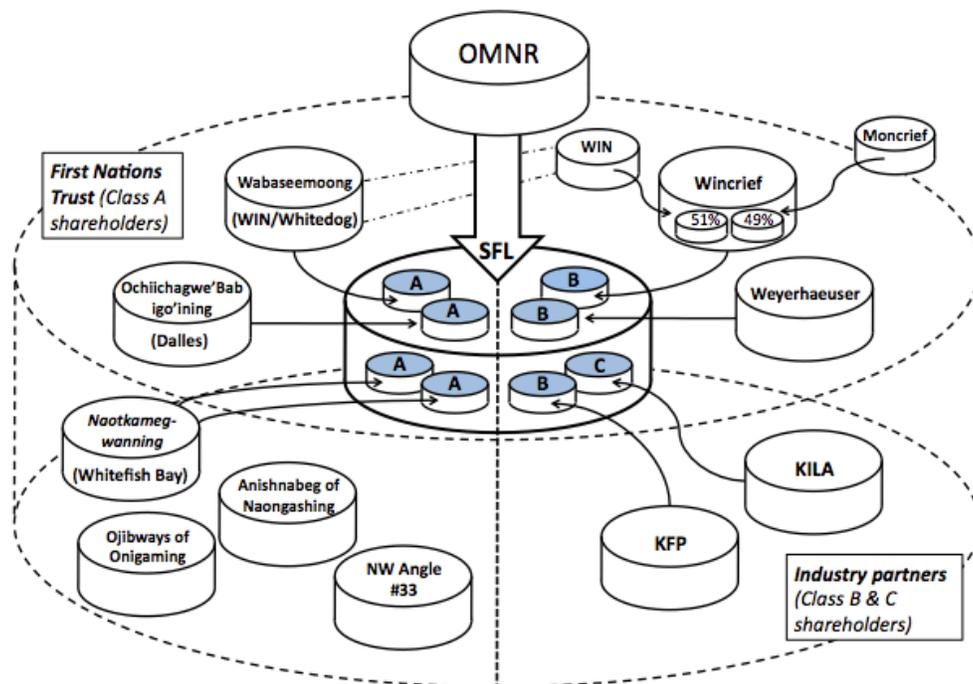


Figure 13. The Miitigoog General Partner Inc. as a nested third-order governance framework. The larger dashed ‘disk’ illustrates the Miitigoog shareholders. The solid ‘disk’ with shaded smaller ‘disks’ represents the board level, indicating the classes of the shareholders (i.e., A, B & C).

The *Miitigoog Shareholder Agreement* (Jaisura, 2010) describes the company structure as well as the types of shareholders, their roles, and the terms of their shares. *Class A Common Shares* are unlimited, are redeemable and retractable, and are to only be issued to the First

Nations Trust. The First Nations Trust is a partnership of First Nations that have individual claims to the Kenora and/or Whiskey Jack Forests. *Class A Common Shares* must at all times be equal to the sum of *Class B and C Common Shares*. *Class B Common Shares* belong to and are issued to parties that hold a Forest Resource Planning Facility License issued by the Minister of Natural Resources. These are the larger industry partners. *Class C Common Shares* are issued to those who have overlapping licenses on the Kenora Forest, namely those companies represented KILA. One industry partner expressed the share arrangement in terms of power, and the order of decision-making authority among shareholders.

There's kind of a pecking order. So, additional new opportunities come up because First Nations belong to the First Nations Trust, and then if they don't want to take advantage of it then it goes to First Nations outside of the trust. If they don't want to take advantage of it then it goes to the independent loggers, and then if they don't want to take advantage of it then eventually it comes back to the *Class B* or consuming mills can take advantage of it. That helped in terms of establishing that if anyone wants to sell their business within the trust, the First Nations have the first opportunity to match. So if I had an opportunity to sell, I have to get a written legitimate offer written out and that has to be presented to the board of directors and sent out to all the shareholders. The First Nations have the opportunity to match it and then it's their business. If they don't want to match it then it goes to the First Nations outside the trust and then eventually it goes back to the *Class B* and *Class C* shareholders. What that provided was a real opportunity for the First Nations to build capacity and grow in the future. They have exclusive rights. They're the first people to get that opportunity.

- Dale Munro; Kenora Forest Products; Miitigoog board member

The Minister has the power to change the language and the rules set out in the SFL through amendments, which are noted in the appendices of the license (Minister of Natural Resources, 2013). The license is valid until 2022, but is subject to a five-year review and renewal cycle. However, the *Shareholder Agreement* can only be amended, as outlined in *Article 26*, if there is unanimous approval. Dispute resolution rules are set out in *Article 23*, and contemplate use of a mutually agreed upon independent mediator when necessary. With

regards to the First Nations Trust, it was pre-decided that the Grand Council of Treaty #3 would become involved if disputes could not be resolved internally.

Communities vested in the First Nations Trust also buy into the forest management company of Miitigoog, which is the Miisun Integrated Resources Management Company. Miisun as a First Nations owned company was created during the early negotiations of the Miitigoog Trust and celebrated their official launch September 1, 2011 (J. Thompson, 2011). Miisun therefore is the operating arm for Miitigoog and oversees forest management plans for the Kenora Forest under the Miitigoog SFL. Miisun also oversees day-to-day management activities in the Kenora Forest, and portions of the 1,063,446 ha (71% production forest) Whiskey Jack Forest (mostly the Southern Whiskey Jack, Figure 11) under contract from the OMNR (OMNR, 2012c), which continues to hold the SFL. The vision of Miisun is “To build First Nations capacity and increase the socio-economic benefits and opportunities in the Treaty 3 Area” (Miisun, 2011). Miisun provides several services for First Nations membership with respect to land management and capacity development as outlined in Box 1. Miisun is also directly involved in communications and recruitments of First Nations Trust members.

Box 1. Miisun Integrated Resources Company services (Source: Miisun: Business Overview and Q&A presentation, 2011)

- Aboriginal background information, communication, and values collection
- Cultural heritage areas assessment
- Community presentations / Information sessions
- First Nation liaison with government and First Nations communities
- Develop and negotiate with stakeholders (trappers, tourism, etc.)
- Development of Aboriginal consultative approach
- Report on protection of identified aboriginal values
- Report on aboriginal involvement in resource management
- Biologist on staff
- Aggregate resource management
- Road design, site surveys and engineering
- Road maintenance and monitoring, water crossing installation specialists, inspections, surveys, etc.
- Land appraisals for First Nations, municipalities, etc.
- Water resource management (linkages with AKRC)
- Harvest boundary layout
- Fire training
- Environmental services (environmental reports)
- Watershed planning
- GIS services for resource management, mapping systems, etc
- Private land fiber marketing

Research participants who were members of the First Nations Trust, several of whom wanted to remain anonymous, described the governance structure. Miisun has its own governance structure and is led by a board of directors. The Miisun board consists of four seats, which are occupied by the Chiefs of the communities (or other representatives, such as in the

beginning when there were only three communities) involved in the First Nations Trust. The Miisun board meets monthly and has an acting president. The presidency is rotated every year to give different members a chance at being in a leadership position. Miisun is located one city block away from the Wincrief shop and offices. The people holding forest management positions at Miisun had held positions at other regional forestry company operations, including those that are party to Miitigoog.

The industry partners involved in Miitigoog have corporate policies and structures that they must navigate and adhere to as they consider how they can act within the partnership. Weyerhaeuser, the previous owner of the Kenora Forest SFL, is one of the largest paper companies in the world. It has offices in 10 countries and has operated in Canada since 1965 (Weyerhaeuser, 2014). Two participants from Weyerhaeuser described the corporate governance system of the company. Weyerhaeuser has a hierarchical corporate structure; therefore regional managers must report and receive permission from more senior managers before taking corporate action. Many of the senior decision makers are located at the corporate offices. The national corporate offices for Canada are located in Vancouver, British Columbia, and the corporate head office is located in Washington State, USA. Communication across corporate and regional levels is therefore required. Before the shift in the economy that occurred shortly after the turn of the century, there were specific designations for community liaison positions. These positions, however, were cancelled during the drastic cutbacks made at the time of the forestry collapse, and now other managers are responsible for liaising with communities for the purpose of building partnerships. The Trus Joist TimberStrand® LSL Mill is the Weyerhaeuser centre for northwestern Ontario, and is located in Kenora.

Kenora Forest Products (KFP) is the other major industry partner in Miitigoog (Fig 13), though the KFP mill was not currently operating at its full capacity at the time of the research. KFP is owned by Prendiville Industries Ltd., which is a family business maintaining corporate offices in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Much like Weyerhaeuser, the regional KFP manager responsible for developing and maintaining partnerships such as Miitigoog must communicate and receive approval from the corporate head office. Both Weyerhaeuser and KFP representatives reported that the seeking of approval presented challenges at times because of the unique nature of community engagement in northwestern Ontario. They also expressed that trust in their own abilities as managers to perceive and work with local issues was important, as well as their ability to facilitate communication within their institutions.

In the case of KFP, the representative stated that direct contact and relationship building between the First Nation community Chiefs and the CEO of Prendiville Industries Ltd. was an important factor in receiving approval to enter into Miitigoog. It was reported that this process allowed for the creation of a shared vision, and the development of attainable goals. The development of ‘false expectations’ was an experience had by Prendiville Industries Ltd. in the past when engaging with First Nations in Manitoba (interview with participant 027). In order to prevent this from happening again, the four family owners spent approximately one year learning through engagement with First Nations leadership and communities. Through this they learned about how to engage in partnerships and create new opportunities, while maintaining protection for their own interests.

The Kenora Independent Loggers Association (KILA) represents a different type of regional participation from the side of industry (Fig 13). Information on the governance structure was obtained through an interview with a representative from KILA (participant 032).

KILA is a conglomerate of local (i.e., from across northwestern Ontario) contractors and small businesses operating in the forests, and are hired contractors of OMNR and purchasers of timber. Just over 20 years ago, fourteen independent loggers banded together to form KILA so they could express their aspirations with a unified voice, and gain a seat at the table with the OMNR and in other regional governance settings. Today, KILA has a membership of nine independent contractors. This membership fluctuates as contractors leave the area, quit the association, sell their companies, or amalgamate. The internal decision-making process for KILA is by vote with meetings being called on a ‘need to have’ basis. The director of KILA is a board member of Miitigoog, as well as a member of the associated advisory and operations committees. Through entering into the Miitigoog partnership agreement, KILA members did not lose their share of harvestable forest volume in the Kenora Forest. The perspective of the member of the board is that joining Miitigoog enabled the independent contractors to give input, find business opportunities, and develop better working relationships with communities through learning.

During the first year after signing, the Miitigoog board met every month, every two months the second year, and now meets on a quarterly basis. Decision making is done at the board level through consensus. The board has an independent chair selected by the founding members. The chair has a legal background and was selected because he had experience working in cross-cultural settings, had a meaningful connection to the forest from his youth, has Anishinaabe ancestry, and had dealt with First Nations cases, such as the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement. Miitigoog is an example of a complex conglomeration involving different institutional types, including communities, corporations, and First Nation governments, spanning multiple scales. The official rotation of seats for First Nations trust

members is yet to be determined. Rotation at the time this research was occurring was based on the availability of people who were capable of filling the roles and thus making quorum at meetings.

The OMNR does not have decision-making authority within Miitigoog, they often join board meetings in order to provide guidance and make sure that legal obligations are being met through the partnership agreement. Many board members expressed that OMNR managers played an important role in keeping parties at the table, especially in the early days when Miitigoog was taking shape and disagreements were more common. OMNR managers also had key information about what was possible in terms of the provincial policies. A direct example of this is that the Ontario government is the holder of power in this collaborative system through the granting and renewal of the SFL.

While Miitigoog is a new type of SFL holder, and is reflective of the broad reforms occurring around tenure in northwestern Ontario, Miitigoog is not by definition an LFMC. An industry participant explained that the LFMC model, as it was proposed by the OMRN, was not suitable for the relationship that they wanted to build with First Nations communities, and was more suited to the context outside of northwestern Ontario. The board members that discussed this point in greater detail were one participant from the industry side of the collaboration and one from Miisun's forest management team (participants 027 & 035). Their main reasons for viewing the model inclusive of local politicians (as is outlined in LFMCs) as impractical was grounded in a worldview that was centered on business as the best way of finding solutions to the issues around tenure and relationships between industry and First Nations.

There's lots of forests in Ontario that have no First Nations component. We said to them that this [proposed LFMCs] doesn't work for us. It might work for an urban forest in

southern Ontario where you have a lot of municipalities, a lot of cities and those kind of things that may have a real interest in the forest surrounding them. Here it's different. We have First Nations communities that are living in the forest. When we talk to the city of Kenora, they didn't have a big interest in being part of the co-op. They said, "We're good at what we do. We want to run a good community and provide all of the services necessary, but it's you folks that have a stake in the forest that should be out there doing things," and that kind of made sense to us.

- Rod McKay; Miitigoog board member; Kenora Forest Products

When asked about the catalyst to the Miitigoog agreement, most participants who were directly involved (board members and OMRN) referenced tenure reform and the move towards LFMCs and Enhanced SFLs in Ontario as making new kinds of relationships possible. Even though Miitigoog was not technically an LFMC and held a shared SFL instead of an Enhanced SFL, it was connected to the overall policy shifts in Ontario (i.e., as a participant in public hearings and other meetings).

I think the whole idea of tenure reform and to be honest the whole idea was pushed by the MNR and probably different interest groups. I'm not sure. But the feeling was that the ownership and the management had to get back to local control. I know that MNR were pushing hard to get more interest by the First Nations in the forest. That's where tenure reform started to come in. I think through our discussion, we felt that our model should be an industry-First Nation partnership.

- Rod McKay; Kenora Forest Products; Miitigoog board

Participants from First Nations also discussed the business aspect of the agreement, and were mostly interested in how the partnership would change the dynamic between the actors (industry, First Nations, and provincial government) involved in the governance of the forest. Such participants spoke about how the new model creates inclusivity for First Nations values for the forest. Participant perspectives also reflected a belief that the model would mean a less

corporate approach to forest management. The next quote from [now former] Chief Fisher, one of the founding members of Miitigoog (and Wincrief), illustrates the expected shift of approach.

I think it takes away the corporate mind from the resources where they want to make money and the practice of clear cutting - it adds the respect for the trees or the scenery.

All participants described the role of the OMNR as one that brought people to the table to explore new possibilities for collaboration. When asked about the catalyst for the Miitigoog agreement, most participants who were directly involved (board members and OMRN) referenced the tenure reform as making the new desired relationships possible. While the top-down nature of policy in Ontario has been a major frustration for many involved in policy implementation, tenure modernization made the Miitigoog collaboration possible, the partnership being established not long after the establishment of the *Ontario Forest Tenure Modernization Act, 2011*. This was essentially the establishment of first-order governance, which then in turn created the opportunity to move forward with the Miitigoog partnership agreement. Through negotiations and learning, which will be discussed in further chapters, the partnership then evolved a second-order governance system. Several participants spoke about how Miitigoog was a step in the right direction towards meaningful collaboration; however, its establishment was not without challenges.

4.4 Emergent themes and concerns for future governance

This section covers in detail the emergent themes in the data. Such themes primarily emerged when participants were asked to think about the future. Responses depended on the participant's involvement and knowledge of the factors influencing second-order governance. The themes that emerged fell within three broad categories, which are presented in the next three sub-sections. Section 4.4.1 discusses how participants speculated about future tenure reforms that were perceived as potential threats to Miitigoog. Sections 4.4.2 discusses concerns over collaboration with regards to Treaty rights, and 4.4.3 deals with participation of First Nations youth in the work force that would be a produced from collaboration.

4.4.1 Future tenure reforms

“Tenure” emerged very strongly as a theme, especially with regards to Miitigoog. Tenure was not as relevant a topic of discussions with those only involved in Wincrief because the company operations were in conjunction with the Wabaseemoong TLUA. Therefore, Wincrief members who were also members of Miitigoog had more things to say about tenure than did other people from Wincrief. In a practical sense, the Ontario government can disrupt the agreement through implementing further reforms to the SFL. During the past few years, the overall governance structure of Ontario has been undergoing a move towards centralization, and many fear that future tenure reforms could shift decision-making authority away from local initiatives towards government offices in the larger cities in Ontario (participants 031 and 035). Individuals involved in Miitigoog have been speculating about this potential tenure reform with government officials.

Many participants involved with Miitigoog reflected on tenure reform as both creating the opportunity for collaboration, and as something that could threaten future collaboration. These were OMNR participants who had facilitated the agreement or had been involved in other capacities, as well as past and current Miitigoog board members. Forest management staff from Miisun also had a strong knowledge of current reforms, as well as the potential for future reforms. Participants also explained how keen attention was being placed on Miitigoog because the partnership was perceived to be a leading example of collaboration in forest management (similar to the criteria for choosing Miitigoog as a case study), and because it was a collaboration that was growing by bringing on new First Nations every few months. The growth of the First Nations Trust demonstrated regional buy-in, as well as the potential for future problem solving through Miitigoog or similar models. Attention was particularly homed in on finding solutions to the long-standing disputes over the northern Whiskey Jack Forest.

Miitigoog as a model that exclusively involves First Nations and industry partners has been given five years to demonstrate successful collaboration, or could face dismantling of its SFL. This top-down ultimatum provides a great deal of pressure on the partnership to “succeed” in the short-term while norms are still being established. (“Success” and norms will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections about learning.) The following quote from a Miitigoog board member from the industry side of the partnership speaks to the concerns over centralization, and the view that government officials from other regions are not savvy to the issues of northwestern Ontario. It also speaks to the need for learning at upper levels within the OMNR.

That’s [decision making being centralized] always been a concern of ours. People don’t realize how big this province is. I see a lot of that coming from Queen’s Park. I’ve talked to politicians there that want to come up for a meeting and they don’t even realize that it’s

a day to get here. It's a bit of an education process. I think one of the things that I've seen at the MNR is that there's less-and-less control at the district offices, and the local offices. It seems like all decisions now are being made in Toronto or Sioux St Marie.

It [Miitigoog surviving as a model] is a concern. We seem to have the bureaucrats that don't really understand the issues, and when you don't understand the issues I think it's pretty hard to comment on what works and what doesn't work. We certainly hope that we can make Miitigoog survive because it's a model that can work and the government has said that they like the model and can use it throughout the province.

- Rod McKay; Kenora Forest Products; Miitigoog board member

The overall sentiment around the Miitigoog agreement, however, was quite positive. Many involved in the agreement expressed hopeful sentiments and spoke with a great deal of pride and ownership with regards to the collaborative model and how it was working. Participants involved in the model were, however, also aware (or concerned, as voiced above) about the possibility for change and offered ideas around worst-case scenarios.

The worst-case scenario is that they say, "Ok, we're taking the license back and we're going to be giving it to a group in common with the Dryden Forest, several forests. It's been nice knowing you folks and your new directors are from our cabinet appointing." That would be an undesirable outcome. So we have local creation, local participation, and local governance as opposed to the much larger state controlled thing.

- Independent with involvement in Miitigoog (participant 029)

A participant working for Miisun talked about the competitive aspects of forest management and how Miitigoog and Miisun as the operating arm had to be cognizant of management of the land base. This relates to tenure reform because Miisun would also be evaluated in terms of the "successful" outcomes of the collaboration. The participant clarified that the cultural sensitivity that Miisun could bring to working with local First Nations was valued, and that this in turn added to the way in which Miitigoog and Miisun were appreciated as a regional forest management system. However, ultimately this participant felt that forest

management was based on economies of scale, and that growing the business was what would maintain the collaboration in the long term.

We have a contract to manage the forest and there's competitors out there that can come in and manage the Kenora Forest on behalf of the Crown, so you have to remain competitive in terms of what we do to manage the forest. I think that makes a big difference in terms of what ability that Miisun has as opposed to other managers that operate in Ontario...We're more sensitive to cultural importance that people have so we know how to deal with them...

Forest management is about the economics of scale and if you've got the land base you'll do well. I've got probably three communities that can sign on tomorrow if I make a trip tomorrow and say let's get this done - because we've done some work and some have signed on and I've got three more that would sign on tomorrow.

- Fred Greene; Miisun; Shoal Lake 39 First Nation

A forest manager from Miisun also discussed how tenure reforms were affecting the management of the land base and veering management away from a purely corporate perspective.

[With forestry companies] you still have to manage a land base of forest management so you still do what you need to do there, but really you're in it for the end goals of the company. Coming here [Miisun] that sort of changed on a dime - for a good reason. You're in it to do the right thing for the land base, which is what everybody's supposed to be in it for.

- Forest manager (participant 017)

Reasons for why the OMNR would want to shift towards recentralization were not easily elicited from interviews. I speculated that the difficulty in obtaining such data was related to the fact that the partners wanted to remain optimistic and were in a phase of promoting the collaborative model as being the best one for forest management in the region. Many of the founding members of the board, office managers, employees, and independents

felt very strongly about the Miitigoog agreement and spoke with great enthusiasm about its success thus far. One founding board member on the First Nations Trust communicated that the agreement should “hold strong”, and that the board should fight for the Miitigoog and Miisun model regardless of the direction that the government was taking forest tenure. The following quote from another board member on the industry side of the partnership demonstrates the same kind of passion stating that Miitigoog is an ideal model for regional forest governance, and that the tenure model that was originally suggested would be a “disaster”.

I hope that government recognizes this model as one of the best models that they have in the province. If they're going to get into tenure and the model that they were proposing a year or two years ago it would be a disaster to the headway that we've made with this model.

- Miitigoog board member (participant 032)

Some of the newer board members from the First Nations Trust did not approach the question of further tenure reform with the same passion, but did feel like the partnership was the best option for their respective communities at the time. This will be discussed further in the sections about learning relating to power, capacity for meaningful participation, and collaboration.

The discussions of concerns over future tenure reforms are one very important component of how Miitigoog (including the First Nations Trust and Miisun) will continue to grow and remain institutionally robust. This, however, is not the only factor connecting to policy outside of the partnership’s institutional framework that could jeopardize the partnership. Several concerns have been raised about how the partnership affects Treaty rights and/or would continue to affect Treaty rights as it grows and continues to morph in different

directions due to economic and political pressures. The next section deals with this very important component of second-order governance (Kooiman, 2003).

4.4.2 Collaboration and Treaty rights

Another key emergent theme related to the viability of future collaborative forest governance and the implications for Treaty rights. The concern over the potential for Treaty rights to become impinged through engaging in the collaborative management of SFLs was a recurrent theme in the interviews, especially among participants engaged in the First Nations Trust. Other participants engaged in Miitigoog and Miisun also commented about this issue, however, they did so more from a position of awareness of ensuring due diligence.

It was difficult to obtain a highly factual account of the effect of collaborative models on Treaty rights. The reason for this is because First Nations and their legal resources were still determining the effects, and considerations were still being made as to potential shifts in the model due to future tenure reforms or other shifts that could support Treaty obligations. Regardless of the somewhat speculative nature of this theme, as with future tenure reforms, it is still important to report the concerns relating to the partnership agreement and Treaty rights because it could be a major factor relating to second order governance. When asked about tenure and First Nations Treaty rights, one Anishinaabe participant working for the OMNR broadly articulated the following concerns, and the meaning in respect to the First Nations way of life.

The primary concern with First Nations is how their way of life will be affected now and in the future. First Nations are concerned with how forest management practices erode Treaty obligations with the Crown, and is the Crown doing everything possible to prevent or minimize the risk of those erosions. Industry has the tendency to look beyond those

items and focus on the movement of fiber. This is where the communication breaks down. This becomes a challenge for the First Nations, industry and the Province of Ontario. The MNR works diligently to enhance this relationship using information sessions and meetings in a way to bring people together and share interests on the forest units they are concerned with.

- OMNR (participant 031)

The above quote also speaks to the way in which industry tends to perceive issues relating to the Treaty rights. This was mirrored in a significant number of the interviews with industry partners involved in Miitigoog. Similar to the way in which industry participants spoke about business being the best way of problem solving (as mentioned earlier), they also often expressed that it was not their role to navigate Treaty issues. This, however, was not always the case, and an almost equal number of industry partners acknowledged the Treaty issue as being an important one to be navigated.

There are Treaty and Aboriginal rights that are recognized within the constitution and they need to be separated from the business development side. I fully respect that the communities need to work through processes with the government and as a company that's not our place. They need to work through those with them, but when it comes to looking at economic development then that's where we can definitely step in and we can help. That's really how we've been working with the communities in trying to separate those paths. They can be parallel paths and if there's some decision that's decreed by government that we have to live with as an industry then we do.

- Mike Dietsch; Weyerhaeuser; Miitigoog board member

A board member who was relatively new to the First Nations Trust also commented on the parallel nature of doing business and being attentive to Treaty rights.

I guess that's [business, Treaty rights, non-degradation of the environment: mentioned earlier in the same context] the lines we're trying to walk right now. We have a Treaty right and we have a position on our land that has to be approved what's going on. There's stuff that First Nations do want to do, business wise. Sometimes there may not be so much different with what industry is proposing to do. The biggest thing for our

community is to ensure that nothing is destroyed forever and that it's sustainable. That has always been the biggest issue for our community. That resources are being extracted at a rate that may not be healthy for our environment - that's the tight rope that we have to walk. We need a business, but make sure that there's something there for our grandchildren and their grandchildren. That's what it is. We have people that will never support that kind of activity, and we have people that will blindly follow that activity. We have to find a balance.

- Daniel Kelly; Ojibways of Onigaming First Nation

The above participant is also speaking to the different perspectives in his community, and the kind of support for agreements like Miitigoog. He mentioned later in the interview that most people were fairly neutral and wanting to explore partnerships without sacrificing too much in terms of Treaty rights. "Too much" for the participant was not yet well defined due to his community's stage of involvement (i.e., they had just joined Miitigoog), and as mentioned earlier, the little amount of information on actual affects on Treaty rights. A manager from the Grand Council of Treaty #3 also made comments about First Nations of Treaty #3 joining such agreements, and how this directly related to the political office of the Grand Chief for Treaty #3.

We have a new Grand Chief and the previous Grand Chief didn't really want to be too close to Miitigoog or Miisun because she didn't know if the political support was there, the majority of support. Our new Grand Chief is a past board member of that corporation so our relationship is we're going to be looking at it more openly.

- Grand Council of Treaty #3 manager (participant 018)

Like with any government, political support in terms of votes is important for supporting on the ground initiatives. Communication between the OMNR, the Miitigoog board and the Political Office for the Grand Council of Treaty #3 about the implications of the partnership for Treaty rights and other factors such as those relating to economic development

will be important if Miitigoog and Miisun are to continue to be supported by Treaty #3 First Nations. The following quote speaks to the problem solving that the OMNR aims to provide to supporting First Nations' Treaty rights, while supporting collaborations that provide development opportunities to First Nations.

In terms of First Nations, I need them to tell me legally, "Does it impact your Treaty rights?" I need to have this information in order to follow the legal process, because that's the policy that we have set forward. If the particular project doesn't impact your Treaty rights but impacts other things tell me about it and maybe we can figure out a way to mitigate it, fix it, or have you collaborate on the project so you can work with the people who are doing it, whatever method works. Whether it be jobs, training, the list is a mile long you just need to think outside the box to make it happen.

- Deb Weedon; District Manager, OMNR (participant 008)

Responses relating to Treaty rights were general and were namely geared towards how First Nations, industry partners, and government could work together to maintain and promote regional models for collaboration without violating Treaty. Both Anishinaabe and settler participants often talked about their interpretations of the Treaties as one that is about sharing the land, knowledge, and other resources. However, there was also discussion in interviews about the need for a more nuanced understanding of the Treaty relationship, especially from the perspective of First Nations. Some felt that there were still misunderstandings of the true meanings of the Treaty relationship and that it is first important for this to be deciphered before truly meaningful forms of collaboration could be established. One local historian with several decades of experience in working with First Nations spoke to this, including how most models are being built upon a foundation that is based on colonial structures.

Well, we see first of all we don't understand our Treaty. The courts keep whacking us up the side of the head and our own governments don't understand the Treaty. They keep thinking, "Well it's something else. We got it all. We get to make all those decisions.

They gave up all their rights. We're in charge here." The colonial system continues so they keep trying to implement the colonial system and the resistance happens. People fight and the roadblocks go up and they say, "That's not what we said. That's not the deal that we signed." In many cases they're winning. The courts are now saying, "They're right. They didn't agree to give up the land. They agreed to share the land now how are we going to do that."

- Cuyler Cotton; local historian and consultant, Dovetail Consultants

The executive officer of the training facility for First Nations of Treaty #3 expressed her interpretation of the current Treaty relationship, and how it is unsymmetrical in terms of sharing, in favour of industry.

I think it's going to be how we as First Nations shared everything, regardless of who or where you came from or whether you were Native or non-Native but that sharing was that if we share this with you you have to give us something back. So re-reading the Treaty, which I've been doing lately because I think it's so important is that that was the bottom line of the Treaty was that - I will give you this, but you will give me this in return. It's a give and take and right now it's just take take take and that's where the biggest issues are happening. So industry is coming in and they're just taking, but what they think they're giving us is not the value that the First Nations people are placing on it.

- Marie Seymour, Executive Officer of Shooniyaa Wa-Biitong

The above quote also begins to illuminate how the interpretation of the Treaty relationship is also very dependent on the values held by the parties engaged in collaboration (Johnstone, 1991). The "gifts" from one side may be taken as burdens by the other. This is especially important to consider in situations where one party has a strong connection to place, while the other is mostly interested in the economic value of a potential resource (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999). The following quote by a key collaborator in both Wincrief and Miitigoog also speaks to this, as well as the changes to Treaty relationship that could come through collaborating in resource management.

My understanding of the Treaty is when we signed it was more towards allowing the visitors to access to the Prairie Provinces and there was no real surrender of resources. The main intent within the Treaty was to learn from each other share what we have. It wasn't meant to place First Nations people in a little boxed area where they're told, "You stay there, as long as you stay there we'll look after you educationally and so on." I think now it's changing. I think we are going back to the original resource sharing part of it. The opportunity I have anyways is that we do have a recognised traditional land use area that's recognized by both the federal and provincial government. That there is a need to share in the benefits within our territory.

- [former Chief] Eric Fisher; Wabaseemoong; Miitigoog; Wincrief

This discussion on the effects of collaboration on Treaty rights highlights the complexity and nuance of this particular theme. Miitigoog provides the potential for new forest management practices, which would be guided by First Nations through Miisun. However, the recentness of the collaboration and the inability to look to tangible outcomes in terms of forest management practice meant that there was speculation about the potential impacts to Treaty. Additionally, further discussions emphasized the complexity due to there being several interpretations of the Treaty relationship. While this theme does not reveal conclusive statements about impacts to Treaty, it does highlight important issues with regards to present and future collaboration. In particular it indicates areas that will require attention moving forward.

*4.4.3 Employment, retention, and the next generation of people affected by collaboration*⁸

Another strong theme in the data relating to concerns over future governance was the ability of collaborative forestry to produce jobs for young people. This theme reoccurred in interviews with people from all sectors – First Nations leadership, industry collaborators, OMNR managers, and independent participants. It can be easily understood that this topic was universally important because of the social-economic implications of collaboration. Miisun’s mission statement reads, “To build First Nations capacity and increase the socio-economic benefits and opportunities in the Treaty 3 area.” Also, the discourse in the *Strengthening Forestry’s Future, Forest Tenure Modernization in Ontario* document used to explain tenure modernization policy and direction was also heavily focused towards economy and employment.

Forestry is a vibrant and important part of Ontario’s economy. With approximately 85 billion trees, our forest asset is the envy of the world. It sustains a \$12-billion industry and delivers hundreds of thousands of jobs to hundreds of communities across Ontario.

- Source: *Strengthening Forestry’s Future, Forest Tenure Modernization in Ontario* (Ontario Government, 2011)

The First Nations and industry individuals involved in Miitigoog and Wincrief at the board level said that they thought that forestry related jobs would provide great opportunities for youth from First Nations. The jobs that were the focus of this discussion were namely those that required low levels of education and some sector-specific training depending on whether

⁸ Parts published in: Zurba, M. and M. Trimble. (2014) Youth as the Inheritors of Collaboration: Crises and the factors that influence participation of the next generation in resource management. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 42:78-87.

the jobs involved forest harvesting, mills, or construction (home building, road works, or hydro pole development). Miitigoog board members stated that employment in forestry-related activities would have great economic benefits for youth due to the high paying nature of the work. They also felt the jobs would become available in the near future (five years or less). These board members also stated that they were focusing on First Nations youth as the future work force they represented the portion of the youth that would remain in the region.

Our First Nations, they're not going anywhere else. They're staying here. We'll always have a labour force so it works out good.

– Dale Munro, KFP manager, Miitigoog board member

Industry board members in particular expressed their understanding that the settler youth of Kenora tended to have a desire to leave the region shortly after finishing high school.

The high expectations for First Nations youth forestry work corresponded very closely with expectations for growth of the businesses (Miisun and Wincrief) and expansion of Miitigoog into new territory, such as the northern Whiskey Jack Forest (Grassy Narrows and other First Nations territory). At the board level, forestry resources were perceived as being abundant and sustainable if harvested according to selective harvesting practices. Clear cutting was talked about as a past practice that was no longer suitable in the area. Some industry partners said they felt that First Nations involvement at all company levels (e.g., workforce, management, etc.) was beneficial because it demonstrated corporate social responsibility to their consumers. However, despite the expectations and positivity around First Nations youth participation in the forest industry, there is inconclusive evidence that First Nations youth will fill these roles, an issue that was echoed by the local news media (Aiken, 2014).

Because employment and retention was highlighted as a topic likely to impact the future of collaboration, an interview was conducted with Marie Seymour, the Executive Officer of Shooniyaa Wa-Biitong (referred to as Shooniyaa from here on), the First Nations education and training centre for Treaty #3. The interview was conducted as a way of enriching these data. Marie looked back on the training provided for Weyerhaeuser as an example of the potential for First Nations involvement in forestry. The development of the 400,000 square foot Trus Joist Weyerhaeuser mill in Kenora saw the implementation of training programs focused on First Nations. It also implemented a thirty percent quota (60 out of 200 people) for the proportion of First Nation people to hold jobs at the facility. Shooniyaa provided the training for the Trus Joist First Nations employment scheme, and is expected to be a major partner in facilitating First Nations youth training for the industry partners involved in Miitigoog.

Marie also talked about how Shooniyaa offers other skills and certifications, including high school equivalencies, in their programs for First Nations youth and how they do not expect graduates to take the positions that are being offered to them by industry. Instead of making employment and retention agreements with companies, Shooniyaa maintains that it is the responsibility of companies to make employment attractive enough so that employees feel that they have good enough incentives to stay with a company.

“Whether or not they work for you is your responsibility. They're trained now. You make the environment that they want to work there”, and that's the side that we're working on right now. Currently, we're working with employers to make it a much more First Nations friendly environment so people do want to apply there.

- Marie Seymour; Executive Officer of Shooniyaa Wa-Biitong

Shooniyaa's culturally sensitive programming resulted in a largely successful training of First Nations youth at the Trus Joist facility. However, retention proved to be problematic,

especially once the market became less stable. As of 2012, only ten percent of people in the work force had an Anishinaabe or Métis background. Many quit their jobs at Trus Joist for different types of employment or livelihood strategies, while others took their skills to different companies in the forest sector.

When asked about the disparity between expectation and employment and retention, those who had the best regional insights (Executive officer at Shooniaa Wa-Biitong, forest workers from Miisun and Wincrief, and community elders) shed light on various issues. The two workers who maintained long-standing positions at Wincrief stated that Wabaseemoong Independent First Nations youth did want employment, and that people in the community consistently approached them for insights about their employment. Involvement in corporate management positions at both Wincrief and Miitigoog was also discussed by some managers as being something that was greatly lacking.

When you go to the next facility you look and see how many First Nations you see in key positions [said with obvious sarcasm].

– Wincrief manager (participant 010)

In the case of Wincrief, employment opportunities were enriched with transportation to and from work sites. As well, some building, harvesting, and other construction jobs were located in close proximity to the community. Wincrief jobs, however, have become increasingly sparse. For Wincrief, the decreased workforce (from 20 to 2 workers) was mostly a result of lay offs. However, disinterest was also discussed as a factor, and elders and forest workers from Wabaseemoong and other communities speculated about other employment opportunities and offered explanations for the potential disinterest among youth in forestry-

related work. Conflict between forestry work and community lifestyle was mentioned on several occasions by individuals who stated that it was emotionally difficult for young people to be away from their communities for long periods (several weeks at a time) while in training programs or on work sites. One worker from Miisun and the two land and forest managers from Grand Council of Treaty #3 thought that youth were more interested in jobs involving computers. Participants also highlighted that First Nations youth often disagreed with harvesting practices. One worker from Wabaseemoong gave an example.

I know there was one area where they were harvesting and the lady that lives on the end - she made a roadblock because of the harvesting in that area. There was another one that crossed our reserve line there. The school kids got involved. They told them to stop harvesting there.

– Wincrief employee from Wabaseemoong (participant 039)

Several participants explained that industrial forestry (even small-scale) was not part of the traditional customs and practices of Anishinaabe people. Almost all Anishinaabe participants spoke of a different kind of connection to the forests and to the land, which was important to maintain according to their values and culture. The following quote (elaborated further in Section 5.2.4) is an example, echoing other similar statements by Anishinaabe participants.

Everything that we need, Mother Earth gives to us, and I just want her to know that I'm not just taking and taking. I guess I need to have that balance too, and it's just a constant reminder not to keep taking and taking because if you keep doing stuff without those ceremonies it just gets easier and easier to take.

–First Nation Trust member (participant 041)

From the interviewees' perspectives, the primary reasons explaining the lack of participation of First Nations youth in forestry in northwestern Ontario include: i) the types of incentives to complete training programs; ii) a lack of stable employment opportunities; iii) challenges in community life; iv) a lack of interest in forestry activities; v) values and cultural connections to the forest that are not aligned with industrial forestry; and vi) a lack of First Nations people in leadership and mentorship positions.

4.5 Summary and discussion

The chapter began by outlining the institutions and policies that are involved in shaping collaborative forest governance in northwestern Ontario. This was followed by an introduction to the case studies. Key informants from the OMNR, Grand Council of Treaty #3, and independent professionals with situated knowledge described Wincrief and Miitigoog as being leading examples of regional cross-cultural collaboration for governing land and resources. Their assessments were supported by their knowledge of the characteristics of the ventures, which they believed reflected equality, partnership, and thus collaboration. Key informants also suggested that Wincrief and Miitigoog were ideal for considering notions of regional collaboration because they were considered to be unique within the region, and were looked to as leading examples for governance built on collaboration principles.

The institutional mapping of the governance systems revealed that Wincrief and Miitigoog did in fact have equitable horizontal decision-making. As such, the data show that cross-cultural collaboration was situated specifically within the structures of the Wincrief and Miitigoog boards. This is where representatives from industry and First Nations had equal

rights to exercise authority over decisions with regards to forestry and general land practices. Decisions, however, were confined to what is allowable within the OMNR's forestry management planning guidelines, which outline the rules and procedures for silviculture and land management in Ontario (Ontario Government, 2014). Therefore, when looking at the entire governance system inclusive of the Ontario government, it can be determined that collaboration is only occurring within a specifically defined governance domain - at the board level. Outside of this domain, governance remains top-down with power largely remaining with the provincial government.

Even though both Wincrief and Miitigoog demonstrate cross-cultural collaboration at the board-level with authority limited by the provincial government, they represent significant shifts away from the forest governance models that preceded them. Past models for forest governance within the Kenora and Whiskey Jack Forests only included the provincial government and forestry companies, and excluded First Nations participation and decision making (several accounts by OMNR manager participants). This is a significant difference from many of the co-management arrangements established in many rural areas in Canada, which have been mainly arrangements between government and First Nations (Armitage et al., 2007) but, have not included the same amount of autonomy for decision making as found within the Wincrief, Miitigoog, and First Nations Trust boards (Cornell, 2006).

The collaborative nature of the boards of Wincrief and Miitigoog provides forums and opportunities for First Nations and industry interests to play out. This type of cross-cultural collaboration is moving past the inclusion of 'just culture' attributes in decision-making, which has limited the success of many collaborative endeavours with Indigenous peoples (Maclean & The Bana Yarralji Bubu Inc., 2015). Maclean and the Bana Yarralji Bubu Inc. (2015) describe

the inclusion of 'just culture' as what happens when endeavours (research, governance etc.) that aim to be collaborative, actually, in turn, marginalize Indigenous peoples through only integrating customary practices and traditions instead of being capable of creating meaningful engagement of values and interests outside of those that are categorized as being customary. An example of this includes how ceremony not only built into Miitigoog, but is also a part of decision-making by members of the First Nations Trust.

Growth of the First Nations Trust is built into the Miitigoog governance system, and will be a factor that continues to affect the structure of the collaboration. Complexity will increase as parties sign onto the partnership; however, increased Indigenous participation may have the potential to strengthen regional governance (Conroy, Mishra, & Rai, 2002), as has been the case with other examples of collaboration in Canada (Smith, 2013). The achievement of favourable outcomes for the First Nations Trust will be influenced by the various factors affecting how participation takes place, including how learning is built into the governance system (Griffith, Diduck, & Tardif, 2015).

Mapping the relationships of the institutions also made it possible to generate knowledge about what could affect the maintenance and adaptation of such structures (Kane & Trochim, 2007; Kooiman, 2003). It was clear that the provincial government remained outside of the collaborative space and in a top-down position, making the government the party with the most control over large institutional changes. Miitigoog, in particular, is an example of an organization where internal hierarchies have been leveled out (Ross et al., 2002), but the overarching political environment remains in an upper-level top-down position where government is capable of dismantling local governance through tenure reforms. Initially, tenure modernization impacted forest governance by creating opportunity, and encouraging

collaboration between industry and First Nations. However, as described in Section 4.4.1, further changes to the tenure system in Ontario could jeopardize the collaborative space created through Miitigoog. In this sense, partnerships like Miitigoog could continue to be hindered by structural forms of oppression that limit their ability to achieve collaboration that is representative of equal power sharing in governance (Galtung 1969; Zurba, 2014).

The success of Miitigoog will also depend on several other factors, including the prominent emergent themes discussed above. The effects on Treaty rights and relationships, for example, are yet to be fully deciphered, but could influence First Nations ongoing participation in collaboration. As relationships continue to develop within the collaborative governance systems, discussions about Treaty rights will continue to emerge. Decisions will be made with respect to the Treaty, and parties will be continuously assessing the implications. Such negotiations around Treaty will also continue to be revealing of what groups hold power with regards to decision making (Rangan & Lane, 2001). Many scholars working on the impacts of colonization in Canada argue that meaningful governance systems cannot be achieved until the Treaty relationship is deciphered from the standpoint of First Nations (Borrows, 1997; Coulthard, 2007; Turpel, 1989). Collaborative arrangements such as Miitigoog provide opportunities for Treaty to be examined as part of the governance process.

Employment and retention was also highlighted as being centrally important to the future of the collaborations. Both Wincrief and Miitigoog depend on the production of forest resources for their long-term business viability, and the partnerships have been developed to support First Nations socio-economically through employment opportunities. However, the high expectations of First Nations participation have not been met within existing operations, and training programs have also faced an exceedingly limited success rate. This indicates that

there is a discord between employment opportunity and uptake, and that this is an issue that will need to be resolved if the collaborations are to continue working into the future.

The description of governance, as outlined throughout this chapter, provides a good starting point for understanding collaboration; however, it does not resolve other issues pertaining to collaboration as an evolving and meaningful process. Other aspects relating to collaboration, such as the benefits received through engagement such as increased knowledge and problem solving (Kearney et al., 2007; Wiber et al., 2009), remain to be explored. Such issues will be discussed in the next chapters, which present results on learning outcomes (Chapter 5), learning processes (Chapter 6), and learning relating more specifically to the cross-cultural aspects of collaboration (Chapter 7).

Chapter 5. Learning outcomes from cross-cultural collaboration

5.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses in detail learning outcomes (objective 2) that participants reported by collaborating in Wincrief and Miitigoog. Learning outcomes are analyzed according to Mezirow's (1991; 2003) learning domains as identified in my detailed analytical framework (Section 3.3.2). Learning outcomes that are instrumental (Section 5.2.1), communicative (Section 5.2.2), and transformative (Section 5.2.3) are presented and discussed. The analysis reveals how outcomes can be understood in terms of their source and/or function and what resulted in terms of actions taken by those involved in the cases. Results are presented as quotes by participants, which relate to the learning themes scoped by the literature review and study objectives. Participants often would respond in terms that were not as concrete as the question that was being posed. Rather than responding "I learned that...", participants would often respond by reflecting, presenting a narrative, or highlighting a particular component of their experience with collaboration. This chapter concludes with a summary and discussion that brings together the different learning domains and types of outcomes affecting cross-cultural collaboration (Section 5.3).

5.2 Learning domains: instrumental, communicative, and transformative learning outcomes

5.2.1 Instrumental learning outcomes

Mezirow (2000) describes instrumental learning as being directed towards the accomplishment of tasks or the development of skills. Within this learning domain the learner is meant to follow

Miisun workers (management, liaison, and laborer)	Managing the SFL for the Kenora Forest according to provincial guidelines for the Southern Whiskey Jack Forest (management), as well as according to cultural protocols and company ethos Conducting forest management activities on the land: road works, GIS (and other computer skills), surveying, etc. (laborers) Working under the direction and meet the expectations of Miisun managers (laborers)
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Instrumental learning outcomes occurring at the level of both Wincrief and Miitigoog boards related to the benefits that could be obtained by the autonomous parties involved in collaboration, as well as how the parties could find collective benefits by navigating provincial policy together. With Miitigoog, both the industry partners and the original First Nations indicated that to sign onto the agreement they had to learn about forest management policy – in particular the changes to tenure and the function of the shared SFL. OMNR managers facilitated this learning, especially in the early stages of establishing the board. Board members from First Nations, however, indicated they had a much steeper learning curve because they did not have as much experience with forest policy as the industry partners. A new member to the First Nations Trust explained the learning curve and spoke of it in terms of it being prohibitive to meaningful collaboration.

There’s a big learning curve, even for myself. People around [the Miitigoog board] are not totally familiar how it operates. I’m probably more involved in this process than the Chiefs are. I don’t know how much of a learning curve it is for them... The people on the other side of industry I believe are taking advantage of [the learning curve]. That’s why I say it’s [referring to collaboration] not there yet.

- Daniel Kelly; Ojibways of Onigaming First Nation, First Nations Trust

A similar sentiment was expressed by Eric Fisher with regards to Wincrief when asked about what had been learned about meaningful collaboration at the stage that they were in. Eric's comments reflect collaboration in a positive light, but also echo the "not there yet" sentiment in Daniel's quote.

I think [collaboration in business] has always been a symbol of the Treaty. It's always been about sharing, sharing the resources, sharing of culture. I think this business is on that path. I'm not sure if we've completely reached it yet, but we're getting there.

Instrumental learning by all parties about forest policy is one of the important "ingredients" for collaborative forest governance. However, not all of the partners had such outcomes, indicating that there was still a significant gap in terms of capacity to fully participate and be engaged in collaborations that was meaningful.

First Nations partners involved in Miitigoog indicated that through the establishment of the organization's founding agreement they learned about ways in which the partnership could build socio-economic opportunities for their individual communities, as well as other First Nations that could eventually join on. Learning outcomes in this area primarily related to potential future employment for community members, increased capacity through technology and development associated with forest management, and decision-making authority over the forestry activities occurring in the Kenora and Southern Whiskey Jack Forests. The following quote is from a person on the council of a First Nation that was new to the Trust. In this quote she was speaking to what she had learned about potential outcomes of joining the partnership.

We want to look at possibly developing our boundary lines first and foremost. Protecting our sensitive cultural areas, significant areas because there were a lot of sites out there that were used for ceremony. There's of course the endangered species. What we're going to do is determine where these sites are and put in our land codes so that we can protect those areas so they can never be used by industry. Also, we're looking at if we were to get a road. We want to develop an area for manufacturing.

- (participant 022)

Learning about different kinds of opportunities for developing information (such as establishing boundaries with GPS, as mentioned in the above quote) and infrastructure (such as roads, and the potential for manufacturing, as also mentioned above), and the protocols for decision-making was all part of the learning occurring among the First Nations new to the Trust. This was in addition to learning about the particulars of running Miisun as the operating arm of Miitigoog. In the early stages of Miisun, OMNR managers as well as the foresters who were leaving other companies and being hired to work for Miisun played a strong role educating the board about forest management. However, as new First Nations have been joining the Trust, roles have shifted to include existing board members playing the role of educator.

With Wincrief, the board members from Wabaseemoong learned about how the partnership model could benefit their community through employment and potential revenue. Eric Fisher talked about how the business partnership could lead to decisions that could change exploitative practices and create good outcomes for the land within their TLUA. The board members from the Moncrief family, and particularly Greg Moncrief who had the most connection with the people of Wabaseemoong, talked about how a partnership could enable them to conduct business in a fashion that was responsible to the community. This was a goal of the partnership and was therefore part of instrumental learning. However, the main objective was to foster a successful business and the means of maintaining production. Greg Moncrief recognized the social aspects of community partnership, but explained that it was outside of the usual scope of doing business.

It's industry and it's making, that's what business is. It's not social. It's not worrying about social work or teaching. That's all social. There's a lot of social issues. The whole community is socially based. You have to remember that's not business.

Instrumental learning outcomes by industry partners on the Miitigoog board pertained to how the partnership could benefit their respective businesses. As mentioned earlier (Section 4.4.3), board members from industry spoke of how their businesses could benefit from First Nation participation in employment. They also saw the partnership as a way of ending conflict on the land because it brought community representation into decision making.

On the woodlands side, it's probably one of the leading ways of doing business because of 50% of the board being Aboriginal involvement and trying to stay relevant we wanted – the most important thing was, wherever the forests are to be logged and reforested, whatever bands were involved in those areas the ultimate best way for us to operate was with their full involvement. It would be economic development for those reserves, and “peace in the woods” for all of us – both sides.

- Miitigoog board member (participant 036)

Instrumental learning about culture within the context of the case studies can be understood in terms of industry partners learning about Anishinaabe culture and partners from First Nations learning about the culture of the forestry industry. Both have well established norms and traditions that are steeped in the history of the region, one predating colonization and going back for thousands of years, and the other developing through colonization with a history of a few hundred years (Newton, unpublished manuscript). For industry board members and OMNR managers, learning about culture and how to respect cultural protocols was an important instrumental learning outcome relating to the establishment and maintenance of collaboration. The following quote from a Miitigoog board member speaks to how learning

about culture occurred concurrent with First Nations learning about business. It also speaks to how this outcome did not have any negative effects on business.

There are some cultural things that we've learned. As well, I think there are some things that they've learned about business. I don't think there would be anything that Miitigoog or any of the companies involved could say that there has been a hindrance in the operations at all.

- Miitigoog board member (participant 032)

Similar learning outcomes about culture were also evident among Wincrief board members from Moncrief. The following quote is from Gerry Moncrief, a former member of the Wincrief board who learned that cultural practice at the board level was necessary.

Ok, all the board meetings were structured like a typical board meeting and there was one of the board members was an elder from Whitedog and he would do an opening prayer and so on with the tobacco, which they - I'm not going to say they insisted but they asked and obviously we complied. In general, I think the board members were fairly like-minded and with the purpose that everyone wanted Wincrief to succeed.

Partners from First Nations reflected on learning about relationship building in their statements about what paved the way towards the formal collaborative agreement that is the Miitigoog partnership.

[Asked if it was a good relationship that was formed through working together on the land] Yeah! Oh yeah, and he didn't make fun of my ways. He respected my ways and I respected his ways. Even as friends we would joke around. It was always professional.

[Asked to describe the friendship] It grew over time. It didn't happen right away. He was doing his job for his boss and I was doing my job for my community. It just grew from there.

- Marvin McDonald; Wabaseemoong, Wincrief, First Nations Trust

Changes to land and forestry practices that came through collaboration were made possible through building relationships, which created the potential for cross-cultural communication leading to decisions that reflected cross-cultural values (i.e., forest plans inclusive of First Nations and industry values and aspirations). Learning outcomes relating to forest management were situated around individual learning that also translated directly into forest management plans. Individual learning outcomes related to what had become possible in terms of day-to-day management in the Kenora and Whiskey Jack Forests through establishing and maintaining collaborative governance (e.g., marking forest sites according to First Nations values). While this was an area for consideration when looking at learning outcomes, it was not an area for which there was a considerable amount of data from the side of First Nations because they were not involved in the day-to-day management of the forest through Wincrief or Miisun. Marvin McDonald from Wabaseemoong, on the Wincrief, Miitigoog, and First Nations Trust boards, had the most practical experience in terms of this kind of forest management because of his many years in the field. Marvin spoke about what he has learned about difficulties with liaising with his community.

My office is right by the Chiefs office and I have maps on my wall. We're not hiding anything but it's hard to keep information out there. We've tried newsletters, we've tried going door to door with an elder, we've tried radio, we've tried the Internet and still people say they're not informed. My council, I forward them all my documentations and emails and all that. I've got a list from my leadership but I can't make them read it.

Marvin works as an intermediary between Wincrief and Wabaseemoong, as well as Miitigoog/Miisun and Wabaseemoong. Through this role, he has learned that there are particular ways of managing the forest according to the values of his community and the rules outlined in the forest management plans.

Yeah, when people know we do [digital mapping] they come and they look at the map and say, “Oh there’s something there that used to be like a vision quest.” You know, where people go and sit and fast for a few days and look for a vision. People say if you can protect an eagle we can protect our sites too. Thirty meters is basically enough for us. An eagle needs eight hundred meters. We’re trying to get the same kind of thing. We’re trying to protect those but not identify the exact spot. Just put a buffer around.

Wincrief’s day-to-day forest management within the Wabaseemoong TLUA has involved learning outcomes for board members and managers. Implementing forest management has resulted in different reactions from the Wabaseemoong community. In practical terms, Wincrief managers have learned that forest management and harvesting within Wabaseemoong’s TLUA is possible if the integrity of the working relationship is maintained between the parties through strong lines of communication about forestry practices. The following quote by Greg Moncrief speaks to the importance of such communication with regards to learning.

So you’re trying to make business work, you’re trying to make the jobs work, which is sometimes you lose sight of in this case what your partner’s thoughts are, and then you wonder, has everybody learned? You go on and you talk about it until you realize you have a long way to go to understand.

Learning outcomes from day-to-day forest management of the SFL for the Kenora Forest and contracts within parts of the Southern Whiskey Jack Forest were primarily investigated through interviews with the forest management team working for Miisun. Managers, however, spoke more broadly in terms of resource management because Miisun had plans for diversification into other land management practices (e.g., mining). Miisun managers talked about how their job was dictated in large part by the provincial government frameworks

that came with “large manuals full of policy”, but that there were also things that they had to learn about in order to conduct their work within a First Nations owned company.

Yeah, my role didn't change, but with Weyerhaeuser it was quite different than working for a First Nations company... So there's been that influence on our operations but not to the level of full First Nations involvement with the planning process or the operations. It's very prescriptive and well I mean here's the manual [picks up a large book]. This is the small version of the Forest Planning Manual. That's only one of the manuals. There are other manuals and guidelines so it's very scientific and prescriptive, which does not really fit in with the First Nation model of how to work with First Nations.

- Bob Boyce; Miisun manager

The above quote reflects that particular managers learned that their job of making provincial policy work along with Anishinaabe cultural values and practice is a challenging one. Forest managers learned that the communications aspects of their jobs were most effectively achieved through the Anishinaabe liaison staff at Miisun.

As soon as you have an Anishinaabe liaison [First Nations people] tend to open up more and at least it gets the ball rolling to try to get some information out there. What was done in the past [prior to Miisun] was basically nothing. It was just a token letter and what we've done in the last almost three years is we've enhanced that to go above and beyond.

- Miisun manager (participant 014)

Learning outcomes from the Anishinaabe Liaison will be discussed further in the next section about communicative learning. Managers also spoke of learning about the company ethos through communications from the board. Several learned that their work under a First Nations company was different from their old industry positions, and that they had to shift their thinking accordingly.

I guess it's the first time I've ever worked directly for a First Nations company, so your boss is a board of First Nations people vs. companies, so right away the context of every

conversation you have is different. When you work for a corporation or industry every meeting, every strategic goal is usually geared towards the best interest of the company. [With Forestry Companies] you still have to manage a land base of forest management so you still do what you need to do there but really you're in it for the end goals of the company. Coming here [Miisun] that sort of changed on a dime - for a good reason. You're in it to do the right thing for the land base, which is what everybody's supposed to be in it for.

- Miisun manager (participant 017)

Here, the manager relates learning as shifting focus from the company to the land base, and how this is a shift that is beneficial for all. Doing the “right thing for the land base” can also be thought of as being fairly synonymous with the term “sustainability”, which is also built into the title of the license that is being operationalized (i.e., Sustainable Forestry License) through Miitigoog. Learning outcomes that related to changes in land and forestry practices with Wincrief and Miitigoog were directly associated with tree harvesting practices (i.e., rather than ecosystems services or restoration, non-timber forest products, etc.). Enhanced sustainability of the forests was stated to be an outcome of learning to collaborate and implement forest policy together by those involved in governance of Wincrief and Miitigoog. However, Marvin McDonald also learned through experience that people from the Wabaseemoong community did not always share the same meaning perspective.

That's the perception they have on the First Nations. They [industry] just come in and grab whatever they want and then leave. When I got to work with them it's different. I liked it. But I have a hard time convincing my own people. I still get people coming to my office and saying “Hey, they're cutting all of our trees down”, and it's hard for me to say no they're not and they're trying to do it sustainably.

At this stage of the collaborations, sustainability was based on subjective interpretations; therefore, “sustainability” is not included as a concrete learning outcome because of the disagreement, as illustrated by Marvin's quote. Participants across the board acknowledged that

collaborative learning capable of producing sustainability outcomes for different parties would take time. The discord as to whether the new forestry practices brought about by collaboration would be sustainable was often related to past conflicts over sustainability and the build up of collective memory that occurred through dealing with past actions by industry. Grassy Narrows was cited continuously as an example.

[Grassy Narrows] continues to be on the water system, the river system that got contaminated, and I think the residual effects of that mercury poisoning still today manifests itself visibly within the community.

- Independent consultant (participant 029)

Laborers who made up the workforce of Wincrief and Miisun had significant instrumental learning outcomes, which were mainly around skill development for their particular jobs. Skills were acquired by learning from mostly other laborers.

I did learn a lot, especially when Ken got in. We always worked together. He taught me how to measure doors and openings, windows. I did learn a lot from him.

[Asked if he learned from managers] No, not really. When I got on I was just learning what they were telling me to do then I would do it and sometimes I would make a mistake right, but when Ken got on he was like watching me and he would check up on me and tell me to do it the right way and stuff like that.

- Wincrief laborer (participant 039)

The above statement indicates that instrumental learning was best achieved through working with others as opposed to being given directions. It also speaks to how the laborer had to learn about how to take directions and meet the expectations of their managers. Managers also learned through interactions with laborers; however, these types of learning outcomes would qualify as communicative rather than instrumental. This difference is because of the power dynamics existing between the groups. Managers had to engage in communication with

laborers in order to understand how to formulate their expectations in a fashion that is realistic for working with people from the communities. This will be covered further in the following section.

5.2.2 Communicative learning outcomes

Communicative learning “refers to the ability of the learner to negotiate his or her own purposes, values, feelings, and meanings rather than simply act on those of others” (Mezirow et al., 2000, p. 10). Through communicative learning, norms and values can be established, and new and evolved forms of relationships can take shape (Marschke & A. J. Sinclair, 2009). Thus, communicative learning outcomes are important for understanding the development of processes such as collaboration in governance, as well as those processes that create opportunities for reconciliation. Table 5 presents the communicative learning outcomes according to types that are relevant to the learners that make up the Wincrief and Miitigoog case studies.

Table 5. Communicative learning outcomes

Learners	Types of communicative learning outcomes
Wincrief board	Some understanding of partners' interests in collaborative forest governance (economic, social, environmental)
Miitigoog board	New kinds relationships between governance partners
First Nations Trust / Miisun board	Cross-cultural understanding Shared values and norms for cross-cultural collaboration Ingredients for collaboration (as it is defined in this thesis)
Wincrief workers (management and laborers)	Shared values and norms for the work environment Work in cross-cultural settings and the development of some cross-cultural understanding
Miisun workers (management, Anishinaabe liaison, and laborer)	Shared values and norms for the work environment Knowledge on how to consult with Treaty #3 First Nations about forest management (Anishinaabe Liaison) Working in cross-cultural settings and the development of some cross-cultural understanding

Communicative learning outcomes that came through establishing and maintaining collaborative governance of the Wincrief and Miitigoog boards included understanding the interests of other parties to the collaborative agreement, new kinds of relationships between the people involved in governance, cross-cultural understanding, the establishment of shared values and norms for collaborative arrangements, and the establishment of some of the ingredients that makes governance collaborative according to the way it is defined in this thesis (i.e., a process that is mutually favourable for both/all parties). All of these learning outcomes occurred through both formal and non-formal meetings of various sizes, from one-on-one casual meetings to larger inclusive board level meetings. The communicative outcomes also occurred

at different phases building the collaboration including prior to the initiation, throughout the initiation and development, and following the establishment of the Wincrief, Miitigoog, and First Nations Trust boards.

In the case of Wincrief, most of the understanding of partners' interests in collaboration occurred when relationships were being established during the initiation of the organization. At this stage, communicative learning outcomes were centered on the key individuals from each side of the partnership, namely Greg Moncrief and Wabaseemoong's [now former] Chief Eric Fisher. While Wincrief was ultimately a pragmatic business choice for both individuals, both participants spoke to the importance of the interpersonal relationship that gave them each confidence to continue with creating a formal partnership. Both people spoke to the trust that they built during the time when they first conceived of Wincrief as a company involving a partnership between community and industry.

It started off with knowing that there is mutual benefit, but very shortly thereafter it turned into mutual respect and respect as everybody knows, you earn that over time. That is the key. That says it in a nutshell. If the communities have no respect for you or trust, those two words will come up all the time. Respect for the members, respect for the land, the animals, the tree. You have to - that's how it's built. Over the years it's had it's ups and downs but the relationships with myself and Chief Fisher has never waived.

– Greg Moncrief; CEO Wincrief Forest Products

It was all different now that [forestry] had to be mechanical. So what I did was I looked at the other cutting areas and other partners out there that I could partner up with and the best person that I've seen and had really good comments with was with Greg Moncrief, so I think that's how we approached each other for the opportunity. The partnership was just based on a handshake and trust between the two of us. That trust grew to a point where we did want to put something down on paper and develop a licensed company... One thing, he's local and how he treats other people. I think his friendship was one of the strongest. Also, there's other logging operators out there that he would help them keep their license out there and keep them on code. I guess that's how I build my trust with him.

– Chief Eric Fisher; Wabaseemoong, Wincrief, First Nations Trust

The quotes from the Wincrief founding partners reflect what they learned about trust and respect through communications that eventually gave them the confidence to form a legally binding collaboration. In the early stages of developing Wincrief, learning about the partners' particular interests in developing the more formal collaboration was also important for developing the guidelines for the business. With regard to the partners' interests, the discourse from Greg Moncrief and Eric Fisher was relatively unified. Both strongly emphasized that they learned through their discussions that economic benefit was of shared importance, referring to increasing profit while providing employment opportunities to Wabaseemoong community members. Both also expressed that social wellbeing for the people of Wabaseemoong was a shared interest.

The people that we do have working for Wincrief is less for the leadership to worry about. Knowing that he or she has employment and that person is looking after their own families and looking after their own bills and their own income. Now we're looking at other opportunities that would try to get other people working in the community. It's a piece of the larger puzzle. Wincrief is helping with the social health and wellbeing of our workers.

– Eric Fisher

They need to be involved. They need to have jobs. They need an economy. They have families to feed. It's their back yard and it's their resources so to continue to work, and that's before Grassy Narrows. That's before all hell broke loose around Kenora here with all of the problems with the forest industry. The writing was on the wall ten years or even longer ago, so if you want to do the right thing it's not all about business or dollars and cents. It's people. That's what we are, right?

– Greg Moncrief

Cross-cultural understanding was a communicative learning outcome that came from setting up collaboration; however, Greg Moncrief and Eric Fisher mostly reflected upon it as an area that required more learning.

Yes, and I wish I had spend more time focusing on [culture]. Even to this day I'm still learning. Honestly that's a lifetime. The cultures and people, there are some differences. There are some big differences on how the upbringings look at two different ways for the same situations. So no, still learning. (laughing) I won't even pretend to know all there is to know.

– Greg Moncrief

I think we both have to learn from each other. One of the things that I think the both sides could learn from each other - for the First Nations point of view would actually be how to run a business. How to successfully run and manage and look after business. I know there's a lot of training involved. Greg has been really part of it.

– Eric Fisher

Eric Fishers quote reflects a commonly shared perspective held by participants that "business culture" was part of the culture that was being shared by industry people involved in collaboration. Learning about culture was as also an instrumental learning outcome, as discussed in the previous section.

Once Wincrief was formalized, the people taking positions within the board also had opportunities to learn through communications with their fellow board members. Major communicative learning outcomes for the board fit with the themes listed in Table 5. However, the board members did not reflected upon their communicative outcomes as deeply as the two founding members. When speaking of their interactions Wincrief board members referred to general knowledge about each other in terms of personal background and intent with regards to the business.

Everyone was there with the intent to make the business successful. The gentleman from Whitedog, the elder, he ran a store so he was familiar with a small business. Everyone knew that everyone wanted it to succeed. There was only one of us at the table, which was my brother who was hands on everyday dealing with all of the aspects of everything so the day-to-day stuff we really had nothing to do with except for Greg.

- Gerry Moncrief; Wincrief board

For the Miitigoog board members, the development of understanding about each other's interests happened both prior to and during the establishment of the board. However, it was the implementation of the *Tenure Modernization Act, 2011* that brought about new types of communications that led to the formation of Miitigoog and the First Nations Trust. OMNR managers brought the idea of a new SFL model forward to forestry companies and First Nations, and initiated the communication about collaborative forest governance. Deb Weedon, the OMNR District Manager for northwestern Ontario, reflected on communication and how she learned that she had to work differently in order to build a meaningful understanding of the parties rather than simply going in and gaining their approval. However, she also felt that more time to develop relationships would have been beneficial.

The important factors were basic communication. That was huge. Getting to understand the other's perspective. We don't often take time to do that. We know what the end is and we know we need to get to it, but we fully do not understand the background of each other. Big industry is used to having, this sounds crude, but their own way. They're used to being in charge. They're the one's calling the shots. Well, now they're not and they have to rely on this huge team of other players and the KILA, the smaller guys, they're not used to all these other players at the table too. Time, working together and open transparent dialogue has really changed the relationship of industry, KILA and the First Nations in a very positive manner!

Deb's quote also speaks to the typical expectations that forestry professionals would have with regards to forestry licenses and how they would have to adapt to new forms of decision making.

Those involved in the Miitigoog and First Nations Trust boards learned that new kinds of relationships emerged through collaboration. Friendship was an important theme in the data, as was how shared experiences contributed to both the creation of opportunities and the maintenance of institutions (i.e., first and second-order governance). Several of the learning moments that were reflected upon by the participants occurred several years prior to coming to

the collaboration - some as long ago as during childhood. This is explored further in Section 6.2.4, which covers learning processes relating to emotional, tacit and spiritual experiences.

Similarly, industry partners reflected on pre-existing relationships as creating a solid foundation for discussing collaboration. Stories about friendships on both sides of the collaboration were often reflected through humorous events shared among actors. The following quote from Mike Dietsch shows that he feels that relationship building has a significant affect on the communications leading to collaboration.

Building relationships is the key to success and truly understanding the desires of all participants. If you don't build the relationships then you'll only ever see a tiny bit.

Cross-cultural understanding was an important learning outcome relating to working through new kinds of relationships and developing collaborative governance. The following statement by Greg Moncrief, as part of a response to being asked what was learned during retreats, is an example of his understanding and acknowledgement of Anishinaabe teaching as being related to life cycle.

So you're taking on the harvesting aspect of it, which is trap line, traditional values, sacred areas, offering points. The trapping they see it as a loss of livelihood by harvesting. It's one way that people take it. Others take it quite differently. If you don't have renewal in the forest you have nothing so it's a life cycle and it goes back to their teaching that it is a lifecycle. Traditionally it's been forest fires but we put forest fires out today so the harvesting itself has to be realized is a very integral part of the cycle. It depends what side your on. It truly is more personal beliefs than science sometimes.

People working in management and laborer positions also reflected on what they had learned about the culture of "others" and about working in a cross-cultural setting. Managers typically reflected on particular instances that revolved around cross-cultural communication,

as well as direct observations acquired through their work. Megan Moncrief, a manager at Wincrief referred to one such instance that created a learning outcome about how she ought to communicate with people living in the Wabaseemoong community.

Lately I've been calling out to reserves to see what kind of housing needs they have and it seems like the people that I've talked to have a real respect for the people that are straightforward. It's interesting that they build relationships based on people rather than product. I have a love of Toyota trucks. Well I'm basing that love on a thing. They seem to place that value on people.

Megan's comments also related to a development of understanding about values that are situated primarily around relationships. Participants involved in collaboration reflected on new relationships as being incrementally built and often built on existing relationships. There were no statements that presented a panacea to mending personal or societal relationships. Instead, participants generally commented on their commitment to learning about their fellow collaborators, and the small actions that they took along the way that they believed to be favourable to relationships. Mike Dietsch commented on this and reflected on what he learned about relationship building on the Miitigoog board, as well as what was important for relationship building for First Nations.

Lots of listening and lots of time to understand. Building relationships takes tons of time. The difference between many businesses approach and that of communities is that there typically is more of a sense of urgency by business. For communities the sense of urgency is not there. They're looking to make sure they're building something that is going to stand the test of time and be there long after they're gone from the situation. They are trying to make sure that all efforts come together so that all people understand what you're trying to do, and what the impacts will be and the reason that you're both trying to do these things. That's the part that takes a long time to discover and it is a process together. Both businesses and communities want long-term success but they traditionally have different timelines.

Participants acting in management positions mentioned similar matters. Megan Moncrief talked specifically about a conscious process that involved being purposefully attentive towards people's lives. She also commented on how learning about other cultures was an effort that she consistently tried to engage in by talking to others, and how she felt positively about this learning.

Bit by bit and very small. It's like anything I guess. If someone comes in and says, "My daughter's sick." Well, if I see you two days later and I ask about your daughter. It means a whole lot more than saying, "Hey, how are ya?" It's the same way with everyone.

I think especially it's important to learn more and more about the different cultures. Not only First Nations and white people but there's so many different cultures and the way that people think and even just - you know five people come in here and they're going to have a different way of looking at things. There's a lot of people that I've met that I would never have dreamed that I would meet and it's just appreciating that and seeing that it's an opportunity and that it's not a bad thing.

Francis Kavanaugh, an elder from Naotkamegwanning and member of the First Nations Trust and Miitigoog boards reflected on how he had learned that it was important to respect the different cultures and ways of being of different peoples.

It's very simple, to me it is. It's about respecting one another. Like I respect the ways of the non-Native, but by the same token I would expect that they respect who I am as well and that they respect me for who I am. I'm not different from any other human being, it's just that I was born Ojibway and I was given a way of life, that's who I am. It's not open to debate either. That's who I am. It's the creator that made us like this. You know what I mean? That's where the racist attitudes come from. It's failure to understand or accept people for what they look like. Even in my own culture, my own people even tell me that I need to lighten up, that I need to walk around and smile, I can't, I am who I am.

Essentially, Francis was talking about general norms that are important to him with regards to how to treat people, and what constitutes respect for culture.

Board members from industry also discussed interpersonal norms relating to culture as learning outcomes. The following industry participant reflected on modifying his behaviour to be less aggressive in order to have particular outcomes in working with First Nations.

There's no way that you're going to go in and say, "It's going to be my way or the highway" sort of thing. If you're willing work with First Nations and they're willing to work with you you'll gain ten fold in the long run, but like I said before it's a long slow process in some cases. In other cases you will gain sometimes miles in moments.

- Miitigoog board member (participant 032)

Greg Moncrief had a similar learning-by-doing outcome relating to communication norms with First Nations. This outcome is related to both cultural and interpersonal norms.

From learning you learn how to address people properly, make the proper offerings. You listen more. Again, our culture tends to talk too much. They'll listen all day to you. If you're not going to listen they're quite content not to tell you anything. We tend to interrupt and force ourselves in conversation. They don't. You have to pause. There's always a pause and you have to look in their eyes to see if there's more coming or if they've finished their thoughts. You may wait which seems an eternity. It may be ten or fifteen seconds before they continue to talk.

Discussions about values and norms by First Nation participants were often centered on whether respect was being demonstrated through collaborative governance. Several of the participants from First Nations who were part of the initiation of Miitigoog expressed that respect for culture was a normative outcome of learning to collaborate.

[In reference to Miitigoog] I think with this new partnership where it's 50-50 decision making, process or education. There's an exchange in values like sacred areas out there for prayer for fasting, or might be more towards family gathering areas for berries, for medicines, and all that. I think the respect is there.

- Eric Fisher

Learning in support of the establishment of institutional norms and values was important for making collaboration work in the first place. Both Wincrief and Miitigoog went through periods where values were being expressed and negotiated, in turn contributing to the norms for future collaboration. Policy frameworks also played a significant role in establishing the “rules of engagement” (a.k.a., norms) because both Wincrief and Miitigoog were working within clear policy frames – the Wabaseemoong TLUA and the Kenora Forest SFL, respectively. (This was also discussed as part of the instrumental learning outcomes in the previous section). With the Wincrief case, the establishment of norms began with the relationship between Greg Moncrief from Moncrief Construction and [the former] Chief Fisher of Wabaseemoong.

Trust, rapport and respect emerged again in the data, this time as being an important communicative learning outcome. Such qualities are important for establishing and maintaining successful collaborative decision making (Berkes, 2009b; Zurba et al., 2012). Greg Moncrief spoke directly and positively about learning about First Nations values and protocols for acknowledging traditional territory. This was something that he learned early on in working with Wabaseemoong.

Respect. They respect land, the traditional land use areas, where they have a tremendous amount of respect for each other with their territories. A community member will go to visit another community member the first thing they’ll say is, “Thank you for allowing me to be in your territory”. That’s great. They have a tremendous amount of respect.

Greg’s comment about practices that are part of respecting territory is a reflection of a normative value with regards to working with others. This was a value that came from long-term work with First Nations in northwestern Ontario. As mentioned before, several of the

norms that existed at the board level were established through learning prior to the development of the boards. However, rules and norms were also developed or further solidified through learning at the level of the board. Learning about norms primarily related to communication and decision-making processes. The following quote by a board member from Wabaseemoong speaks to his understanding of these processes.

Yeah we make our decisions by vote. There's just day-to-day with the CEO Greg he does day-to-day business, but when there's a major decision that we make we all go in the same room and the decision is made. It goes around the table. Everybody's given a chance to say what he wants to say. It's not just one person making decisions. We all vote. If there's resistance from one person then a discussion has to be had as to what is the best possible solution for everybody.

- Wincrief board member; Wabaseemoong (participant 040)

However, the same participant expressed that he learned that it caused frustration at the board level when an agenda was not circulated in advance with enough time to contribute or give feedback. This was, therefore, a norm that did not contribute to collaboration.

We correct our lack of communication that we have, especially when we have a board meeting. I like to have an agenda two or three days in advance. We don't have that until we get to the table. Nothing's done in advance. [said with frustration]

In the case of Miitigoog and Miisun, learning about the norms for cross-cultural collaboration also occurred at the board level. Miitigoog collaborators typically said that they had learned early on that they could speak their minds without bringing an end to the collaborative process. Many cited opposite viewpoints as coming up, and often being passionately discussed. This was a norm more so at the beginning of collaboration when it was important for parties to assert their positions and autonomy. A participant with knowledge of the early stages of Miitigoog learned about how norms had to be developed through collaboration rather than being prescribed.

[Miitigoog] is collaborative, I mean to the extent that nothing is mandated. Ok, so there are no rules that have to be met. The parties in the industry understand what each party wants from the arrangement. They cooperate, that's a good thing. They collaborate, that's a good thing. There's consensus, that's a great thing! These are just good things to take place. There's no legal requirement on behalf of these particular groups amongst themselves. There was a discipline that was put in place that everybody agreed to; let's have agendas sent out in advance so nobody get's sandbagged at a meeting, so whatever is going to be discussed people know well in advance. Ok, and I wasn't sure what level of engagement we were going to have but it's not wrong to say that almost all our meetings have perfect attendance. When you have seven or eight directors sitting around a table that's good. That means the parties are engaged. What turned out is that we not only have engaged directors, we have directors who speak their mind. It's not everybody sitting back and not saying anything. So you have fulsome views that are being expressed and discussions do take place. Many of them are quite lengthy and the consensus is reached as to what the next step should be. Has there been any disagreement? I wouldn't call them disagreements. Have there been differences in opinion? I would say there have been.

- Independent (participant 029)

The quote speaks to the importance of engagement in participation and discussions towards creating meaningful collaboration.

Through deliberation, norms were set early on through the initiation of the collaborations. It is, however, important to identify this learning outcome as being most relevant to the board members who were behind the creation of the partnership. Newer members to Miitigoog and the First Nations Trust expressed a different learning outcome relating to engagement at the board level and how it translates into meaningful collaboration. As mentioned earlier, some of the newer First Nations Trust members felt that the trust, communication, and recognition of the limited capacity of First Nations to collaborate in a meaningful way was “not quite there yet”. However, other participants from the First Nations Trust and industry participants discussed that they learned that the board was set up to be supportive and inclusive, but also recognized the need for capacity building for new First Nations Trust members.

Norms around collaborative governance were also affected by learning outcomes that were generated through consultation processes including the OMNR, the Grand Council of Treaty #3, and First Nations not yet part of the First Nations Trust. The perspective from the Grand Council of Treaty #3 was generally that they had learned that it was important to be very clear about defining terms like consultation and collaboration through their communications with outsiders (i.e., industry, OMNR, and the like). The following participant talked about this learning outcome, as well as his learning about the United Nations Declaration for the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP), which he thought could guide consultation with First Nations more appropriately.

The OMNR wants to come and have a meeting in your community. The first thing that you want to have clear is that this is not consultation. We're not prepared to engage the information that you're going to share with us or we don't have the technicians in place that can understand it. The forest management planning process, there's a mechanism in place to ensure First Nation participation and their manuals - the manuals that they give these bureaucrats have to be consistent with what's happening at the highest level. That's with the United Nations. There's the UNDRIP. You know the UNDRIP? There's a good definition of consultation right there.

- Grand Council of Treaty #3 (participant 018)

Managers from the OMNR typically talked about learning outcomes coming through consultation as being twofold, either ending in frustration and no form of agreement, or resulting in outcomes that were mutually favorable and collaborative. Many spoke about consultation as bringing opportunities to First Nations, which was met with mixed receptivity. Marvin McDonald explained this in terms of the fear that communities have, as well as how silence can be as strong a response as one that is verbal.

Well, going there and looking at the maps and signing your name on the sign up sheet means that it's okay. I think that's what [community members have] been told in the past. I'm not sure if that still applies, but that's one of the first questions [community

members] ask Ministry, “Is this consultation?” They see that as approving, but being silent could be approving too.

Learning outcomes relating to the “successes” and “failures” in the management of the Kenora and southern Whiskey Jack Forests were fairly different among participants depending principally upon their affiliation(s). The data in this regard were largely limited to learning outcomes about the each other's perspectives and how to communicate. This is very likely because the collaborations had only been functioning in terms of forest management for about a year at the time of the research. If the collaborations are permitted to continue, the learning outcomes about forest management will likely evolve into those that are related to “positive” and “negative” outcomes relating to how collaboration affects the sustainable management of the land, as well as any socio-economic gains that are achieved.

In terms of forest management, Miisun staff primarily talked about the importance of developing relationships through communication with First Nations communities that might be interested in joining the First Nations Trust, or that might be affected by forest operations under the Miitigoog SFL for the Kenora Forest. Bob Boyce, a forest manager at Miisun who used to work at Weyerhaeuser before joining Miisun spoke to his newly developed understanding of community consultations within a First Nations owned company.

It takes a lot more involvement to get people to talk about what you wanted to talk about as soon as you sat down and said, “Hi, I’m Bob and here’s my forest management plan.” There’s a lot more relationship building. Some of the work that Conrad was doing, he was in Daniel’s role before him, he said I go talk to the elders and you may have it down that I’m supposed to speak to three in a day. I may get through half and then I go back another time and they say, “Now I remember this other story I wanted to tell you”. So it doesn’t follow that kind of strict project management kind of style that they want in a government manual.

All Miisun managers and Anishinaabe liaisons learned that relationship building was important for establishing norms within the company that were supportive of collaboration. This next quote speaks to this and the degree of skepticism that is deeply rooted within First Nation communities, which the participant perceives to be slowly changing. It also speaks to how Miisun staff aim to take a novel approach to their communications with communities, aimed towards working past such skepticism.

We can accommodate people's interests instead of just going up against the wall and doing things like the old ways, which is what industry and government did before. Nevertheless, we still deal with the skepticism when we go to the communities because change happens over phases so you get a transition response.

- Fred Greene; Shoal Lake 39 First Nation, Miisun employee

The above two quotes speak to the change that was occurring in consultation practices through Miisun, which is also highlighted in the next chapter in the section about learning through formal engagement (6.2.1). The role of the Anishinaabe liaison was particularly important for facilitating cross-cultural communication, and for creating opportunities for learning from day-to-day management and from the consultations for adding other Treaty #3 First Nations to the Trust. Daniel Wemigwans, the longest serving Anishinaabe liaison (Fred Green had just started towards the end of the research) talked about his work as filling a gap in forest management. He had learned that his role was important due to the lack of people from First Nations with training that would permit them fill the forest management positions at Miisun.

Initially what was happening was as this company was rolling out there are no real, they're few and far between, is the Anishinaabe First Nations registered professional foresters, which is a really high designation to be able to sign off on these forest management plans and to be able to have the experience behind you as well as the

certificate to be able to sign off on these as an authority. Finding a First Nations person with that capacity is pretty difficult.

Daniel also talked about his approach to consultation, and how he learned through experiences with others that he needed to be able to properly communicate to First Nation community members the benefits of being a part of Miisun. He often referred to GIS and other types of increased technical capacity as being valued by the First Nations that he had consulted with.

We've been having communications obstacles so I try to have any means as an "in", so I can talk to them and say that we're actually helping your First Nation, employing your members and that way they have something. We're giving them something for their time and cooperation.

The importance of having an Anishinaabe liaison was a learning outcome cited by all three of the forestry managers at Miisun. They felt that this role was essential to communicating with First Nations about forestry knowledge and practice, and it affected the overall success of the management company. A manager at GCT#3 also spoke to the quality of communication between Miisun and the Grand Council office due to a familiarity with Daniel, who used to work in communications with the GCT#3.

We've been pretty fortunate that one of their current employees is one of our past employees. Daniel, we talk to him just about every week.

- (participant 018)

Managers from Wincrief expressed that they learned from working with First Nations that effective consultation came through having Wabaseemoong community people at the

boardroom table. They were also themselves engaged in many consultation processes and had learned about cultural protocols for meetings, such as the norms guiding when it is a person's turn to speak and gender roles in the community. Managers reflected upon understanding culture as being central to Wincrief operations, and that learning about culture was something that happened on an ongoing basis through interactions with people from Wabaseemoong and other First Nations. The following quote describes how Megan Moncrief, a manager in charge of marketing and some worksite activities, had to learn about cultural differences in order to better serve the needs of people from Wabaseemoong.

Well I'm learning more and more that [cross-cultural understanding] is incredibly important. Well the thing is that I've been writing a marketing plan for the houses and sort of moving into the sales. It's really different the way you approach someone from Kenora. "Hey, you wanna buy a house?" They ask a question or two. With the First Nations communities it's totally different and there's a level of understanding there that has been lacking. Not for lack of trying but it's really hard to understand. People come in and they want the biggest home that you can build with the biggest bedrooms and they want a master bedroom with two bathrooms and then you go out to the community and they say the houses are too big and we don't need big bedrooms. So you have to come at it in a totally different way and understand that there are different needs. There are two different ways to approach, and it's not like a racism thing. I hate to say but it's just like it's two different cultures and you have to sort of look at it that way. Even with advertising, I've been going through newspapers and the radio, and I talk to a couple of people from Whitedog and they say, "What about Facebook?" Why would they buy off Facebook? But, that's what they do. Communities are so far apart and they use that as a tool to connect. So now we're using that and trying to go that way with more online stuff.

The two workers from Wabaseemoong who were employed at Wincrief at the time of the research talked about the norms relating to experience and employment in the workplace. There was a fair amount of tension expressed with regards to this topic. One worker expressed that he could not understand why people were losing their jobs and being replaced with others when he perceived no problem with the work being done.

We had maybe two guys this early spring. They worked over here at the log peeler. They laid those guys off so they're out of a job. These guys hired somebody else who's inexperienced. They paid those guys \$13 an hour, and they paid these guys \$23 an hour...

[asked if there were problems with the work]

No, no troubles at all. Like they ask me, "When do I come back to work?"

- Kenneth Carpenter; Wabaseemoong, Wincrief laborer

Dissonance expressed by Wincrief managers related to the flexibility that they were trying to work into their terms of employment with Wabaseemoong and the lack of results in terms of effective communication and employee retention (also discussed in Section 4.4.3). Managers generally felt that more flexible work terms would mean that community people would be more likely to show up to work or to keep their jobs with Wincrief. The following quote reflects the communications issue, but gets to some of the cognitive dissonance around work constructs and ethic.

Call in if you're going to miss a day, and be productive the whole time you're here. That's a huge stretch... I know personally I'm having a lot more respect for why are we as a society so driven to work, work, work, work, work. Do we really need all of these things that we're working so hard for, and would we [the settler community] not be better served as a population if we took a step back?

- Tannis Romaniuk; Wincrief manager

The communicative learning outcomes that contributed to collaboration as a mutually favourable governance system was highly connected to the building cross-cultural understanding and social norms. The next sections of this chapter will deal more specifically with learning outcomes that can be categorized as being transformative.

5.2.3 Transformative learning

As explored earlier in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, transformative learning describes the process of critical self-reflection as being capable of changing habits of mind and embedded forms of knowledge (Mezirow, 1991). This cognitive transformation can then translate into observable action(s) that can potentially affect institutions and/or the ‘lifeworld’ (Mezirow, 1995). Transformative learning is typically traced by following the learning stories of individuals; however, in the case of collaboration the cognitive and institutional changes are often products of simultaneous changes affecting more than one person (Baumgartner, 2001; Percy, 2005). Therefore, the transformative learning accounts presented in this section relate both to individuals and to units larger than individual. In particular the transformative learning stories from those involved in Wincrief and Miitigoog/Miisun in aggregate can be considered to be the beginning of the story of transformative learning and forest management, a collective action outcome shaping northwestern Ontario. Table 6 presents the individual transformative learning outcomes according to types that are relevant to the learners that make up the Wincrief and Miitigoog case studies.

Table 6. Transformative learning outcomes for individuals

Learners	Individuals	Types of transformative learning outcomes
Wincrief board	Partners originating collaboration	Trust building resulting in the confidence to establish formal collaboration
	Other board members	Scrutiny and in one case a decision to leave the board
Miitigoog board	Industry partners (including KILA)	Changing communication and business protocols to be more suitable for working with partners from First Nations
	First Nation partners	Trust resulting in changes in communications and protocols for working with industry and the government
OMNR managers	Supervisor	Incremental learning about approaches to relationship building
	Northwest Regional Director	Learning that collaboration is favourable and replicable
First Nations Trust / Miisun board (governance)		Willingness to collaborate and run a resource management business
Wincrief managers and laborers	Managers	Modification of communication and management style towards being more appropriate for Wabaseemoong community people
	Laborers	n/a
Miisun managers, liaison, and laborer	Forest managers	Modification of approaches to consulting with First Nations How to integrate First Nation values into forest management plans
	Anishinaabe liaison	Development of a capacity building approach to consulting with First Nations
	Laborer	Communications with First Nations about modern forestry practices

Transformative learning affecting Wincrief governance occurred primarily as a result of the communicative learning experiences by Eric Fisher and Greg Moncrief. Both individuals incrementally learned that they could trust the partnership and work towards building formal collaboration. This can be explained by tracing the board members' experiences and critical self-reflection through the three stages outlined by Mezirow (1991). Greg Moncrief and Eric Fisher both described a period of considering their assumptions regarding partnership, and scrutinized their existing relationship throughout several years before deciding to formalize their relationship as an incorporated business partnership. Marvin McDonald, who sits on both Wincrief and Miitigoog boards, had similar incremental instrumental and communicative learning outcomes that can be said to be transformative because they led to the establishment of trust and new kinds of relationships with industry partners. Much of Marvin's learning that led to establishment of trust (the transformation) occurred prior to formal collaboration as was indicated by the instrumental learning stories about working out on the land with government and industry people.

Other Wincrief board members did experience communicative learning through formal engagement in the board, however, there was only one instance in which the outcome can be said to be transformative. Two Wincrief board members scrutinized assumptions about activities within the board, but had not yet fully changed their frame-of-reference or applied their learning to governance. One former board member did, however, have a full change in their frame-of-reference with regard Wincrief. This board member learned that the political nature of collaboration with Wabaseemoong was not something that he personally wanted to be engaged in from a business point-of-view. He has since moved on to build other collaborative

business relationships with First Nations. (This participant chose not to be quoted for this portion of the interview.)

For the board members from First Nations who became involved in Miitigoog, they learned that they could trust government and industry enough to formally commit to collaboration under the shared SFL for the Kenora Forest. This trust came through engagement in formal as well as some informal processes (discussed in Chapter 6). Learning outcomes coming from early stages of collaboration also resulted in increased enthusiasm for and the promotion of the collaborative model to other First Nations. Two of the original First Nations partners stated that they had observed socio-economic benefits for their communities, and that this was the main reason for their commitment and desire to tell other First Nations about the model. Industry partners had communicative learning outcomes that were also transformative. Through communications occurring prior to and during the establishment of collaboration they learned about effective ways to communicate, and how they needed to develop institutional protocols that would be acceptable for collaboration with First Nations. This type of institutional change was reflected in most of the interviews with industry managers in leadership positions (including KILA) and with seats at the Miitigoog board. The following quote by Dale Munro, a board member from KFP, further illustrates this point.

The tipping point for that was when we agreed to the First Nation management company. That was the thing that demonstrated to them that they could trust us because we were basically giving it to them, and they were a little bit surprised at that but I think that's really the thing that sealed the deal and in fairness Weyerhaeuser has had a long-term relationship with Wabaseemoong as well. We basically had worked for years together. This is the first time we have actually structured it but we've always had business to business relationships with the First Nations and we've always tried to work as much as we could with them but this really is the first time that we've structured a relationship between industry and the First Nations and the thing that it does, it gives us some confidence that we're not going to get boycotted or we're not going to have people with road blocks because the First Nations are actually doing the planning in their language

and doing the planning with their First Nations people, and building that trust for the industry and themselves. You've heard it today [referring to a Miisun signing ceremony where we were both in attendance earlier]. It seems to be working. Well, it is working and those people who were speaking today are fairly sincere about their commitment to it. They see it as the answer for future generations in terms of the people of this are working together.

OMNR managers also had important changes to their frames-of-reference that influenced how tenure reform was promoted and facilitated among parties; therefore affecting how collaboration developed. One OMNR participant who chose not to be quoted described the institutional learning occurring within the OMNR, and how he witnessed learning by regional OMNR managers being carried forward through the levels of the institution towards development and modification of forest tenure policy.

The day-to-day managers of Wincrief and Miisun also demonstrated transformative learning. Wincrief managers reported that they modified their communication and management style in order to be more appropriate for working with Wabaseemoong community people. These actions were a result of communicative learning occurring during and prior to their time as managers at Wincrief. Two of the Wincrief managers reported communicative learning events occurring from their past employment and personal lives that deeply impacted their approach to management in a cross-cultural setting. They reflected on culture, systematic and overt forms of racism, and what worked for them in terms of relationship building and providing a safe and equitable work environment. One Wincrief manager talked about a zero tolerance policy for racism reflected deeply and emotionally on his personal life, and grounded his perspective in these experiences.

The older generation you can't help. My own mother says things that I think are revolting some days. The trouble with my generation is that they look and they think, "Well that's

a good Indian, and that's a bad one." That's the way it goes. You're not going to change that. Or, "He's not as bad as the rest of them" or "she's not as bad as the rest of them". That isn't going to change. With my kids growing up long ago I realized that you're not going to change, but you don't have to tolerate it either.

Where I also worked for [place omitted to maintain confidentiality], I worked as a manager as well. I just had zero tolerance. It was simple as that. You mouthed off about it, you're done. Is it going to change them? No. Does it provide a work environment where people don't have to listen to it? Yes. That is the thing that every individual has. Like you as a woman, you have every right to go to work, do your job and go home without having to listen to any garbage, and the same is with whatever race you are. That's the way I look at it as a manager. It's zero tolerance. I make that clear off the back. It's zero. No first chance, no second chance. You might as well know when you walk in the door that once is once.

- Wincrief manager (participant 010)

Instrumental learning leading to changes in meaning perspectives for Wincrief managers mostly related to workplace interactions with Wabaseemoong community people who were employees. Through being engaged in the task-oriented activities with staff from Wabaseemoong, managers learned what was working or not working in terms of communications about work related issues. Two Wincrief managers noted that they modified their approach based on what they learned in these instances. Communicative learning resulting in transformation occurred through interactions with Chief and council, board members, or homebuyers from the community. In these instances, all who were engaged in the processes had a role in directing what was being communicated and learned.

Forest managers working for Miisun also demonstrated significant changes in practice relating to consultation, and some change with regards to the development of forest management plans (limited because the nature of plans is largely dictated by OMNR policy). The changes around consultation were mainly a result of communicative learning through

interactions with the Anishinaabe Liaison in the Miisun work environment, and instrumental learning through past experiences (working for forestry larger companies) consulting with communities. Daniel Wemigwans, the Anishinaabe liaison who had been there the longest, also experienced incremental communicative learning through engaging with community people who were from First Nations party to (or interested in becoming party to) Miisun. Daniel modified his consultations to emphasize building capacity and providing services, such as GIS and safety training.

The training that I deliver is to give them opportunities where they would have the safety certifications for the mining industry, life skills, and those certifications that are made available to them should they be able to get their foot in the door at least. But, again it's that's targeting known individuals from different communities, not just one community. You have to treat them as individuals regardless of where they come from. Then that way they have a better sense of self. I think they key is empowering individuals to be about to ownership and responsibility for their lives.

Laborers working for Wincrief and Miisun did not demonstrate transformative outcomes through engaging in their workplace the way that management did. However, the worker from Miisun did refer to a change in his frame-of-reference and perspective on modern-day forestry practices through his wealth of experience in the forest.

As I got older there was more trees in the way. I was like "what the hell". Even now you can't even see sometimes 100 yards." The trails are narrow. There's no big openings. There are more animals now that are getting protected. [laughing] They're not as easy to tag anymore. "That's the big difference in forestry", I said. I try and tell people that when I did the harvesting. I did it, but I did it because I know there is a big difference now as compared to when I was like maybe ten. That's when I started going out in the bush and I could see far away. I'm thirty-three now and I'm realizing. It was easier when I was younger.

The potential for collective transformative learning was also explored within Wincrief and Miitigoog by looking for institutional changes that were reflective of learning by groups. As discussed, learning occurred through critical self-reflection, which in turn brought about change in the way those individuals approached decision-making or the way in which they engaged in their jobs. Much of this occurred prior to being engaged in Wincrief and Miitigoog/Miisun as collaborative institutions. Sequential learning events that can be related to ‘small wins’ were important for building rational reflective discourse among individuals, and within the institutions that would eventually come together to make the collaborations. This was particularly the case with the industry regional managers (Miitigoog board members) who were responsible for transmitting their learning to corporate headquarters where broader company policies were developed. Through transmitting what they had learned about ‘small wins’ and effective ways of working in the region they were able in some circumstances to change the corporate practices. This demonstrates individual learning affecting institutional change, but not necessarily collective learning.

The key thing over time, the biggest learning absolutely has been patience. These things are not built overnight. They take many years to build. It’s not many days, it’s many years in most cases.

Q: Have you seen changes in the company based on the need to be understanding of community timelines towards building successful collaboration?

A: In most cases it’s an education process. Over time that education takes place and it really depends upon the experiences of the individuals that you’re working with and the experiences that they’ve had in working with different communities. It’s very dependent on that. Leadership comes and goes and changes over time and it’s a capacity that you continue to develop and move through. So if they come in and they’ve got a pretty strong background in how they’ve seen community development and have worked with First Nations communities then generally it’s a very quick learning curve. If that’s not the background, because everybody has different skill sets, then it will take a little longer and more explanations to work through. It also depends upon where they’ve come from, because things are different every place you operate. We have operations around the world and wherever you go throughout the world things are different. So you need to

look at all of the complicating circumstances that put them into play. I believe that definitely this company and previous companies that I've worked for have been strong believers of local development and ensuring success. They look to on-the-ground local solutions that are going to be successful long-term. There's always been great support for those local solutions.

- Mike Dietsch, Weyerhaeuser

In the context of collaboration, the outcomes of collective/institutional learning can relate to either a collaborating institution (i.e., a First Nation, or a company) or to a collaboration itself (i.e., Wincrief, Miitigoog, or the First Nations Trust), functioning as another type of institution. The learning of the institutional representatives fed into the respective collaborations creating the collective transformative learning outcomes. For example, partners learned that they had to be committed to newly formed norms generated through collaboration, such as participating in ceremony, and engaging in group-decision making through an independent facilitator. Without the changes in meaning perspective and frame-of-reference of those involved in decision-making the collaboration could not have become a reality. Those involved in collaborative governance learned that they could confidently consent to working with partners that had historically been regarded as different, adversarial, or kept at arms-length. Such individuals were also engaged in a complex learning network due to their roles as representatives of larger institutions (i.e., they were not making decisions and taking actions simply for themselves, but for a larger group). Beyond consent, the individuals on behalf of their institutions committed to engage in and influence the adaptation of the collaborations, which were not fixed models.

Actions that resulted in learning and collaboration not only affected institutions. They affected the attributes that could eventually affect the 'lifeworld' by changing relationships

external to the collaboration itself. One Wincrief manager talked about her experiences at Wincrief and how they affected her family so much that there was a change in attitude and behaviour.

[Working at Wincrief has made a difference in relationships outside of work], my husband and I will go shopping and say “hi” to so and so. And I know I’ve made a difference because that guy was quite racist in high school and now he can actually go and talk to someone that lives on a reserve.

- Wincrief manager (participant 009)

5.3 Summary and discussion

This chapter explored the learning outcomes that were important for cross-cultural governance and collaboration. Learning outcomes were categorized according to the instrumental, communicative, and transformative learning domains from Mezirow's (2000) transformative learning. The following discussion considers learning outcomes according to the transformative learning literature as it relates to resource governance, and then relates such learning to Kooiman's (2003) three orders of governance. Considering learning outcomes along with particular orders of governance creates the potential for a more detailed account of the connections between collaborative governance and learning.

The results presented in Section 5.2 clearly show that participants have experienced instrumental, communicative and transformative learning outcomes by engaging in the two leading examples of cross-cultural collaboration in northwestern Ontario. Learning, however, seldom fits neatly into instrumental and communicative domains (Walker, A. J. Sinclair, & Spaling, 2014). This was reflected in the data, and even though it was possible to categorize learning outcomes according to how they were realized (i.e., instrumental or communicative)

some learning events were similar for both instrumental and communicative domains (e.g., learning about culture). Further, instrumental and communicative learning both proved to be important for learning outcomes that qualified as being transformative through changes in meaning structures and associated behaviour (Mezirow, 2000; Moyer, A. J. Sinclair, & Diduck, 2014).

Learning outcomes relating to events such as navigating policy, finding opportunities for partners to collaborate, and developing new practices and protocols were primarily instrumental. Such events also provided important opportunities for dialogue, which in turn created the potential for communicative learning outcomes. OMNR managers and/or independent facilitators often directed learning in such instances (especially with regards to Miitigoog). Through exploring what was possible in terms of collaboration, partners had opportunities to discuss the potential for socio-economic opportunities for First Nations, as well as business opportunities for the forestry companies that were part of the Wincrief and Miitigoog partnerships. Another study focused on collaborative forest protection and planning by Brummel *et al.* (2010, p. 697) found that learning was not suited to being explicitly mandated through policy. Instead, they asserted that learning is best built into collaborative processes through "leadership, skilled facilitation, dedication to expanding participant pools to non-traditional stakeholders such as community members and NGOs, and purposeful process design". They also determined that top-down policy has been unsuccessful in generating instrumental learning outcomes (Brummel et al., 2010). This was not fully the case with Wincrief and Miitigoog, wherein instrumental learning came through both direct participation among collaborators and through government direction.

Moyer (2012) followed by A. J. Sinclair *et al.* (2013), in the context of learning for sustainability, assert that instrumental learning can act like a 'springboard' towards practice - initiating collaboration and other forms of action. With regards to the examples of cross-cultural collaboration that were studied for this research, instrumental learning acted as a 'springboard' for the building of relationships, trust, and shared norms and values for guiding collaboration into the future. Much of this learning was incremental and was the result of spending time with individuals in different settings, ranging from boardrooms to work sites (as discussed in the next chapter). Such instrumental learning also contributed to transformative experiences, because sharing instrumental goals made people comfortable enough to make relationships more binding through formal agreements.

With regards to communicative learning, different forms of dialogue (characterized by agreements and disagreements) brought opportunities to develop deeper understandings of the different interests at the table that were based on different positions with regards to collaboration. Diduck *et al.* (2012, p. 1325) call for more research on "reflective rational discourse in cross-cultural settings in which participants have different epistemological and ontological perspectives". The research on Miitigoog and Wincrief contributes to this pool of knowledge through demonstrating how reflective rational discourse can lead to different forms of learning outcomes, some of which were transformative. Rational discourse led to different forms of learning outcomes in the form of communications and protocols that were institutionalized by forestry companies and in some instances by First Nations leadership towards being better suited for the respective partnerships.

The overall learning curve for new First Nations partners regarding policy, however, meant that relationships, participation, etc. has implications in terms of developing cross-

cultural collaboration that is mutually beneficial. It will be important for all parties to reach a fairly level understanding of policy and protocols around forest licenses in order for decision-making to be conducted on a level playing field where all parties can engage confidently and effectively (Zurba, 2014). Nevertheless, Miitigoog board members from the originating First Nations felt that they had learned a great deal about navigating forest management policy through the early stages of the partnership, and that the industry partners as well as the OMNR were making concerted efforts to continue increasing their knowledge (as stated during interview with First Nations Trust participant who preferred to not be quoted).

With Wincrief and Miitigoog, individuals making up the board represented their communities and companies, and were given the authority to make decisions and problem-solve. Such individuals were also required to bring knowledge and learning back to their respective institutions where changes would be made (i.e., internal policy, development or enhancing of work resources, etc.) to respond to the needs of the collaboration. This type of process describes much of how institutional learning occurs as a web of knowledge, learning and problem solving. An example of this is the changing of time frames and understanding of long term goals, which was expressed by participants from KILA, KFP, and Weyerhaeuser.

‘Small wins’ proved to be important for understanding the way that institutions set themselves up to respond to different stimuli, such as the disorienting dilemmas that also affect individuals. The more that individuals and companies experience ‘small wins’, such as establishing certain levels of trust and other forms of strength in relationships with partners, the more prepared the partnership will be to deal with future hardships or conflicts (Berkes & Folke, 2004; Zurba et al., 2012). Factors that influence such ‘small wins’ can be socially driven and connected to the personal ethic of the people involved in collaboration. However, ‘small

wins' can also be driven by a need to problem solve, such as was the case with the socio-economic crises and shifting tenure policy in northwestern Ontario (Zurba & Trimble, 2014).

A study relating to First Nations and public involvement in local forests by Walter (2007) found that narratives that were alternative to corporate and state discourses were important for developing transformative learning outcomes. Walter (2007) found that this learning resulted in the development of 'counterknowledge', and created unique and often challenging learning opportunities for community people. With regards to Miitigoog, narratives that were alternative to corporate and state discourses were often presented by First Nations collaborators and did result in transformative outcomes, and the development of a 'counterknowledge' that forest policy could be implemented and shaped according to First Nations values through Miisun. 'Counterknowledge' offered by First Nations participants was in the form of different perspectives for managing the forest, such as the importance of protecting sacred sites and other sites of cultural value.

The building of relationships greatly enhances the ability to communicate cross-culturally among the individuals involved in decision making (Berkes, 2004; Zurba et al., 2012). The development of an understanding of culture, how to respect cultural protocols and work in a cross-cultural setting were both instrumental and communicative learning outcomes. Such outcomes were experienced by participants engaged in the Wincrief and Miitigoog boards and may prove to be transformative as collaboration matures. At this stage, the main transformative outcome relating to cross-cultural understanding and communications occurred through communicative learning among Wincrief and Miisun managers who adapted their communications styles to better suit their work with First Nation community members. This was especially the case with the Anishinaabe liaison, Daniel Wemigwans, who modified his

approaches to working with Treaty #3 communities. Similar learning outcomes have been discovered in the context natural resources management in Costa Rica, where a primary cross-cultural learning outcome was a change in the way that industry approached working with farmers in the management of natural resources (Sims & A. J. Sinclair, 2008). Such a transformation demonstrates a shift in philosophical (worldview based) habits of mind of the managers, as described by Cranton (2006).

Within the context of environmental assessment processes, Fitzpatrick (2006) asserts that in order for learning to be cross-cultural, it must be understood according to the worldviews of the cultures in a way that they would affect information structures and learning outcomes within an organization. This kind of effect on organizational learning was the case for board-level collaborators and managers, but was not the case for the participants from First Nations that were forestry laborers. Taylor (2011) indicates that communicative transformation is less likely to be possible if there is an implicit power imbalance, such as is the case with hierarchies found in most corporate organizational structures. It is reasonable to consider power as the main factor influencing the lack of communicative learning resulting in transformed habits of mind for laborers, though this would need to be investigated further to say so conclusively. It is important not to minimize the instrumental learning experienced by laborers, since this was the conduit for implementation of management and forestry practices that were decided through collaboration.

Instrumental and communicative outcomes resulted in the development of some of the 'ingredients for collaboration'. This fits with Taylor's (2008) description of 'psychodevelopmental' (occurring across a lifespan as incremental and epistemological change) and 'social emancipatory' types of transformative learning (transformation and the 'development

of critical consciousness'). While learning did build relationships, trust, shared norms and values, such learning could also bring about changes in the other direction with decisions being made to leave the collaboration, as was the case with the one board member from Wincrief.

Learning outcomes relating to Kooiman's (2003) first-order governance, which is essentially focused on problem solving and the creation of opportunities, were typically experienced by individuals who learned they had a particular interest in collaboration. This included both motivated and incidental forms of learning, which can be equally important in the development of new enterprises, such as governance systems (Marsick & Watkins, 2001). Instrumental learning outcomes were particularly important for this order of collaborative governance because the different actors were required to gain knowledge about how collaboration could work, as well as what the benefits would be for their community or company.

Communicative learning was also important for problem solving and the creation of opportunities. With regards to Wincrief, most of the communicative learning occurred in interactions between Greg Moncrief and Eric Fisher. With Miitigoog, the communications were fairly structured around what was possible for collaboratively governing the Kenora Forest through the SFL. Communicative learning at the first order did, however, greatly affect the norms of engagement into the future and the relationships between actors at the board level. Communicative learning also occurred prior to the formal initiation of the collaborations and was often tethered to the informal experiences discussed in the last chapter. Through these opportunities future collaborators learned that there was a potential for a constructive working relationship. They learned about the possibility of the third-order governance structure, their roles, and how much trust they could give to the individuals involved and overall system.

Communicative learning was also important to second-order governance, and was perhaps the most important form of learning at the board level affecting the governance systems. Wincrief board members spoke about how communications were resolved at board meetings, reflecting that learning outcomes were being generated. Similarly, the Miitigoog structure was built to be adaptive and responsive to communications and board level decision making. This structure was meant to be responsive to the growth of the First Nations Trust. As new members continue to build the capacity for more meaningful forms of participation it is likely that the institutions that were built for the collaborative governance of the Kenora Forest (Miitigoog, The First Nations Trust, and Miisun) will be adapted. However, it is yet to be determined how the system will respond to such shifts, which will be influenced by the ability of connected institutions (OMNR, industry partners, and First Nations) to also learn and adapt (Berkes, 2009b; Carlsson & Berkes, 2005).

Instrumental learning primarily affected the maintenance and characteristics of the institutions that were responsible for the implementation of governance. For Wincrief, this learning belonged to the management team. Managers essentially had to learn how to adapt their approaches to working with a community, which was often perceived to require different approaches when compared to managing employees from the broader community of northwestern Ontario (i.e., Kenora residents). Miisun managers also had significant instrumental learning outcomes relating to maintaining the institution's forest management functions. This related particularly to the implementation of forest policy within the context of a First Nations owned company, directed by the First Nations Trust. In terms of both instrumental and communicative learning through community connections, the Anishinaabe Liaison proved to be an essential position.

Third-order governance was affected by the learning outcomes of individuals, but also by the collectives involved in establishing shared norms and values through the various processes that eventually led to the formalization of the collaborative governance systems. Communicative learning outcomes often took shape as relationships, which were essential for communicating the values connected to the desire to collaborate. Interpersonal relationships were important for initiating collaboration and developing creative thinking about institutional structures, rules and norms reflective of greater equity. Relationships between individuals were based on the third-order governance frameworks, but were also reflective of deeper interpersonal qualities such as friendship or basic camaraderie.

Lawson (2004, p. 225) states that “Collaboration is a complex intervention with multiple components. It is both a process innovation and a product innovation”. Wincrief, Miitigoog, and The First Nations Trust are reflective of this description of collaboration. They are products of multiple stages of learning occurring for many years (perhaps even generations) before the emergence of the third-order governance systems described in this thesis. Perhaps more importantly, collaboration at the third order will continue to be affected by first and second orders as opportunities change and new challenges arise. Collaborative governance, therefore, is a complex system affected by ongoing learning with the potential to not only generate new possibilities for the future of forests, but also the potential to shift structures towards reflecting 'positive peace' and structural equity. If collaborative systems are fostered through continued learning and supportive policies, values can then be shared within governance systems and potentially the broader social environment (as depicted in the detailed analytical framework, Figure 7) leading to transformed relationships, and potentially forms of reconciliation.

Chapter 6. Learning processes occurring through cross-cultural collaboration

6.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the learning processes (objective 3) occurring through cross-cultural experiences and collaboration. The data on learning processes are presented and discussed in this chapter according to thematic areas identified through the literature (Section 2.2), and conceptualized in the detailed analytical framework (Section 3.3.2). The chapter is organized in sections describing *how* learning occurred in my cases through: formal engagement; “informal” engagement; personal processes; and, emotions, tacit knowledge and spiritual experiences. Table 7 illustrates the thematic groupings into more specific types of events relating to each case study. These thematic areas bring together ways of understanding learning processes derived from traditional and new directions in transformative learning, as well as learning relating to Anishinaabe culture.

Table 7. Learning events according to different types of processes, as highlighted by participants involved in cross-cultural collaboration

Process type	Events
1 - Learning through formal engagement	Receiving or disseminating information about policy, guidelines, etc. (including information documents and presentations about forest management guidelines and terms of licenses, formal consultation processes, etc.). Listening to different perspectives (including cultural) Learning-by-doing (working through conflicts) Ceremony
2 - Learning through “informal” experiences	Personal encounters outside of formal meetings Learning-by-doing (experiences on the land) Experiences in the community

3 - Personal processes	Personal memory Personal reflection on collaboration
4 - Learning through emotions, tacit knowledge, and spiritual experiences	Emotional engagement Learning-by-doing Ceremony and ritual (e.g., feasting, laying down tobacco, etc.)

When participants were asked about the learning processes occurring within cross-cultural forms of collaboration, responses were often crafted as stories leading to the citing of learning outcomes. Often, participants did not respond by asserting statements such as, “The best way for me/us to learn was...” or “This was an important part of my learning...”. For this reason, some of the data presented here appears as short stories or accounts of events that led to what a participant would identify to be a learning outcome. As mentioned earlier in the section about verification (3.3.4), these stories were confirmed as learning processes by member checking with the participants following the completion of their response. For example, following a response that did not explicitly include a phrase about learning I would confirm that the response was about learning by asking something similar to, “So, you are saying that this was important/most important (depending on the context) to how you learned?” This kind of crosschecking created confidence in reporting the learning data. The learning data presented in this chapter not only provide insights into how individuals learn through cross-cultural collaboration, but sheds additional light on the types of learning outcomes that were discussed in the last chapter.

6.2 Learning processes

6.2.1 Learning through formal engagement

Learning through formal engagement in cross-cultural collaboration occurred in various settings depending on the particular case study/institution under consideration. Formal engagement here is conceptually applied to the data according to the literature, which discusses the presence of an agenda or educational directive, a formal setting (e.g., office, boardroom, or workplace setting), and typically activities based on a schedule (e.g., meeting or work time) (Jarvis, 1983). Table 7 lists the types of events (e.g., receiving information, listening, consultation, working through conflicts) that took place within collaboration, and contributed to the overall learning occurring through formal engagement.

For Wincrief, learning happened at the board, and in settings relating to the management and practice of forestry activities (e.g., mills, harvesting, construction). For Miitigoog, formal engagement in governance occurred through the Miitigoog and First Nations Trust boards. Formal learning processes occurring in the workplace were important in the case of Wincrief because they related directly to collaboration between industry and community partners. The interactions and the learning that occurred between managers and laborers were important to recognize because such learning had the potential trickle up and affect governance because 51% of the collaboration at is made up of representative leadership from Wabaseemoong, who were there to represent the interests of their community. Therefore, people working as laborers are part of the overall governance system, much in the same way that citizens are part of governance through democratic processes such as voting (van den Hove, 2006). Learning by Miisun forest managers also occurred through formal engagement in connection with the First Nations Trust. The Anishinaabe liaison also learned through engaging formally with member

and potential-member First Nations community people (i.e., Chief and council, elders, other community members).

At the time when the boards were initiated, board members had to become familiar with the provincial policy that outlined what was possible for governance. For Wincrief, the provincial policies were not exceedingly different from the policies they had followed prior to the partnership with Wabaseemoong. The amount of formal engagement with government managers for the purpose of educating board members about provincial policy was, therefore, only occasional and related mostly to developing the business (i.e., finding ways to gain additional government support). With Miitigoog, the level of government engagement in education was more extensive because the originating board members had to reach a clear understanding of what was possible through operating a shared SFL. Some board members believed that OMNR managers played a significant role in facilitating such learning during the early stages of Miitigoog by coming to meetings and leading presentations that outlined what would be possible under the SFL. The following quote by the OMRN Northwest Regional Director, Al Willcocks, speaks to his level of involvement in the establishment of the partnership.

I think it's fair to say that I was the instigator of the whole thing. I'm one of the innovators that brought it forward and I brought the idea mostly from Saskatchewan where I worked. So, I brought the idea and sold it on everybody and worked really hard and we got it going.

Many board members agreed that the role of the OMNR was significant in initiating Miitigoog; however, some of the board members expressed that the OMNR managers did not play a strong role in the development of the actual partnership agreement and felt that OMNR manager involvement was not conducive to building the partnership.

There was probably a meeting every month. I think in total we had I would say forty plus meetings. Some with MNR as a facilitator, some with just the industry and the First Nations to see what common ground we had without the ministry being there. The MNR facilitated the discussions but we put that shareholders agreement together.

- Dale Munro, Kenora Forest Products Ltd.

The following quote explains the role of the OMNR further from the perspective of another Miitigoog board member.

As far as I'm concerned with the government and the Ministry of Natural Resources, Miitigoog started a little bit and MNR did become involved as we sorted the whole thing out. My feelings towards some things with government, they're sometime better to keep their noses out of it and let the communities - and especially in the working relationship that we're working on right now we maybe don't want government or MNR there because it's almost like a distraction. I don't agree with a lot of their policies with forestry in many cases depending on what it is. I believe some of the decisions that MNR make are made because bureaucrats are sometimes scared to make a decision, which compounds the issue even more. If you have a First Nations concern, and then you have an industry concern, and then MNR gets involved it gets worse it seems before it gets better.

- Miitigoog board member (participant 032)

Some board members thought more positively about OMNR manager involvement and expressed that they played a significant role in chairing meetings that were constructive and mediating conflict during initiation, as well as providing the appropriate information for the board to work with in their decision-making processes that led to the creation of Miitigoog as a formal entity.

We had a coach or a referee I guess you could say. Some guys sitting from the Ministry while we were working together trying to come up with - there were times that we almost walked out on each other because. The Ministry guy calmed everybody down, take a break, and then we would come back in and talk.

- Marvin McDonald; Wabaseemoong, Miitigoog, Wincrief

Government managers also experienced significant learning through formal engagement. Specifically, learning affected OMNR managers and managers from the GCT#3 who contributed to and went through learning processes that led to the formation of Wincrief and Miitigoog. Therefore, many of the learning "events" affecting board members, as outlined above, were similar to the "events" affecting government managers. The government representatives were involved in listening to different perspectives and working through conflicts. They were also invited to be participants in the larger ceremonies that were part of the celebrations of major milestones for the collaborations. OMNR managers also talked about how they worked reflexively with First Nations to improve their formal engagement with government policy.

So we sit down with that person or group and, "Do you understand it? Try it out for a couple of weeks and if it needs to be changed let us know." So there's always that contact and dialogue there. Whenever we have staff days we try to have some kind of Aboriginal component to it to keep that learning going.

- Deb Weedon, OMNR

With regards to the flow of information about policy and guidelines, the OMNR and the GCT#3 had a dissemination and facilitation role. Their learning processes, therefore, also included learning through the application of pedagogy. For the OMNR, this took shape through the requirements to work with First Nations and industry partners in building their knowledge capacities about SFLs. For the GCT#3, this took shape through the delivery of the Territorial Planning program principles, which include "facilitating pragmatic approaches to economic development and management in natural resources sector and planning processes in GCT3 territory in Ontario" (Grand Council of Treaty #3, 2011b). Dale Morrisseau, a manager from Grand Council of Treaty #3 explained how the Territorial Planning department is involved in

developing and facilitating learning processes such as knowledge forums that include guidance from First Nations including community people and elders, as well as government and industry people.

We developed a knowledge forum on community consultation within Treaty 3 on some of the issues and challenges that the First Nations face, how we think consultation should take place, those kinds of things. What are the challenges and barriers that First Nations face when it comes to consultation. So, basically the knowledge forums are a way that we bring together individuals that have a good knowledge of the topic that we're discussing.

Q: Does that include elders?

A: Yes, so we would definitely incorporate an elder experience, elder knowledge, we try to always involve our elders with our activities. We bring in community experts - I don't want to call them experts. Those who have a bit more experience than others. We try to bring them in - industry people, Ministry people. We bring them together and we discuss the issue. Initially when we first started it was a little small focus group. We weren't looking to try to bring representatives from every single community together. We were looking at bringing in those that have a good variety of expertise on the subject. Discuss the issue and identify best practices. Identifying the challenges so we could take that information, package it up and then turn around and give it to First Nations communities.

Dale also talked about the learning that he had to engage in personally when taking on jobs in the Territorial Planning department.

I had to learn about the Resource Law. I had never heard about it before coming on board here - basically a steep learning curve. I had to learn about NMDM, OMNR. Become familiar with what areas they govern on behalf of the Crown. What their roles and responsibilities are. Steep learning curve, I'm still learning.

In order to learn about policy, some non-government participants reflected on how they also had to review government documents.

I just had to learn about some of the stuff that they did in the past. I had to do a lot of reading. Once I did that I felt comfortable at our meetings.

- First Nations Trust member (participant 041)

Learning through formal engagement at the board level, in both the Wincrief and Miitigoog cases, included meetings where board members were required to listen to each other's perspectives. Independent chairs were brought in to facilitate discussions early on in the development of both institutions. With Wincrief, the board members decided together that it would be appropriate for the Wabaseemoong board members to choose the independent chair. The following participant from the industry side of Wincrief praised the chair's experience and ability.

He's an ex-government employee and so on, and a lot of his background was in facilitation and sits on quite a number of boards and so on so he was quite familiar with the structure as well as the purpose of the company from both sides. He was a really good fit.

He assisted us with the governmental aspects of the board as well as the structural aspects because of the number of boards he's been on and he'd chaired quite a few of them so he brought a level of comfort so that we knew we were doing things properly.

- Gerry Moncrief; Wincrief board member (participant 038)

Reports from other Wincrief board members, however were not consistent with regards to the independent facilitator. One board member from Wabaseemoong commented on the absence of a facilitator being due to a lack of funding, and how this affected their planning process.

The last board meeting we had we should have a facilitator there, but we don't have the funds. There hasn't been one from day one. I told them, "Let's get the plan made out." There's no plan that I'm aware of. At least we've got to have a plan. A year plan or a five-year plan, but there's nothing. It wasn't set out in the beginning.

- (participant 040)

With Miitigoog, the independent chair was hired through a competitive process and decided upon through consensus by the founding board members. The independent chair for

Miitigoog was supposed to only facilitate the formalization of the agreement; however, the board members decided to hire him to continue to facilitate meetings on an ongoing basis. They expressed that his services were of great value for maintaining learning and decision-making processes, as well as resolving conflict at the board level. Board members praised the structured approach of the independent chair, which they said was guided by the shareholders agreement. Board members also expressed that particular attributes of the structure, such as agendas being circulated in advance with ample time to give feedback, created fairness within meetings.

He's a governance guy, a strong governance guy. He creates the agenda and ensures that everybody sticks to the agenda and has been successful in working around some what I would say some potentially harmful relationships. He's been successful in getting people to work together and there was a few issues amongst the industry that needed to be resolved and he managed to get the parties together and just sort it out - for the good of the company. He's very structured in his approach. When you have the meetings you have an agenda, everything's done properly like you would for a corporate meeting. That helps to bring structure to our processes. I think without that things tend to float around, but now you have structured meetings, you have an independent chair, you have a minute taker, and then the minutes are approved by the independent chair and the secretary treasurer. They're sent out to all the shareholders, *Class A, B, and C*, so it's totally transparent.

- Dale Munro; KFP; Miitigoog board

Through the independent chair, Miitigoog board members were also not only able, but were encouraged to comment on the way that processes were advancing (account by participant who wished not to be quoted).

Most Miitigoog board members stated that board meetings facilitated the expression of diverse perspectives, and that they were able to learn through listening to what was being shared. Some of the board members connected facilitation in general (not just independent, but also OMNR) to the board's ability to work through differences in opinion. However, some believed that being solutions oriented was what enabled board members to work through conflict and solidify the partnership.

Everybody was good about trying to find the solutions, that the vision was still sound. That this is direction we wanted to go. We just needed to figure out how to get there. How can we resolve one individual party's issue that we can all agree upon on and work through that because there were a lot of parties? As you looked at it there were seventeen independent harvesters who had old overlapping licenses. There were at the time three major forest industry partners and then a few small independent saw mills; a number of First Nations as well at the time. At the end of the day not everybody chose to sign on, and that's okay. The process used and the way you went through that was important. You also had the MNR that tried to help facilitate the meetings. On occasion they would try to be deal brokers to try to pull things together, but at the end of the day that's not really what resolved the issues. The resolution of issues was trying to get to a solution by the parties. That was the key.

- Mike Dietsch, Weyerhaeuser

This quote also indicates that the early establishment of shared norms and a general direction for the agreement could have also been a reason for parties to choose not to participate and join onto the partnership.

Industry partners also reflected on times prior to the development of the formal collaborative organizations when instrumental learning had led to the development of relationships between themselves and members of First Nations. One participant recalled times conducting task-based work on the land and how important this was for developing rapport (statement by participant who chose not to be quoted). Another industry participant discussed relationship building in a different way, and more related to giving gifts.

What's important with First Nations is relationship building. If you look at what Kenora Forest Products does is they get box seats to the Moose games and the Jets games and the Whiskey Jack games and "Oh yeah, you want my seats Chief Fisher?" So they're more into that kind of role rather than hanging out with them and that.

- Miitigoog board member (participant 023)

Formal engagement in ceremony was also important for learning at the board level, especially with regards to culture. Anishinaabe ceremony was built into protocols for opening meetings and celebrating new ventures for Wincrief; and for opening meetings and welcoming

new partners to Miitigoog. Industry partners reported that they learned considerably from being engaged in ceremony by simply being present; however, some of the Anishinaabe members felt that the learning about culture through ceremony and other forms of cultural education had a long way to go.

For the non-Natives, they kinda they're starting to understand that it's important to us and they're starting to incorporate, they're doing feasts, fall feasts, spring feast, so to their credit they're starting to see, but I don't think at times they fully understand what it is. I've heard, not they necessarily, I've heard of non-Natives commenting on combining the State and religion, but that's not what it is you know, it's a way of life.

- Francis Kavanaugh; Miitigoog; Naotkamegwanning/Whitefish Bay elder

Non-Anishinaabe board members and OMNR managers discussed their engagement in ceremony as being something that was a process instead of the acquiring of a full understanding of culture. Scott Lockhart, the Resource Liaison from the OMNR talked about how this process links to respect and the efforts to understand that should be put forward.

I just think we have to respect that it's there and it's just part of what's out there. I don't know that we need to understand all of it, but we need to respect it, recognize that that side of it may be what's helping or hurting things and we need to let that sort of work it's way out or try to learn more about how it works. Even things like trying to collect First Nations value information. I don't think we're ever going to receive a mapping product that shows all of the culturally sensitive sites. I mean why would you share that with anyone right?

Managers and laborers at Wincrief and Miisun were involved in formal learning processes that were very similar to those that board members were engaged in; however, within different contexts and environments. Learning processes for managers and laborers generally took place in the offices and at work sites, and had an interactive quality that was not balanced in terms of decision-making power since the managers had more authority. Managers at

Wincrief and Miisun had to learn through reviewing information about policy and guidelines, had to learn how to work and communicate in cross-cultural environments, and at times had to learn by working through workplace conflict. Tannis Romaniuk, a manager at Wincrief described the learning processes that were necessary for conducting operations and how this resulted in people taking on different roles.

The formal parts [of learning] are typically dictated by government, bureaucrats, lawyers, accountants. So Greg and Chief Fisher have a handshake, go to work, and we do business. Along comes the lawyers and they say, "This is similar to a marriage, you've been dating, but we've got to move this forward because we've got to put something on paper." So then you start the whole deliberations and it's interesting to see how everyone dons a different hat depending on what they need. It's very informative in the learning process.

Tannis also described her role and the role of other managers as company educators and also talked about processes relating to learning about Anishinaabe culture. Much of this learning took place on work sites, both in the Wincrief plants and out on the land.

We work really hard on the education portion of it. Right from the education of the skilled workers that are working with us downstairs - building the houses or in the bush, but also to take it back to the Chief in council level and involve their accounting staff and their managers and say, "Look, they need to understand business, we need to understand the cultural sensitive issues."

Several of the participants in management positions at Wincrief cited difficulties they were encountering in understanding protocols relating to workers from Wabaseemoong. Tannis explained this in terms of making protocols that were specifically geared towards Wabaseemoong cultural and community-related requirements.

I would say, and when we first started the business we sat down with the band manager of Wabaseemoong with their policy manual and we went through and we discussed such things as bereavement leave. Lets face it, on a community everyone is related. Whereas

you and I may get time off for a mother, sister, brother, parent, they want time off for everyone. So we said, “Ok, what is acceptable, how close a relative is it before you are entitled to bereavement because we have some people that would never ever be here because of the size of their family.” We started there, and we started by recognizing holidays. Treaty Day is not typically a holiday. It’s not a recognized stat or civic so how do you write that in? You’re a First Nation business so trying to find that happy balance is an on-going thing and we go back quite frequently and view the policies we have and try to change them and modify them. But, again I think it comes down to the individuals that we have working with the individuals.

Laborers reflected on workplace and on-site learning as being dictated by managers who were following policy, and as being facilitated by other employees with more experience than themselves. Managers typically directed the parameters of the activities, and more senior employees shared knowledge about how to complete tasks. Further to this, one laborer related his work process to principles from the Great Earth Law, and how working in a certain fashion affected what he was doing and learning though the job.

To cook a good meal if you’re stressed out you’re not going to do it as good as you would have before. You’re rushing and that’s what they mean by that Great Earth Law. It’s not really a law - it’s that whole process that’s already there. Everybody’s rushing around to do something, but if you follow nature it takes its time. A tree is not going to speed itself up to grow. The land and stuff like that, it’s going to take its time to change. That can take thousands of years. When people rush it they go around and dig it up and move it all over and then they mess it all up. When we went out I cut trees down and stuff like that but I don’t live by that Great Earth Law. I needed to make money. That’s what everybody considers in life is money.

- Miisun former laborer (participant 028)

Cross-cultural understanding was an important component of learning processes at the intersection of management and community people, including laborers. Consultation was an important part of this learning process for managers at both Wincrief and Miisun. Forest managers spoke to some of the difficulties in brining First Nations to the table to learn about

forest management. Bob Boyce, a forest manager from Miisun spoke of this in terms of the necessity to build long-term engagement with communities.

I mean if you're going to go to a First Nations community don't expect your first meeting to be anymore than kind of meet and greet. "Why are you here, and what are you doing, and what do you want?" So don't go there thinking, "Well I've met with you and here's the things we had to go over so checkmark done", and move on. Ok, we've met and now I know who you are and you know who I am so next time we get together maybe we can talk a few other things and maybe by the fourth or fifth meeting you'll get to where you wanted to be on the first meeting.

Miisun managers compared consulting about the new partnerships with other difficulties they had experienced in their previous roles with large forestry companies. Several managers cited examples of times when letters were sent or meetings were requested with no response. When meetings did occur, managers faced different levels of receptivity from Chief and council and community members. Managers stated they understood that they had to bring flexibility into their work with communities in order to facilitate two-way learning processes.

I think it's a slowly building trust. I don't need to tell you, but there's endless history of First Nations not being properly consulted or informed and lots of deals they've made with industry over time and it maybe seemed like the right thing at the time but in retrospect didn't work out so their default starting place is to not ever return the phone call. I guess what's changing is a little bit of word of mouth, a little bit of trust and the fact that the biggest thing that's changed now is that the person that is calling them is calling them from a First Nations company. That's brand new. That's a huge difference.

- Miisun manager (participant 017)

Another manager talked about how their approaches to communications were different for each community they engaged with.

The one size fits all approach doesn't work. What works for one community doesn't work for the next.

- Miisun manager (participant 014)

A different form of learning process occurred for Daniel Wemigwans, the Miisun Anishinaabe liaison. Daniel is originally from Wikwemikong Unceded Indian Reserve in southern Ontario. He was involved in personal learning through consulting with Treaty #3 First Nations, and also trained local people who were hired to be involved in forest management. Daniel talked about his approach to working with people from the communities.

You have to treat them as individuals regardless of where they come from, then that way they have a better sense of self. I think the key is empowering individuals to be able to take ownership and responsibility of themselves and their lives.

Daniel's role in facilitating learning for the First Nations Trust and community members was of great importance to the success of Miisun and Miitigoog. Central to Daniel's approach to training and learning about partnerships was empowerment, which differs considerably from consultation outside of Miisun (as was expressed by several participants party to the First Nations Trust, as well as GCT#3 managers). Daniel would sometimes work with potential or existing laborers from First Nations to build their general employment capacity. He would do this primarily by training them in computer skills and how to put together resumes.

Occasionally I'll offer computer training if they want or some other kind of computer-based training. That's if they require it or if they want it. I was delivering life skills basic job-hunting skills, but even after that gets done you still have to push them to apply. It doesn't do any good for somebody to learn to type a resume when they're not actually going to be out there being employable or actually finding a job.

6.2.2 Learning through "informal" experiences

Learning prior to and during the development of Wincrief and Miitigoog also occurred through "informal" experiences. Here, "informal" refers to processes that were meant to be less formal, but did nevertheless contain structure and attributes of formality (Marsick & Watkins, 2001).

Board members and government people involved in Wincrief and Miitigoog mainly reported learning processes of this type. “Informal” experiences mainly took shape in the form of personal encounters outside of formal meetings, experiences on the land, and experiences in Kenora and First Nations. The experiences were discussed as being instrumental to creating different pathways for learning outside of highly formal settings, such as boardrooms. Such learning processes have been identified as being especially effective for learning that helps build relationships and cross-cultural forms of understanding (McAllister & Irvine, 2008).

Personal encounters outside of formal meetings typically involved casual meetings for lunch or coffee, and occasionally group retreats. While there were clear expectations that these experiences would create outcomes that would promote collaboration, they were not planned in the same way as the more formal types of engagement described in the previous section. Mike Dietsch, the Miitigoog partner from Weyerhaeuser spoke about how relationships outside of structured settings can contribute creativity in the development of collaborative governance. This was also spoken of in terms of easing communications.

When you think about it, many places have retreats. They try and go offsite where they can concentrate on the task at hand and try and move towards that. They also try and go to a location that can hopefully spur on some creativity to work through their tasks. The other key piece of those sessions is to develop the relationship so you can have those discussions. I can say that the majority of our structured sessions in developing today’s model did take place in meeting rooms. However there were also lots of conversations outside the structured sessions. There were several one on one discussions, group meetings, dinners and lunches. Today’s design would not have been possible without those additional sessions.

Greg Moncrief echoed Mike Dietsch’s sentiment and commented on how being outside of the boardroom can enable different and more sensitive kinds of discussions and learning to occur.

I would say that most of [cultural learning] is off [site]. It's not in the work environment. When you're in that environment your focus is a little bit different. So you're trying to make business work, you're trying to make the jobs work, which is sometimes you lose sight of in this case your partners thoughts are. And then you wonder, "Has everybody learned", you go on and you talk about it until you really realize that you have a long way to go to understand. I've been lucky enough that [Wabaseemoong] involved me in a lot of great conversations, retreats. You've got to get away from that environment in order to learn. We used to go to an outpost camp, with Chief and council, several elders, and we'd be invited as members from Wincrief, and there would be other government people there.

As Greg Moncrief mentioned, OMNR managers were sometimes included in the group retreats. These experiences, as well as one-on-one informal meetings, were highly valued by OMNR managers for creating reciprocal learning with the different parties. They saw meeting as a way to discuss new policy without the pressure that can be part of a formal meeting where decisions might be made. The process was explained by one OMNR manager as being sequential, and as being beneficial for communications.

Go for coffee when you can. Start with something small. It may seem very benign, but it allows you to have the next and the next and the next [conversation]. This may seem fairly innocuous to you, but it does act as a building block. You can't go in and say sign an SFL. What's an SFL?

- Leo Heyens; OMNR supervisor

In the early stages of developing collaboration key actors in the Miitigoog partnership found that exploring collaboration through conversations in an informal setting was an ideal venue for determining common visions, intentions, and expected outcomes of collaboration.

Miitigoog was originally founded in a boat. We were fishing with a number of the different parties talking about how things needed to be different. We wanted to move forward together - to change how things were being done at that time. There were some logging contractors, ourselves, and some First Nations. From there we had many discussions and changed the way forest management was handled in our area. As you can see today those discussions led to something that is quite different.

- Mike Dietsch, Weyerhaeuser

While informal experiences were often cited as easing cross-cultural communication, there were also examples of instances that brought about further complexity. Tannis Romaniuk, a manager at Wincrief, talked about her son's experience working for the company and trying to navigate cultural discourse.

That whole harassment part of the training and the racism is really difficult. I find that because I do all of the orientations I find that REALLY difficult but I also find it difficult with some of the other staff because we will not tolerate racial slurs. At the same time my son was working here before he went to university. He came home one night and said, "So, I'm supposed to call the guys Indians cause they're Indian you know." Because we would sit in the coffee room and we would try to tell a story and I would be like, "You know, First Nations, Aboriginals", and finally they just looked at me and said, "Keaton, it's Ok we're Indians. We know we're Indians", so you do develop that. One of the fellows, they spend every lunch hour trying to build mousetraps because we always have mice. It was a hoot for them. Then they finally caught some and Bob said, "Well, I expect you to go home and skin that. I want to see the pelt tomorrow. So he comes home and is like, "Is he serious?" So I think we get a lot out of the relationship in the sense of a really easier going light hearted spirit.

The informal experiences caused some confusion for her son, but eventually led to humour, lightheartedness, and the different kinds of learning opportunities that such instances provide.

Experiences on the land were also cited by various people involved in collaboration as being an important way to learn about each other's culture and aspirations. Those who needed to spend time on the land as part of their jobs typically cited such learning experiences the most. These were managers (Wincrief, Miisun, and OMNR), as well as laborers and people working as community liaisons (Miisun, OMNR, First Nation community representatives). The learning that occurred through time spent on the land was mostly a product of being in a setting and with people that created the ability to see their work and surroundings through different perspectives.

Marvin McDonald was on both the Wincrief and Miitigoog board, but also had a significant role in communications between Wabaseemoong council and community members

and the boards. He reflected on teaching government people about culture and tradition while spending time out in the bush.

I bring the traditional knowledge. The most important part that I taught him [government manager] was how to walk in the bush. You don't just walk in the bush like you walk out here. More careful and you never know what you're going to be stepping on. That's one of the things that I'm really glad I taught him because he really - I'm not sure. [laughing] To me he seemed like he was going and walking on the street and to me that's different. Also, I bring our traditional teachings. It wasn't all science. It was stuff that I heard as a kid, and you sort of compare that.

Megan Moncrief, a manager at Wincrief spoke very positively about her experiences on the land, and what a difference it made for her in terms of developing awareness about work with Wabaseemoong. In this respect, experiences on the land and in the community were joined together as one process.

I've been getting a lot of experiences. Going out to the bush in the beginning was awesome. It's really neat to see all the stuff that goes on out there. It's really neat to see the houses too as they come together. It's pretty incredible.

Several of the managers from Miisun reflected on learning processes that were connected to experiences on the land and in the community as being enhanced by interactive tools that could benefit community interests. In particular, mapping and GIS was thought to be valuable for helping managers and liaisons learn what was important to communities, as well as helping communities learn the ways that Miisun could be of benefit to them.

One of the biggest conduits of that type of collaboration [between Miisun and First Nations] I would say is with regards to land use and mapping. We do that all the time. Different levels of technology, GIS, and you name it, so it's very easy for us to meet with any community and give them different products with regards to mapping locations of values and potential future uses of land. Most of them are extremely interested in that because they have no means of accessing that information so I see that as something that comes up in every conversation that Daniel [Aboriginal Liaison] has with communities.

When he meets with them he's always down here showing them different maps and different things, different things related to their lands and locations, roads boundaries, you name it. That's huge.

- Miisun manager (participant 017)

With respect to his work in First Nations communities, Daniel spoke about how knowledge of the language was not as important as cultural understanding, and how he found it to be beneficial to engage community people as translators.

What I've done is I've employed local community members to act as translators to get messages across or to provide clarification and providing that person with some kind of stipend for their translation services. The cross-cultural component is I would say not as big of a challenge.

Fred Greene, a newer community liaison at Miisun added to the comments by saying that learning and communications in the communities had been somewhat eased by the fact that now it was a First Nations owned company behind the process. This, however, was viewed as incremental change rather than a complete change in process.

We can accommodate people's interests instead of just going up against the wall and doing things like the old ways, which is what industry and government did before. Nevertheless, we still deal with the skepticism when we go to the communities because change happens over phases so you get a transition response.

Eric Fisher, who is on both the Wincrief and Miitigoog board, offered his thoughts on how processes in the community could be improved by making consultation more personalized, conversational, and aligned with the oral tradition.

I think [community consultation] even needs to be door-to-door and not just a regular open house, "We'll be here from this hour to this hour", cause a lot of that information is more oral where it's passed family to family.

This type of consultation could be considered to be less formal than the typical forms of consultation Eric Fisher was also referring to (i.e., the open house format). Going door-to-door and meeting with individuals and families would have a more conversational format than the typical forms of consultation that government and forestry company managers had used in the past. This would resemble the “informal” kinds of meetings that were said to be effective for establishing collaboration in the case of Miitigoog. Scott Lockhart, a Resource Liaison Specialist from the OMNR, also spoke about less formal meetings, and said that he was learning that a one-on-one approach to consultation was more effective for developing communications with communities.

Yeah, I think what we're doing now is trying to get directly into an individual in a community that you can deal with and get direction from them, so more of a one on one approach.

Several of the “informal” learning processes described in this section could be quite easily connected to the formal learning processes described in the previous section. The processes occurring outside of more formal settings, on the land and in the communities, however are unique due to their qualities, such as having atmospheres where people can feel more relaxed and open, and freer to connect at a basic human level.

6.2.3 Personal processes

Learning through personal processes refers to the learning that happens within a person as a result of an experience or an accumulation of experiences perceived to be personally meaningful and, therefore, the cause of personal reflection (Reynolds, 1998). Personal processes as such are, therefore, closely linked to Mezirow’s process of critical self-reflection,

as well as other types of meaning formation that occurs when relating to other people or elements outside of the self. Within traditional Anishinaabe learning systems this type of process would be reflective of self with regards to all our relations (Wilson, 2008; Whiteman, 2009). For those involved in collaboration, learning through personal processes took shape in the form of reflecting on personal memory of events prior to collaboration, as well as events that were parts of the collaboration(s). Learning through personal processes was important for all people involved in the two cases. Regardless of the cultural perspective on learning, personal processes are best understood by looking at the narrative or story of the events and reflections that took place and eventually led to learning (Fisher-Yoshida et al., 2009).

Many participants offered stories about how they engaged in learning and building relationships, and eventually deciding that collaboration was a path that they wanted to travel. Due to the consent requirements of this study some of the stories were shared so that they would not be repeated, but instead would contribute to the pool of data, which upon analysis demonstrated that stories of personal process were very important for learning that led to and sustained collaboration. Stories also tend to be quite lengthy; therefore, two stories will be offered here as examples of learning through personal processes. The first is a learning story from Leo Heyens, a senior manager at the OMNR who has been liaising with First Nations for his entire career and was a key person in delivering policy related to the SFL for the Kenora Forest. His story describes how he learned that working with communities is a relational process that takes time and might not have instant “pay offs”, but that long-term benefits can come through being genuine, building trust, and listening to what the community wants. Since this learning occurred Leo has carried this forward in the way he works with all communities.

The approach was, well I knew the Chief. A couple of my kids were friends with their daughter. He lives in town. It was [name withheld] at the time and it made it easier for me because I know him but I don't think that's the issue.

The issue was that I went to the community and said, "Hey listen, we're going to do some fisheries assessment on the Winnipeg River. Everyone's complaining that the fishery is not as good as it could be. You folks have a direct interest in the fishery. We're going to do this assessment starting in summer. We'd like to hire one person from the community to help us with the survey." They said, "Ok, fine", so they gave us a guy called Stanley. This is an interesting story.

So we were doing what you call a 'creel survey' where you go and interview anglers. You find out where they're from, how long they've been fishing, so you learn how much the catch per unit effort is. How long it takes you to catch a fish. You learn a whole bunch of social things - "I'm from Michigan and I've been here for 3 days, I've been staying at a fishing lodge, I've been staying with a friend."- All that sort of stuff. So we've got Stanley and we've got a biologist that's running the creel and he's just complaining to me on a regular basis that Stanley is not really contributing. He says that when you come up to a boat to do the interviews you have to write down, he holds the boat but he doesn't say anything. I said, "Well he's shy!" "I don't think it's that" he said. He said he points this way and he points that way when he sees a boat, and, "Don't go through that channel because it's shallow and you'll wreck the motor." He has this way of communicating and he's like nineteen, and this goes on and finally I have to talk my biologist off the ledge because he wants to fire Stanley because Stanley's just not cutting it.

I don't know, the Dalles gave us this person and somebody comes to pick Stanley up, and it's his grandmother and I'm talking to his grandmother and she says, "Well, Stanley doesn't have parents." I said, "Stanley's really quiet", and she said, "Well, Stanley's a select mute." I thought well that just explains everything. Here we're trying to do a social interview and the person doesn't say anything. So what I did was I talked to the biologist and said, "Look Stanley's doing his part. He's steering the boat, he's pointing, he's holding onto the boat, he's doing his job. It's just for the summer. We got to tough it out." I didn't ever know if this was a test. I didn't know if this was just happenstance. No idea.

About 5 months later our regional director is at the Best Western Lakeside Inn and it's a commercial fishing meeting and it's an Aboriginal related sort of thing, and it's not going well. People are really nasty and yelling and this lady gets up and says, "I don't know what all the fuss is about but I just came today to tell you that I want to thank you for hiring my Stanley to work on the river because he really enjoyed that and he came out of his shell and he's doing really well so I thank you." Then the meeting just sort of quieted down after that and made some progress. After the meeting the regional director asked me, "Who the hell is Stanley?" so I tell him the story. My point is you just don't know what that relationship is based on and how it gets going. You just don't know. I tell people that once and a while because, I don't know, ever since that there's been no issue with that community at all, one way or the other.

Leo Heyens' story reflects the formation of meaning that came through the events and interactions with a person from a First Nation community, which in turn affected his (and the Ministry's) relationship with a whole community. His personal reflection and learning were directly related to the interactions with Stanley, the biologist, Stanley's grandmother, and other community people. The story was a response to being asked about how he learned some of the most important things about cross-cultural collaboration through his work. The second example of a personal story relates to a reflection on personal identity and respect for an ancestor's ways of relating to people from the settler society. A new member to the First Nations Trust offered the story as a reference point for talking about learning and the potential for community development that being a part Miitigoog and Miisun could bring.

Well my grandfather is from here. His name was John Blackhawk. The Blackhawk comes from, I don't know if you know the story of Chief Blackhawk. They're Sioux from somewhere down in Illinois, but way back in the 1800s Chief Blackhawk would travel up through Mississippi and come up into Ontario through here. He was always trying to promote other tribes to work with the white people because he knew that they were coming, we might as well learn how to work with them. This is in history books. That's how the Blackhawks came here. That's the family that I'm from. We've never lived here. My mom was raised here. My mom married my dad and lost her treaty status so I grew up in Keewatin so we'd come here to do rice picking. We were here once or twice as a family but other than that.

I guess there's just, I don't know, what it is there's something in me that wants to help this community. It's kind of the vision of my grandfather. His name was Kiigagigijiik [spelled according to sound]. I can't spell it either. It means something about the new sky when it's red. It means something like that. There's a legend about the red sky and that's kind of what my grandfather's name means. He was one of the last Chiefs that back then they used to give rations, Indian Affairs, and he would paddle all the way to Kenora to get rations, and paddle all the way to the community to drop rations off. He was one of the only Chiefs that did stuff like that. Now it's money and it's different. I don't know what it is there's just something. I don't know that it's instilled in me. There's just something that tells me that I have to help and do this.

- First Nations Trust member (participant 022)

Similar to the previous narrative, the response given by the new First Nations Trust member was a deep reflection on identity and cross-cultural collaboration, and was offered as a response when asked about learning that is cross-cultural. Both stories reflect a process that is highly reflective and embedded in memory. For these (as well as other) participants, new experiences are measured alongside these conceptions of deeply embodied forms of learning that makes up a portion of their worldview (Moyer, 2012).

6.2.4 Emotional, spiritual, and tacit experiences

Emotional, spiritual, and tacit experiences are grouped together because they share attributes in common with regards to encouraging learning. They are all “non-rational” experiences, which have only recently been accounted for in detail in the transformative learning literature, as is described in Section (2.2.2), which talks about transformative learning as being a theory in transition. Increasingly, such forms of learning are becoming acknowledged as being equally important as rational processes capable of leading to transformations in habits of mind (Baumgartner, 2001; Fisher-Yoshida et al., 2009). Within Anishinaabe understandings of learning, emotions, sense and the spiritual are necessary components of a holistic traditional learning system (Davidson-Hunt & Berkes, 2003).

Emotional experiences were reported by several of the participants who were engaged in the collaboration. Some of the participants who gave emotionally based reflections on learning asked that they not be directly quoted. Others felt comfortable with their quotes being shared anonymously. Emotions coinciding with learning ranged from being joyful about collaboration as something that is positive for First Nations communities and business, to being sorrowful about cross-cultural interactions in the past. The following short narrative is an example of the

extreme hurt that came along with learning about local race relations. The response was given when the participant was asked to reflect about learning that came through cross-cultural experiences.

Personally, my wife and I have been together for 30 years and she's from Grassy Narrows and so after 30 years you have a basic idea. I have a hard time with racism, I really do. If you want the truth, I watched it affect my children's lives and now I'm more adamant than ever because I have a granddaughter and I don't want her to go through the same thing that my children went through.

You want truth, we had people come to our house and before their kids could stay overnight they'd want to check the cleanliness of the house. Kenora, I'm being honest with you, Kenora and Dryden are probably the most racist redneck places that exist. I watched my children, especially my daughter be treated subhuman I couldn't take it no more. You want a thesis where it really makes a difference - you deal with these communities like Kenora. I watched her degraded beyond what anyone should ever be. I didn't just watch. You try fighting it and it just makes it worse. I don't mean to get emotional but it's my daughter. Kenora is just horrible. Maybe with cities it's more diverse. I don't know if they're more readily acceptable but it just doesn't seem to be as bad as small places. I think the trouble with Kenora is that there is no ethnic diversity as such so it seems to be really keyed in on just a select group for discrimination, and it wasn't pleasant. The younger generation seems to be a lot more tolerant.

- Wincrief manager (participant 010)

This participant connected his story to racial intolerance and misconduct in the workplace, and described these experiences as leading to a zero tolerance policy in the management of his staff (mentioned earlier in Section 5.2.2).

Other, often more positive, emotional aspects of learning were about connection to the land. This was also discussed as being spiritually significant, which also had an impact on the participant's learning process.

Q: Is ceremony a pretty important part of the First Nations Trust and Miisun?

A: Yes it is. I know at our last board meeting that we had on September 3rd, we were already planning to have our Fall Feast. It will probably happen shortly. We also have a Spring Feast.

Q: Would you say that the ceremonies and the feasts are important for the learning that happens between the different partners?

A: Yeah and also just to give thanks for what we are given. It's mostly to give thanks and to pray that good things happen in the future.

Q: What kind of things do you think are learned through the feasts and the ceremonies?

A: I guess when I do that I also, whenever we do something here in the community whether it's build a new lot or something we offer tobacco in the beginning and we also ask for forgiveness for destroying the trees and stuff. That it's going for a purpose, like to build someone a new home.

Q: So that's a really important part of it?

A: Yeah, for me it's that connection I guess.

Q: I just want to make sure that I'm summarizing that part correctly. Would you say that the ceremonies and the feasts and the learning are about connection?

A: Yeah that connection that we have. Yes, because everything that we need, Mother Earth gives to us and I just want her to know that I'm not just taking and taking. I guess I need to have that balance to and it's just a constant reminder not to keep taking and taking because if you keep doing stuff without those ceremonies it just gets easier and easier to take.

- First Nations Trust member (participant 041)

Spirituality was discussed in reference to learning as occurring as a deeply personally embedded process, and as something that was facilitated by ritual and ceremony. The above quotes illustrate the giving of tobacco, which is an important spiritual ritual for Anishinaabe (Davidson-hunt & Berkes, 2010), as well as other Indigenous peoples of the Americas. Feasting was also a part of spiritual learning processes relating to collaboration. Francis Kavanaugh, an elder from Naotkamegwanning (Whitefish Bay) First Nation who was a member of the First Nations Trust, talked about feasting as a ceremony that was associated with learning about the right way to move forward with a project.

Say if I have a group that wants to, you know we have a project going, and what we're looking for as an end result is a framework agreement sort of thing and to develop a self-governance system or whatever, and then I'd begin by feasting that process, by letting our people know and also the spiritual element. That's what we also do when we have ceremony is to bring them in to listen to us. We ask them what it is that we're looking for

and hopefully they'll provide us with the blessing, they'll provide us with the knowledge base, provide us with the ability to talk and talk with those at the other side of the table in a sensible manner using diplomacy without yelling and blaming. That's not who we are when we do things in our culture. We don't necessarily place ourselves as from other cultures. We're just human beings. We just got to find ways to be tolerant to one another and more accepting. To me that's where it's at. It's dialogue.

The First Nations Trust also held feasts in the Spring and Fall, and during the celebration of the formation of the Miitigoog partnership and the incorporation of Miisun. Miitigoog board members from both First Nations and industry reflected on the ceremonies as being very meaningful for learning. For industry partners this was specifically related to learning about culture. OMNR managers shared similar sentiments in that they felt they experienced cross-cultural learning through being a part of Anishinaabe ceremony. However, some industry partners and OMNR managers only talked about ceremonies as being important to the partners from First Nations. This was mostly in reference to prayers and ceremonies in Anishinaabemodaa, a language that they could not understand. The following quote by a Miitigoog board member from industry reflects this view of spiritual ceremony as being mostly important to First Nation collaborators.

We didn't really have it before. We had a signing ceremony but we didn't have the blessing of the building or the blessing or the prayers. We had the prayer for the feast but they had never really done anything for Miisun in terms of blessing it. I think they've been wanting to do it for a long time so this was just an opportune time just to get it done because there's that whole process that you have to go through.

- Dale Munro; Kenora Forest Products, Miitigoog

Tacit experiences were significant for leading to cross-cultural learning. Several industry partners and OMNR managers talked about their time spent out on the land with people from First Nations and how this affected their understanding of the cultural attributes of

communication, as well as the relationship that their colleagues have with the land. Marvin McDonald, who had worked on the land (walking and interacting with the features of the land) with several people from the OMNR and industry, echoed the importance of this learning process (some of which was already discussed in Section 4.2.2 about “informal” learning and Chapter 5 - learning outcomes). Marvin also talked about relationships with people whom he had spent time with in the bush.

Laborers also talked about tacit learning on worksites, and as part of reflective processes. Mahengun Goodsky Sr.’s experience with hunting throughout the years (described in Section 5.2.3 about transformative learning outcomes) is also representative of the effect of incremental tacit learning processes experienced through interacting with the land, in this case hunting. By being out in the forests, and returning over many years he learned that forestry practices were affecting the way in which the forest would grow back. He then presented this perspective when he was asked to speak about he had learned about more recent forestry practices.

6.3 Summary and discussion

This chapter identified four learning process groupings and specific events that encouraged and enabled learning to take place. Learning processes occurred in various types of settings ranging from structured formats to unstructured experiences that were shared in less formal settings, such as fishing boats, coffee shops, and on the land. Processes such as personal reflection and working with materials were also important parts of learning that resulted in collaboration. Further, special attention was given to a process grouping that included emotionally engaging, spiritual, and tacit experiences. The following discussion considers learning processes according to the transformative learning literature as it relates to resource governance, and

following the last chapter then relates such processes to Kooiman's (2003) three orders of governance.

Learning that was triggered by engaging in the formal activities around collaboration involved events such as receiving or disseminating information, listening to different perspectives, working through conflicts, and participating in ceremony (both corporate and Anishinaabe). Diduck *et al.* (2012, p. 1322) discuss how learning is especially triggered when there are "threats to favoured environments, natural resources, health or community". This was the case with the leadership from First Nations that were engaged in the formal agreements for Wincrief and Miitigoog. For them, collaboration was a way of bringing socio-economic opportunities to their communities, as well as greater influence in decision-making processes affecting the forests. Much of the learning occurring through formal engagement was incremental; involving many cycles of information sharing, dialogue, reflection, and adaptation.

Sims and A. J. Sinclair (2008) contend that learning that emerges from collaborative resource governance processes should be recorded and available to all participants. Miitigoog and Wincrief have minute taking built into the formal meeting process, and, therefore, can be said to be engaging in this kind of reflection. This action, however, could be enhanced through employing learning activities among collaborators as the organizations continue to develop. Wollenberg *et al.* (2000) found that using scenario mapping was useful in improving adaptiveness to community forest management because it improved participants' ability to anticipate and respond to concerns. Miitigoog as a way to further incorporate the concerns of First Nations communities into governance and related learning opportunities in a more meaningful way could use scenario mapping or a similar tool. By exploring issues through

different scenarios it could also be possible to develop a greater understanding of perspectives that are divergent or steeped in cultural values that may be unfamiliar.

Walker (1996) and Reed et al. (2010) assert that [social] learning for ecosystem-based management is about a participatory process and is not necessarily about consensus building. In taking participation into consideration as a strong conduit for learning, learning processes geared towards new members to the First Nations trust would perhaps benefit from a non-consensus building approach where participation and reciprocal learning are held above finding consensus. This does not fit in with the current formal governance structures of Wincrief and Miitigoog, which are based on consensus decision making. With regards to Miitigoog, non-consensus driven learning occurred for new First Nations Trust members through the Miisun Anishinaabe liaison prior to entering the formal collaborative governance space. Existing members of Miitigoog and new members in the First Nations Trust discussed the importance of the Anishinaabe liaison for establishing learning, which resulted in the building trust and in some cases a decision to join the partnership.

Learning through "informal" experiences included personal encounters outside of formal meetings, as well as shared experiences on the land and in First Nations and other communities (i.e., Kenora). Such experiences, while characterized by intentionality, are unique because of the ease of interaction brought through a less rigid setting directly focused on a particular goal (Marsick & Watkins, 2001). Instead, in the less formal settings, learners may be able to engage in more abstract thinking around new relationships and undertakings (Sefton-Green, 2004). This type of setting was particularly important for the establishment of Miitigoog. Key individuals involved in the partnership were able to discuss business on a fishing trip that was intentionally organized for exploring collaboration in relaxed and open

dialogue. Retreats were the primary type of organized setting that promoted collaboration for those involved in management and board governance in Wincrief. These opportunities were especially important for developing a level of cross-cultural understanding, which is essential for negotiating collaboration (S. M. Reich & J. A. Reich, 2006). Other resource management studies have found that social settings have been important for developing learning outcomes, such as the watershed management study by A. J. Sinclair, Sims, & Spaling (2009), which highlighted the importance of participatory social settings for diminishing power differentials and developing sustainable outcomes for both programming and resource-based livelihoods.

Personal learning processes affected participants holding different positions with regards to Wincrief and Miitigoog. Changes in frames of reference affecting policy implementation were generally seen in OMNR managers who learned over a decade or two of experience. OMNR managers, therefore, were engaged in incremental learning experiences, which are characterized by shifts in frames-of-reference over a long amount of time (Mezirow, 1991). Epochal learning was typically communicative and occurred as a result of specific events that caused major changes to the way OMNR managers approached working with their potential partners, especially First Nations. The example of personal process experienced by Leo Heyens is one example (section 6.2.3). The other learning story related to personal process was an example of learning occurring through incremental reflection on personal identity. This type of process is particularly important for situations like collaboration that can challenge personal identity frameworks, such as those relating to history and culture (Ortiz, 2000; Thorpe, 2002).

Learning processes occurring through emotional, spiritual, and tacit learning events were highlighted because of their potential for providing a more nuanced understanding of

transformative learning (Baumgartner, 2001; Fisher-Yoshida et al., 2009), and how it pertains to groups that are doing conciliatory types of work (Percy, 2005; Tisdell, 2003). The discourse that was shared by the participants indicated that emotional, spiritual, and tacit experiences were important for learning processes leading to collaboration, especially those that occurred prior to the formalization of the collaborations. Such experiences and activities involved learning-by-doing and being emotionally engaged, and is in agreement with Moyer's (2012) and later Moyer *et al.*'s (2014, p.366) description of 'embodied learning', which involves "interaction of the body and its senses with other agents or objects". The research revealing 'embodied learning', which included changes in meaning frameworks resulting in transformative learning, emerged from research on learning for sustainability among faith-based organizations (Moyer, 2012; Moyer et al., 2014). Wincrief and Miitigoog are not "faith-based organizations", however Anishinaabe spirituality was an important attribute of collaboration for partners from First Nations. Spirituality was also acknowledged by all parties as being important to collaboration, and as something that was necessary to interact with, even if it was not always fully understood by participants from government or industry. Engagement in emotional, spiritual and tacit events was especially important for producing learning outcomes essential to collaboration, such as trust and relationships among collaborators.

With regards to Kooiman's (2003) orders of governance, problem solving and the creation of opportunities for collaboration (i.e., first order governance) occurred through various learning processes. Industry people and people from First Nations explored the potential for new types of governance through considering applicable policy and engaging with OMNR managers and with each other for the purpose of creating the collaborative models that became Wincrief and Miitigoog, and the First Nations Trust. At this order of governance,

learning through informal experiences proved to be particularly important giving collaborators opportunities to let some of their guards down and explore more freely each other's perspectives and cultures. Such experiences can contribute to the humanization of, building of rapport with, and dismantling of concepts of the "other" (McAllister & Irvine, 2008), as was the case with the Wincrief and Miitigoog partners.

Learning processes that were connected to problem solving and the creation of opportunities took time. Those who were part of the initiation of Wincrief and Miitigoog consistently discussed how initiating collaboration was a long process that involved incremental learning, including learning about fellow collaborators, negotiations, and how to work through conflicts. Many collaborators also reflected on their past experiences (both professional and non-professional) as part of the learning leading up to the establishment of collaboration. Some had specific stories that led to more epochal forms of learning such as the that experienced by Gerry Moncrief, which created marked changes to the way they approached future collaborative scenarios (learning led him to leave collaboration). Others placed greater importance in the shared experiences that eventually built up to the development of trust and experience. This included experiences that were tacitly based, such as on-the-job work. Within Mezirow's (2003) transformative learning, this is the process of critical self-reflection, which describes how meaning is created within the learner in relation to their experiences, potentially leading to changes in one's frame-of-reference.

The initiating collaborators had a fundamental role in establishing much of the structure of the Wincrief and Miitigoog boards. Norms, such as the use of consensus decision making, were established through the early communications and learning processes, which were facilitated by OMNR managers from the Northwest Ontario division. Board members,

however, did have the power to influence the learning occurring through formal meetings, which eventually resulted in the establishment of normative frameworks that would continue to guide the collaborations. For example, with Miitigoog the board unanimously decided to keep the independent chairperson beyond the initial contract because board members learned that his role was important for organizing meetings and keeping the board on track with the norms that had been established, such as consensus decision making. This type of learning leading to governance has the potential to contribute to Taylor's (2008) three points pertaining to the main gaps in transformative learning as being related to: 1) the role of the student in creating learning; 2) role of the student in relation to the educator; 3) how the student transforms institutions through their own transformation.

For Miitigoog, much of the formation and maintenance of institutional characteristics occurred at the level of the board (i.e., second order governance). Reflexivity, however, was also built into the policy framework for the Miitigoog collaboration, demonstrating the ability for synthesis and integration of different forms of knowledge, which is especially important for respecting the knowledge of different actors (Wiber et al., 2009; Zurba, 2009). The need for rational reflective discourse as part of learning about First Nations values is emphasized here, and is an integral component of cross-cultural learning that supports transformative outcomes for the learner (Gozawa, 2009; Mezirow et al., 2000). Reflections on Anishinaabe culture and ceremony (Section 6.2.4) are examples of this kind of process where individuals explored worldviews that were not their own so they could better their collaborative endeavors. This example is of a reflective process occurring at a personal level.

Many of the changes occurring within individuals that in turn altered their approach to each other and their work can be explained by the 'extrarational' qualities of learning (Cranton,

2006; Dirkx, 2006). Through being engaged long-term with people of different cultures, attitudes shifted often without the formal learning processes that are emphasized in classical forms of traditional learning literature (Mezirow, 1981). Through various engaging in environments that facilitated ease and commonality, old habits of mind were let go or shifted towards new kinds of understandings. Rational reflective discourse, however, is also something that can be actualized within a group under the right conditions (i.e., where participants can feel free to talk without fear of retribution). This was the case for the original Miitigoog board members, but was not the case with some of the newer board members.

For Wincrief, second order governance was not only affected by learning processes occurring at the board, it was also continuously influenced by learning through interactions between managers, laborers, and other people from Wabaseemoong. Wincrief as a collaborative governance system was highly dependent upon community participation and the political support from the Wabaseemoong government. Changes in participation or political support thus had the potential to directly impact the success of the company, as will be discussed in my concluding comments (Section 8.3). Thus, the social-political frameworks around Wincrief, i.e., third order of governance, were influenced by the norms and values of the Wabaseemoong community. This is consistent with Emmel's (in Fisher-Yoshida et al., 2009, p. 250) perspective on transformative knowledge as 'the concourse of participation', which involves the interaction of action and discourse in creating meaning instead on relying on 'discourse' alone. The concourse of the various levels of authority (board, management, labour and community) essentially created a dynamic system of engagement and cyclical learning that guided the shape of Wincrief's governance structure, day-to-day management, and adaptive approach to working with Wabaseemoong.

As mentioned earlier, it can be easily postulated that Miitigoog could encounter similar learning cycles with the First Nations communities making up the First Nations Trust; however, such learning had not yet occurred due to the collaboration still being in its early stages. The learning processes of a different kind of social-political framework, the broader tenure system dictated by the Ontario government, had the greatest potential to affect Miitigoog as a collaborative institution. In the context of natural resource management (especially focused on food and fiber), Walters and Holling (1990, p. 2067) contend that "policy is politics", and argue that large-scale management requires an adaptive, learning-by-doing approach. They further argue that such an approach is required to cope with the many factors influencing management systems. Miitigoog's governance structure reflected large-scale management and incorporated learning-by-doing and adaptive qualities, which enhanced the system in its early stages of development. As Miitigoog continues to grow, the "policy is politics" issue may prove problematic (i.e., changes in the tenure system), and Miitigoog may require further adaptation, if it is to survive major policy transitions.

In investigating learning through community participation in forest planning, Mustalahti and Lund (2009) found that successful participation included the recognition of regional differences, including colonial histories. The governance system, therefore, has the potential to benefit from enhanced and situated learning if tenure policy is permitted to develop according to regional contexts and requirements. Future research on Miitigoog would benefit from an investigation into the interplay of politics and learning affecting the tenure policy development process.

Chapter 7. Learning through cross-cultural collaboration

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters (5 & 6), learning outcomes and processes were described according to the classic description and some new directions in transformative learning theory. In this chapter, learning will be discussed according to the other concepts in the analytical framework, which was designed to account for the cross-cultural and historical ('post-conflict') contexts of the research. Anishinaabe perspectives on learning outcomes will be attended to first in Section 7.2.1, and will be considered in reference to collaborative governance. Following the discussion on culture, learning will be considered in the 'post-conflict' context of systems that are aiming to build equanimity and collaboration (Section 7.2.2). Jansen's (2008; 2009) work will be the primary source for this analysis. The final contextualization of learning outcomes will be with regards to social action and reconciliation as an outcome of collaboration, which will be considered by using the literature on transitional justice and social action (Section 7.2.3).

7.2 Learning in context: Anishinaabe learning, 'post-conflict' learning, social action and reconciliation

7.2.1 Anishinaabe learning

Rather than being prescriptive, an analysis of Anishinaabe learning acknowledges the cultural context of learning in my cases and the contributions of Anishinaabe ways of knowing and understanding learning. Therefore, the discussion on "Anishinaabe learning" is situated according to prominent themes that highlighted cultural relevance. The consideration of Anishinaabe learning also helps to address some of the gaps in transformative learning that are

associated with cultural considerations, diverse ways of knowing (spiritual, emotional, and tacit), and collective learning.

Anishinaabe authors and those writing on Anishinaabe education and learning describe a connected system for understanding learning outcomes (Johnston, 1982; Spieldmann, 2009). In these descriptions of Anishinaabe learning systems, outcomes are not understood as a result of singular occurrences, but are often related to the intersections of occurrences sometimes happening over a lifetime (Treuer, 2001). This was congruent with Anishinaabe participants' descriptions of learning occurring through collaborative governance. Francis Kavanagh, an elder from Naotkamegwanning (Whitefish Bay) First Nation and Miitigoog board member, was asked about Anishinaabe governance and responded to the question by describing the interconnections of governance, Anishinaabe teachings (some of the context for learning), and the Anishinaabe way of life. Francis' response reflects a contemporary perspective grounded in traditional worldviews.

Anishinaabe governance in terms of maybe today? It all goes back to our traditional items and our teachings. Our teaching are, we were placed here by the creator. In fact that's what the term Anishinaabe means. We were descended on Mother Earth by the creator. That's what Anishinaabe means, ascended from above somewhere. Along with that we were given, the creator also made the natural resources around us, the forest, the lakes, plants and of course the fish the animals that we have here. They were put on Mother Earth so we could provide a livelihood or subsistence from those gifts from the creator but you often hear about people talking about maintaining harmony and balance with Mother Earth. So, for the gifts that we received like the animals, say if we wanted to go on a hunt there's certain things you have to know. Those are the things I call our poles in governance - the lodges. We have several types of lodges that we use for ceremony and that's how we prepared for going out on the hunt and it was never just an individual type of thing, like my family only. It was always in the context of the community, it was always in the context of sharing. So now we do these things that are at a community level. We all got prepared to go hunting, so we'd do a feast. We'd feast, you know the spirits that come from all directions, the ground, the water, the sky. You'd ask them to come and partake with us in the feasts before we were preparing for a hunt or whatever. We'd ask them to partake with us an in return we'd ask them for their blessing or so things go right. We're not prone to accidents. We're taken care of in the process. When

we're successful, again we would bring whatever game we were able to harvest and then we'd do a feast again. We'd honour the animal that gave up it's life so we could sustain life from the animal and then we'd pray in the context that the animal itself. In our culture every living thing has a spirit so in that context you take an animal or a plant, you speak to it in a context that it's not about killing that animal or that plant. It's about taking it in internally so that it becomes part of you. As long as you live and as long as you're healthy, that's where that spirit or whatever you took continues living inside of you. It's not over.

Francis explained governance processes according to Anishinaabe contexts. Francis' description of governance also sets the stage for learning outcomes occurring through governance. Favorable outcomes were described as being directly related to processes that build community and strengthen process. Francis concluded his interview by saying that there was much more to know about Anishinaabe ways that could take a very long time to understand, similar to the length of time required to build a strong interpersonal relationship. The limitation of my knowledge of Anishinaabe culture is acknowledged here; therefore, the learning outcomes discussed here are not broad assertions about culture. They are instead situated specifically according to Anishinaabe participants involved in collaboration who spoke to culture as part of their learning.

Participants from First Nations reflected on their culture as something that was influencing governance, and often indicated that culture could not be separated from favourable governance process. In earlier discussions of results, cultural processes such as Anishinaabe ceremony were reflected upon as being essential for creating certain forms of learning outcomes. In general, Anishinaabe people attributed many of the positive outcomes of collaboration to the incorporation of customs and spirituality. Ceremony was the primary expression of customs and spirituality that was experienced within collaborative spaces. Other

customs were referred to, such as consulting with elders. Within the spaces created by collaboration, learning coming through ceremony belonged to both Anishinaabe and non-Anishinaabe people. For several Anishinaabe board members, a learning outcome was the development of trust in collaboration and that it was being done according to culturally correct protocols. A member of the First Nations Trust reflected on this and talked about how he learned that it also takes time for cultural aspects of collaboration to become mutually understood.

I think we really have to do is, for Miisun we have to get our vision straight, not straight, we have to get it in a format through ceremony that everyone is going to understand. That means having it blessed, having it stamped saying “Yes, by the spirits of the land and the water that we’re doing the right thing”, that we know in our own ways that we’re doing the right thing, and then formalizing that in a format that is going to be clear to government and also be clear to industry about how we’re going to do that. With that, it takes time, we’re kind of - we have a lot of priorities as leaders in our communities but we have to take time and bring that piece together so that it’s known.

- Miitigoog, First Nations Trust member (participant 003)

Many Anishinaabe board members also expressed that ceremony would have positive trickle-down effects on forestry practices (as reflected in the quote in Section 6.2.4, which talks about how ceremony is connected to learning, the future, and doing the right thing for the land, trees and other aspects of the forest).

Other learning outcomes and processes that were reflected upon as being culturally contextualized were those related to practices such as being out on the land. Mehengun Goodsky Sr., a former Miisun laborer, reflected on cultural practice and how it related to his work in the forest. He talked about the laying down of tobacco and other practices. Mahengun also learned that cross-cultural collaboration meant that culture could be brought into forestry practice. He reflected on this in terms of past collaborations with the OMNR.

Most of the information that I get credited for is the traditional portion is because I've understood the beliefs as well as adapting it to the system and how it works now for the harvesting and all that. There is information in the MNR, how they used to talk to people on the reserves about medicines and all that. The time changes, the timing restrictions that are done on blocks depends on the soil. They don't want to, it's as if they don't want to interfere with that harvesting when people are picking medicines at a certain time of year.

Mahengun was also asked about the Great Earth Law and how it related to governance, as well as the learning outcomes that were just discussed. His response reflected some of the tensions between cultural protocol and other influences, such being part of a capitalist economy.

Q: Are you going back to the Treaties or the Great Earth law when you think of what should be governing the forest?

A: Just the mutual understanding and mutual respect. The Great Law, they talk about something people like to say they know what it means. There's very few people that actually practice those kinds of beliefs and those laws. I know I don't. I'm driving this car. I live in a house. I built a road that's always going to be there and the forest is never going to grow there. People prefer to come into Kenora to do their shopping than to make their own food.

Francis similarly reflected on the modern context of being Anishinaabe and what that meant for him personally. He saw traditional values as being a center for discourse and learning, instead of being something that is rigid and prescribed.

“You can't wear glasses. You're supposed to be a traditional Indian man!” but why? I need glasses because that's how the creator made me, and my glasses maybe they're made from synthetics, but synthetic stuff comes from oil too and it's a gift from Mother Earth so I'm still using Mother Earth's stuff. You know what I mean? People have that closed mind and, “You can't do that, that's not traditional.” This [paper coffee cup], it comes from a tree. You know what I mean? You have to have an open mind about these things. You can't have a closed mind. That's what we're having as well. We have our own older generation that keeps telling us, “You can't do that, you can't use that”, why? I'm an individual that asks questions.

This perspective on culture and learning is important for understanding how learning outcomes fit into both traditional and contemporary Anishinaabe cultural contexts. Anishinaabe participants expressed cultural values according to their own perspectives, and how that connected to what they had learned through collaborating. Nevertheless, common cultural values were cited as being present and important in learning, and interactive with mainstream education.

I think if you're raised on a reservation it's instilled in you at an early age - your knowledge and the traditional stuff. I know kids that are in their teens and they're very traditional. They believe in the traditional way of life and they know that you also have to have an education to get by. We've been telling that to our kids.

- Marvin McDonald; Wabaseemoong / Wincrief / Miitigoog / First Nations Trust

7.2.2 ‘Post-conflict’ learning and cross-cultural collaboration

Within Miitigoog’s and Wincrief’s governance activities it is possible to discern processes reflective of several of Jansen’s (2009) principles for employing a ‘post-conflict pedagogy’. During the initiation of Miitigoog, OMNR managers played a particularly strong role in bringing people back to the table to resolve conflicts and find solutions that were mutually agreeable, as mentioned earlier in the Section (6.2.1) about formal engagement. Within ‘post-conflict pedagogy’, Jansen describes the importance of creating a ‘risk-accommodation environment’ where learners can feel as if they can express their full range of thoughts and emotions without fear of retribution. As discussed in previous discussion about transformative learning outcomes, the ‘risk-accommodating environment’ at Miitigoog board meetings was maintained through the employment of an independent chair who was also responsible for keeping meetings on track according to the mutually agreed upon terms that were established early on. The norms that were established through initial collaboration were conducive to the ‘disruption of received knowledge’, which Jansen also identifies as a key quality of learning that is capable of working on circumstances that had previously been the cause of oppression (i.e., in this case forest governance). Miitigoog board members could air their complaints and challenge positions as long as it was done so in a manner that was respectful and not personally attacking.

‘Pedagogical dissonance’, much like the ‘disruption of received knowledge’ was a present and significant component of formal engagement within Miitigoog. Many board members expressed that they encountered and/or produced viewpoints that were not mainstream, were contentious, and/or required a navigation of conflicting points of view in order to come to a decisions that reflected greater equity and meaning. As described in Section

2.2.4, Mezirow (2000) also works with 'received knowledge' as something that ought to be disrupted in order to access the individuated and authentic self. As also discussed earlier with regards to formal engagement, the independent chair of the Miitigoog board encouraged board members to comment on the way that processes were advancing. Conflicts were cited on both sides as being part of establishing Miitigoog. One OMNR manager spoke of this in terms of her experiences, approach, and perspective with conflicts that come up during natural resources-based negotiations.

I think just bringing them all to the table to better understand each other's viewpoints. The guys joke that I use the "female touch" where at meetings I want to talk about their feelings, but I do this so that everybody understands how each other feels and can respond accordingly when an issue comes up. It's not that that people are not trying to be rude or obstinate. It could be that that's their mindset. That's what that person has been doing for that last 800 years. He doesn't know any better. So to just bring people to the table and say, "Okay, what are your expectations, and what are you're expectations?" There's commonality amongst all of them. Sometimes we just don't realize it or forget.

- Deb Weedon, OMNR District Manager

This indicates that 'pedagogical dissonance' was indeed encouraged during the initiation stage of Miitigoog, and eventually became part the norms that were established for ongoing collaboration. In addition, the fact that the board had influence over the final composition of collaboration (i.e., not inclusive of municipal members) indicates that the dissonance was having an effect on Miitigoog's governance structure. This, however, was not the case with Wincrief, at least not at the level of the board. With Wincrief, the data show that criticisms of the governance system did not always bring change, for example, as was the case with the absence of an independent chair and the issue around not receiving the agenda in advance. Dissonance, instead appeared at other levels of the Wincrief collaboration, especially at the

intersection of management and community members. It, therefore, can be ascertained with Wincrief that pedagogical dissonance had more of an indirect influence on decision making.

Independent facilitation and well established norms for formal engagement were important for both the disruption of received knowledge and pedagogical dissonance. The independent chair for Miitigoog provided a touchstone for both airing complaints and returning to the norms and structure of the collaboration that had been institutionalized in the *Shareholder Agreement, 2010* document, which was developed through collaborative processes. However, board members who were new to the Miitigoog and the First Nations Trust felt that there was a significant learning curve with regards to policy and norms that they had to overcome before they could engage more fully (including airing complaints). The newer member of Miitigoog and the First Nations Trust that explained the learning curve and how collaboration was "not there yet" (participant 034; Section 5.2.1) also related the learning curve to an unfair advantage that industry board members were using intentionally.

The statement about the strong learning curve indicates that there is much work to be done to make collaborative governance meaningful for new members of Miitigoog and the First Nations Trust. Power imbalances, therefore, will need to be worked through in order for participation and learning to become further aligned with Jansen's 'post-conflict' framework. However, while certain aspects of Jansen's framework were works in progress among the leading collaborative organizations in northwestern Ontario, some of the other building blocks for learning in a 'post-conflict' setting were also evident, and demonstrated potential for keeping parties at the table to continue the learning and shared governance processes. Through formal engagement and informal experiences the people from industry, First Nations, and

OMNR had many opportunities to not only learn about the structural arrangements that they would be developing, but also about each other personally.

The reframing of victims and villains, another important component in Jansen's pedagogy, has been promoted through the Wincrief and Miitigoog collaborative spaces and has had many 'small wins', which are important for transformative learning (Bowen & Taillieu, 2004). This is not to say that there have not been challenges both at the level of the board and the workplace.

When I first got here and I'd go around to the communities the first thing I'd hear is five hundred years of hatred. "This is what you've done to me." So, you just sit there, you listen, you learn from it.

- Tannis Romaniuk, Wincrief manager

Tannis' quote also connects to another important component of the pedagogical principles that Jansen puts forward. Jansen (2008; 2009) explains the 'acknowledgment of brokenness' as a concept emerging from Christian theology, and grounded in a person's compassion and acceptance of the human journey as one that can be burdensome. It provides a foundation for understanding why people bring forward painful discourses relating to the past, and emphasizes the importance of working with the [sometimes transgenerational] trauma in settings that are working towards relationship building, and potentially collaboration. All four of the managers at Wincrief reflected on their learning processes as including the 'acknowledgment of brokenness'. While they all felt that this acknowledgement was exceedingly important, they also talked about the difficulty of putting their awareness into practice in the work environment. Greg Moncrief spoke of this in terms of having awareness and compassion for the struggle of Wabaseemoong community people.

You know, you're taking on all of the aspects and all of the problems of the community, which is poverty, drug addiction, solvent abuse, alcohol. You have all of the issues, which is quite explainable when you think of Whitedog's case. You have a thousand people in a community and no work. What are you going to do during the day? Like yourself, if you had nothing to do. If you don't give people a future or a purpose. We're all the same in that respect. Who do you turn to? You have to occupy yourself somehow. My goal is quite simple. I may never achieve it, but full employment in the community.

The 'acknowledgement of brokenness' may seem like a type of victimization when used towards others, but instead it is meant to contribute to the reframing of victors and villains by bringing compassion into structural processes. Nevertheless, reframing identities takes time. Among the initiating collaborators, "other" identities did start to shift once relationships were formed and trust was established. Several of the initiating Miitigoog board members indicated that this shift was a product of having a "safe space" to discuss not only the emerging collaboration, but also some of the broader issues relating to past relationships between industry and First Nations in the region. Following these discussions the collaborations became unified in moving forward as a cause that the partners wanted to see succeed in the long-term. This is not to say that some of the deeply embedded ideas of the "other" had disappeared. Instead, 'indirect knowledge' was continuously being addressed and worked with in collaborative space.

Jansen's pedagogy deals with 'indirect knowledge' through relying on the helpful nature, emotional engagement, and compassion of teachers and leaders within the 'learning commons'. In cross-cultural learning environments, the 'indirect knowledge' held by different groups can come into conflict, but can be overcome by crossing of the 'allegorical bridge', wherein learning facilitators guide learners to find the common humanity with "others". The people involved in Wincrief and Miitigoog had several opportunities for 'indirect knowledge'

to be brought to the surface of discussion. This occurred primarily through developing collaboration with the most significant processes contributing to this type of learning being those that were informal (Section 6.2.2). Marvin McDonald, talked about how informal experiences led to friendships and trust (a major break from 'indirect knowledge') and what it meant for collaboration.

Yeah, I've worked with guys from Weyerhaeuser and Miisun and they're my fishing buddies now. I come out here to fish with them. They come out there to fish with me.

Some of the ones that had become my friends I know that they wouldn't lie to me just to cut more trees. I think it's when you build that friendship - if there's something that they don't like and I don't know about then they'll tell me.

Marvin's comment also speaks to the more open and reliable type of communication that comes with this new kind of relationship. Greg Moncrief, further emphasized reciprocity, as something that needs to extend over long periods of time if 'indirect knowledge' is to be broken down enough to affect generational change.

[Learning about culture] is something that's handed down through generations. That's not something that's learned overnight. I'm always wanting to learn, and the nice thing is that they're learning to teach. Whether it's bringing me closer to their beliefs, whether it's upbringing or religious. It's the understanding of their culture.

Greg's comments reflect some of the formal processes of ceremony and the informal experiences that gave him insights about the beliefs and values of people from the Wabaseemoong community. These experiences opened his mind towards understanding viewpoints that were culturally based, and different from his own.

With regards to Miitigoog, and in particular the community members who were contacted through Miisun, there was evidence of 'indirect knowledge' at the community-level.

Daniel, the Anishinaabe Liaison explained this as a deep mistrust of non-Aboriginal forestry professionals.

In order to address that cross-cultural obstacle you can see that there are a bunch of non-Aboriginals sitting inside [Miisun] that the First Nations membership wouldn't even bother with. They wouldn't even consider talking with them - entertaining them maybe in terms of a presentation, but not to be actually interactive with them *per se* simply because they are Caucasian or non-Native. So, to bridge that gap they hired an Aboriginal Liaison.

Daniel's role with Miisun was essential for bridging the cross-cultural communications gap that had been created through historical wrongdoings.

Jansen (2009) cites 'leadership' as being a key quality of learning together towards the building of a cross-cultural 'post-conflict' system. Even though the OMNR played a strong role in orchestrating the collaboration, leadership was also located among those involved in decision-making at the level of the boards. The originating members of Miitigoog and the two key men involved in Wincrief were leaders within their communities and companies. These individuals were cited as being critical for the successful initiations of collaboration. The ability to work together towards a shared vision was referred to time and time again by several participants as being important leadership characteristic. However, Mike Dietsch from Weyerhaeuser expressed that he felt that community leadership (i.e., Chiefs and councilors) became less important when collaboration was considered to be successful.

Regardless of what happens over time with change in councils and changes in Chiefs it's key that it is a good business model so it can move forward and it can flourish. Under whatever the current leadership is, although it is extremely important to get the initiative off the ground and get it moving, but over time when the business flourishes then existing leadership doesn't remain as important as they see how the business is set up and how it works. It is important to keep some separation between the politics and the business of a community.

This sentiment around leadership was echoed in the case of Wincrief. However, around the time of the completion of the fieldwork Wabaseemoong was going through an election, and

there was some speculation over what the new leadership could mean for the future of the company, especially because (as mentioned earlier in Section 4.3.1 about Wincrief governance) Eric Fisher was such an integral part of the building of the collaboration.

Most participants on the boards of Wincrief and Miitigoog referred to the ‘importance of listening’ within their formal processes, which is also one of Jansen’s core principles. This was addressed in Section 5.2.2, which covered communicative forms of learning outcomes. Mike Dietsch from Weyerhaeuser in particular emphasized that the most important things that he had learned about collaboration was that it was important to listen and be patient (quote in Section 5.2.2). The importance of listening was echoed among many of the participants engaged in board-level decision making, as well as those working as managers or laborers. In general, there was an appreciation for hearing different perspectives, and rigid perspectives learning and decision-making were virtually absent from the data.

Finally, and perhaps most essential to learning in a ‘post-conflict’ setting, is what Jansen refers to as ‘the importance of hope’. Hope comes from the cumulative learning and integration of all of the attributes already discussed in this section (Jansen, 2009). Hope is also a reflection of holistic learning, and indicates strength of process and relationship with those who are engaged (O’Sullivan, 2005). For the board members and managers of Wincrief, hope was not only a part of the discourse but was highlighted as being a driving factor behind the business. While the business aspect of Wincrief was emphasized as being essential, statements about hope were generally directed towards creating socio-economic equity for Wabaseemoong. Greg Moncrief highlighted this through his statement about the long-term goal for Wincrief as a company.

This company, I would really like to get it to the point where it is 100% owned by the First Nation. To me that would be - bringing the business to a point, and educating the people from the community around you to run it. And that's what's missing in a large part. For community members to be able to run a business.

Those who initiated Miitigoog shared a common 'hope' that collaboration was working in the right direction and would bring about positive change for communities, and would be a good business model for industry. This hope was, however, tempered by some of those who were new to the First Nations Trust, laborers, and managers from the GCT#3. One worker described being hopeful, but he was also aware that the system is deeply embedded in past processes.

I'm hopeful [about relationships] all the time no matter what, but at the same time that's going against a traditional process that's already been made between government and municipalities, contractors, all the employees, basically the public and that's been in affect for longer than you and I have been alive.

- Miisun former laborer (participant 028)

The analysis of learning using Jansen's pedagogy indicates that many of the attributes of 'post-conflict' learning were occurring throughout the various stages of collaboration (i.e., prior to, initiation, and following the establishment of). However, many of the attributes will require further development if they are to be relevant to the different levels of actors involved in collaboration in forest governance (i.e., board level, management, and laborers). It will also be important for 'post-conflict learning' to become a meaningful process for new members to the First Nations Trust - something that has not been achieved thus far.

7.2.3 Learning, social action, and reconciliation

Section 2.3.1 introduced the intersections between learning, social action and reconciliation as a connected processes. Learning was highlighted as a driver of change, shifting behaviour over time, and in turn affecting the qualities of governance systems. In essence, learning was portrayed as a catalyst for social action, which can in turn generate future learning. Sections 2.3.2 through 2.3.4 brought more detail to the discussion and unpacked the potential for societal reconciliation through institutional change. That review, which included transitional justice literature, and natural resources management literature, provided a starting point for considering structural forms of reconciliation within collaborative institutions, which can affect learning and social processes not only within governance systems, but also in terms of the broader society (Zurba, 2014). This section presents some of the social action outcomes (which are limited by the collaborations being quite young at the time of this research) and considers them and other attributes of collaboration in terms of being drivers for different forms of structural reconciliation.

Considering learning outcomes as social action and reconciliation within governance also provides empirical evidence for the relational non-linear forms of learning, which are described as being the foundations for collective learning (Morgan & Ramirez, 1984). Further, structural changes in terms of policy or governance systems that can be tied to learning are also indicative of the potential for group learning to affect change within institutions (Kasl, 2000). This discussion therefore also enhances the case for institutional forms of transformative learning. This is not to say that all institutional change can be attributed to learning, collective or otherwise, and is not to say that all changes occurring through group learning would work towards reconciling the wrongs of the past. Some structural changes can be counter to

reconciliation due to creating additional barriers for particular groups. For example, it is yet to be determined if Miitigoog's five-year "test period" will be successful. It is also possible that further changes around the tenure system in Ontario could bring about new forms of structural oppression.

In order to consider different forms of structural reconciliation an analysis looking specifically at the institutional structures, policies, and frameworks for practice that either promote or inhibit participation for different groups of people is required (Young, 1990). These attributes of collaboration are described here. With regards to institutional structure, both Wincrief and Miitigoog represented significant shifts in terms of power sharing. For Wabaseemoong, Wincrief brought about a new structure for management of the TLUA and seats at the forestry practice decision-making table. However, changes to governance remained situated at the level of the board. Community influence in decision-making was not ascertainable beyond the inclusion of the board members and the community consultations that were cited. The Moncrief side of the collaboration ceded opportunities to have sole authority over licenses in favour of Wincrief, as a collaborative model. Greg's responses to questions about the collaborative organization indicated that much of the desire behind the Wincrief endeavour was based on perspectives that were both pragmatic and ethical. The shift in structure was essentially related to having a profitable business and doing the "right thing" in terms of involving a community in the governance of their land.

The structural shift in power dynamics for the governance of the Kenora Forest came from the OMNR, the government body that continues to maintain overarching authority with regards to the land. The movement towards tenure reform in Ontario provided a framework for Miitigoog, which repositioned industry and First Nations into a power-sharing structure that

was meant to bring equal weight to decision-making processes. There was discourse relating to this structural change from First Nation and industry board members, especially from those who had been involved in initiating the partnerships. Partners from First Nations talked about collaboration as being something that would bring positive change to their communities through greater decision-making power, and opportunities to develop the workforce, infrastructure, and abilities to participate more broadly in the governance of their territory.

For industry partners, Miitigoog meant changes to relationships between forestry companies and First Nations, and was often framed in terms of promoting “peace in the woods”. The following quote (also appeared earlier in the Section 5.2.1 with regards to instrumental learning outcomes) by an industry board member illustrates some of the context for this term.

On the woodlands side, [Miitigoog] is probably one of the leading ways of doing business because of 50% of the board being Aboriginal involvement and trying to stay relevant. The most important thing was, wherever the forests are to be logged and reforested, whatever bands were involved in those areas the ultimate best way for us to operate was with their full involvement. It would be economic development for those reserves, and “peace in the woods” for all of us, both sides.

– Miitigoog board member (Participant 036)

This term, “peace in the woods”, was used on a few occasions by industry people, and often related to the ability to do business on the land (i.e., extract resources, do construction work of various forms) with First Nations community buy in, and without direct conflicts with communities such as protests. Striving for and creating “peace in the woods”, therefore, was one of the broader action outcomes occurring through collaboration. Board members from First Nations also talked about collaboration as a way to actively promote changes to forest

governance without using adversarial actions, such as legal battles, protests, and blockades. Grassy Narrows was cited as an example several times by industry and First Nation collaborators (and the OMNR) as the type of conflict and adversarial relationship that was unfavorable and counteractive to collaboration. Collaborators from First Nations, however, also empathized with the Grassy Narrows struggle for autonomy and decision-making power over their traditional territory (participants 013 and 034).

“Peace in the woods” as an action outcome of collaboration and the absence of direct community conflict, however, does not necessarily indicate the presence of ‘positive peace’ - the movement away from both direct and structural violence towards collaboration and constructive conflicts (Biton, 2006; Galtung, 1967; Höglund & Kovacs, 2010; Wagner, 1988). The Wincrief and Miitigoog boards do represent a shift towards this type of dynamic. The consensus among those who initiated the boards was that they were collaborative and that participation was meaningful and egalitarian. They also cited that conflict was important for getting to agreements with mutually favourable attributes. This was not the case for all board members party to Miitigoog. The same First Nations Trust board member who felt that collaboration “was not there yet” also said that industry was not looking for meaningful participation from First Nations.

I think industry thinks it’s business as usual, just because they have some brown faces on the board.

- First Nations Trust (participant 034)

It is yet to be fully determined if the conflict resolution actions created through collaboration will create lasting opportunities to build meaningful relationships and work towards greater forms of structural reconciliation.

The Miitigoog board is what Gaventa (2004) calls an ‘invited space’. This type of shared space is based upon dynamic relationships, which include constant struggles for legitimacy (Gaventa, 2004). Gaventa also highlights that the dynamic in the shared space is often influenced by the capacity of participants, and that power in these situations may belong to the ‘already empowered elite’ (in this case, the founding members of Miitigoog). This is reflected in the significant learning curve cited by new members to the First Nations Trust, which indicates there is an existing structural imbalance within the Miitigoog board as it continues to take on new members. The learning curve presents a (perhaps temporary) disadvantage that mostly relates to unfamiliarity with forest policy as well as the Miitigoog board’s norms, values and interpersonal dynamics that had already been established between parties. Some new members maintained positive attitudes about collaboration and felt they could attain the learning required to work within the board. Others expressed that they were not sure if they could reach a working capacity because of the constraints that come along with being in leadership within a First Nation (i.e., having to balance multiple projects).

Structural equity can also be evaluated in terms of the day-to-day management and different kinds of opportunities for people from the First Nations who were signed on to the respective collaborations. Wincrief’s day-to-day management of harvests and other activities within the Wabaseemoong TLUA is directed by Greg Moncrief. This appears to reflect structural inequality because there is not a person from Wabaseemoong with a similar role; however, it was collectively decided by the board that Greg’s management expertise would be beneficial for the company. Wincrief managers commented, however, that the lack of people from First Nations in management positions reflected a disparity in the workplace, and that an equitable management system would have more Anishinaabe people in high-ranking positions.

The day-to-day management of the Kenora Forest and portions of the Whiskey Jack Forest as directed by the First Nations Trust is a significant change in direction from the management that was being conducted solely through the forestry companies that previously held the licenses. Through Miisun, First Nations can exercise some agency with regards to the implementation of forest management plans. The design of such plans remains primarily in the hands of the OMNR. Also, the only people from First Nations working for Miisun were Anishinaabe liaisons. All forest managers had been previously employed by large forestry companies and were from the settler community. This was decided by the board of the First Nations Trust, and was based on a desire to have a robust management system for the forest. Several Miisun staff reflected on this and said that more people from First Nations in forest management would be more equitable, but that this would take a long time because the amount of training involved in attaining certification as a forest manager.

Cords and Aureli (2000) state that value and security ought to be enough to give confidence to a new governance relationship; however, the relationship need not necessarily be symmetrical amongst partners. At the management level, both Wincrief and Miisun represent some forward steps and opportunities for continuing to build structural equity. The current management structures are a compromise for First Nations. Compromise is a typical feature of governance partnerships (Ansell & Gash, 2007), and is considered by Lemos and Agrewal (2006) as being a superior dimension of new forms of environmental governance. A reevaluation of management structures in several years time will be necessary in order to shed further light on the systems' abilities to promote ongoing structural reconciliation.

Some Anishinaabe participants reflected more broadly when asked about reconciliation and collaborative governance. As mentioned in a previous quote by a manager from the Grand

Council of Treaty #3, the *United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* was referred to as an important articulation of how consultation should take place. Fred Greene, the newer Anishinaabe Liaison working at Miisun (from Naotkamegwanning First Nation), shared a similar perspective, and related the question about reconciliation back to colonization, and how the Treaty was meant to guide the relationship between peoples.

The Treaty is just a document that guides a relationship. It is a living historical document and you need more than one party to make a Treaty. Because we did sign onto the Treaty we know the spirit and intent of the Treaty is. This is what I was negotiating for the Grand Council. I can talk about those aspects. So, we had the constitutional lawyers involved from time to time, and even when they worked with management positions they said - multi-national groups they talked about the Treaty aspect of doing business with First Nations. To me, Indians don't come from the Treaty. We were already a people, we had systems in place, we had our own governance in place and we had our own trade initiatives in place.

Fred's thoughts reflect the broader political environment (Figure 7, detailed analytical framework) that guides many of the structural dynamics between settler institutions and First Nations. Fred raises the point about First Nations governance outside of the Treaty relationship. The traditional governance system of the Anishinaabe people is currently being articulated by the Grand Council of Treaty #3. It is yet to be determined how The Great Earth Law in conjunction with contemporary Anishinaabe governance will influence collaborations in the future. Incorporation of newly articulated Anishinaabe governance will perhaps be part of the long process that is structural reconciliation.

7.3 Summary and discussion

This chapter explored learning according to different contexts relating to the analytical framework set up in Section 3.3.2. First, both traditional and contemporary Anishinaabe learning was explored relating to collaborative governance. Learning was then considered in relation to Jansen's (2009) framework for learning in 'post-conflict' settings. Lastly, learning was broadly considered in relation to both social action and reconciliation. The summary and discussion presented here provide analysis of these contextualized forms of learning, and consider how they affect governance systems through social and structural changes.

Considering learning according to traditional and contemporary Anishinaabe depictions made it possible to understand the attributes of learning that were connected to Anishinaabe culture within the context of the region and the parties that were involved in collaborative governance. Broader assertions about Anishinaabe culture and learning in the Treaty #3 area would require further investigation with participants from Treaty #3 First Nation communities. Nevertheless, the consideration of cultural forms and expressions of learning provides the opportunity to highlight outcomes and processes that were connected to culture and important for engaging in collaboration.

Learning that was described as being connected to Anishinaabe culture was situated in events such as building community, conducting ceremony, cultural practices (e.g., laying down tobacco) and law (Great Earth Law), and mainstream education (e.g., training). Anishinaabe learning demonstrated strong associations between learning outcomes and learning processes, and less separation between learning domains. This is concurrent with the literature on Indigenous learning paradigms, reviewed in Section 2.2.3, which cites Indigenous learning as being relational and connected through spiritual, mental, physical, and emotional dimensions

(Gilbert & Clark, 2007). The learning expressed by Anishinaabe participants relating to culture also highlighted both deliberate (e.g., ceremony, feasts) and non-deliberate forms (e.g., being raised on a reservation) of learning as being important. The symmetry of deliberate and non-deliberate forms of learning is another quality central to an Indigenous learning paradigm (Peacock & Wisuri, 2002), and is an important quality to reflect on when considering cultural forms of learning. Such types of considerations can influence where the emphasis is put on learning, also reflecting the ability of people from different cultural groups to affect future learning (R. Sinclair, 2004). Therefore, a governance system that is aiming to achieve cross-cultural learning would need to diligently account for where emphasis is placed.

By working with learning as a cultural concept contributions can also be made to new conceptual directions for transformative learning. As mentioned earlier (Section 2.2.3), authors such as Cranton, Illeris and Dirkx are exploring the role of the deeper senses or emotions to help understand and contextualize the process of individuation that is central to transformative learning. Such processes are especially important for considering learning as self-reflection in relation to "other" (Dirkx, 2006). The learning outcomes in a cultural context that were expressed by participants demonstrate that theory ought to account for place-based concepts of culture. Rather than being prescriptive or assimilative, theoretical frameworks could act as a framework to support cultural concepts of learning that are connected to the time and the place under consideration.

Another connection exists between Anishinaabe learning and transformative learning that is worth discussing. Transformative learning outcomes for individuals are typically reported as learning stories (Kerton & A. J. Sinclair, 2009; A. J. Sinclair, Collins, & Spaling, 2011). Similarly, Anishinaabe learning focuses stories as the conduit for learning, but also as a way of

understanding events and change (Davidson-Hunt & Berkes, 2003; Spieldmann, 2009). Stories also shed light on the potential for collective learning. In particular, the Miitigoog board members shared similar stories about how collaboration was established with many similar learning outcomes. These similar learning outcomes as shared through the stories indicate that collective learning through communicative action occurred with the results being the norms for collaboration.

Mac Ginty (2008) emphasizes the importance of cross-cultural communications in peace-making processes, and how different cultural norms can often problematize negotiations and collaborative decision-making processes. Analyzing learning according to Jansen's 'post-conflict' framework created the potential to discern the traits of the learning processes that were specifically related to working towards enhancing meaningful collaboration. Especially, groups that are transitioning away from more direct forms of conflict towards a scenario more reflective of 'positive peace' (Galtung, 1967). Most of the elements of Jansen's framework were prominent in the learning data. 'Risk-accommodating environments' where 'pedagogical dissonance' and the 'disruption of received knowledge' could occur were important for creating the foundations for collaboration, such as the normative frameworks for communication, as well as the policy frameworks that would guide how collaboration could be directed into the future.

Much like considering cultural forms of learning, looking at learning through a 'post-conflict' lens can enhance knowledge about other types of learning. Diduck *et al.* (2012, p. 1325) indicate that the literature looking at conflict is a promising line of inquiry for contributing to transformative learning because it provides "insights into various forms of epistemic, value and interest frames". Through Jansen's framework for learning it was possible

to contextualize learning as meaning frameworks relating to the "other". Through collaboration, there were also some opportunities to challenge the 'indirect knowledge' that is often responsible for maintaining structural forms of inequality (Jansen, 2008). New types of relationships were formed both personally and structurally (i.e., formalized collaboration), creating unique concourses for exploring further the meaning frameworks of partners who were in some cases considered to be "others" prior to collaboration (Fisher-Yoshida *et al.*, 2009).

Through collaboration, there were opportunities to reframe 'victims' and 'villains', acknowledge 'brokenness', and work towards reconciling societal relationships and past-wrongdoings (e.g., Greg Moncrief's wishes to promote community wellbeing through First Nations partnership and employment). Typically, with regards to the relationships over forests in northwestern Ontario, the industry and OMNR as institutions and their managers as people would be labeled as the 'villains', and the First Nations would be 'victims'. Often in emancipatory forms of research there is a tendency to focus all of the attention on the victims, however, in Jansen's (2009) 'post-conflict pedagogy' he puts forward the argument that victims and villains need to be reframed. In this conceptual opening created by Jansen's pedagogy, there is an opportunity to humanize the perceived perpetrator population and overcome barriers to establishing common ground and mutual systems for understanding. This contributes to the potential for meaningful cross-cultural collaboration and learning that does not isolate or degrade the practices or values of one population over another (i.e., what Jansen calls the 'crux of multi-cultural education').

Traits from Jansen's framework also relate to the first, second and third orders of Kooiman's (2003) governance structure. Learning processes that were contextualized according to Jansen's (2009) 'post-conflict' framework for learning brought attention to certain elements

of learning processes that would be relevant to all orders of governance. However, most of these results were relevant to first and second order governance due to collaboration only having been established for a few years. Such traits were mostly discernable within the formal processes (e.g., board meetings) that guided the formation of third order governance (social political frameworks guided by norms and values). Future research on learning processes would benefit from an analysis that specifically considered the elements of ‘post-conflict’ learning within the ongoing deliberations of the third order governance system after several years of maturity.

The social action outcomes relating to learning were quite limited; however, structural forms of reconciliation were identified and associated with learning experienced by those involved in collaboration. Such learning occurred both before and after the establishment of the formal partnership agreements. The structural shifts in forest governance for both Wincrief and Miitigoog related primarily to decision-making authority. The symmetrical composition of the boards and consensus-based decision-making processes that were put in place made Wincrief and Miitigoog considerably different from previous regional forest governance structures, which were led by large forestry companies and regional license holders (accounts by OMNR participants). However, structural reconciliation, much like other forms of reconciliation can be a process with multiple steps working towards long-term goals (Lundy & McGovern, 2008; Zurba, 2014). For First Nations involved in the partnerships, there will be several more steps that will need to be achieved before full goals for participation are realized (i.e., capacity to participate fully will need to be enhanced).

The context-based analyses of learning, founded on the analytical framework presented in Section 3.3.2, contribute to fulfilling the objectives of this research. In particular, through

considering different types of learning relating to the governance context it has been possible to bring greater detail into: explaining the learning outcomes generated through cross-cultural collaboration (objective 2); describing how actors participate and learn in different types of cross-cultural collaborative forums (objective 3); and explaining connections among learning outcomes, reconciliation processes, and regional and land governance (objective 4). Such considerations for learning have implications for the broader political and social environments in which collaborations take place (Figure 6; Section 3.3.2). It is not fully within the scope of this research to identify such implications, and as the collaborative organizations mature there will be greater opportunities to explore these areas.

Regardless of not being able to determine the full socio-political implications of collaboration, it has been possible to consider several instances of social and political change emerging from cross-cultural collaboration in regional forest governance. Social changes have mostly been in the form of continuously improved relationships between some of the individuals, who through the course of collaboration (including before formalization) had shifts in meaning perspectives. Political changes have been channeled through First Nations communities and leadership (as will be discussed in my concluding comments; Section 8.2), and through OMNR managers who believe in regional collaboration and want to see it supported by other jurisdictions.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

8.1 Key findings, recommendations, and contributions to knowledge

Through my research, I aimed to understand the implications of learning within cross-cultural settings; particularly, how such learning can inform collaborative governance of shared land and resources. In this chapter I address contributions to empirical knowledge through key findings by using my first four study objectives as a guide. Contributions to theoretical/conceptual knowledge coincide with some but not all key findings. Some key findings are more practical in nature, and are more ideally suited to informing recommendations. Other key findings offer both contributions to theoretical/conceptual knowledge and recommendations.

The fifth and final study objective was to consider the broader implications of this research for governance in other rural communities undergoing similar transitions. This objective is addressed through the recommendations, which are drawn in relation to the conclusions as they are presented below. The recommendations are generalized so that they can be applied to similar governance scenarios in Canada, and in some cases globally (where similar cross-cultural collaboration in governance exists). Governance scenarios that are cross-cultural, aiming to be collaborative (according to the definition used in this thesis), and working towards new relationships through reconciliation processes or otherwise would benefit from the recommendations outlined here. Such scenarios could be but need not be limited to governance for land or resources. The first LFMC and Enhanced SFL holder in Ontario, the Nawiinginkiiima Forest Management Corporation (NFMC), would be a prime example of an organization that would benefit from this research, as would the Rat Portage Common Ground Conservation Organization. I also reflect in the next section (8.2) on the broader implications of

my research and the lessons from northwestern Ontario that might influence "governance in other rural communities undergoing similar transition" (Objective 5).

The first objective related to identifying the key actors and relationships involved in leading examples of shared land governance in the Kenora region. Two collaborations were identified: Wincrief Forest Products Ltd., a 51% First Nations and 49% settler owned business; and, the Miitigoog General Partner Inc., a collaborative entity set forth by the OMNR that evolved towards the 50% First Nation and 50% industry management of the SLF for the Kenora Forest. Relationships between actors were described and mapped in Chapter 4, *Governance and institutions*. The following key conclusions are drawn in relation to this first objective:

1. The conceptual mapping of Wincrief and Miitigoog revealed a complex interconnected governance system with horizontal power-sharing and decision-making arrangements. That is, the boards of these organizations represented a leveling out of hierarchy and authority within the partnerships themselves (Ross et al., 2002). Wincrief as an isolated case was less complex, with only two parties (Wabaseemoong and Moncrief) engaged in collaboration. Both the Wincrief and Miitigoog boards had decision-making structures that included equal board-level representation from industry and First Nations. Parties relied on independent modes of decision-making that they brought forward from their respective organizations, as well as norms developed through the partnership. This type of governance structure represents actual decision making by indigenous parties, rather than the inclusion of 'just culture' (Maclean & The Bana Yarralji Bubu Inc., 2015).

Recommendation: First Nations should play an active role in board-level decision making and in developing the pathways and programs that enable collaborative

governance or self-governance of lands. Boards should also include equal party representation and equal influence over establishing the rules for decision making.

Contribution to theoretical/conceptual knowledge: The Miitigoog case proved that the "model" for collaborative forest governance in northwestern Ontario fits within Wyatt's (2008) "spectrum", and can make a possible contribution to Wyatt et al.'s (2013, p. 23) typology for "collaborative arrangements involving Aboriginal people in in Canadian forest sector". Along Wyatt's (2008) "spectrum", Miitigoog would qualify at "forestry with First Nations"; however, Miisun would qualify as "forestry by First Nations" because it is 100% First Nations owned and operated. Therefore, when considering the full workings of the partnership agreement, Miitigoog could be placed somewhere in between "forestry with First Nations" to "forestry by First Nations". Miitigoog also has qualities of each category of Wyatt et al.'s (2013) and could make a contribution to the *forest tenures* category, which does not currently include shared tenure in the list of possibilities for tenure.

2. The structure of Miitigoog was accommodating to growth in membership of *Class A* shareholders, the First Nations Trust. This enhanced First Nations participation in forest governance and enabled First Nations to become partners when they felt that they were ready to do so.

Recommendation: Government policy should continue to be flexible enough to reflect regional requirements for partnerships, and agreements should accommodate growth if there is the potential for additional parties to join the governance system.

3. Both First Nations and industry partners were cognizant that there could be potential effects on Treaty rights from developing new forms of collaborative governance systems; however, the details of such effects were unknown. What was clear was that many believed that governance should be reflective of the interpretation of Treaty relationships that include equal sharing and "traveling two equal paths".

Recommendation: Government policy should continue to be responsive to regional circumstances and capacity to govern collaboratively. Moreover, it should also take into account the historical and cultural context of regions, and better account for the Treaty relationship.

4. Community members from the First Nations involved in Wincrief and Miitigoog were part of the overall governance system through their support for political actions of Chief and council. There was also an expectation that community people, particularly youth, would support the business aspects of collaboration by making up the local work force (Zurba & Trimble, 2014). Youth participation in training programs related to forestry however was not living up to expectations, leaving the future of youth employment uncertain.

Recommendation: If local youth (or other age groups) are expected to make up a workforce they as well as local training organizations should be consulted so that meaningful and culturally appropriate training and job incentives can be provided.

5. Changes to the tenure system of Ontario could make collaborative governance, especially Miitigoog, vulnerable to changes that would be outside of local control. Many felt that collaborative governance could fall apart even if it was perceived to be a "success" by the main parties involved.

Recommendation: Forest tenure systems, and specific mechanisms such as Enhanced SFLs, should continue to be supportive of long-term participation and should have legal frameworks that protect them from small shifts in government policy. Government policy should be reflective of the fact that relationships, learning, and the development of strong governance systems take time (e.g., five-year trial periods for governance systems are much too short). Governments should also have mechanisms for regional input into policy (i.e., from government regional offices, First Nations, other local people, and businesses operating in the region), and variability by region should be permitted.

The second objective was to explain the learning outcomes generated through cross-cultural collaboration. Results pertaining to this objective were described in detail in Section 5.2, *Learning domains: instrumental, communicative, and transformative*, and Chapter 7, *Context and learning through cross-cultural collaboration*. The following key conclusions relate directly to the second objective:

1. In both cases, instrumental outcomes were important and included knowledge that could be achieved through collaboration, such as understanding relevant policy and finding socio-economic opportunities for First Nations and business opportunities for industry. Being engaged in activities such as board meetings that allowed for instrumental learning along side communicative learning also had some important effects on relationship building among the partners and between OMNR and GCT#3 managers.

Contribution to theoretical/conceptual knowledge: The strong relationship between instrumental learning outcomes and communicative learning outcomes found in this study reinforces current literature on the importance of the interconnection between these domains (Moyer, 2012; Moyer, A. J. Sinclair & Diduck, 2014).

2. As has been the case with other resource governance scenarios (Sims & A. J. Sinclair, 2008; A. J. Sinclair et al., 2013), communicative learning outcomes related to partners being able to explore new kinds of governance relationships, and were essential for the early establishment of collective norms and values. Communicative learning was also essential for contributing to knowledge that guided collaboration, including those centered on cross-cultural understanding.

Recommendation: Once collaboration is in sight, guiding policies and normative frameworks should be set up collaboratively between both/all parties. Compromises may have to be made; however, it is important that power is balanced with regards to who gives input and directs goals in this early phase. This will have an effect on the future level of engagement and participation, as well as the amount of communicative learning occurring among different parties at the table (Habermas, 1970; Risse, 2000). Communicative learning occurring prior to the formation of collaboration should also be considered and drawn upon for direction and best practices.

3. Transformative learning outcomes for participants related to both instrumental and communicative domains, and had effects on relationships and on collaborative governance systems. Those involved in governance had several instances in which their habits-of-mind were challenged, in some cases with resulting changes in frames of

reference and meaning perspectives (e.g., the instance in the Wincrief case which saw a dramatic change in participation in the form of withdrawal from the board).

4. Transformative learning with regards to collaboration was primarily incremental. Most people who were acting in prominent roles in collaboration (i.e., board members) discussed the very gradual long-term process that led to the formalization of collaboration. Incremental learning often involved changes in frames-of-reference and meaning perspectives with regards to "others" who would eventually become future business partners. This emphasizes the importance of the effect of learning occurring prior to formal collaboration on the development of the governance system. Pre-existing relationships with governance partners were important for individuals to have enough confidence to enter into a formal collaborative agreement.

Recommendation: Parties involved in existing or future collaborative endeavours should be cognizant that learning that brings about change and new types of relationships often takes time, and they should thus be prepared to accommodate long-term learning. Governments and other fiduciary and supporting agencies involved in collaborative governance should allow for reasonable timelines to accommodate learning (i.e., more than 5 years).

Contribution to theoretical/conceptual knowledge: This finding supports other research that shows the importance of building networks and strengthening relationships to successful long-term collaboration (Thune, 2007; Volkoff, Chan, & Newson, 1999). Patience and consideration were important aspects of this kind of long-term engagement and learning. The finding also reinforces the theoretical

assertion that small steps, or incremental changes, can ultimately lead to large transformations in meaning perspectives (Mezirow, 1993).

5. Collective learning was also observed through the development of mutual habits-of-mind (Baumgartner, 2001; Percy, 2005), particularly with regards to norms and values that were collectively established. Collaboration was not only the product of policy but was a result of several interconnected social-political shifts occurring through various forms of learning (i.e., learning about trust and the possibility for new kinds of relationships that were built years prior to the signing of formal agreements) (Morgan & Ramirez, 1984).

Contribution to theoretical/conceptual knowledge: The support for and shift towards collaboration in the region was based on a culmination of learning, including learning occurring outside of the particular governance contexts. This is indicative of and provides further evidence for collective and non-linear learning. Social transformation (new relationships and shifts in attitudes) occurred through the networks that were both well established and newly formed. This demonstrates the ability of non-linear forms of learning to affect the lifeworld or "broader political and social environments" (Figure 7; Section 3.3.2).

6. Learning associated with Anishinaabe culture was grounded in both traditional and contemporary meaning structures. Stories were important when describing learning that was connected to culture, which was the case for participants from Anishinaabe and settler backgrounds. For Anishinaabe participants, this was often related to learning that was culturally relevant or guided by culture. For settler participants, stories were typically used to describe learning about Anishinaabe culture.

Contribution to theoretical/conceptual knowledge: Learning that was focused on culture demonstrated strong connection between learning outcomes and processes (e.g., feasting and ceremony), providing additional evidence for the importance of cognitive connections outside of Mezirow's Western rationalist approach (Merriam, 2004). Learning stories (e.g., Leo Heyens' story about Stanley and the creation of meaningful partnerships with communities) demonstrated that people are likely to use more holistic cognitive frameworks when dealing with cultural learning than they would when learning a new task (instrumental learning) or negotiating values, feelings and meaning (i.e., communicative learning) (Mezirow, 2000). Instrumental and communicative domains for learning, therefore, are perhaps not equipped to fully account for learning within all cultural contexts. Transformative learning theory could benefit from synthetic approaches (i.e., drawing upon both transformative learning and cultural constructs of learning) to understanding cross-cultural learning (e.g., both types of learning affected the way in which the norms for collaboration were established at the board level).

7. Learning outcomes were limited by the maturity of the collaborations. For example, it is yet to be determined how learning about culture at the board level will affect the governance system as it continues to evolve. Pahl-Wostl (2009) explains that learning that is beneficial for guiding governance systems can work across lengthy time scales, with time increasing in proportion to the complexity of the system. The complexity of the Miitigoog partnership, therefore, is suited to learning cycles over a longer period than the five-year period that is outlined in the SFL.

The third objective was to describe how the actors participated and learned in different types of cross-cultural, collaborative forums. This was described in detail in Chapter 6, *Cross-cultural learning processes*, and Chapter 7, *Context and learning through cross-cultural collaboration*. In these chapters, how learning outcomes were achieved for participants was related in detail to the three orders of governance outlined in this thesis. The following are the key conclusions corresponded to this objective:

1. Informal settings, such as fishing trips and retreats, were particularly important for building trust and different forms of cultural and interpersonal knowledge and understanding among individuals before they came together to collaborate. They were especially important for solidifying relationships central to first order governance, but also related to other orders. Relationships included links with government managers who were not themselves collaborators, but did play prominent roles in instigating collaboration (especially in the case of Miitigoog).

Recommendation: Learning in a variety of informal settings should be valued and initiated as early on as possible. Also, the development of relationships prior to collaboration through informal meetings should not be undervalued. Such relationships play a significant role in initiating collaboration.

Contribution to theoretical/conceptual knowledge: This finding reinforces the importance of experiential learning, such as through learning-by-doing and taking on new roles (Berkes, 2009a; Zurba et al., 2012), which is a foundational aspect of transformative learning theory's explanation of how learning occurs (Mezirow, 1991; 2000).

2. Once Wincrief and Miitigoog were established, formal processes became the main avenues for learning. When the founding agreements were signed, board structure and norms for engaging in collaborative governance took shape. Activities, such as receiving and disseminating information about policy and guidelines, listening to different perspectives about governance, working through conflicts, and being engaged in ceremony became the main pathways for learning. The acceptance and participation in ceremony and rituals was especially important for learning about culture and developing new forms of cross-cultural collaboration.

Recommendation: At the outset of collaboration, an adaptive model should be established that has mechanisms to compel parties to resolve issues as they emerge and learn about the motivations of partners, thereby strengthening the governance system through enhancing deliberative processes.

Contribution to theoretical/conceptual knowledge: Cross-cultural learning outcomes can be greatly affected by cultural learning processes such as ritual and ceremony. The unification of learning process and outcome is important for learning that is cross-cultural, which is also a consistent precept in Indigenous learning (Gilbert & Clark, 2007; Loppie, 2007; Wilson, 2008).

3. Once established, Miitigoog learning environments were in a constant state of transition due to the expansion of the *Class A* shareholders / the First Nations Trust. Board members who were brought into the organization following the establishment of norms for governance were disadvantaged in terms of their ability to participate. New board members cited a steep learning curve, and difficulty with understanding both materials

and existing relationships. This meant that some board members felt they could not participate equally, thus weakening the potential for learning and collaboration.

Recommendation: For collaborative governance models that have growth as one of their characteristics, new partners need to be engaged and trained early on. There should be honesty about an initial disparity in capacity and power between founding and new membership, and a strategic plan should be put in place to actively reduce this disparity.

4. Facilitation was an important component of how formal board-level decision making and learning took place. It was important that facilitators had a good understanding of local cultures (i.e., Indigenous and settler), shared norms, and regulations, and were capable of implementing the protocols that were collaboratively designed at the outset. Independent facilitation created an environment where participants could learn about each other's values and aspirations, about collaboration, and in some cases that more information about process was needed. Having access to materials ahead of meetings is also important for encouraging learning through governance systems. The results from Wincrief and Miitigoog support these findings from past studies. Having materials, such as agendas, was important for meaningful participation and learning within board meetings. Board members who did not have access to such materials and time to give feedback before meetings felt that they were disadvantaged in terms of their participation.

Recommendation: Independent facilitation should be set up at the outset of formal collaboration. When working within a cross-cultural setting, the facilitator should have prior experience and knowledge of the cultures represented in the governance

system. All members should have an equal say in selecting the facilitator. All parties should also be involved in the planning of agendas and other governance related materials, which should also be circulated prior to board meetings so that members have the opportunity to give feedback.

Contribution to theoretical/conceptual knowledge: This finding reinforces the idea that leveling power imbalances that affect participation in governance can have significant implications for learning within settings that are cross-cultural and collaborative (Doubleday, 2007; Armitage, Plummer, Marshke, 2008; Zurba, 2014).

5. For Wincrief, the workplace was an important forum for learning, and had direct connections to the broader governance system through the relationships between managers and employees from Wabaseemoong.

Recommendation: Employers should build in systems for employees to give feedback where they are (and are aware that they are) free from prejudice or recourse, and should promote learning in the work environment through open and ongoing communication about workplace and community issues.

6. Communications guided by OMNR (in the early stages) and independent facilitators (in the later stages) at the board created learning outcomes that eventually generated the rules and norms for participation in ongoing collaboration. Such communications occurred through multiple meetings, which were connected to ‘small wins’ (Bowen & Taillieu, 2004), and were part of group processes leading to changes to the governance structure(s) (Cranton, 2006). The role of the governance partners in directing learning was also important for making sure that governance was responding to the needs of the parties at the table.

Recommendation: Leaders (i.e., often those who initiate collaboration) should recognize that they play an important role in directing learning and collaboration, and should understand their roles, as well as the power they have in leading governance activities. It should also be recognized that leaders may come from different stakeholder groups, that the roles of leadership may shift over time, and that new leaders may (and may need to) emerge (Moller, Clucas, & Scott, 2009).

Contribution to theoretical/conceptual knowledge: This finding reinforces the literature on the importance of governance partners in directing the norms for participation and learning within collaborative governance (Diduck, 1999; Ross, Buchy, & Proctor, 2002; Diduck & Mitchell, 2003).

7. The elements of learning that conformed with Jansen's (2009) 'post-conflict pedagogy' were important parts of the learning processes that created and sustained collaborative governance. Most of Jansen's elements existed within formal settings such as boardrooms and ceremony and connected to the different roles of people involved in governance, such as facilitators, managers, and community people.

Contribution to theoretical/conceptual knowledge: The influence of several elements of Jansen's (2009) 'post-conflict' pedagogy on the learning occurring through collaborative governance in Miitigoog and Wincrief indicates that this framework has applications to natural resources governance systems that are cross-cultural and are in a process of transition. Applications could include but need not be limited to assessing natural resource governance systems for cross-cultural understanding and positive social change (movement towards reconciliation).

8. A parallel/two-row approach (as depicted in Figure 7 of Section 3.3.2, *Detailed analytical framework*) provides parties with the opportunity to participate and learn through cross-cultural collaboration in governance in a fashion that is not restricted by the values of the "dominant" party. It can be reasonably asserted that participants from Wincrief and Miitigoog would have had restricted learning outcomes had collaboration been more prescriptive or assimilative. Instead participants were able to learn through navigating the complex cultural, relational and political systems that made up collaboration.

Recommendation: A parallel/two-row approach to cross-cultural learning in governance is often beneficial for both parties. Those initiating collaboration should consider different ways to encourage parallel forms of learning, through being open to different forms of cultural expressions and decision-making processes.

Contribution to theoretical/conceptual knowledge: Meaningful comparisons for learning according to different cultural constructs should be explored. Holistic approaches and more inclusive frameworks for understanding cross-cultural learning (such as that presented in the *Detailed analytical framework*) can enhance the understanding of learning phenomena within diverse and/or specialized contexts.

The fourth objective related to considering the connections among learning outcomes, reconciliation processes, and regional land governance. In Section 7.2.3, *Learning, social action and, reconciliation*, I drew connections among these processes. The following key conclusions relate directly to the fourth objective:

1. Relationships were not always defined through specific actions, but were built over time by finding ease with the "other" through time spent together in various contexts (both formal and informal). It was possible to discern that action and reconciliation followed learning that had emotional and cultural qualities. For such learning it was not always easy to pinpoint a linear series of processes that led to the outcome(s). Instead, participants often cited full experiences with many attributes that made this type of learning possible.

Recommendation: When working in cross-cultural contexts parties should make efforts to be inclusive and supportive of cultural practices, by supporting ceremonies and rituals. Worldviews should be understood with openness and humility, and should not be questioned for “validity” (R. Sinclair, 2004). When possible and appropriate, cultural practices should be explained so that participants who do not have a prior knowledge of the practice can learn and be more engaged.

Contribution to theoretical/conceptual knowledge: This finding adds to the data that using an ‘extrarational approach’ to learning can provide an opportunity to understand cultural and other forms of archetypes in learning, through which social shifts (e.g., action and reconciliation) can be related to non-linear, cultural, spiritual, or emotional forms of learning (Cranton, 2006; Dirkx, 2006).

2. A ‘struggle for legitimacy’ existed within the Miitigoog board, and was reflected by the challenges that new First Nations board members experienced when entering this ‘invited space’. The challenge when joining the board mostly related to the steep learning curve experienced by new board members with regards to regulations

governing the SFL. This in turn was a factor limiting social action as one of the outcomes of collaborative governance (Gaventa, 2004).

Recommendation: See recommendation above for the third key finding under the third objective.

3. Structural equity was not found within the management systems of Wincrief and Miitigoog (i.e., equal employment of First Nations and settler people).

Recommendation: Employment of Anishinaabe people in management roles will be an important part of governance if it is to continue to improve cross-cultural relationships affecting the workplace and the broader society (Howritz, Browning, Jain, & Steenkamp, 2002).

4. When looking specifically at structural forms of reconciliation, Wincrief and Miitigoog represented significant shifts of power with regards to forest governance in Ontario, which was previously based on licensing to forestry companies with the responsibility for consultation with First Nations being a separate responsibility of the government. The shift in forest tenure policy in Ontario and the change in governance structures that were eventually adopted made First Nations and industry more even in terms of decision-making authority. Jansen's 'post-conflict' pedagogy made it possible to connect learning to the structural changes that were occurring with regards to cross-cultural governance.

Recommendation: If a governance system involves a shift or is aiming towards reconciling past conflicts and oppressions 'victors' and 'villains' should be redefined so that the relationship can move in new directions. This, however, does not mean that past conflicts should be ignored or not discussed because of a "new focus on the

future”. The 'acknowledgement of brokenness' and the 'creation of a risk-accommodating environment' is important for creating more meaningful and genuine forms of learning and collaboration (Jansen, 2008; 2009). Such moments also create the opportunity to reevaluate preconceived notions (indirect or received knowledge), which is essential to governance contexts that are dealing with conflict (Jansen, 2008; 2009).

5. “Peace in the woods” was a common phrase used by industry professionals when referring to the benefits of collaboration with First Nations. Peace was contextualized within the forestry sector as the ability to continue forest harvesting in a way that was perceived to be beneficial to industry and First Nations. “Peace in the woods” did not relate to a non-extraction perspective (i.e., was focused around maintaining industrial forestry practice), which was present in many of the Treaty #3 First Nation communities (e.g., Wabaseemoong community members that did not want extraction in their TLUA), nor did it reflect ‘positive peace’ (Biton, 2006; Galtung, 1967; Höglund & Kovacs, 2010; Wagner, 1988).

Contribution to theoretical/conceptual knowledge: A positive/negative peace analysis is relevant in natural resources governance research, especially when investigating sectors that have been a source of regional conflict. Such an analysis could provide further insight into the structural inequalities that could be hindering processes such as collaboration and reconciliation.

8.2 Concluding comments

In these concluding comments I consider some of broader implications of the research along with the limitations of the study, provide an 'epilogue' to Wincrief's operations, revisit my fifth objective, and finish with some personal reflections on this and future research. This research on cross-cultural collaboration in northwestern Ontario proved that it was possible to connect collaboration in governance with different forms of learning, as well as processes connected to social action, relationship building, and reconciliation. It was also possible to investigate and describe learning outcomes and processes in a fashion that was open to cultural constructs of learning.

Miitigoog and Wincrief were both influenced by the OMNR through policy and direction of OMNR managers, and could be criticized as systems that structurally ensure "continued access to Indigenous peoples' lands and resources by producing neocolonial subjectives that coopt Indigenous people into becoming instruments of their own dispossession" (Coulthard 2014, p. 156). Miitigoog and Wincrief were both largely conceived of and led by government and industry people who influenced the formation of the collaborative governance systems to function in a fashion that complemented state and industry objectives. This meant that Wincrief and Miitigoog were socio-political spaces that could be described as a new kind of forestry agenda (i.e., inclusive of First Nations decision making), but a forestry agenda nonetheless. Within this space, alternative arguments to land use could be presented, but needed to fit within the mandates of Wincrief and Miitigoog if they were to have any effect on practices directed by the two collaborative organizations. More "radical", traditional Indigenous, or resurgence, perspectives therefore did not manifest into forest management. It is reasonable to speculate that First Nations with such perspectives remained

outside of the collaborations at least partially for this reason, and because of the implications of being part of such collaborations for other political and grassroots initiatives.

First Nations involved in Wincrief and Miitigoog entered into collaborative governance by choice as a way of bringing benefits to their respective communities. One could quite rightly argue that Wincrief and Miitigoog provided best-case scenarios rather than opportunities for First Nations to fully express their position with regards to the land. This argument also ties directly into the Treaty relationship and government control of Crown lands. Forest policy in northwestern Ontario through shared SFLs may also be considered to be a step closer to reflecting the relationship set forth by Treaty 3; however, much remains to be achieved with regards to Aboriginal sovereignty and authority over traditional territories (King, 2011; Simpson, 2014). Compromise is also an important part of collaboration (Ansell & Gash, 2007), and compromise will need to include decisions and actions that support continued collaboration, learning, and enhanced relationships if collaboration is to be equitable and/or meaningful for all parties.

With regards to the limitations of this study, participants were continuously being identified throughout my time in the field. They represented those with knowledge and learning experiences regarding collaboration. The roles with regards to collaboration, however, were continuously changing. New First Nations and thus new board members were being introduced to the First Nations and Miitigoog Trusts, and existing board members had been known to often send surrogates who would have also certainly had relevant learning experiences. This study was limited to participants who were identified during the time spent in the field, and who were willing or able to participate in the study. Revisiting the field would likely produce different participants even just a few years down the road. I therefore acknowledge that a more

longitudinal approach to this research would have produced a greater diversity of participants (e.g., ex-members, community critics, NGO) and perspectives, and perhaps different forms of learning. It is reasonable to assert then that research of this type, as well as the communities engaged through such research, would benefit greatly from longitudinal studies, which are often not possible to execute through graduate student research due to limitations on time and funding.

My choice of methods was also limited by the stage of development of the partnerships I examined. At the time of the fieldwork, collaborations among the partners were well established, but still relatively new. Meetings were fairly closed and had tight agendas, making workshops and participatory exercises impractical. For this reason, it was concluded early on that participatory research methodologies were not well suited. Future research that engages with Miitigoog would perhaps have a better chance of employing a participatory action research approach.

My field research ended in November 2013. On April 1, 2014 Wincrief closed their doors and all operations ceased, and by the end of April the local news was reporting that the company was facing bankruptcy (Hale, 2014a). Several months after was a period of speculation about the business' future (Hale, 2014b). During this time the office phone was disconnected, the website dismantled, and Wincrief employees were hard to reach. Eventually (September to November 2014), I was able to contact two key informants and participants from the research who were able to offer their perspectives on why the business had failed. These were Greg Moncrief and a former member of the Wincrief board from Wabaseemoong.

Greg explained that the recently established hydro pole peeling portion of the business was going well and that sales were being made across North America, but that the housing portion of the business had started drastically going downhill. Greg attributed much of the

downturn in the housing business to the fact that one Wabaseemoong councilor in particular started refusing to buy homes from Wincrief, their own collaborative venture. They instead used other housing suppliers. This reflected badly on the business for obvious reasons and made doing business difficult with other communities. I asked if the shift in the Wabaseemoong councilor's practices coincided with the election of a new Chief in 2014. Greg explained that the councilor in charge of the decision to purchase Wincrief homes had been in his position during Chief Fisher's period in office, and that the problems started before the signing in of the new Wabaseemoong Chief, sometime around the election campaigns.

Greg also gave a second reason for the failure of the business. He explained that there was a Band Council Resolution (BRC) the previous winter that no longer allowed harvesting within the Wabaseemoong TLUA. With winter being the peak harvest season, Greg connected this to the inability of Wincrief to recover from its losses. Greg continued to explain that efforts were made to save the business including a two million dollar investment of his own money, as well as a bridge loan from Weyerhaeuser. In the end of the follow up with Greg he expressed that the politics of working with a community were too much for a small business to bear, and that he believed that if the business had remained apolitical (was guided solely by business principles) that it would have survived, and even thrived. Upon further reflection, Greg expressed that he felt that most of the issues that led to the collapse of the business were due to decisions occurring at the Council level, "It all stems from up top. It's leadership and direction!" Greg said that the main thing that he learned looking back is that "You have to look deeply. Is [the business] something that they want?"

The Wabaseemoong board member had a similar account of how Wincrief began to break down. However, he attributed the lack of confidence in the business to more than one

councilor. The Wabaseemoong board member explained that the lack of desire to continue doing business with Wincrief was because the councilors were concerned about clear cutting that had been found on a member's trap line. He continued by going into the historical context of finding clear cuts on trap lines and gave a personal example of a forestry company destroying one of his trap lines in the 1970s. He said, more than anything else, it was the finding of clear-cut sections that made Wincrief and its collaborations fall apart.

The board member from Wabaseemoong expressed that he was disappointed that Wincrief had failed. He explained how he felt that business ventures are the right direction for the community. He stated that he hoped that future business ventures could be made, but did not speak of future collaboration. The Wabaseemoong board member went on to list all of the disadvantages to the community that had come from the dismantling of the relationship with Wincrief and the Moncrief family. He talked about how the community was now no longer benefiting from the infrastructure that came with being a part of Wincrief, namely a bridge that was going to be constructed that would have eased travel around a hydro dam on the way to the community, as well as the road maintenance that Wincrief once provided. He explained that Wincrief maintained a good portion of the road leading up to the community. He also explained that the road is now very overgrown and potentially dangerous. He worried about tourists being hurt or killed on that road, as well as the legal repercussions that could come along with any accidents. The economic factors of Wincrief's collapse were also discussed in terms of Wabaseemoong now being "in the red" (in debt), and how there is now expensive machinery that is just rusting away on the reserve.

The two accounts from both sides of the board indicate that the dismantling of Wincrief was primarily due to a political response to concerns within the community. The objection of

the councilor(s) and contention around harvesting was mentioned on both sides. It can be reasonably asserted that business ventures with communities will always have a certain amount of vulnerability to changes in community politics. Communication and learning do, however, come into play and can increase a business' resilience to the vulnerability associated with political change (Berkes & Turner, 2006). In the case of Wincrief, it appears as though there was a possible break down in communication around what was acceptable in terms of harvesting within the TLUA.

With regards to Wincrief and the connection to Miitigoog, the Moncriefs are no longer involved in Miitigoog. Wabaseemoong continues to be an active member of the First Nations Trust. In the discussion with Greg, he mentioned concerns about Miitigoog because harvesting within the Kenora Forest covers the costs of the business (i.e., Miisun). He was fairly confident however that Miitigoog and Miisun would continue to successfully manage the SFL. Nevertheless, the dismantling of Wincrief indicates that regional collaboration that is economically based has an intrinsic vulnerability to shifts in markets, buyers, and other economic factors. The business model of Wincrief perhaps was not equipped to deal with the amount of vulnerability related to community-business communications, community politics, and fluctuating economic conditions. Having a business model that can react to these types of vulnerabilities as well as others are critical to successful collaboration in business (Todeva & Knoke, 2005).

The collapse of Wincrief does not distract from or negate the findings around governance, learning, and reconciliation or the implications of this research. The cases were highlighted as leading examples of collaboration for the region not because they were perfect or even well established, but because they represented the type of shift that was desired by people

in the forestry community in northwestern Ontario - towards building equity in a community that has a deep history of social and institutional racism and conflict. In both cases, the learning occurring before the formalization of the collaborations and during the establishing (first-order) and early maintenance (second-order) phases of governance may also effect future forest governance in northwestern Ontario. Lessons learned are likely to be shared with new governance parties, and many of the individuals involved in Wincrief and Miitigoog are likely to be involved in new forms of existing or altogether different endeavours.

Miitigoog, like Wincrief and most new collaborations, is also vulnerable perhaps for different reasons (e.g., changes to the tenure system in Ontario). Both cases, however, regardless of collapse or continuation, provide important insights with regards to the themes explored through this thesis. Like most collaborative governance systems in Canada, they were/are not representative of equal power sharing for First Nations when looking at the whole governance system (i.e., beyond the scale of the board). Nevertheless, the cases illustrate important shifts towards collaboration demonstrating insights around cross-cultural learning, as well as personal and institutional transformation. To better understand Wincrief's collapse, research would need to be conducted more specifically on the governance system of the Wabaseemoong TLUA (i.e., instead of focusing on cross-cultural collaboration, as was the purpose of this thesis).

Attention to state and industry influence within Wincrief and Miitigoog, as well as the dismantling of Wincrief, create further opportunities to "consider the broader implications of this research for governance in other rural communities undergoing similar transition" (Objective 5). Key findings on governance, learning and reconciliation (Section 8.1) provided insights and recommendations that could be used by others in the development and

maintenance of collaborative organizations. However, the broader implications of the research must be considered by returning to the intersection of governance, learning and reconciliation in the Canadian context.

The historical and ongoing dispossession of land from Indigenous peoples, as well as the conflicts and different values around "natural resources" (a term emergent from the Western worldview), create the broader context for the research. Power, learning, and governance are intimately connected through collaborative governance systems involving First Nations and settler-dominated governments and industry. Within such collaborative organizations it is therefore important to reflect on how structural oppression is maintained through ongoing governance systems and state legislated ways of managing resources, while also considering collaboration as one way of moving past structural oppression.

Communities undergoing similar transition would benefit from understanding the structural dynamics (third-order) of governance systems that influence the potential for power-sharing and equal participation of First Nations, and how structural shifts in governance (policy, actions of policy makers etc.) and learning can work towards reconciling such structural inequalities. Much of the understanding that communities would gain would be attained from the learning that comes before and during collaboration, similar to how it occurred for those involved in Wincrief and Miitigoog. Cross-cultural learning modalities capable of accounting for communities in transition, such as Jansen's (2009) 'post-conflict pedagogy', could be employed for promoting understanding of structural inequalities and providing a pathway towards reconciliation (both interpersonal and structural).

Jansen's approach to learning is unique and relevant outside of the context of educational systems in South Africa (i.e., in the context of NRM in Canada) for several reasons. First, as stated earlier, Canada and South Africa share similar histories of colonization, dispossession of Indigenous land and resources, and persistent institutionalized forms of racism (Zurba, 2014). Second, Jansen (2009) acknowledges that even though his pedagogy is titled 'post-conflict' that the conflict in South Africa did not end fully after the dismantling of Apartheid. Many structural forms of oppression persist in South Africa as they do in Canada, even though both countries have made significant strides towards the enfranchisement of Indigenous peoples. Further, and perhaps most importantly, the learning that occurs along the road towards reconciliation can be thought of as never being fully complete. Therefore, a society need not be deemed as having achieved the unattainable status of 'post-conflict' in order to be engaged in learning that facilitates transition.

During the course of my research I have had many opportunities to personally reflect on the role that research and researchers can play in communities that are exploring new types of socio-political realities. I believe that any research that is connected to a community should ultimately take a needs-based approach. Through my doctoral research I aimed to do this by exploring some of the bigger questions surrounding governance, collaboration, learning and reconciliation in northwestern Ontario. The research affirmed that governance and collaboration are organic systems, which have the capacity to change during the course of the research. In this sense, research bounded by a timeline can only account for a series of snapshots of any cases that are being looked at in order to answer the research questions. I have acknowledged this in my work, as well as the value of longitudinal research for providing fuller information about multi-stage processes. I believe the reinforcement of this, as a personal

learning outcome, will influence me to seek out long-term partnerships with communities in my future work as an academic. I also think that such partnerships are more ethical and provide for greater opportunities to develop research projects that can better serve communities. In my postdoctoral research I will aim to establish long-term reciprocal relationships (to be carried forward to future research positions) with communities that I am engaging in research with.

In my future research I would also like to consider in greater detail how different forms of learning working in parallel can contribute to decolonization processes. I agree with the many scholars who reject the idea of 'post-colonial' (Dei, 2000; Snelgrove, Kaur Dhamoon, & Corntassel, 2014; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999) and think that in the context of action and social justice that the conversation does need to continue to move towards decolonization. I see the process of reconciliation as being integral to decolonization, which is also a process rather than a set of absolute outcomes to be reached (Dei, 2000). An area where I would like to continue to work is at the intersection of decolonization and resource management.

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Appendix A. Semi-structured interview schedule

Part 1 – Broad questions about cross-cultural collaboration:

1. Can you describe current or desired cross-cultural collaborations with/in your organization/institution?
2. Who have been the key actors in moving the cross-cultural collaborations present in your organization forward?
3. Within your organization/institution how are decisions made about collaborative activities?
4. How do people stay informed about activities within your organization/institutions?
5. In your opinion, what are some of the characteristics of meaningful cross-cultural collaboration?

Part 2 – Questions about previous learning from cross-cultural collaboration:

1. Can you describe some of the outcomes of cross-cultural collaboration with/in your organization/institution?
2. Were there any protocols followed in the development and implementation of cross-cultural collaborations that you feel helped you to achieve these outcomes?
3. What were the most important lessons learned from past cross-cultural collaborations?
4. What kinds of goals have been formulated to favour the relationships or working outcomes in your organization? How were these goals achieved?
5. Can you identify anything that you learned personally or that you think the group learned through working together on a common interest or goal?

6. Do you feel like the collaborations were meaningful for all parties – that everyone learned something? – took something away? – benefitted? Why or why not?
7. Can you describe some of the existing or potential challenges in past and existing cross-cultural collaborations?
8. Can you identify any gains and/or losses to your organization/institution that came through collaborative action?
9. Do you feel like you gained a greater understanding of the culture(s) other than your own that are involved in collaboration, and what is important to those you were collaborating with?
10. Has there ever been cross-cultural conflict within collaboration? Why do you think this is?
11. Did you learn anything important about working relationships through past collaborative experience? Did relationships improve through this sort of collaboration?
12. Did your opinion about cross-cultural collaborations change during your experience(s)? If yes, how? If no, can you explain why you think this is?
13. How do you think cross-cultural collaboration could be improved?
14. What do you think may be some of the future challenges in cross-cultural collaborations?

Part 3) Questions become more specific about learning moving forward:

1. Before today had you or the organization thought about learning as an outcome of the things you do and tried to establish processes that encourage learning?
2. Do you think that learning about meaningful cross-cultural collaboration would benefit your organization? If yes, why?

3. What areas pertaining to cross-collaboration do you think require learning (e.g., cultural norms and values, practices, aspirations)? Why do you think these areas require more learning?

Part 4) More specific questions become centered on developing learning and collaboration workshops:

1. What areas pertaining to cross-cultural collaboration do you think would benefit the most from learning activities? What would be a suitable focus for learning towards promoting meaningful cross-cultural collaboration within your organization/institution?
2. What kind of learning environment would be most suitable for the people involved in your organization/institution?
3. What protocols could be put into place to make collaboration and learning culturally appropriate?
4. Would you be prepared to participate in and direct me to other people from your organization to participate in a focus group on the theme of cross-cultural collaboration and learning?

Part 5) Questions about the effects of collaborative governance on reconciliation:

1. Do you think that collaborative governance can contribute towards reconciling broken relationships between First Nations and industry? If “yes”, how does collaborative governance affect reconciliation? If “no”, why do think collaborative governance has not been effective?

2. What further steps need to be taken towards achieving what you would call “just collaboration”?
3. Can collaborative governance at this (case study) level affect reconciliation in the broader society? Ask participant to reflect on this, and what is important for this type of reconciliation.

Appendix B. Informed Consent for Interviews



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Research Project Title: Building Common Ground: Learning for Reconciliation in Kenora, Ontario

Researcher: Melanie Christine Zurba

INTRODUCTION: I am currently in the process of conducting my doctoral thesis research. The overall purpose of my research is to understand the implications of learning within cross-cultural settings. This research is being supported by the Common Ground Research Forum, which is a Community-University Research Alliance (Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada) supported program. The research proposal has already been approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba (Canada). The University of Manitoba may look at the research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way. This consent letter, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like to know more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, please feel free to ask for clarification. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand this information.

STUDY PROCEDURES: In the course of the research you will be asked a series of questions that will help me understand past learning as well as develop cross-cultural learning workshops/activities for the future phases of this research. You are being requested to participate in an interview session that will last between 1 - 1 ½ hours. Your responses to questions during the research will be documented in a notebook and with your permission will be audio recorded for future reference and use in research products. However if you are not comfortable with being recorded and prefer to remain anonymous your name will not be recorded with the responses to ensure that your identity remains confidential. Your name will be recorded in a separate notebook for organizational purposes; for example, in case you need to be contacted for further information or clarification at a later date.

This research is phased with one phase building upon the next. Therefore, you may be asked to participate in interviews, focus groups, or workshops, but there is no requirement to participate in the second phase of the research, and your agreement to participate in this phase does not constitute agreement for the second phase. Validation will also be part of the research and data in summary form from the interviews will be made available to you to make sure I have correctly captured and understood what you told me. The data provided by you will be used in my PhD thesis, may be used in developing workshops for my second phase of research, and will potentially appear in products featuring the findings of this research.

RISKS: There are no risks associated with your participation in this research, direct or indirect, beyond those associated with normal activities. If you choose to allow for direct quotes to be used but do not want to be named it may be possible for your identity may be deciphered. Please choose your level of anonymity carefully.

BENEFITS: You will be helping to generate information about cross-cultural collaboration and learning that will be used to inform the development of more equitable governance systems in Kenora and other similar communities. Research products will provide accessible ways of sharing the learning generated from this research.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION/WITHDRAWAL: You are free to decline to participate in this research, withdraw from the study at any time, and/or choose not to answer any questions you may not be comfortable with. If you do decline to participate in the study or answer any questions, you will not face any negative consequences. If I have not explained the study clearly, please feel free to ask for clarification or additional information at any time throughout your participation. You have the right to remain completely anonymous, to not be quoted or be quoted under a pseudonym, or to receive full credit for you contributions and/or quotes. You are also free to withdraw any data generated by your participation before the next phase of the research begins, most likely in August 30, 2012.

WHO TO CONTACT: If you have any complaints or further questions about the nature of this research, your concerns may be directed to the Human Ethics Secretariat at the University of Manitoba (204- 474-7122), research@umanitoba.ca, or to my advisor, Dr. John Sinclair, Professor, who may be contacted at 204-474-8374, jsincla@cc.umanitoba.ca. Please be advised that the staff at these offices speak only English.

What level of disclosure would you prefer:

<input type="checkbox"/>	I do not want my quotes to be used and would like full anonymity in the research reporting
<input type="checkbox"/>	I can be quoted, but no information indicating my identity (e.g., name) should accompany the quotes
<input type="checkbox"/>	I can be quoted, and would like my name to accompany my quotes in the research materials

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Primary researcher

Date

Research participant

Date