

**PARADOXES OF POWER:
THE *LANDS FOR LIFE* PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS**

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**PARADOXES OF POWER:
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ABSTRACT

Through the lens of critical political ecology, geopolitical struggles over access to land and resources are understood not simply as material struggles, but rather, as symbolic and discursive struggles over what are inherently socially constructed concepts. By conducting a discourse analysis and critical review of the Government of Ontario's *Lands for Life* public consultations, this research investigates the claims to power implicit in such a process. Specifically, it reveals the dissent and fragmentation underlying an announcement (known as *Ontario's Living Legacy*) that was almost unanimously endorsed by key governmental, industry and environmental leaders. It shows how select voices were privileged while others were silenced; how certain knowledges were deemed legitimate, while other knowledges were dismissed and/or subjugated. This thesis reveals how dominant, inherently reductionist and economistic, constructions of 'nature' and 'Crown land' were privileged. It also reveals that the term 'protection' is itself contested terrain. It explores how counter-discourses of resistance were invoked (most notably, by First Nation peoples and environmental advocates), but ultimately silenced. Ultimately, power proved paradoxical. Engagement by these actors was problematic from the outset since the discourses they put forward were

denied as problems worthy of being solved. This thesis also examines the potential for, and obstacles to, the formation of a political alliance between First Nation representatives and environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOS) from the Partnership for Public Lands (a coalition including the World Wildlife Fund, the Federation of Ontario Naturalists, and the Wildlands League). Central to this investigation is a poststructural analysis of *how* power operates—its material functioning—and *whose* knowledge is privileged.

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LIST OF KEY ACRONYMS

CELA	Canadian Environmental Law Association
ENGOS	Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
GLSL	Great Lakes – St. Lawrence
MNR	[Ontario] Ministry of Natural Resources
UOI	Union of Ontario Indians

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Section 1.1: Background

Through my involvement with the Sierra Club of Canada, I actively followed Canada's largest ever land-use planning process—Ontario's *Lands for Life*. During this public consultation process (which took place from September 1997 until June 1998), the provincial Conservative government, led by Premier Mike Harris, aimed to plan for the use of 46 million hectares of Ontario's Crown lands¹. I testified at hearings in the southernmost Great-Lakes St. Lawrence (GLSL) planning region, attended all Ottawa-area consultations, and helped to formulate the Sierra Club of Canada's *Lands for Life* position. However, at the end of the day, I felt disillusioned by the process. I remained wary of the provincial government's pronouncements (contained within *Ontario's Living Legacy*) to protect 12 percent of the planning area and deeply concerned about the injustice perpetrated on First Nation peoples in the region. In selecting this

¹ To appreciate the scale of land in question, several reporters equated the area to other geographic regions. For example, Brian McAndrew approximated the area to be “about the size of the Maritimes.” (McAndrew, December 1, 1998) Ian Urquhart estimated it as “almost equivalent in size to the Yukon.” (Urquhart, December 17, 1998) Claire McGlynn described it as “three times the size of Great Britain.” (McGlynn, January 2, 1999) And Anthony DePalma equated it to “the size of Sweden.” (DePalma, December 23, 1998)

particular process as a case study for my doctoral thesis, I hoped to gain insights into a myriad of questions that my own engagement had generated.

Specifically, this thesis reveals the dissent and fragmentation underlying *Ontario's Living Legacy*—an announcement that was almost unanimously endorsed by key governmental, industry and environmental leaders. It shows how select voices were privileged while others were silenced; how certain knowledges were deemed legitimate, while others were dismissed and/or subjugated. This thesis reveals how dominant, inherently reductionist and economistic, constructions of nature and Crown land were privileged. Similarly, it explores how counter-hegemonic discourses of resistance were invoked, but ultimately silenced.

Theoretically, critical political ecology provides a powerful lens through which to analyze *Lands for Life*. Through this conceptual framework, geopolitical struggles over access to land and resources are understood not simply as material struggles, but rather, as symbolic and discursive struggles over what are inherently socially constructed concepts. Implicit in this project is what Michael Watts and Richard Peet characterize as a “wide-ranging critique of development and modernity.” (Watts and Peet, 1996: 3) This thesis examines three analytical components at the heart of critical political ecology: political technologies, symbolic practices (i.e. discursive struggles) and the constitution of difference and

identity. Each of these is interconnected, and by focusing on their points of intersection, the operation of power within the context of this case study will be elucidated.

First, using an *ascending analysis of power* (see Chapter 2), this thesis identifies various elements of the political technology, consciously used or otherwise, by the government in its orchestration of power. Specifically, the following will be examined: the Harris government's ongoing attempts to deflect, pre-empt, or dismiss criticism; to divert attention from its environmental record; to minimize discord; and to silence, marginalize, and co-opt dissent. Forest sector bids to narrow the terms of reference, to normalize a particular epistemic domain, and to de-legitimize environmentalists will also be investigated.

Adopting a Foucauldian analysis of power (see Foucault, 1983, 1980, 1973; and Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983), this thesis poses the following questions: How was power exercised in the context of these public consultations? How did differential abilities to act influence the process? How did political technologies reinforce such inequalities? How was knowledge portrayed as external to power? How were dominant discourses resisted? How were certain knowledges normalized while others were subjugated (i.e., deemed unacceptable, inadequate and/or deviant)? How were counter-hegemonic discourses silenced?

Second, political technologies are the disciplinary means through which select, hegemonic discourses become normalized (see Chapter 2). This thesis also examines how discourses constitute the objects of which they speak. Specifically, it looks at the social constructions of ‘nature’ and ‘Crown land’ invoked by various actors to construct their respective political positions. Here, the ‘globalizing’ hegemonic discourse of economic rationality prevailed, while counter-hegemonic discourses of resistance were silenced. In the case of *Lands for Life*, First Nation peoples living in the region offered potent counter-hegemonic discourses, including powerful critiques of both the process and its outcomes. By drawing on testimonies presented during the consultations, and by soliciting input from institutional and community representatives, this thesis shows how the visions and concerns of First Nation peoples were largely ignored.

Other social actors who took part in the process also rejected the productivist view of nature prevalent in the forestry and mining sector, and denounced the idea that nature could be managed solely through scientific and technological understanding. Still others drew attention to the composition of the Round Tables, noting the poor representation of women and First Nation peoples, and the marked absence of youth. In fact, few on the GLSL Round Table seemed inclined to base land-use decisions on values that lay outside the narrow epistemic domain of economic rationality.

The relative absence of such discourses amongst competing social actors involved in *Lands for Life* ultimately revealed the construction of, and contestation around, both nature and Crown land. These struggles, fought in the discursive arena, reveal radically different epistemological positions. Moreover, the outcomes of such struggles have significant material implications: they determine the future of human communities in the North, the protection or degradation of landscapes, and the viability of certain non-human populations.

Third, to a lesser extent, this thesis examines poststructural and postcolonial insights into the formulation of difference, identity and affinity. Such insights help to deconstruct false dichotomies between and amongst competing social actors. They also shed light on strained social relations between environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) and First Nations, and on the potential for what Jennifer Barron characterizes as an “articulatory politics”—whereby alliances between diverse subject positions are necessarily temporary and negotiated. (Barron, 2000)

This research adopts a methodological approach that is both genealogical and discursive. A genealogical approach aims to reveal dissent, deconstruct generalizations, examine contradictory evidence and break apart globalizing hegemonic discourses. Michel Foucault writes that a genealogical approach to research: “... seeks to make visible all of those discontinuities that cross us.”

(Foucault 1977: 162) Similarly, Joan Scott views the genealogical project as the process of *becoming visible*; its aim—“to reveal something that existed but that has been suppressed” and, “to write about and thus to render historical what has hitherto been hidden from history.” (Scott 1992: 23) Thus, a genealogical approach does not necessarily seek to supplant the master narrative in its entirety, but rather, illustrates those dissenting, counter-hegemonic voices which had been missing and/or subjugated. Similarly, a discursive approach aims to critically interpret a ‘text’ (broadly defined to include not just written documents, but also interview transcripts and visual representations), with a view to challenging truth claims by revealing inconsistency, contradiction and uncertainty. Discourse analysis examines how language is used and deployed to construct political positions, how ideas are contested, how certain phrases and concepts become normalized, while others are silenced (Foucault 1980: 105). Here, the insights of French poststructuralist, Michel Foucault, around power, knowledge and discourse, are employed.

This research reviewed systematically all government documents (such as press releases and reports), popular press and scholarly literature related to *Lands for Life* and *Ontario’s Living Legacy*. It also examined critically the minutes from the public hearings, including detailed testimony from a wide range of social actors, with a view to uncovering the dissent, which though part of the public

record was not evident in the government's final announcement of *Ontario's Living Legacy*. This evidence was then supplemented with the input of 14 interviewees. These individuals were either *insiders* to the process (and as such, offered privileged insights into its inner workings), or were *outsiders* who were publicly critical of the process. Obviously, individual availability and willingness to participate played a significant role in determining access to these individuals.

Section 1.2: The *Lands for Life* Public Consultation Process

In 1997, the provincial Conservative government launched a one-year public consultation process—coined *Lands for Life*—aimed at planning for the use of 46 million hectares of Ontario's central Crown lands. For the purposes of the program, the province was divided into three planning regions: Boreal West, Boreal East, and the Great Lakes St.-Lawrence (GLSL) Planning Area (see Figure 1.1).

In July 1997, Round Tables, comprised of 12-14 citizens, were appointed within each of the three planning areas by then Minister of Natural Resources, John Snobelen, to solicit public input. During Phase 1 (September-December 1997), Round Tables sought input into the formulation of a Regional Land Use Strategy designed to inform broad decisions about land use and resource allocation within the planning area. During Phase 2 (February-March 1998), a

Figure 1.1: *Lands for Life Planning Region*



Province of Ontario, Canada

Scale: 1 cm = 150 km

Source: Ministry of Natural Resources, February 1998a: 10

second round of public consultations sought more detailed recommendations concerning the management of specific, local resources, as well as feedback on preliminary land-use scenarios. And during Phase 3 (April-June 1998), Round Tables selected and presented a preferred land-use strategy to Minister Snobelen and Premier Harris.

This thesis focuses on the GLSL public consultation process for several reasons. First, struggles over this southernmost planning area proved the most theoretically interesting. A diverse range of competing interests actively contested the protection and exploitation of the area, and its resources. Second, the GLSL Round Table, more so than the Round Tables of Boreal East and Boreal West, seems to have at least attempted to address the concerns levied at it throughout the process. In fact, it was the voice of an active southern contingent that ultimately prevailed in swaying the Tories to honor their public promise to complete a system of parks, and to protect the internationally accepted *minimum* goal of 12 percent of the total planning region. Third, given the scale of the Crown land in question—46 million hectares—it proved useful to narrow the geographic scope to a more manageable area (which in and of itself remains quite vast). Finally, having attended *Lands for Life* public consultations in Ottawa, my personal experiences and direct involvement as a participant provided a springboard for more in-depth analysis of the process. Furthermore, relative

proximity to potential interviewees made it logistically more feasible to conduct a field trip through the planning area.

According to the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR), the consultations aimed to achieve several ends. Specifically, they sought to “identify areas that represent the natural diversity of the region,” to “protect new areas,” to “foster sustainable land-use planning and management,” to “retain and restore representative and special areas,” and to “encourage partnerships that will lead to more protected areas on public and private land.” (MNR, November 6, 1997) In fact, one of the government’s stated objectives was to complete a system of provincial parks and conservation reserves.² However, though the government’s professed end was to reconcile the *protection* and *use* of Ontario’s natural resources through a consensus building approach (ibid.), their agenda belied a bias toward the latter. As this substantial tract of land was divided amongst competing uses (conservation, forestry, mining, hydro-electric development, and tourism), the primary resource extraction industries benefited the most (Winfield and Jenish, 1998: 141), while the treaty rights of First Nation peoples have been jeopardized.

² Gerald Killan’s (1993) *Protected Places: A History of Ontario’s Provincial Park System* provides a comprehensive, inter-disciplinary analysis of Ontario’s provincial park system, from 1893-1993.

In November 1998, the government released a *Consolidated Recommendations Report* based on the Round Tables' findings, advocating the protection of only 6 to 7 percent of Ontario's Crown lands. According to the Canadian Environmental Law Association (CELA):

That proposal [i.e. the *Consolidated Recommendations Report*] was the subject of in excess of 14,000 individual public comments to the government, primarily concerned with the inadequacy of parks and protected areas, both in terms of the proportion of the planning area and in terms of permitted uses in the protected areas. (CELA, May 21, 1999)

Such a huge public outcry over the Round Tables' recommendations placed the government in a difficult position. As John Cartwright reasoned: "... to reject such a large-scale process would be a slap to thousands of people, and also would retain the *status quo*." (Cartwright, 2003: 124) He continued: "The government needed to appear to have done something, but something more politically palatable than what the panels were recommending." (ibid.)

The shift that followed marks the end of the *Lands for Life* public consultations. The government then engaged in negotiations with a select group of insiders. This group included representatives from the large forestry companies (namely, Abitibi Consolidated Inc., Domtar Inc., and Tembec Inc.), from the Partnership for Public Lands [a powerful coalition of ENGOs, including the Federation of Ontario Naturalists, the Wildlands League, and the World Wildlife Fund Canada—hereafter known as the Partnership], and from the MNR.

These discussions took place “behind closed doors” (CELA, May 21, 1999) at the Fern Resort in Orillia, Ontario. CELA described the outcome, announced on March 29, 1999: “The conclusion of that negotiation process was the *1999 Ontario Forest Accord*, which contained commitments of the signatory forest companies, the three environmental conservation groups named in the Accord, and the Ministry of Natural Resources.” (CELA, May 21, 1999) Contained within the Accord is *Ontario's Living Legacy*—a long-term land use strategy for Ontario’s northern and central Crown lands, including a commitment to protect 12 percent of the planning area.

On the surface, and in light of the 6-7 percent figure first suggested by the Round Tables, *Ontario's Living Legacy* might seem a coup for environmentalists. Indeed, most ENGOs, from the moderate representatives of the Partnership to the Sierra Club of Canada and Earthroots, embraced the announcement. The program set aside 12 percent of the vast planning region for protection, resulting in the creation of 378 new parks (including nine new “signature sites”³). However, environmental advocates described the outcome as “pseudo-protectionism” (Weis

³ Each of these “signature sites” received special protection and promotion under Ontario’s Living Legacy: Great Lakes Heritage Coast, Nipigon Basin, Algoma Headwaters, Spanish River, Kawartha Highlands, St. Raphael, Nagagamisi and additional sections of Woodland Caribou and Killarney Provincial Parks.

and Krajnc, 1999: 36), “not meaningful” (ENGO₅, 2001: 2)⁴, and ultimately insufficient to ensure ecological integrity over the long run. According to Cartwright: “Surveys and the responses to *Lands for Life* showed that creating more parks would be a strong symbolic gesture of government support for the environment... In short, it was a situation in which the government could expand its support at a minimal political cost.” (Cartwright, 2003:12)

Certainly, the Harris government sought to gain political mileage from the announcement through the strategic distribution of a slick advertising supplement in Ontario’s major newspapers—a ploy the opposition parties were quick to critique. One interviewee described the insert as “propaganda” and “political advertising with public funds.” (ENGO₅, 2001: 2) Inside the supplement, the Harris government touted *Ontario’s Living Legacy* as “the biggest single expansion of parks and protected areas anywhere.” (Ontario Government, 2000) Similarly, Monte Hummel, then President of the World Wildlife Fund of Canada, described the accomplishment as “an unprecedented contribution to conservation on a global scale.” (ibid.) However, Mark Winfield, of the Canadian Institute for Environmental Law and Policy, described the announcement, as no more than an

⁴ For the purposes of this thesis, interviewees have been coded as follows: ENGO₁₋₃ for Partnership representatives, ENGO₄₋₅ for other environmental representatives, FN_x for First Nation participants, RT_x for GLSL Round Table members, and NORTH_x for northerners. See Chapter 3 for greater detail.

“attempt by the Conservatives to shore up in advance of the coming election what has otherwise been a record of hostility to environmental protection.”

(Mittelstaedt, April 12, 1999: A4)

In the view of environmental critics, the main slogan in the Ontario Government’s 2000 advertising supplement, *Ontario’s Living Legacy: Ours to Enjoy, Ours to Protect*, might more appropriately have read: Ontario’s Dying Legacy: Ours to Exploit, Ours to Neglect. Figure 1.2: Ontario's Lying Legacy, offers a visual attempt by Anita Krajnc (2001) to subvert the Harris Government’s original message.

However, in spite of the critiques that have emerged over the *Lands for Life* process, there were several legitimate motivations for creating a formal land use plan. Natural Resources Minister, Chris Hodgson, explained: “The existing land use strategies and plans, although landmarks for their time, were 15 to 20 years old and needed updating and renewal.” (Hodgson in MNR, October 1998: 10) In an effort to reduce conflicts, Hodgson argued: “It was time for a completely new approach.” (ibid.) Similarly, one key environmental representative explained why the concept of *Lands for Life* was considered to be necessary:

Figure 1.2: Ontario's Lying Legacy:

Ours to Damage, Ours to Exploit



Source: Anita Krajnc, 2001

The government... lacked any kind of comprehensive plan... for basically 46 percent of Ontario. [Until that time] it had very much been done as an ad hoc licensing process... So the government wanted to plan it better, and wanted a resolution of some of the conflicts between forestry and tourist operators, forestry and parks, etc. Conservation groups were seeing the roadless areas and the quality areas fast disappearing, and they were looking for a comprehensive approach. They wanted an overall plan because the ad hoc [process] is just so energy consuming for environmental groups. Thousands of little ongoing issues at the local level are very hard to deal with, and not an effective way to address a landscape. So we were very motivated to get involved. (ENGO₁, 2001: 1)

Thus, the desire to resolve longstanding resource conflicts, to protect fast disappearing wilderness areas, and to address the landscape in a more comprehensive way, spurred a number of moderate environmental organizations (i.e., the Federation of Ontario Naturalists, Wildlands League, and World Wildlife Fund) to create a powerful coalition, the Partnership for Public Lands. The Partnership actively engaged in both the public consultation process, and in the final negotiations.

Several other key social actors with an interest in the planning area actively contested both the process and its outcomes. In the beginning, First Nation peoples, including organizational representatives and community members, participated warily, though they soon condemned the process, demanding nation-to-nation consultation.

In addition to the Partnership, other ENGOs such as the Sierra Club of Canada, Animal Alliance, and Earthroots—a group one environmental representative

characterized as “the pointy stick brigade” (ENGO₄, 2001: 1)—participated in public hearings, staged protests, and demanded the protection of no less than 30 percent of Ontario’s Crown lands. Although these ENGOs were not granted the same *insider* status as the Partnership ENGOs, by demanding that such a significant portion of Ontario's Crown lands be protected, by contrast, they made the Partnership objective of 15-20 percent protection seem infinitely reasonable.

Next, according to the Canadian Environmental Law Association (CELA):

The public interests [in the *Lands for Life* process] include both a) conservation, biodiversity, habitat protection, species preservation, representation of landscapes and ecosystems, and ecosystem functioning and b) recreational use, from canoes and hiking to snowmobiles, with varying environmental impacts. (CELA, May 21, 1999)

Certainly, the active participation of such a wide range of conservation interests speaks to what Raymond Bryant and Sinéad Bailey argue is the growing power and assertiveness of “civil society” (specifically, ENGOs) vis-à-vis the state. (Bryant and Bailey, 1997: 131) Bryant and Bailey believe this role is intricately linked to the declining capacity of the state as an actor to ensure environmental and social well being. The authors further allude to the: “... widespread public perception that states have contributed to—rather than mitigated—poverty and environmental degradation that has played an important part in encouraging diverse groups in civil society to become more assertive...” (ibid.) This is a perception particularly held with regard to neo-liberal regimes—like that of the

Harris Conservatives—in which government-industry collusion is deeply entrenched.

In terms of industry engagement, large forestry companies [chief among them, the signatories of *The Forest Accord*—Abitibi Consolidated Inc., Domtar Inc., and Tembec Inc.] were well represented. Specifically, Mike Barker, an industry representative, served on the GLSL Round Table. The industry also successfully mobilized loggers, who were concerned about the perceived threat to job security posed by increased protection, to voice their concerns and stage public protests. And finally, the engagement of key forestry executives during the final negotiations proved pivotal in reaching an agreement.

Next, for the purposes of this thesis, the government refers primarily to those elected officials (Premier Harris and Minister Snobelen) who can be held directly accountable for their actions. The term does not refer to employees from the MNR who coordinated, facilitated, and analyzed public input at every stage of the process. Not only were they acting on direct orders from the Minister(s), but also they no doubt toiled to achieve the level of consultation that *did* take place—not an insignificant logistical undertaking. However, it is interesting to note that you can be part of the exercise of power without perhaps realizing the full implications of your engagement. As Michel Foucault reflects: "People know

what they do; they frequently know why they do what they do; but what they don't know is what what they do does." (cited in Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 187)

Recreational hunters and fishermen, represented by the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, also participated in the consultations. However, in an effort to narrow the scope of this investigation, this research does not focus on their influence to any great extent. Finally, although the mining industry refused to engage formally in the *Lands for Life* consultations, their political clout seems to have prevailed in ensuring them continued, and in some cases, improved access to prospecting and mining on Ontario's Crown lands. But again, a detailed review of their limited engagement falls beyond the scope of this project.

Neo-conservative ideology

It is important to understand the political climate in which *Lands for Life* took place. As one environmental advocate explained:

It is difficult to have a fair discussion as to what the public wants to do with the land base when you have a government that had verbally said that Ontario was 'open for business', that downsized ministries responsible for the environment, that represented specific interests (forestry, mining, hunting and trapping). (ENGO₆, 2001: 1)

In 1999, the Harris Tories claimed power for a second term based on their euphemistically named political platform—the 'Common Sense Revolution'. Embodying a distinctly neo-conservative ideology, the implementation of the

'Common Sense Revolution' has systematically compromised Ontario's environmental integrity. Following Anita Krajnc, neo-conservatism (as distinct from traditional conservative ideology) refers to a move towards less government and a corresponding "increased reliance on the market" along with taxation policies which privilege the wealthy and penalize the poor. (Krajnc, 2000: 121)

In "Ontario's Environment and the 'Common Sense Revolution'," Mark Winfield and Greg Jenish (1998) detail the specific impacts of the Harris government's efforts to reform policy, reduce budgets, and restructure the provincial public sector. First, they explain the environmental impact of sweeping regulatory 'reforms':

These amendments typically weakened environmental protection requirements; expanded ministerial and cabinet discretion in decision-making; reduced or eliminated opportunities for public participation in decision-making and structures for government accountability; established self-regulation systems for a wide range of industries and activities having major impacts on the environment, and insulated the government from lawsuits resulting from the government's removal of environmental protection requirements. (Winfield and Jenish, 1998: 130)

Thus, through these measures the government insulated itself from criticism. Moreover, the government further silenced dissent by dismissing Eva Ligeti, Ontario's publicly critical Environmental Commissioner. The government also served to protect industrial interests through a "dramatic fall in legal actions

against environmental polluters.”⁵ (ibid.: 136) Certainly, by removing environmental regulations, or by failing to adequately enforce existing legislation, Ontario became far more attractive to foreign investors. (Mittelstaedt, March 23, 1999: A7)

Second, severe budgetary cutbacks resulted in the elimination of programs⁶ (Krajnc, 2000: 117-118), and consequently, a reduced capacity of provincial and local agencies to protect the province’s environment. (Winfield and Jenish, 1998: 129) Furthermore, Kranjc argued that the Harris government’s expenditure withdrawals—needed to finance income tax cuts—“...were disproportionately aimed at the Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Natural Resources.” (Krajnc, 2000: 114-5) She further asserted:

The cuts were also different in kind from those of the earlier NDP [New Democratic Party] cuts as they targeted the operating and not the capital budget. Operating expenditures are a key indicator of the Environment Ministry’s capacity to perform its functions, covering both the salaries of civil servants and the costs of administering environmental assessments, regulations, enforcement, and so forth. (Krajnc, 2000: 115)

⁵ Martin Mittelstaedt notes that (then) Environment Minister Norm Sterling contested the “accusation of lax enforcement,” arguing “the province recently passed legislation granting investigations staff greater enforcement powers.” (Mittelstaedt, March 23, 1999: A7)

⁶ For a comprehensive review of the reductions in operating budgets, capital budgets, and staffing levels the Harris government imposed on the Environment Ministry and Ministry of Natural Resources during their tenure, see: Winfield and Jenish, 1998: 132-136; and Krajnc, 2000: 112-115.

Finally, the government underwent extensive restructuring characterized by a devolution and privatization of power. In theory, a downloading of provincial services and activities to the municipalities (Krajnc, 2000: 117-118) offers the potential for a more empowered politics at the local level. However, the government failed both to transfer the appropriate funding, and to build the necessary capacity for municipalities to assume these new responsibilities.

Restructuring also resulted in a shift of provincial services and activities from the public to the private sector. (Krajnc, 2000: 117-118) In the case of the extractive resource sector, this shift entailed a move toward greater self-monitoring and voluntary compliance (Winfield and Jenish, 1998: 140)—both obvious conflicts of interest. Winfield and Jenish further argued:

The ‘Common Sense Revolution’ has brought about the reversal, at least temporarily, of two significant long-term trends in the province’s history. The first, and most apparent, is the gradual strengthening of the protection of Ontario’s environment and conservation of its natural resources that has taken place over the previous half-century... [Second is the] deepening of the province’s economic reliance on primary resource extraction activities, such as mining, forestry, and agriculture. This is a dependency that previous governments of Ontario, dating back to before the time of Confederation, have sought to reverse. (Winfield and Jenish, 1998: 144-145)

CELA described the Ontario government’s actions since taking office in June 1995 as a dismantling of our environmental safety net and an “unprecedented trashing of environmental protection in Ontario.” (CELA, June 9, 2000) CELA viewed these actions as a part of a four-pronged strategy: to dismantle

environmental laws, to weaken the role of government, to bar the public from decision-making, and to sell Ontario's natural heritage. (ibid.)⁷

Certainly, this unprecedented shift of responsibilities from the public to the private sector was duly noted and contested during the consultation process. For example, participant Richard Culpepper raised several valid concerns. First, he questioned the ramifications of downsizing the MNR in Ontario, particularly in light of the government's failure "to manage and audit use of public forests." (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 27, 1998) Next, he disputed the shift of responsibilities from the public to the private sector, arguing that public resources ought not to be in the control of multi-national companies. (ibid.)

To further exacerbate the situation, the federal government had, at the same time, also drastically cut Environment Canada's budget and staffing levels.⁸ Bearing all this in mind, it is hardly surprising that Ontario gained in notoriety in 1999 as North America's second worst polluter⁹.

While various short- and feature-length articles have been written on the *Lands for Life* consultations, this thesis is the first to review critically the public records

⁷ For a detailed review of the Ontario government's record of environmental hostility, see the Canadian Environmental Law Association's *Guide to Environmental Deregulation in Ontario* (CELA, June 9, 2000)

⁸ In 'Wither Ontario's Environment? Neo-Conservatism and the Decline of the Environment Ministry,' Anita Krajnc reviews in detail the impacts of funding cuts to the Ontario Ministry of the Environment. (Krajnc, 2000: 111)

⁹ See Barrie McKenna's 'Ontario's pollution second only to Texas on list of offenders' in *The Globe and Mail*, August 10, 1999.

generated by the hearings. Moreover, there seems to be a dearth of analysis published around the relations between First Nations and ENGOs in environmental struggles (notwithstanding Mac Chapin's noteworthy publication, see Chapter 6). Similarly, attempts by Canadian ENGOs to influence land-use decisions vis-à-vis public consultation processes remain a relatively unexplored topic.

However, ongoing substantive analysis of the *Lands for Life* process has been conducted, providing a springboard for this thesis. Most notably, CELA's analysis of May 21, 1999, *The Lands for Life Proposals: A Preliminary Analysis by the Canadian Environmental Law Association*, summarized four key concerns. First, CELA noted "the absence of First Nations interests from the negotiations and any effective plan to include them in further processes..." Second, CELA questioned the implications of granting forestry companies long-term tenure on Crown lands. Third, they also argued that the "12% target for protected lands is insufficient to protect long-term ecosystem integrity" and fourth, they critiqued the lack of specificity in how new protected areas would be established. (CELA, May 21, 1999)

Other outspoken critics included academic activists, Tony Weis and Anita Krajnc, authors of 'Greenwashing Ontario's *Lands for Life*' in *Canadian Dimensions* (December 1999, 34-38). David McLaren (2001), Communications Coordinator for the Chippewas at Nawash, also actively critiqued the process. And finally, political scientist John Cartwright published an article entitled 'Environmental Groups, Ontario's *Lands for Life* Process, and the Forest Accord' in *Environmental Politics* (Summer, 2003: 115-32).

Ultimately, this research seeks to accomplish several aims. First, by applying a Foucauldian analysis to this particular case study, insights into the nature of power and political struggle are derived. More specifically, the implications of privileging a very narrow epistemic domain—the dominant mode of analysis in countless contemporary geopolitical struggles—are revealed. Ultimately, by critically reviewing the shortcomings of *Lands for Life*, this research not only suggests ways to improve future public consultations, but also seeks to inform future activism (i.e. “to establish a historical knowledge of struggles and to make use of this knowledge tactically today” [Foucault, 1980: 83]). Finally, through the dissemination of findings, this research aims to promote a constructive dialogue between environmentalists and First Nations such that a potential alliance between these actors might be established.

Section 1.3: Organization of thesis

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 1 identifies the main purpose of the thesis (i.e., to elucidate the operation of power within this particular case study through an exploration of political technologies, symbolic practices and constructions of difference and identity). Chapter 1 also provides an overview of the substantive context within which the *Lands for Life* public consultations emerged, introduces key social actors, builds a rationale for this research, and outlines the organization of this thesis.

Chapter 2 introduces the body of literature within which this thesis can be situated—critical political ecology. After briefly detailing its initial emergence as a conceptual framework, Chapter 2 examines at greater length how some of the critical schools of thought (namely, poststructuralism and postcolonialism) have more recently informed the field. Here, Foucault’s theorizing around power, knowledge and discourse, recent literature concerning the social construction of nature, and insights into the constitution of difference and identity are explored.

Chapter 3 summarizes the critical, feminist, methodological approach, and discourse analysis employed in this research, exploring epistemological tensions and providing a rationale for why these methods are particularly well suited to this case study. It also details materials reviewed and interviews conducted, and reflects on the methodological challenges and constraints encountered during the research process.

Chapter 4 explores a critical, genealogical interpretation of the government's motives, and the events that transpired, and as such, is organized chronologically. In particular, this chapter examines hegemonic discourse(s) of both the *Lands for Life* process and of Crown land constructed by the Harris government through language employed in key texts, and through its practices. Throughout, counter-hegemonic discourses are also detailed.

Chapter 5 identifies the various counter-hegemonic discourses of resistance invoked (and tactics adopted) by First Nation peoples in their attempts to have their concerns taken more seriously. For example, First Nations invoked several moral and legal precedents—including recent Supreme Court decisions, treaty rights, and traditional/ historic relations to the land. Initially, they chose to participate in the process, although they eventually withdrew, demanding nation-to-nation negotiation. In the end, the potency of their testimony proved immaterial. Various political technologies employed by the government, industry, and ENGOs, ultimately resulted in their “constitutive erasure” (Braun, 2002: 27), and thus a significant injustice. First Nation discourses around what meaningful consultation might have entailed will also be summarized.

Chapter 6 explores the potential for, and obstacles to, the formation of a political alliance between First Nations and ENGOs. In particular, First Nations and ENGOs faced a discursive juncture in the way(s) they constructed nature and Crown land, and also in the ways they constituted each other. Although they both

put forward counter-hegemonic discourses of resistance, these discourses proved to be ideologically incompatible. However, in analyzing this failed attempt to find common cause, the requirements for a potential future convergence are identified.

Chapter 7 explores discursive struggles between industry and ENGOs around forestry practices—a contentious site of encounter. It examines the economic and reductionist claims put forward by forest industry representatives, and reviews the counter-hegemonic discourses of environmentalists employed to deconstruct industry rhetoric. Specifically, ENGOs rejected industry attacks on existing parks; resisted the adoption of Scenario #1 (which essentially represented the *status quo*); challenged the desirability of ‘multiple use’ management, voluntary self-regulation, and long-term leases; and critiqued industrial forestry practices. Chapter 7 also reviews attempts by the Partnership to promote an alternative development strategy that combines ecological protection and the economic health of northern, resource-based communities.¹⁰

¹⁰ For more information on the Partnership’s vision for northern Ontario, see: Partnership, November 1998, 2000; Wildlands League, 1998a, 1998b.

Chapter 8 summarizes some of the paradoxes of power implicit in this geopolitical struggle, and identifies various unanswered questions and lines of future research. It also offers a set of normative reflections and poststructural insights into how future land use planning processes might be improved, or rather, further democratized. And finally, it reflects prescriptively on the requirements of a First Nation/ ENGO political alliance.

Having explored the substantive context of the *Lands for Life* struggles, and having laid out the organization of my thesis, I will now review the conceptual framework and methodological approach I adopted in theorizing my topic.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This thesis is situated within the field of critical political ecology. Section 2.1 briefly details the emergence of political ecology over the last three decades, beginning with its Marxist-influenced, structuralist roots. Section 2.2 then examines how some of the more critical schools of thought, namely, poststructuralism and postcolonialism, have further informed the field. To this end, it draws heavily on the work of Michel Foucault in theorizing power, knowledge and discourse. Next, it explores one of the central concepts to have emerged in recent literature—the social construction of nature. And finally, it highlights postcolonial insights into the formulation of identity, difference and affinity, and summarizes the potential for counter-hegemonic alliances amongst diverse subject positions. (see Barron, 2000; Escobar, 1995; Haraway, 1990)

Section 2.1: Political ecology

Political ecology emerged during the 1970s, when scholars from various disciplines sought to theorize the power dynamics and political contestations

associated with geopolitical struggles around the environment. Section 2.1 briefly summarizes the antecedents to this relatively new and exciting field of inquiry.¹

The coupling of politics and ecology first occurred in the 1970s, when several writers such as journalist Alexander Cockburn, anthropologist Eric Wolf, and environmental scientist Grahame Beakhurst, coined the term in an attempt to examine critically how questions of power (namely, access to and control over resources) related to environmental degradation. (Watts and Peet, 1996: 6) This conceptual framework re-emerged in what Michael Watts and Richard Peet describe as “a defining text” (Watts and Peet, 1996: 7)—Piers Blaikie and Harold Brookfield’s 1987 *Land Degradation and Society*. Here, political ecology came to represent the intersection of political economy and cultural ecology. (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987: 17)

Watts and Peet summarize Blaikie and Brookfield’s view of political ecology. First, society interacts dialectically with resources. Here, Blaikie and Brookfield examine the ways in which poverty exacerbates environmental degradation, in turn perpetuating and deepening conditions of poverty. (Watts and Peet, 1996: 9) To this end, they explore: “...how political, economic and ecological marginality can be self-reinforcing: ‘land degradation’ as they say is ‘both a cause and a result

¹ For a more detailed account of its “intellectual genealogy” (Paulson et al., 2003: 205), see Watts and Peet, 1996; Paulson, Gezon and Watts, 2003 and 2005; and Gezon and Paulson, 2005.

of social marginalization’.” (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987: 23) Social relations, broadly interpreted, inform and constrain resource decisions.

Second, analysis explicitly incorporates a spatial dimension and a historical perspective that links local and regional forces in a multi-layered approach. (Watts and Peet, 1996: 9-10) Thus, an analytical understanding of scale and time becomes critical. In this context, although the ‘land manager’ plays a central role in effecting local production pressures, global historical, economic and political forces also delineate certain opportunities and constraints around resource choices. In particular, the state frames local management decisions with significant impact. (Watts and Peet, 1996: 10) Finally, in an earlier publication, Blaikie acknowledges the existence of multiple, competing “positions, perceptions, interests and rationalities in relation to the environment.” (Blaikie, 1985: 16) To this end, social actors understand and construct environmental degradation in a myriad of ways.

Section 2.2: Critical political ecology

During the past two decades, scholars from a wide array of disciplines, from geography and political science to anthropology and sociology, have found political ecology to be a productive field of inquiry. (Gezon and Paulson, 2005: 1) In particular, they have contributed to the development of “a shared set of concepts” (Paulson et al., 2005: 205) which form what Watts and Peet

characterize as the “political ecology conceptual toolkit.” (Watt and Peets, 1996: 10)

Peet and Watts edited a 1996 volume, *Liberation Ecologies*, in which they jointly explored and explicitly developed the field of political ecology, examining the interconnections among environment, development and social movements.

They somewhat ambitiously aimed for:

...the possibility of a more robust political ecology which integrates politics more centrally, draws upon aspects of discourse theory which demand that the politics of meaning and the construction of knowledge be taken seriously, and engages with the wide-ranging critique of development and modernity particularly associated with Third World intellectuals and activists such as Vandana Shiva, Arturo Escobar, and Victor Toledo. (Watts and Peet, 1996: 3)

Most notably, they attempted to address: “the absences, silences, and weaknesses of political ecology,” presenting “the work of a new generation of scholars socialized and intellectually formed by the body of work they now seek to extend, deepen, even criticize.” (Watts and Peet, 1996: x)

In this volume, political ecology examines critically how knowledge-power relations, regimes of truth², and cultural difference (Watts and Peet, 1996: 2-3)

² The authors explain: “For Foucault (1972, 1973, 1980; Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982; Rabinow 1986) ...each society has a *regime of truth*, with control of the ‘political economy of truth’ constituting part of the power of the great political and economic apparatuses: these diffuse ‘truth,’ particularly in the modern form of ‘scientific discourse,’ through societies, in a process infused with social struggles. In the poststructural view, then, truths are statements within socially produced discourses rather than objective ‘facts’ about reality.” (Watts and Peet, 1996: 13)

influence environmental struggles within the geopolitical arena. Donald Moore elaborates: “By fusing together an understanding of the mutual constitution of micro-politics, symbolic practices, and structural forces, it may be possible to unravel how competing claims to resources are articulated through cultural idioms in the charged contests of local politics.” (Moore, 1996: 126)

One such concept is, obviously, an explicit engagement with the political. Ultimately, Lisa Gezon and Susan Paulson argue that by engaging seriously with “political phenomena and forces” political ecology “vitalizes environmental study and practice in crucial ways.” (Gezon and Paulson, 2005: 2) This next section explores select contributions by poststructuralist and postcolonial scholars to the field of political ecology.

Power, knowledge and discourse

In attempting to uncover the deepest strata of Western culture, I am restoring to our silent and apparently immobile soil its rifts, its instability, its flaws; and it is the same ground that is once more stirring under our feet. (Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 1973: xxiv)

The work of poststructuralist Michel Foucault has informed the field of political ecology, and as such, represents an important contribution into the relationships among power, knowledge, and discourse—all of which are central to this investigation.

To begin, Foucault offers a conceptual framework for understanding power. As Dreyfus and Rabinow posit: “Foucault’s account of power is not intended as a theory... Rather, Foucault is proposing what he calls an analytics of power, which he opposes to theory.” (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 184) Similarly, political ecology may be more accurately viewed as a *mode of theorizing* or *site of engagement* rather than a definitive narrative or explanatory framework. As Watts and Peet reflect: “From its inception, political ecology was never a coherent theoretical position for the very good reason that the meanings of ecology and political economy, and indeed politics, were often in question.” (Watts and Peet, 1996: 9) To this end, they argue that political ecology ought to be considered “a discursive arena rather than a doctrine.” (Peet and Watts, 1996: 38) [Similarly, as Fiona Mackenzie has clarified, political ecology is about *theorizing*, *not theory*. (Mackenzie, 2000: in discussion)]

First, while power so often is viewed as a relationship in which one party holds *power over* another, Foucault opts instead to view power as a web or matrix in which we all circulate, *simultaneously undergoing and exercising power*. Foucault views individuals then, as the “vehicles of power,” rather than its “points of application.” (Foucault, 1980: 98) He asserts: “...power is neither given, nor exchanged, nor recovered, but rather exercised, and that it only exists in action.”

(Foucault, 1980: 89) Thus, power is impermanent, constantly circulating and performative³—its potential permanently resides in our ability to act.

However, Foucault acknowledges that individuals are differentiated in their ability to act. For instance, they are differentiated by their social or economic status, by “linguistic or cultural differences,” and by “differences in know-how and competence.” (Foucault, 1983, 223) He summarizes: “Every operation of power puts into operation differentiations which are at the same time its conditions and its results.” (ibid.) Thus, our differential abilities to act perpetuate and reinforce those very differentiations.

Consistent with the notion that power circulates is Foucault’s interpretation of power as multidirectional, “operating from the top down and also from the bottom up.” (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 185) Certainly, a multidirectional understanding of power does not preclude the possibility of domination or oppression, but rather, acknowledges the potential for an empowered counter-hegemonic movement. Moreover, power and resistance are mutually reinforcing—each fuels the other.

Dreyfus and Rabinow further assert that Foucault’s desire is to: “...isolate, identify, and analyze the web of unequal relationships set up by political

³ As Gregory points out, symbolic practices can also be conceived of as *performative* in the sense that discourses: “...have (variable) meaning, force and effect; they constitute the ‘objects’ of which they speak and enter into the (variable) constitution of ‘the social’ and ‘the self’...” (Gregory, 2000: 180)

technologies.” (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 185) Political technologies are the disciplinary means through which select, hegemonic discourses become normalized. People internalize these discourses and, as a result, self-discipline. Dreyfus and Rabinow contend that such political technologies (and the relatively docile populace they result in) are intimately connected to the rise of capitalism. They write: “Without the insertion of disciplined, orderly individuals into the machinery of production, the new demands of capitalism would have been stymied.” (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 135) Moreover, self-discipline remains a prerequisite to the continued dominance and global proliferation of an industrial capitalist economy.

Dreyfus and Rabinow continue: “To understand power in its materiality, its day to day operation, we must go to the level of the micropractices, the political technologies in which our practices are formed.” (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 185) Seeking power’s materiality—the very techniques through which power is manifested—has significant methodological implications. Foucault explains:

One must rather conduct an *ascending analysis of power*, starting, that is, from its infinitesimal mechanisms, which each have their own history, their own trajectory, their own techniques and tactics, and then see how these mechanisms of power have been—and continue to be—invested, colonized, utilized, involuted, transformed, displaced, extended, etc., by ever more general mechanisms and by forms of global domination. (Foucault, 1980: 99)

However, Foucault also proposes a “new economy of power relations.” (Foucault, 1983: 211) He explains: “It consists of taking the forms of resistance against

different forms of power as a starting point.” (ibid.) Ultimately, I follow Foucault in aiming to “bring light to power relations, locate their position, find out their point of application and the methods used.” (ibid.) To this end, it is useful to make visible counter-hegemonic discourses, and the subjugated knowledges they embody.

Foucault emphasizes the “local character of criticism... an autonomous, non-centralised kind of theoretical production... whose validity is not dependent on the approval of the established regimes of thought.” (Foucault, 1980: 81) As a result, voices that were previously silenced are brought to the fore within this mode of theorizing. Foucault calls this the *insurrection of subjugated knowledges*— “historical contents that have been buried and disguised in a functionalist coherence or formal systemization.” (ibid.) He further explains: “a whole set of knowledges... have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges, located down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity.” (ibid.: 82) Foucault provides the example of *popular knowledge* as: “... a particular, local, regional knowledge, a differential knowledge incapable of unanimity and which owes its force only to the harshness with which it is opposed by everything surrounding it.” (ibid.: 82)

What Foucault refers to as *popular, subjugated knowledge* (Foucault, 1980: 81-82) can be equated with those *counter-hegemonic discourses of resistance*

mentioned earlier. To this end, I follow Laurie Adkin's summary of counter-hegemonic discourses:

I will consider as counter-hegemonic those discourses critical of capitalist accumulation, of productivism, of science as domination of nature, of the prevailing ideologies of science and technocracy, of relations of subordination-domination (gender, racial, heterosexual), and of the institutions and social practices that underpin such relations, including the restricted nature of liberal democracy and the separation of the personal from the political, or the private from the public. (Adkin, 1992: 136)

Having briefly outlined the conceptual framework within which power and knowledge will be explored, Section 2.2 now summarizes Foucault's treatment of discourse⁴. According to Michèle Barrett in *The Politics of Truth*, the 'discursive' realm elaborated by Foucault enables us to see how 'discourse' cannot be understood simply as *text, or spoken word, or language in the sense of communications*—all of which Barrett characterizes as *common-sense definitions*. (Barrett, 1991: 125) Rather, Foucault contextualizes language, revealing, "how *what* is said fits into a network that has its own history and conditions of existence." (ibid.: 126) Moreover, Foucault views discourses as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak." (ibid.: 130) Or, as Escobar describes: "Discourse is the process through which social reality inevitably comes into being." (Escobar, 1996: 46) Escobar elaborates:

⁴ Though this discussion of discourse has been included in the conceptual framework, it is worth noting that the adoption of a discursive approach is inherently methodological.

The poststructural analysis of discourse is not only a linguistic theory; it is a social theory, a theory of the production of social reality which includes the analysis of representations as social facts inseparable from what is commonly thought of as 'material reality.' Poststructuralism focuses on the role of language in the construction of social reality; it treats language not as a reflection of 'reality' but as constitutive of it. (Escobar, 1996: 46)

Escobar asserts that discourse can be viewed as the articulation of knowledge and power (ibid.). Finally, Derek Gregory summarizes how the term discourse is generally viewed by critical human geographers: "A specific series of REPRESENTATIONS, practices and PERFORMANCES through which meanings are produced, connected into networks and legitimized." (Gregory, 2000a: 180) (Uppercase in the original)

Thus, Foucault would have us ask: *According to what rules has a particular statement been made? How is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another one?*⁵ (Barrett, 1991: 126) Why are particular knowledges privileged? Why are some concepts emphasized at the expense of others? How is knowledge institutionalized? How are facts contested? (Foucault, 1972a: 234; Watts and Peet, 1996: 11-14)

Dreyfus and Rabinow summarize Foucault's position: both power and the production of truth operate through the mask of discourse, allowing knowledge to be portrayed as external to power. (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 182) The

⁵ Here, Barrett draws on statements made by Foucault (1972: 27) in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*.

authors write: "...modern power is tolerable on the condition that it mask itself..." (ibid.: 130) In the absence of power's disguise, hegemonic discourses becomes less and less tenable. Similarly, when hegemonic discourses are brought under close scrutiny and made visible, the narrow interests they represent become apparent, and the possibilities for resistance expand.

Jane Flax reflects on the postmodern relationship between truth and discourse. Here, she views truth as dependent upon discourse—"an effect of discourse." (Flax, 1992: 452) Flax explains: "Each discourse has its own set of rules or procedures that govern the production of what is to count as a meaningful or truthful statement..." (ibid.) Thus, absolute, capital "T" Truth does not exist; but rather, multiple, discourse dependent truths exist, each governed by a set of rules.

But the set of rules governing each discourse is far from stagnant or fixed. As Alf Hornborg muses: "A discourse continually remolds its own framework of rules. In testing various messages on one another, the participants negotiate a shifting field of credibility." (Hornborg, 1998: 143) In other words, as competing actors draw on various hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses, they cannot help but influence one another. In fact, sometimes one will co-opt the other's discourse to further a particular political end.

As Watts and Peet reflect: "Discourses vary among what are often competing, even conflicting, cultural, racial, gender, class, regional, and other differing

interests, although they may uneasily coexist within relatively stable ('hegemonic') discursive formations." (Watts and Peet, 1996: 14) Thus, one must examine how certain terms are framed and/or defined—how they are continually negotiated, contested, and, ultimately, transformed.

Foucault further posits: "Disciplines are the bearers of discourse..." (Foucault, 1980: 106). He continues: "The code they [disciplines] come to define is not that of law but that of normalization." (ibid.: 105) Normalizing technologies define what constitutes normal and acceptable versus abnormal, deviant and unacceptable behavior and discourse. To this end, people essentially self-regulate to conform to a given set of social mores or established rules.

Dreyfus and Rabinow explain: "Again, for Foucault, power is not strict violence or pure coercion, but the interplay of techniques of discipline and less obvious technologies of the self [wherein the individual as 'object learns to effect changes on himself']." (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 174-5) That is, individuals *simultaneously undergo and exercise power*; they are, at once, subjecting themselves and others to codes of normalization. Thus, recognizing the powerful role language plays in normalizing certain behaviors and beliefs, a discourse analysis aimed at breaking these codes is integral to understanding how power operated in the context of *Lands for Life*.

Ultimately, this thesis engages in a Foucauldian analysis of the relationship among language, knowledge, and claims to power, posing the following

questions: What is legitimized/ normalized by certain discursive practices?

Which political technologies are employed to further particular political agendas?

Whose epistemologies are privileged? Whose are silenced? And to what effect?

Certainly, others have researched environmental inquiries through a discursive approach. In particular, Richardson, Sherman and Gismondi's (1993) study, described in *Winning Back the Words*; and Mackenzie's (1998) analysis in 'The Cheviot, the Stag, ... and the White, White Rock?' provide concrete examples of the insights to be derived from a discursive analysis.

Winning Back the Words provides a detailed account of the environmental impact assessment hearings on Alberta-Pacific's (Alpac's) proposal to build the world's largest kraft pulp mill in Prosperity, Alberta, on the Athabasca River. Richardson, Sherman and Gismondi skillfully weave discourse analysis, political critique, public input and corporate testimony, with their personal insights and reflections on the proceedings. Throughout the text, the authors critically examine Alpac's tactics, overt and subtle, to maintain power and control during the hearings. Specifically, they question how debates are framed (e.g. through dichotomies such as *environment* versus *jobs*); the use of manipulative metaphors (e.g. for Alpac, aspen are 'weeds', effluent, a 'contribution'); the authority of technical experts (particularly those on Alpac's payroll); the use of scientific language designed to silence and intimidate the mill's opponents; and the overall narrowing of the terms of reference. The authors also laud the creative, if

disorganized, responses of average citizens to create a counter-discourse, and, in so doing, to fundamentally challenge Alpac's assumptions, to question the notion of *sustainable development*, and to exercise their democratic rights and responsibilities.

The similarities between the Alpac public hearings and the *Lands for Life* public consultation process are significant. Specifically, the power dynamic between corporate interests, environmentalists and community representatives; the high degree of government-industry collusion; the narrowing of the terms of reference; and the debate over what constitutes sustainable development are the most obvious parallels. *Winning Back the Words* provides an excellent springboard from which to begin a thorough investigation of *Lands for Life*.

In her article, "'The Cheviot, the Stag, ... and the White, White Rock?': Community, identity, and environmental threat on the Isle of Harris," Mackenzie analyzes and contrasts the discursive use of terms such as 'development' and 'sustainability' by corporate interests seeking to establish a coastal superquarry on the Isle of Harris, and by the local community, in their attempt to develop an alternative discourse of sustainability. Mackenzie explains: "I am making a distinction here between 'sustainable development', following Escobar (1995, page 215), as part of a modernist project of 'development', and 'sustainability' as evidence of a counternarrative (one which questions the ideological underpinnings of the former.)" (Mackenzie, 1998: 512) She further explains that

corporate proponents of the coastal superquarry summoned a discourse of 'sustainable development' in which progress was narrowly defined in terms of the employment gains and economic growth that would be generated from the quarry. Such growth would help to "ward off the spectre of a community portrayed on the verge of extinction" and any environmental degradation "would be measured and managed..." (ibid.) Mackenzie describes the counternarrative of 'sustainability' put forward by opponents to the superquarry as an: "enabling discourse which allowed the creation of the political space for resistance and envisioning an alternative." (ibid.: 512) Her discursive distinction, and her insights into the contest of modernity itself, served to inform this analysis.

The social construction of nature

Within the arena of critical political ecology, such a discursive approach has led many theorists to reveal the multiple, competing ways in which nature is constructed. In particular, the notion of social nature—what Bruce Braun describes as "the inevitable intertwining of society and nature" (Braun, 2002: 10)—has spurred critical geographers in general, and political ecologists in particular, to critically investigate (and ultimately, break apart) the nature-society dichotomy.

Castree and Braun's *Social Nature* provides a starting point, situating recent geographical research in this emergent, interdisciplinary arena. Rather than

examining the human impact on the natural world, according to Castree and Braun, researchers working with questions of ‘social nature’ ask more profound questions such as: “ ‘who constructs what kinds of nature(s) to what ends and with what social and ecological effects?’” (Castree and Braun, 2001: xi)

Castree (2001) summarizes the three ways in which critical geographers view nature as social—specifically, by *knowing*, *engaging* and *re-making* nature. First, he argues that: “knowledge of nature is invariably inflected with the biases of the knower/s.” (Castree, 2001: 10) Following geographers Moeckli, Anderson and Gregory, Castree asserts that nature is necessarily discursively constructed—we each create so-called “truths” about nature that are both socially-constructed and discourse-dependent. Since select discourses dominate, it becomes difficult (to near impossible) to perceive nature beyond this codified realm. Castree further argues that knowledge(s) of nature not only “express social power relations” but also “have material effects insofar as people may believe and act according to them.” (ibid.: 13)

Second, Castree posits that the materiality of nature offers both possibilities and constraints that “can only be defined *relative to* specific sets of economic, cultural, and technical relations and capacities.” (Castree, 2001: 13) Here, societal responses to challenges posed by the physical environment vary considerably. Moreover, the ways in which we choose to *engage* nature (and the

constraints we experience in determining those choices) must be understood in relation to economic forces, cultural determinants, and technological capacities.

Third, Castree explains that societies actually physically *re-make* or *reconstitute* nature, either consciously or otherwise. (Castree, 2001: 15) Clearly, this takes place on an ongoing basis, in all our discursive constructions and material relations with both the human and non-human world. According to Castree and Braun, calling nature into question in these ways offers: “serious analytical and political hope in a world faced with the urgent task of building survivable futures.” (Castree and Braun, 1998: xi) Castree further asserts: “For if nature is nothing if it’s not social, it’s also unavoidably political.” (Castree, 2001: 18)

Since politics and power are intricately bound, and if nature is unavoidably political, then *knowing* nature, *engaging* nature, and *re-making* nature is inherently about power. To this end, the authors pose the following questions:

Who is currently empowered to define what counts as ‘nature’—discursively and materially—and what implications do accepted or hegemonic definitions have? In turn, asking such a pointed question leads to another: namely, what counter-hegemonic definitions are currently available to us (in geography and beyond) and what kind of world—socially, economically, politically and culturally—do they allow us to envisage? This question is saturated with political promise. (Castree and Braun, 2001: xiv)

Next, Braun’s 2002 publication—*The Intemperate Rainforest: Nature, Culture and Power on Canada’s West Coast*—is particularly relevant. To wit, so many of

Braun's analytical insights into the "social, discursive and political" construction of Canada's temperate rainforest on the West Coast parallel similar constructions of Ontario's boreal forests (and involve a similar set of social actors).

First, Braun (and also, Castree, 2001) regards nature as *artifact*—socially constructed—for it cannot exist as a "realm separate from the human relations with which it is always articulated." (Braun, 2002: 256) Braun further posits that: "...at every turn what counts as nature is, unavoidably, an *effect* of culture (and power)..." (ibid.: 258) While this fundamentally poststructural, discourse-dependent concept of "social nature" has gained significant ground within the academic community, many (within the government, ENGOs, and the public at large) continue to uncritically embrace the false dichotomy of "pristine nature/ destructive humanity." (ibid.: 2) Braun alerts us to the perils of such thinking. He states: "Thus, by focusing on wilderness (the absence of culture), we lose sight of the 'truth' of nature (its social production), and therefore are at a loss on how to proceed in a world where nature is always already marked by human actors." (ibid.: 257) As a result, Braun argues that we cannot adequately envision an environmentalism to protect "the vast majority of the world—that cannot appear pristine." (ibid.: 257-258)

In effect, by reducing struggles to the simplistic choice of *protecting* or *exploiting* a "pristine nature," we narrow the field of possibility. Specifically, we undermine what Braun characterizes as "a progressive ecopolitics" (Braun, 2002:

2), “a robust, critical environmentalism” (ibid.: 10) and a “radical environmental democracy” (ibid.: 5) that *could* foreseeably grapple with “the profusion of entangled events, actors, and practices that constituted BC’s ‘war in the woods’.” (ibid.: 2) Ultimately, Braun wants “to break apart the forest” in order to spur “a more informed—and inclusive—public debate over what sorts of futures we want.” (ibid.: 4) His project is one of “destabilization and re-representation.” (Mills, 2003: 207)

It is worth noting that while many scholars have embraced this emergent field of inquiry, others have offered critique. For example, in their article, ‘Against Political Ecology’, Vayda and Walters assert that political ecologists tend to pay *scant* attention to the environment, focusing almost wholly on the political aspects of resource struggles (Vayda and Walters, 1999: 167). Similarly, Bruno Latour argues that: “*political ecology has nothing to do with nature.*” (Latour, 2004: 5) Moreover, critics argue that political ecologists almost *always* assume (a priori) that the broader socio-economic and political systems impact environmental change in a significant way, “thus missing other factors and the complex and contingent interactions of factors whereby environmental changes often are produced.” Vayda and Walters describe this approach as “politics without ecology” (Vayda and Walters, 1999: 168)—whereby they assert that the descriptor of political *ecology* is somewhat disingenuous. But discursive and ideological struggles have significant material impact. And, poststructuralists

would argue that it is impossible to discuss nature without recognizing the multiplicity of ways in which it is constructed and contested.

According to Vayda and Walters, political ecologists examine “political controls or political contests over natural resources” and not the actual material impact(s) of those struggles. (Vayda and Walters, 1999: 169) While this critique would certainly hold in the context of this research (i.e., this thesis does not explicitly examine any biophysical or material impacts), their claim does not negate the importance of this type of work. First, the field of political ecology falls predominantly within the domain of the social sciences (with the possible exception of theorists within biology), and is not necessarily conducive to the quantitative, empirical, material analysis that would be required to assess biophysical impact. Second, the approach offered by critical political ecologists generates significant insights into the operation of power in environmental struggle.⁶

⁶ Vayda and Walters suggest “event ecology” as an alternative approach. Here, in an effort to explain a given environmental change, they suggest “work[ing] backward in time and outward in space so as to ... construct chains of causes and effects.” (Vayda and Walters, 1999: 169) Political considerations may well prove pivotal to understanding a given environmental change, but they would not be privileged or pre-judged—“letting research be guided by open questions about why events occur.” (ibid.: 170) Finally, the authors argue that adopting their proposed approach actually “lessens the likelihood of inaccurate or erroneous claims about the environment.” (ibid.: 173)

Difference, identity and affinity

Having now introduced concepts of power, knowledge and discourse, and the social construction of nature, this thesis also examines a third conceptual thread—poststructural and postcolonial insights into difference, identity and affinity. To this end, scholars investigating how difference is constituted view social actors as a unique blend of multiple, fractured, negotiated and socially constructed identities (e.g. gender intersects with race, class, ethnicity and age, among other axes of social differentiation, within a particular culture, at a given point in time). Such insights help to deconstruct false dichotomies between and amongst competing social actors. They also shed light on strained social relations and on the possibility of reconciling, if only partially and temporarily, those tensions with a view to constructing a joint political position. This last section briefly explores Haraway's, Escobar's, Barron's, Moore et al.'s and Braun's theorizing of political alliance/ convergence and the politics of difference.

To begin, poststructural theorists have for some time deliberated over political unity amongst diverse subject positions. To this end, Donna Haraway reflects on *coalitions* based on *affinity* rather than *unity* (Haraway, 1990: 197)—seemingly different social actors (such as environmental groups, feminist organizations, unions, church groups, etc.) identifying commonalities that enable a political alliance without reducing specific identities of any given element to a single, over-arching meaning. Rather than resolving each and every point of dissent,

organizations join to form temporary, negotiated partnerships. Haraway views such alliances as a critical imperative:

I do not know of any other time in history when there was greater need for political unity to confront effectively the dominations of race, gender, sexuality, and class. I also do not know of any other time when the kind of unity we might help build could have been possible. (Haraway, 1990: 199)

Arturo Escobar also reflects on the significance and limitations of such counter-hegemonic alliances: “They certainly do and must occur... But social movements are not ruled by the logic of all or nothing; they must consider the contradictory and multiple voices present in such experiences without reducing them to a unitary logic.” (Escobar, 1995: 227) In fact, the inevitability of the contradictory and multiple voices present in both the environmental and First Nation communities make strategic alliances tenuous and elusive at best.

In a similar vein, Jennifer Barron reflects on the politics of solidarity, representation and articulation. Specifically, Barron (2000) examines the relationship between the Innu First Nation of Labrador and a contingent of their non-aboriginal, international supporters. She ultimately argues that a strategy of cultural essentialism “has not been without risk or consequence.” (Barron, 2000: 87) Instead, she argues for an “articulatory politics” whereby an alliance (or connection) between different political actors occurs in an indeterminate way, based on subject-positions. Barron states: “... neither the identities of political actors nor the meanings of a given struggle exist *a priori*; rather, they are

constituted discursively through the political process—i.e., the definition of interests and the elaboration of strategies.” (ibid.: 102)

For this reason, temporary alliances must be viewed as “moment[s] of discursive articulation [that] do not necessarily persist for all time, nor under all circumstances.” (Barron, 2000: 111) Moore et al. also conceive of articulation as inherently contingent and open-ended, arguing: “...articulation offers a means for understanding emergent assemblages of institutions, apparatuses, practices and discourses.” (Moore et al., 2003: 4)

Although Braun recognizes the limits inherent in such a project, his vision is one of hope. He states: “... if we listen attentively, and critically, we can locate affinities, build coalitions, and imagine other, better ways of being together that do not reduce all of nature, and all of culture, to the logic of the commodity.” (Braun, 2002: 6) However, like Barron, he cautions that even if such a creative consensus were to be reached, it must necessarily be viewed as temporary—always subject to critical re-examination and re-negotiation. (ibid.)

Both Braun and Moore et al. offer insights into the interplay of race and nature as they relate to a politics of difference and exclusion. First, Braun is highly critical of the ways in which the Nuu-chah-nulth of Clayoquot Sound were effectively displaced (spatially, culturally, and temporally) not just by industry and the state, but also by ENGOs. According to Braun: “... BC’s temperate rainforests came to be constituted as *natural* and *national* spaces simultaneously,

but only through the constitutive erasure of indigenous territorialities.” (Braun, 2002: 27) ENGOs in British Columbia debated the percentage, and ecological characteristics, of lands to be protected, “...tacitly accepting the constitutive erasure of the Nuu-chah-nulth despite their rhetoric of support for Native lands.” (ibid.: 8) In a review of Braun's book, Suzanne Mills summarizes: “For the forest to be considered 'pristine', 'untouched', and 'wild', the presence of the Nuu-chah-nulth had to be either denied (erasure) or collapsed into nature (eroticized).” (Mills, 2003: 207)

Braun also argues that British Columbia's land use process “presupposed an epistemology.” (Braun, 2002: 5) He writes:

Thus, it followed that if individuals could only look beyond self-interest, they might find points of convergence, reconcile differences, and come to a unified position over the fate of this thing called the rainforest... Where participants had sought unity, they found only disparity; in the place of accord, dissent. (ibid.)

By virtue of these points of fracture/ dissent, participants imbue meanings and values into, in this case, British Columbia's temperate rainforest in a multiplicity of ways that are, ultimately, irreconcilable. Clearly, it is not *always* possible (and perhaps, it is not even *generally* possible), to reconcile fundamental differences of core values and worldviews. As a result, Braun characterizes British Columbia's temperate rainforest as “a site of irreducible difference” (Braun, 2002: 2), and later, he reflects: “...there are many forests, not one...” (ibid.: 259) This theme is most definitely echoed in Ontario's boreal forests.

Next, Moore et al. reflect on the interplay, and mutual constitution, of race and nature as they pertain to the politics of difference: “Discourses of race and nature provide the resources to express truth, forge identities, and justify inequalities. They form a vast terrain for the exercise of power...” (Moore et al., 2003: 1) Within this terrain/ matrix of power, identities are constructed, and affinities are negotiated. (ibid.: 5) Political terrain thus becomes racialized, and that racialization serves to either include or exclude. (ibid.: 44) The authors also insinuate that “domination may be challenged and undone” on this very terrain. (ibid.: 43)

But like the theorists summarized earlier, Moore et al. allude optimistically to a “politics of the possible.” (Moore et al., 2003: 42) They assert: “A critical challenge is to articulate freedom, power, and a cultural politics of social justice in a world where radical alternatives counter complacency and an entrenched naturalization of limits.” (ibid.: 45) Such a project is inherently counter-hegemonic. However, achieving affinities requires disarticulating oppressive formations of race and nature, and rearticulating these terms so that new political alliances might flourish. (ibid.: 47)

In sum, critical political ecology provides a powerful lens through which to analyze *Lands for Life*. Within this conceptual framework, geopolitical struggles over access to land and resources are understood not simply as material struggles, but rather, as symbolic and discursive struggles over what are inherently socially

constructed concepts. Implicit in this project is what Watts and Peet characterize as a “wide-ranging critique of development and modernity.” (Watts and Peet, 1996: 3)

This thesis examines three analytical components at the heart of critical political ecology. First, it examines the interplay of power, knowledge and discourse, focusing on political technologies—the disciplinary means through which hegemonic discourses are legitimated and counter-hegemonic discourses are silenced. Second, it investigates discursive struggles around the construction of nature and Crown land. And finally, it explores how different social actors negotiate identity, and how certain political alliances succeed or fail in this context. Each of these conceptual threads is interconnected, and by focusing on their point of intersection, the operation of power within the context of this case study will be elucidated. However, before launching into the analytical findings, Chapter 3 develops the critical, feminist methodological approach employed in this thesis.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Having provided an overview of the conceptual framework within which this analysis is situated, Chapter 3 reviews the methodological approach adopted. To begin, it is necessary to distinguish between three relevant terms of reference—*epistemology*, *methodology*, and *method*—all of which are intricately bound.

Sandra Harding offers the following concise definitions: First: “An *epistemology* is a theory of knowledge.” That is, quite simply, 'how we know what we know.' Second: “A *methodology* is a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed...” And third: “A research *method* is a technique for (or way of proceeding in) gathering evidence.” (Harding, 1987: 2-3) In practice, the research encounter involves an iterative engagement with empirical data, a careful consideration of methodological tensions, and a critical accounting of one’s theoretical framework.

Section 3.1 details the critical, genealogical methodological approach adopted in this research. Section 3.2 then identifies the primary research method employed—discourse analysis. Section 3.3 examines various epistemological tensions that emerged in the context of the research relationship, drawing on the insights of feminist scholars. Section 3.4 provides a summary of the materials reviewed, and of the supplementary field interviews conducted. (See Appendix 1

for a complete *Application to the Carleton Ethics Committee* and Appendix 2 for a detailed research instrument.) Section 3.5 offers reflections on the methodological challenges and constraints encountered during the research process.

Section 3.1: A critical, genealogical approach

Methodologically, this research involved a critical, genealogical approach. To begin, it is worth noting that the term ‘critical’ encompasses both ‘postmodern’ and ‘poststructural’ modes of analysis. In this sense, a critical view of reality opposes radically all essentialist, universal claims; rejects the notion of absolute truth; questions the privileged status of science, objectivity, reason and rationality; and challenges the desirability of Enlightenment thinking and modernist assumptions (including the specific forms of development these spawn). Second, consistent with the Foucauldian analysis developed earlier in the conceptual framework, at the heart of any poststructural critique lies an analysis of power—*how* it operates, its material functioning, and *whose* knowledge is privileged. (Foucault, 1972; 1980, 1983; Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983)

Furthermore, a critical approach involves an investigation into how difference is constituted, viewing social actors as a unique blend of multiple, fractured, negotiated and socially constructed identities. For example, gender intersects

with race, class, ethnicity and age, among other axes of social differentiation, within a particular culture, at a given point in time. Finally, due to the fact that each research problem is complex and context-specific, cross-cultural and trans-historical interpretations become thorny at best. Rather, critical claims focus on the heterogeneous nature of realities.

More specifically, this research pursues a genealogical approach aimed at revealing dissent, deconstructing generalizations, rejecting 'globalizing' discourse, examining contradictory evidence, and historicizing the present. First developed by Foucault, a genealogical approach to research: "... seeks to make visible all of those discontinuities that cross us." (Foucault, 1977: 162) Foucault continues: "The search for dissent is not the erecting of foundations: on the contrary, it disturbs what was previously considered immobile; it fragments what was thought unified; it shows heterogeneity of what was imagined consistent with itself." (ibid.: 147)

Similarly, Joan Scott views the genealogical project as the process of *becoming visible*; its aim—"...to reveal something that existed but that has been suppressed... to write about and thus to render historical what has hitherto been hidden from history." (Scott, 1992: 23) Thus, a genealogical approach does not necessarily seek to supplant the master narrative in its entirety, but rather,

illustrates those dissenting, counter-hegemonic voices which had been missing and/or subjugated.

Foucault identifies another precondition to the genealogical project—namely the elimination of “the tyranny of globalising discourses with their hierarchy and all their privileges of a theoretical avant-garde...” (Foucault, 1980: 83) He further explains that: “... only the historical contents [of subjugated knowledge] allow us to rediscover the ruptural effects of conflict and struggle that the order imposed by functionalist or systematizing thought is designed to mask.” (ibid.: 82)

Using a genealogical approach, it is less tempting to discard contradictory evidence. In fact, it is precisely when faced with conflicting accounts that challenge the status quo that research becomes most interesting. Pieter De Vries contends that it is possible to: “...use seemingly ‘atypical’ cases to provide an alternative, a more suggestive, if less clear cut, understanding of a given problematic.” (De Vries, 1992: 67) He goes on to state: “...the general norm conceals beneath it a multiplicity of negotiations and struggles.” (ibid.) Although more difficult to weave into a coherent framework, De Vries stresses: “The most interesting case studies are not the illustrative but the deviant and (theoretically) compelling ones.” (ibid.: 68)

Almost mockingly, Foucault reflects: “We want historians to confirm our belief that the present rests upon profound intentions and immutable necessities.

But the true historical sense confirms our existence among countless lost events, without a landmark or a point of reference.” (Foucault, 1977: 155) Such analysis results in existential angst for some and an insightful and eclectic historical account for others. Yet, if we accept that we cannot understand the present by looking at the past, what does it mean to *historicize* a problem in the genealogical sense?

Genealogy challenges the notion that the present can be understood solely in terms of the past. Rather than simply claiming such-and-such a situation arose out of a linear progression of events, we ought as scholars to recognize the interrelationship between knowledge and discourse, and thus “problematize the construction of historical terms that feed into our understanding of the present.” (Mackenzie, 1999: in discussion) In so doing, we reveal the political nature of different historical practices. Scott suggests a corollary—to expose the inner logic behind repressive mechanisms, we must *historicize* the processes through which subjects construct their experiences. (Scott, 1992: 25-26)

Michèle Barrett summarizes Foucault when asserting: one implication of adopting genealogy as method is that the “writer no longer regards himself [sic] as detached from the social practices he is studying.” (Barrett, 1991: 135) Indeed, given my personal involvement in the public consultation process (explained at the outset of Chapter 1), I can only but acknowledge myself as

enmeshed in the social practices and political phenomena I am studying. (Section 3.3 explores concepts of positionality and reflexivity in greater depth.)

Section 3.2: Discourse analysis

Although not stated explicitly above, discourse analysis—a basic technique of the genealogical project—is the principal qualitative method employed in this research. To this end, all texts (minutes, interview transcripts, governmental documents, press releases and accompanying visuals) are reviewed critically. The aim is to destabilize hegemonic constructs of nature and Crown land—to cast into doubt their implicit claims to truth. Judith Butler describes this process: “...to deconstruct is not to negate or to dismiss, but and, perhaps most importantly, to open up a term...” (Butler, 1992: 15) By breaking these discourses apart, it is possible to reveal the ways in which they “systematically form the objects of which they speak.” (Barrett, 1991: 130)

A second, concurrent aim is to pursue what Foucault describes as a “new to call into question economy of power relations” (Foucault, 1983: 211) whereby analysis focuses on “forms of resistance.” (ibid.) Thus, this research makes visible counter-hegemonic discourses, and the popular, subjugated knowledge(s) they embody. (Foucault, 1980: 81-82) Specifically, the counter-discourses of First Nation peoples and environmentalists are brought out of the margins and into the fore.

Thus, discourse analysis involves a critical reading aimed at deconstruction¹. It involves the identification of common themes and phrases, and the messages and values embodied within these. Discourse analysis examines how language is used and deployed to construct political positions, how ideas are contested, how certain phrases and concepts become normalized, while others (drawn outside a narrow epistemic domain) are relegated as deviant, and subsequently silenced. (Foucault, 1980: 105) Discourse analysis also looks at how concepts relate to one another within a discourse, and between and amongst competing discourses. According to Barrett, Foucault aims to contextualize language, by revealing, “how *what* is said fits into a network that has its own history and conditions of existence.” (Barrett, 1991: 126)

¹ It should be noted that discourse analysis could be used tactically, not just to deconstruct but also to reclaim language, knowledge and power. In *Grassroots Post-Modernism: Remaking the Soil of Cultures*, Gustavo Esteva and Madhu Suri Prakash provide several examples: of alternative, counter-hegemonic readings [e.g. ‘dis-membering’ (50), ‘re-membering’ (55)]; of naming the moment: [e.g. ‘the poverty of progress’ (102)]; of reclaiming language [e.g. ‘soil cultures’, ‘cultures of the soil’, ‘the soil of cultures’ (80), and ‘the International of Hope’ (42)]; and of inventing new terms: [e.g. ‘pluriverse’ (116), and ‘cosmovision’ (126)]. (Esteva and Prakash, 1998)

Section 3.3: Feminist insights

Feminist scholars have made significant contributions to the field of critical research methodology, and these insights have further informed the methodological approach adopted in this thesis. Not only does feminist research value women's experiences and perspectives across race, culture, class, inter alia, but it also offers several distinctive methodological features. Specifically, feminist scholars are at the forefront of problematizing the very possibility of a neutral, objective, dispassionate researcher, arguing instead that purported objectivity is socially constructed and contingent upon context and social identity. Feminist scholars have also critiqued the process of *othering* so prevalent in the research relationship. Rather, they have argued for an approach that is action-oriented, reflexive, situated, participatory and sensitive to power imbalances between researcher and informant.

To begin, according to Harding: "In the best of feminist research, the purposes of research and analysis are not separable from the origins of research problems." (Harding, 1987: 8) Ideally, then, feminist research, or what Diane Reay describes as "advocacy research" (Reay, 1996: 62), is applied, action-oriented—aimed at alleviating suffering, correcting an injustice, or revealing some abuse of power. Shulamit Reinharz explains: "These projects attempt directly to change people's behavior while gathering data in traditional or innovative ways. They intervene

and study in a continuous series of feedback loops.” (Reinharz, 1992: 181) Thus, feminist action research can be thought of as an iterative form of *praxis*—the application of theory, implicitly recognizing that: “... ‘basic’ research has political consequences and ‘action’ has theoretical implications.” (ibid.: 177)

To this end, Fine advocates writing texts that challenge the status quo, disrupt the master narrative, deconstruct assumed identities, and press for social justice. (Fine, 1994: 75) And certainly, these aims are consistent with the genealogical project detailed in Section 3.1. Fine explains:

Rupturing narratives allow us to hear the uppity voices of informants and researchers who speak against structures, representations, and practices of domination. In these texts, researchers are working the hyphen, reconciling the slippery construction of Self and Other and the contexts of oppression in which both are invented. (Fine, 1994: 78)

The counter-discourses offered by First Nations, outsider ENGOs, and individual citizens in the *Lands for Life* process would constitute such ‘rupturing narratives’.

This thesis is intended to be an example of action-oriented, advocacy research. In this context, its purposes are threefold. First, it aims to uncover *how* power operated in this particular land use struggle, with the hope of informing both First Nations and environmentalists engaged in similar, future struggles. Second, it highlights alternative, counter discourses of nature and Crown land—rupturing narratives that implicitly challenge hegemonic constructs. And finally, it offers suggestions towards improving future public consultations so that they may be

more inclusive of the myriad of voices, interests, and ways of knowing present in contemporary society, making them, ultimately, more democratic.

However, while this research will, ideally, be disseminated widely, I fear the repercussions and potential political fallout. I fully acknowledge that it is much easier to sit back and critique a process such as *Lands for Life* than it is to actually engage in it. I also feel that some of the ideas explored in my thesis (e.g., such as the failed alliance between First Nations and ENGOs) are potentially contentious, particularly if taken out of context, or not read in their entirety. Above all, I do not wish to exacerbate the very tensions I would only ever seek to salve.

Second, feminist scholars have problematized the notion of the objective, dispassionate researcher, arguing instead for situated knowledge(s) that employ strategies of reflexivity and positionality. However, as Gillian Rose notes, these tactics are not without their limitations. (Rose, 1997)

Joan Scott reminds us that part of the feminist project “has been to unmask all claims of objectivity as an ideological cover for masculine bias.” (Scott, 1992: 30) Rose describes such objectivity as “claiming to see the whole world while remaining distanced from it.” (Rose, 1997: 308) In contrast, individual researchers are understood from a critical feminist perspective as inherently situated—entering any given research encounter with their own prejudices, preconceived notions, internalized values and belief systems. Rose explains:

... subjugated and critical knowledges work from their situatedness to produce partial perspectives on the world. They see the world from specific locations, embodied and particular, and never innocent; siting is intimately involved in sighting. (ibid.)

However, while feminist geographers have dismissed claims of objectivity, they have argued that researchers can, at the very least, strive to situate themselves in all their research relations.

To this end, the concept of reflexivity is employed to examine positionality within the research process. Rose summarizes: "Reflexivity in general is being advocated by these writers as a strategy for situating knowledges: that is, as a means for avoiding the false neutrality and universality of so much academic knowledge." (Rose, 1997: 306) According to Harding: "The best feminist analysis ... insists that the inquirer her/himself be placed in the same critical plane as the overt subject matter, thereby recovering the entire research process for scrutiny in the results of the research." (Harding, 1987: 9) Such a reflexive approach involves being clear about our location in the research process, becoming transparent by identifying ourselves "as...real, historical individual[s] with concrete, specific desires and interests," (ibid.) and continuously examining the research relationship (ideally, incorporating mechanisms of accountability). Reay further explains: "Reflexivity in the sense of a continual consideration of the ways in which the researcher's own social identity and values affect the data gathered and the picture of the social worlds produced, has been a paramount

project within feminism.” (Reay, 1996: 60) Similarly, Nick Bingham summarizes reflexivity as “a way of interrogating the relationships between what you are writing about when you are writing up and the way that you write about it...” (Bingham, 2003: 152) And Kim England explains that reflexivity demands that the researcher apply a self-critical, introspective analytical lens to their own role in the research process. (England, 1994: 82)

However, Rose identifies limitations in consciously using reflexivity to illustrate how geographical knowledge is both partial and situated. (Rose, 1997: 305) She notes: “... many feminist geographers acknowledge the difficulty of actually doing it.” (ibid.: 306) Rose argues that the quest for what she deems 'transparent reflexivity' (ibid.: 311) is, ultimately, unattainable and doomed to failure. She concludes that it is impossible to know both self and context fully (ibid.: 311), and that the researcher must choose between mapping self in the same position/plane as the researched, or mapping self objectively in relation to the researched. Rose summarizes: “The contradiction is that the latter is impossible while the former is unacceptable.” (ibid.: 313) Rose further argues that the very notion that self and context are fully understandable demands “an analytical certainty that is as insidious as the universalizing certainty that so many feminists have critiqued.” (ibid.: 318)

However, it remains a laudable goal to attempt at the very least to locate oneself within the research process (notwithstanding Rose's legitimate critique, and the constraints of actually accomplishing this task). Clearly, a researcher's social identity cannot help but influence both the collection of data and the interpretation of results. At every point, my own subject position (i.e., I am a privileged, middle-class, well-educated, professional, white woman from southern Ontario) influenced whom I approached, the types of questions I deemed worth asking, how I chose to interpret and frame the results, and so on. In recognition of my necessarily partial and situated position, I have tried to resist the temptation to make universal claims based on my findings. (This proved a formidable challenge, since I seem to slip into a *prescriptive* mode—advocating for how the world *ought* to be—without always noticing the shift.)

Next, feminist scholars have made valuable contributions to theorizing the research relationship. This next section begins with a discussion of Michelle Fine's and Lila Abu-Lughod's strategies to work against *othering*. It then explores the power dynamic between researcher and informant, including ways in which power imbalances might be addressed.

Researchers have traditionally cast those being researched as 'other'—separate from the researcher, and implicitly inferior. Perhaps the desire to *other* stems from the fundamentally insecure nature of the human condition. People slot each

other into pigeonholes, make generalizations, invent identities, and fail to recognize commonalities with those whose social identities are different from their own. Perhaps the notion of multiple, conflicting truths is overwhelming. Ultimately, overcoming the proclivity to *other* requires a good deal of emotional, intellectual, and spiritual energy, but the rewards are well worth it.

To this end, Fine works actively to interrupt or write against *Othering* (Fine, 1994: 70) by *working the hyphen* between 'self' and 'other'. She explains:

I mean to suggest that researchers probe how we are in relation with the contexts we study and with our informants, understanding that we are all multiple in those relations... Working the hyphen means creating occasions for researchers and informants to discuss what is, and what is not, 'happening between,' within the negotiated relations of whose story is being told, why, to whom, with what interpretation, and whose story is being shadowed, why, for whom, and with what consequence. (Fine, 1994: 72)

Fine offers a provocative analysis of the blurred and fluid boundary between researcher and informant, demanding a poststructural wariness toward simplistic dichotomies, and the need for a more collaborative, egalitarian, and engaged research relationship.

In a similar vein, Abu-Lughod seeks to deconstruct generalizations by *writing against culture* (1993: 9-13). She breaks apart generalizations that attempt to categorize and essentialize others. She accomplishes this by focusing on the diverse, complex, and contradictory moments of people's lives:

Yet the dailiness, by breaking coherence and introducing time, trains our gaze on flux and contradiction; and the particulars suggest that others live as we perceive ourselves living—not as autonomously programmed according to ‘cultural’ rules or acting out social roles, but as people going through life wondering what they should do, making mistakes, being opinionated, vacillating, trying to make themselves look good, enduring tragic personal losses, enjoying others, and finding moments of laughter. (Abu-Lughod, 1993: 27)

In so doing, she offers the possibility of finding commonalities amongst people who might previously have constructed each other as *other*.

The application of both Fine and Abu-Lughod’s insights to the sociological descriptions throughout this thesis helped to problematize the analysis. In particular, their inherently complex and compassionate views of people as essentially vulnerable, doing their best under sometimes strained and difficult circumstances are relevant. Looked upon in this light, it is easier to see oneself in others—be they industry representatives, First Nation peoples, Round Table members, provincial government officials, and so on.

In sum, both *working the hyphen* between ‘self’ and ‘other’ and *writing against culture* demand a rigorous examination of false dichotomies, resulting in a more egalitarian, passionate, and engaged research relationship. Fine recommends: “Those of us who do this work need to invent communities of friendly critical informants who can help us think through whose voices and analyses to front, and whose to foreground.” (Fine, 1994: 80) Ultimately, we need to determine how best to represent the hyphen in any given relationship.

Last, feminist scholars have argued that explicit recognition of the power imbalances (i.e. the differentiations) between researcher and subject is critical. They have further suggested that these power imbalances might be alleviated through the adoption of a participatory approach and/or a reciprocal research relationship.

In a participatory approach to research, the researcher works cooperatively with a subject and/or community to involve them actively in the process of designing and implementing a project. (Pratt, 2000: 574) Smith suggests: "Attempts should be made at involving the subject as an active collaborator in both the research process and production of the final narrative." (Smith 1993: 404 cited in Goebel, 1994: 34) De Vries frames participation in this way: "I argue that enrolment [a process in which the researcher and researched become active social agents] is not a unilateral process but a dialogical practice, and it does not end in the field but continues thereafter throughout the interpretation of fieldwork material." (De Vries, 1992: 47) Thus, the creation of knowledge, responsibility for the research encounter, and ownership of the final product become joint.

Participatory research results in a number of attractive outcomes. According to Cotterill: "[A participatory model] aims to produce non-hierarchical, non-manipulative research relationships which have the potential to overcome the separation between researcher and the researched." (Cotterill, 1992: 594) The

researcher becomes what Marjorie Mbilinyi describes as a “full participant in political action” (Mbilinyi, 1989: 208), and, as Reinharz asserts: “...the people studied *make decisions* about the study format and data analysis.” (Reinharz, 1992: 181) Consequently, informants assume part ownership of the research, actively shaping process and product, demanding a scholarship that is both rigorous and relevant to their lives. The potential for social change and individual empowerment is greatest when the distinctions between researcher and informant, academic and community member, are most blurred. A participatory approach helps to democratize research by engaging participants in a meaningful way, by avoiding the power imbalances characteristic of the traditional research encounter, and by providing an accessible end product.

Fine further explains how a participatory approach works against Othering: “When we opt... to engage in social struggles *with* those who have been exploited and subjugated, we work for the hyphen, revealing far more about ourselves, and far more about the structures of Othering.” (Fine, 1994: 72) Fine adds: “When we construct texts collaboratively, self-consciously examining our relations with/for/despite those who have been contained to Others, we move against, we enable resistance to, Othering.” (ibid.: 74)

Although I am committed in principle to a participatory approach, in the context of this research, it proved difficult to achieve. First, I alone will be held

accountable for, and will ultimately *own*, the final product. Second, a true commitment to working in a participatory fashion would more than likely extend the duration of this research beyond an acceptable time frame. Furthermore, given that the *Lands for Life* public consultations ended two full years before I completed my field interviews, I doubted participants would willingly devote the requisite time and energy to engage in joint decision-making at each stage of my thesis.

However, I did manage to integrate select aspects of a participatory approach into my research. I maintained accountability to those I interviewed by providing them with a transcript of our interview for review. I actively sought feedback on the interviews I conducted, and diligently incorporated all amendments and omissions accordingly. Several participants also helped to shape the research by providing suggestions for other key interviews. In some cases, these suggested interviews fundamentally re-framed aspects of the research question. Ultimately, participation can be viewed as a continuum, rather than an either/or proposition.

I also strove to engage in reciprocal relationships with respondents. By remaining open to questions, I follow Cotterill's description of a researcher "invest[ing] her [or his] own personal identity in the research relationship..., sharing knowledge and experience, and giving support when asked." (Cotterill, 1992: 594) Understood as such, research becomes more than pure extraction of

information. Cotterill further offers: “The balance of power within interviews depends, to a large extent, on the perceptions of the person being interviewed.” (ibid.: 599) Thus, every attempt must be made to follow a strict set of ethical guidelines (showing respect, sensitivity and discretion, while maintaining confidentiality), keeping the protection of informants’ rights at the fore.

It is worth noting that the researcher could also be perceived as vulnerable in certain ways. For example, key informants’ willing participation in the research project is a minimum prerequisite to its success. However, as Cotterill explains: “Unless respondents feel the interviewing process offers them some personal involvement and satisfaction, the possibility of repeated, in-depth interviews is unlikely.” (Cotterill, 1992: 595) The inability to compensate people financially for their time poses an additional barrier to participation. Cotterill adds: “...no matter how interested they are, how friendly they become with the researcher, they are not, nor can they be expected to be, as committed to the research.” (ibid.: 603) Furthermore, informants may prove unavailable (as I experienced on several occasions), may participate grudgingly, may intentionally skew data, may retract statements or opt out at critical times. Ultimately, a researcher remains vulnerable in these and no doubt other ways throughout the research encounter.

However, while fluid and shifting, the balance of power lies in the hands of the researcher. By openly sharing their experiences, perceptions, and views, often

with little sense of the overall context in which the research is being conducted, respondents make themselves vulnerable to misinterpretation, characterization, and possibly, ridicule. The reality is, for the most part, that researchers leave the field and return home.² Intense field relationships may rapidly fizzle out once the researcher has extracted the required information, leaving informants feeling used. Plus, as Cotterill reminds us: “When the researcher leaves the field and begins to work on the final account, the responsibility for how the data is analyzed and interpreted is entirely her [or his] own.” (Cotterill, 1992: 604) Respondents may face an account of their lives, views, or circumstances with which they do not agree, often presented in academic language that is largely inaccessible.

In sum, this research involved a critical, feminist methodological approach. As Section 3.1 and 3.2 detail, by adopting a genealogical perspective and discursive approach, it uncovers dissenting voices, examines generalizations critically, rejects ‘globalizing’ discourses, engages with contradictory evidence, ‘historicizes’ the present, and examines critically how terms are both constructed

² Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson aim to problematize the concept of ‘the field’. Being ‘in’ or ‘out’ of ‘the field’ is a false dichotomy. While we may indeed shift locations (i.e., I did in fact travel through the near North from site to site), we are always located in ‘the field’. (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 35) By *decentering* and *defetishizing* the concept of ‘the field’ (ibid.: 5) the authors challenge a misconception—that certain experiences are more legitimate research encounters than others.

and contested. As Section 3.3 details, it strives to be action-oriented, to situate knowledges, to actively resist the urge to *other*, and to adopt aspects of a participatory approach and reciprocal research relationship.

Section 3.4: Summary of materials reviewed

This research reviewed systematically all governmental documents (such as press releases, interim reports, recommendations and announcements), popular press and scholarly literature related to *Lands for Life* and *Ontario's Living Legacy*. It also examined critically the minutes from the public hearings (including detailed testimony from a wide range of social actors) with a view to uncovering the dissent, which though part of the public record was not evident in the government's final announcement. Specifically, I obtained a CD-ROM from the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR) that contained the content of their entire web site, including all of the documents detailed above. Easy, electronic access to such a vast amount of original data greatly facilitated the research process.

To begin, I reviewed systematically the minutes from the 44 GLSL Round Table meetings that occurred between September 10, 1997 and June 25, 1998. This involved a slow and critical reading of the testimony of hundreds of

participants, drawing explicitly on the testimony of 232 participants³. I compared and contrasted the ways in which competing social actors invoked a number of contested terms (specifically, nature, Crown land, community, place, sustainability, resources and forestry).

This database of information, detailed in Appendix 3: Great Lakes St.-Lawrence Round Table Meetings, along with a comprehensive (though not exhaustive) collection of print media, detailed in Appendix 4: Summary of *Lands for Life* Articles Compiled to Date, formed the substantive core of my research. I also scanned relevant databases for scholarly literature that specifically addressed the *Lands for Life* struggle, although this scan produced somewhat limited results (see Cartwright, 2003; Krajnc et al., 2000; and Weis and Krajnc, 1999). As I immersed myself in this body of literature, themes gradually began to emerge, creating a preliminary conceptual framework of competing discourses.

Once I had reviewed this body of literature thoroughly, I conducted supplementary interviews to clarify, update, enrich and enliven the data

³ Of these 232 participants: 46 represented the forestry sector (e.g. loggers, industry lobbyists, etc.); 43 represented environmental concerns; 23 represented First Nation peoples; 24 represented tourism; 15 represented mining; 25 represented economic development (broadly defined); and 56 represented other interests (individuals from this group tended to be private citizens whose specific concerns were difficult to categorize and/or identify). 43 of the 232 participants whose testimony I drew upon for this thesis were female (thus, female participation accounted for approximately 18% of the total).

(particularly where participation was limited, as in the case of First Nation peoples). These supplemental contacts (14 in total) were all conducted in person during a field trip of the Great Lakes–St. Lawrence planning region (except for one interview, conducted by telephone). These meetings proved to be a highlight of the research process.

Although I could have more easily conducted these interviews by phone, I felt it was important to meet participants in a location of their choice. This ensured they were comfortable with the setting (in most cases, they chose their own office and/or home). It also illustrated my personal commitment to the interview—I physically traveled quite a distance in order to meet these individuals. And finally, it gave me the chance to tour the GLSL planning region.

Specifically, I interviewed 3 Partnership representatives, 3 ENGO representatives, 5 key First Nation representatives (with various others attempted), 1 GLSL Round Table member, and 2 northern tourism representatives.⁴ Interviews lasted 1 ½-2 hours, on average, and were taped and transcribed in full.

⁴ In all cases, interviewees were key representatives of their respective organizations. Some were *insiders* to the process, and, as such, offered privileged insights into its inner workings. Others were public critics of the Harris government, who, in their own right, were also key figures within their respective organizations. Given that these individuals were assured their anonymity within this process, any further comments seem inappropriate in this regard.

The transcripts were then submitted to participants for review, clarification and/or editing. This iterative process only resulted in minor changes, but ensured a degree of transparency and accountability to interviewees, and also helped re-identifying and clarifying the nature of dissent.

I began by developing a research instrument—a set of questions to be posed in a free-flowing, loosely structured format. These questions were required during my initial application to the *Carleton Ethics Committee* (see Appendix 1). Although not strictly bound to the research instrument, I posed ten introductory questions to both aboriginal and non-aboriginal participants. Because the questions were so broad in scope, most (if not *all*) of the time, a participant's response spurred me to delve more deeply and/or to investigate an interesting tangent. These questions were really just a springboard for discussion. I followed these general questions with a set of specific questions aimed at different social actors (i.e. more targeted questions were then posed to representatives of the Partnership, other environmentalists, GLSL Round Table Members, First Nations, and eco-tourism advocates). (See Appendix 2: Research Instrument, for the comprehensive set of questions posed to the various participants.)

However, respondents often answered several questions at a time, even before being explicitly prompted to do so. Each answer would then naturally spur us along a different tangent. As a result, and more often than not, interviews

resembled casual conversations rather than extractive exercises. In the end, most of the questions included in the research instrument (both general and specific) were posed to participants. This approach is certainly consistent with Gill Valentine's description of a semi-structured interview: "... they take a conversational, fluid form, each interview varying according to the interests, experiences and views of the interviewees. They are a dialogue rather than an interrogation." (Valentine, 2005: 111)

Though the specific constellation of questions, answers, and divergent thoughts might prove difficult to replicate, I attempted, to the extent possible, to remain as impartial as I could during the interviews. But clearly, both the line of questioning and choice of sub-topics pursued must have divulged at least some of my internal biases. Certainly, I follow other feminist researchers (e.g., Rose, 1997) in acknowledging that as a social scientist, I necessarily influenced the outcome of my investigation, and as a poststructuralist, I never achieved true objectivity. Without doubt, another researcher would likely have uncovered a slightly different, though not necessarily incompatible, set of responses, and, would also have interpreted them from their own unique subject position. However, even though replication may prove elusive, Valentine argues that semi-structured interviews may be "corroborated by similar studies or complementary techniques." (Valentine, 2005: 111)

Having reviewed the qualitative data gathered and analyzed in this research, Section 3.5 addresses some of the methodological challenges and constraints that emerged.

Section 3.5: Methodological challenges and constraints

This final section briefly explores some of the specific research challenges that emerged in the process of gathering evidence—namely, around interviewing First Nation peoples in general, and around the use of an Informed Consent form in particular. Section 3.5 also looks at other miscellaneous issues, including the limitations of the GLSL Round Table minutes.

To begin, I faced some interesting methodological challenges when attempting to interview an aboriginal elder. I closely followed the ethical protocol outlined in Appendix 1: *Application to the Carleton University Ethics Committee*. I first approached the Acting Chief (of the First Nation Band in question) with my Letter of Introduction. I then obtained permission to speak with two senior members of the Land Resources Committee, designated to speak on these issues on behalf of the Band. On meeting at the Reserve, following a verbal introduction, it soon became apparent the interview would not proceed as smoothly as I had anticipated.

According to these interviewees, a researcher from an American university had spent a summer some years ago gathering detailed personal narratives, promising to return the original tapes, transcripts and video footage to the community. The researcher made no subsequent attempts to contact the First Nation band, and failed to return their findings to the community. Based on this previous encounter with an academic researcher, I was met with immediate distrust.⁵

The Medical Research Council of Canada et al., in their *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*, summarizes a history of such abuse:

Indeed, there are historical reasons why indigenous or aboriginal peoples may legitimately feel apprehensive about the activities of researchers. Inaccurate or insensitive research has caused stigmatization. On occasion, the cultural property and human remains of indigenous peoples have been expropriated by researchers for permanent exhibition or storage in institutes, or offered for sale. Researchers have sometimes treated groups merely as sources of data, and have occasionally endangered dissident indigenous peoples by unwittingly acting as information-gatherers for repressive regimes. Such conduct has harmed the participant communities and spoiled future research opportunities. (Medical Research Council of Canada et al., 1998: 6.2)

⁵ I looked into these allegations, and was able to identify a number of publications produced based on this researcher's findings. I followed up on this issue with my potential interviewees, and detailed my findings to the Band representatives in question. It is not possible to include this letter as an appendix, since it would clearly compromise the guarantee of anonymity. However, this action embraces Cotterill's suggest that the research relationship be reciprocal. (Cotterill, 1992)

No doubt, based on my outward appearance, I represented the history of white cultural appropriation. Only through repeated assurances of my intentions, and of my commitment to return my findings to the community, did these individuals seem progressively more receptive to the research project. Had the logistics of my trip been different (i.e. had more time been allocated to each location), I suspect an interview could have been arranged.⁶ Regardless, I will include the individual(s) I spoke with, yet did not formally interview, in the dissemination of results.

This experience helped me to understand how identity is both negotiated and constructed. On the surface, I *am* a young, white woman from the South (meaning Ottawa, in this context), presenting myself as an academic researcher. Perhaps it would be fair to infer from these facts alone that I come from a somewhat privileged background. Perhaps it would be fair to assume I have only my own interests at heart (i.e., extracting data to advance my academic career). Since neither my history of activism around environmental, development, human rights and social justice issues, nor my specific beliefs (e.g. of seeing myself in others; of recognizing the interconnected nature of all things; of striving towards non-judgment; of responding with compassion) were readily apparent, how could

⁶ In contrast, since I shared a similar social identity and subject position with my ENGO interviewees, an immediate rapport (and relationship of trust) was much easier to achieve.

an aboriginal elder not remain wary of my intentions? And, for as difficult as it is to know oneself, let alone another, this same difficulty arises in a research relationship. How, in a narrow span of time, do you establish a relationship of trust with a complete stranger, such that they would be willing to open up and share their unique insights?

With perfect hindsight, I can see that some kind of statement of positionality might have been helpful in granting me access. For example, perhaps I could have included some simple and forthright statement such as this: "I am here to interview you because I feel the provincial government failed to protect the interests of Ontario First Nation peoples in the *Lands for Life* process. I would like to analyze this injustice, and your input would help me immeasurably." At least, then, my interests and political bias would have been clearly stated, and could possibly have facilitated a smoother exchange.

However, a second, further complicating challenge arose with the use of the Informed Consent form. In spite of my assurances that such a document was designed to protect participants' interests (i.e., ensuring confidentiality, anonymity, etc.), the aboriginal elder I attempted to interview refused to sign anything, mocking the formality of the language with which the form was written. The participant was far more interested in having *me* sign the document; in having *me* put my promises in writing (which I gladly obliged). Although I did not face

the same difficulties when dealing with First Nation participants at the institutional level, I do question whether the form, as it is currently designed, is *culturally appropriate* for use with aboriginal elders.⁷ In particular, use of the form felt insensitive in light of the negative historical connotations associated with the signing of treaties, which First Nation elders are, perhaps, more acutely aware of. In spite of these challenges, I would not opt to modify the language used since the thought that *I* could decide ahead of time *who* should receive the 'toned-down' version strikes me as absurdly condescending. However, the idea of having a Letter of Commitment at my disposal seems a reasonable means with which to address the issue. Such a Letter of Commitment, while closely following the content of the original Informed Consent, would assert my promises, as a researcher, to the participants, and would be signed by me alone. It also implicitly acknowledges and seeks to address postcolonial power relations.

⁷ On September 19, 2001, I joined Professors Fiona Mackenzie and Nancy Doubleday in making a brief presentation to the Carleton University Ethics Committee. Specifically, I recounted the challenges I faced in interviewing aboriginal elders (detailed above). According to Leslie J. MacDonald-Hicks, Coordinator of the Carleton University Research Ethics Committee, a different aboriginal research protocol has evolved in the past year or so. Researchers are now required to prepare a script, and to proceed with oral consent. Moreover, the name of the 'Informed Consent' form itself has in some cases been changed to 'Permission to Interview'. MacDonald-Hicks explained that this shift has occurred in recognition that aboriginal culture is a largely oral culture that places paramount importance on a system of honor. Thus, imposing too much paperwork can actually jeopardize the research relationship. These more recent changes would have served me well.

The final challenge I faced with respect to consulting First Nation peoples in the region lay in my relative lack of knowledge. Prior to my field trip, I was largely unfamiliar with the First Nation community in general, and with the specific bands I contacted in particular. As a result, First Nation participation is far from representative, assuming that goal is ever attainable. Rather, on the advice of my (then) Committee Member, Professor Miriam Smith, I looked exhaustively at those First Nation peoples who spoke at the public hearings (i.e. whose testimony is included as part of the public record). I then selectively supplemented these voices with a few key figures recommended to me in the course of other interviews. In a number of cases, potential participants failed to return my repeated calls, and, in the end, I accepted their tacit refusal to engage in a dialogue. I must admit that I found the lack of response to my various queries somewhat disheartening, although I was grateful to those who did consent to an interview.

A separate challenge emerged in my review of the GLSL Round Table minutes. This extensive public record provided a wealth of material from which to draw, and, in fact, formed part of the substantive core of my research. However, the manner in which testimony was recorded—in sentence fragments, as if in a free flow of point form notes—was often problematic. The context of the fragments was sometimes difficult to ascertain, and subject to multiple

interpretations. As a result, I had to dismiss some potentially interesting material due to the fact that I could not reasonably account for its context with any degree of reliability. Although I can imagine what a laborious task it was to transcribe the testimony offered at these hearings, I only wish that the government employee(s) who took these minutes had taken just a little more care to include pertinent verbs!

Yet another challenge emerged in relation to anonymity and confidentiality of data. Both the Letter of Introduction and Informed Consent form provided participants with guarantees that I would treat their comments confidentially, and that I would ensure participant anonymity. In hindsight, at first, I wished that I had not pursued this approach with some of the more senior environmentalists, First Nation chiefs, and organizational advisors—who regularly speak on behalf of the organizations they represent, and who are regularly attributed with direct quotations in a variety of contexts. It would have been much more straightforward for me to quote them directly, so that readers could readily follow whose interests a particular statement is advancing.

However, Carleton's Research Ethics Committee Coordinator, Leslie J. MacDonald-Hicks, identified a number of risks I had not considered in this regard. Given that I am speaking to a small number of senior people on a specific topic, she indicated that there is always a risk involved. She further questioned

whether I could even guarantee an offer of anonymity under these circumstances. Indeed, an astute reader (or, as she noted, a nosy journalist) might well be able to decode, and thus identify, my participants. Similarly, the participants themselves likely know one another, or, alternately, know *of* one another!

Moreover, even if I were to re-connect with my interviewees, and request permission to attribute quotes directly to them, this could result in unforeseen ethical implications. For instance, if a senior member of an organization were to consent to being quoted directly, this might, by inference, implicate other senior members of that organization (who never agreed to be quoted). This situation is further complicated by the amount of time that has elapsed since my interviews took place five years ago. MacDonald-Hicks indicated that the Carleton Ethics Committee rarely agrees to participants deciding to be attributed, for fear that it could set off just such a unintended/ unforeseen chain reaction.

Since the scope of risk involved in this project is not insignificant (i.e., the injustice done to First Nation peoples, and failed alliance between First Nations and ENGOs are both politically contentious), it was difficult for me to know best how to proceed. I first tried adopting a series of coded systems of initials, though they proved somewhat cumbersome to follow. I also entertained pseudonyms, but, in the end, decided to allude to the individual interviewees as follows:

ENGO₁₋₃ spoke on behalf of conservation groups within the Partnership for Public

Lands (a powerful coalition comprised of the World Wildlife Fund, Federation of Ontario Naturalists and the Wildlands League). ENGO₄₋₆ spoke on behalf of other key environmental groups. FN₁ spoke on behalf of the Union of Ontario Indians (UOI), and FN₂ and FN₃ each spoke on behalf of two First Nations in the region, one as Chief, and the other as Communications Coordinator. RT₁ spoke as a GLSL Round Table member, and NORTH₁₋₂ spoke on behalf of northern, tourism organizations. Although this system seems slightly formulaic and unimaginative, it makes it possible to follow who said what, and which group the interviewee represents. I have chosen to proceed with this coded system notwithstanding the legitimate concerns raised above.

CHAPTER 4: ORCHESTRATING AN OUTCOME

This chapter details a critical, genealogical interpretation of the government of Ontario's motives, and the events that transpired in the *Lands for Life* public consultation process. Following Foucault, this section will: "...isolate, identify, and analyze the web of unequal relationships set up by political technologies." (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 185) Specifically, it critically examines elements of the political technology employed by the provincial government, and the unequal power relationships that emerged, or rather, that were reinforced, during the *Lands for Life* struggles. By carefully orchestrating both the public consultation process and its outcomes, the government ensured that a hegemonic construct of Crown land prevailed. Throughout, this chapter also details the counter discourses through which power was resisted.

Chapter 4 examines the hegemonic discourse(s) of both the *Lands for Life* process and of Crown land constructed by the Harris government through language employed in key texts, and through its practices. The chapter is organized to move through the process chronologically. Section 4.1 examines the initial press releases associated with the *Lands for Life* public consultations and the published terms of reference for Round Table members. Specifically, the government characterized the process as democratic and inclusive—an unparalleled exercise in public consultation. However, critics invoked

precautionary discourses to lengthen the period of consultation, and raised legalistic instruments in an attempt to ensure governmental accountability. They further framed the process as biased, abbreviated and undemocratic. Similarly, during the process the government constructed Crown lands as falling more legitimately within the purview of northerners, and of industrial interests. Section 4.2 briefly explores the first set of formal recommendations generated by the Round Tables—the October 1998 *Consolidated Recommendations* report—as well as the final negotiations at the Fern Resort, in Orillia, Ontario. Finally, Section 4.3 examines the government’s announcement of its land use strategy—*Ontario’s Living Legacy*. In the key *Ontario’s Living Legacy* advertizing supplement, the government re-makes Crown land as a legacy to future generations, as common property, as nature, and, to a lesser extent, as resources.

Section 4.1: *Lands for Life*

Section 4.1 examines various aspects of the political technology through which the government initially framed, and then carefully orchestrated, the *Lands for Life* public consultation process. First, the government selected *who* would consult the public. Second, the government determined *who* would be consulted,

and *who* could legitimately represent a given community.¹ Third, the government established the terms of reference—*what* the public would be asked. Fourth, they also determined *how* the public would be asked, and *how* they would be notified. Each of these forms part of the political technology through which the government asserted a hegemonic construct of Crown land. In so doing, northerners (i.e., those local to the planning region) and industrial interests were privileged, and deemed to have a more legitimate say in determining the future of Ontario's Crown lands. This section also details the counter-discourses that emerged to challenge and critique the government at every stage.

In their press release of February 27, 1997, Premier Mike Harris and Natural Resources Minister Chris Hodgson announced a new land use planning initiative, coined *Lands for Life*, as “a major commitment to the long-term protection and use of natural resources in Ontario.” (MNR, February 27, 1997) Specifically, they promised the initiative would: “... protect natural areas, promote resource based tourism, and provide a bright future for communities in northern Ontario.” (ibid.) Harris stated: “*Lands for Life* is our government's commitment to sound

¹ Richardson et al. explored a similar dynamic in the context of the Alpac hearings. They reflected on the “highly political and hotly contested” relationship between identity and authority: “The issue became, who should be identified as speaking with authority for a community? –for science? –for nature? –for native people? –for the silent majority? –for future generations?” (Richardson et al., 1993: 18) They further asserted: “The authority of many speakers was not fixed *a priori*, but constructed and established in the course of the hearings.” (ibid.)

resource management and to future generations.” (ibid.) They further promised: “...the Harris government will guarantee that future generations will enjoy the wilderness and natural landscapes that are the defining characteristics of Ontario.” (ibid.) To emphasize their purported commitment to future generations, Harris and Hodgson made the announcement at Bronte Creek Provincial Park, accompanied by a class of grade 2 students. Clearly, the symbolic presence of school children at the event was no doubt intended to convey a sense of inter-generational responsibility.

Adopting a somewhat moralistic tone, Minister Hodgson described *Lands for Life* as: “... the right thing to do for the future of Ontario.” (Hodgson in MNR, February 27, 1997) Through a consensus-building approach, the government drew on discourses of inclusion, stating a desire to involve all “interested parties” and explicitly identifying: “Aboriginal peoples, environmentalists, tourism operators, recreational users and resource-based workers.” (ibid.) In a later press release, the government emphasized that the process was intended to: “... address the demands of the various users of Crown land.” (MNR, June 17a, 1997) Hodgson later posited: “*Lands for Life* brings a range of interests together to ensure the long-term sustainability and protection of our valued resources for future generations.” (ibid.)

Thus, the government constructed a hegemonic discourse of the process itself as an attempt to consult the public widely in order to plan comprehensively for the

use of Crown land. Specifically, they drew on principles of inclusion (i.e., of all “interested parties”), of consensus (here, they sought to reconcile the competing and divergent interests of various stakeholders) and of inter-generational responsibility.

Who would consult the public?

In June 1997, the government appointed Round Table members to each of the three planning regions (see Figure 1.1). In a press release, Round Table members were described as follows: “The appointed members are knowledgeable regional and local individuals, who represent various sectors or general interests.” (MNR, June 17b, 1997) According to the government, Round Tables were to include: “environmentalists, aboriginal peoples, tourism operators, foresters and concerned citizens selected through a nomination process...” (ibid.) In a later press release, the government offered a slightly modified list of interests represented to further include: “recreational users, the forest industry and people who work in resource-based industries.” (MNR, January 30, 1998) In their terms of reference, Round Table members were charged not only with the task of consulting the public, but also with the task of consulting special “interest groups” and keeping them informed of Round Table progress and activities. (MNR, June 17b, 1997) This demand proved to be a significant conflict of interest (to be discussed shortly).

Thus, the government characterized the Round Tables as comprised of individuals from within the planning regions who represented a diverse range of interests.

Clearly, one obvious way the government influenced the outcome was to select, in a very deliberate and pre-meditated way, *who* would consult the public. Several actors critiqued the composition of the Great Lakes St. Lawrence (GLSL) Round Table committee. They argued that the government charged the task of consulting the public to a group of white men, from the North, who possessed close ties to (or in some cases, directly represented) industry (see Appendix 5).

I move now to consider in detail the critique of GLSL Round Table representation, based on its social homogeneity, the extent to which northerners were privileged over southerners, and the inherent bias *towards* industrial development and *against* conservation that emerged. The net result of such selections was a serious epistemological bias. (Appendix 5 details the various origins, affiliations, and social identities of the GLSL Round Table committee members.)

One First Nation participant, Honorine Trudeau Wright, a Wikwemikong elder, contended: “The number one concern is that out of three Round Tables, with fourteen people on each table, only two are representatives from the native community.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 28, 1997) In fact, of the 13 members on the GLSL Round Table committee, only one individual, Holly Charnya of the Temagami First Nation, was from a native community, though the

issue of Charnya representing indigenous views proved somewhat contentious—an issue discussed in Chapter 5.

Moreover, women (Holly Charnya and Barb Boland) only accounted for two of the thirteen positions—a disappointing level of representation. The under representation and relative absence of women, of First Nation people, and of visible minorities on the GLSL Round Table is visually evident in Figure 4.1.

Virtually all the GLSL Round Table members were from the North (i.e., from the actual planning region), although Gerry Hunnius might reasonably be thought of as a southerner, having only recently retired to Bancroft; and the MNR Representative, Gord Rogers, lived in Peterborough (see Appendix 5). According to one GLSL Round Table member: “There was a dictum in place from the Minister that, number one, all Round Table members have to be residents in the Great Lakes St.-Lawrence area...” (RT₁, 2001: 1) Certainly, this comment is consistent with the government’s publicly professed desire to appoint Round Table members who are “regional and local individuals.” (MNR, June 17, 1997) One Partnership representative further submitted: “They seemed to have a notion that our lands up there should be decided exclusively by people who live up there... That was a fundamental political mistake.” (ENGO₁, 2001: 2) In fact, in a press release, the government stated plainly: “Each Round Table member must reside in the region he or she represents.” (MNR, June 17, 1997) By privileging those who are local to the planning region in composing the GLSL Round Table,

Figure 4.1: Great Lakes – St. Lawrence Round Table



Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Round Table

Source: Ministry of Natural Resources, February 1998b, GLSL Tabloid Number 3

the government implicitly deemed them to have a more legitimate say in determining the future of Ontario's Crown lands.

Several Round Table members, including Gerry Hunnius, Barb Boland, Bob Gray, and Glen Crombie (at least according to their published backgrounds), seemed to possess a bent toward conservation. However, the remaining nine members possessed close ties to resource extraction (forestry, mining, hydro-electric development) and/or resource use (tourism, hunting and fishing, trapping, etc.). (Again, see Appendix 5 for corroborating evidence.) Interestingly, scientists such as conservation biologists or landscape ecologists (whose backgrounds might seem relevant to the task of planning for complex ecosystems) were notably absent. Thus, in spite of the government's discourse of inclusion and broad representation, critics alleged that the government biased the public process by predominantly selecting GLSL Round Table members who were industry representatives and/or affiliates. Weis and Krajnc critiqued the process as flawed, arguing: "Each of the round tables was heavily stacked by the Tories to favour logging, mining and hunting interests." (Weis and Krajnc, 1999: 37)

When the government determined that the terms of reference for Round Table members would include not just consulting the public, but also representing sectoral interests, they further skewed the process. According to one Round Table member, *some* Round Table members acted and voted autonomously, i.e., they

operated without undue influence. For instance, this Round Table member insisted: "...I was, de facto, completely independent." (RT₁, 2001: 1) However, he further posited that not all Round Table members acted autonomously, and some "directly represented an organization" and, ultimately, "took their marching orders almost on a daily basis by telephone..." (RT₁, 2001: 1) Thus, Round Table membership was not only geographically restricted, but also ideologically influenced.

In particular, the Round Table member interviewed noted Mike Barker's ongoing ties to the forest industry. He reflected: "...Mike Barker was on the phone all the time. If something controversial came up, he wanted to know how he should argue the case." (RT₁, 2001: 3) He further submitted that some Round Table members such as Barker were paid by their respective organizations to promote pro-industry views. Such payment and ongoing affiliation, he noted, could not help but influence the way an individual voted. In the end, he disapproved: "So that's something that I think should not have happened." (RT₁, 2001: 2)

Certainly, this account directly contradicts an earlier Round Table discussion on the issue of representation, wherein Round Table members were described as possessing "multi-faceted interests" in different "types of activity," rather than acting "as representatives of organizations." (GLSL Round Table minutes of August 19, 1997) However, the issue of GLSL Round Table members consulting

with their ‘constituencies’ prior to making decisions arose again during subsequent deliberations. At this point, the Round Table concluded that such consultations ought to take place “in a timely manner.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of May 5, 1998)

The discussion of members acting as sectoral representatives in and of itself raises the question of Round Table accountability. Were Round Table members attempting, to the extent that it is possible, to listen impartially and “consult the public,” or were they merely lobbying for their respective ‘constituencies’? Since the government did in fact charge them with both tasks (recall the initial terms of reference), they placed these individuals in a direct conflict of interest. It is unrealistic to think that an individual can concurrently represent the interests of a particular constituency, and also seek public input in a meaningful way. Of course, this does not negate an understanding of Round Table members as necessarily situated, but rather questions the ability of an individual to reconcile a specific accountability (to the sector in which they are currently employed) with a general public accountability.

The fuller implications of Barker’s ties to the forest industry became apparent in Round Table deliberations over proposed conservation reserves. According to one Round Table member, Barker would first determine the market value of the forest in question. The Round Table member posited: “In most instances he would say: ‘No, that’s too big. We’ll have to take 120 hectares off [for example,

a 600 hectare plot of land] or the whole thing is out of the question.” (RT₁, 2001: 3) Having scrutinized the minutes of the GLSL Round Table meetings, Barker’s own comments corroborate this Round Table member’s allegation. Barker urged Round Table members to restrict their decisions to “proposals that do not have an economic impact” and delay those with potential impacts “until an analysis is completed.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of June 9, 1998) According to the Round Table member interviewed, other members also took issue with Barker’s approach. He felt they were “... always fighting a rear-guard action.” (ibid.) Rather than first identifying which environmental values needed to be protected, they would begin by looking at forestry and mining interests. This interviewee and another Round Table member eventually “rang the bell on that” and declared the situation unacceptable. (ibid.)

Nevertheless, Barker’s presence and persistence posed a serious epistemological bias. As illustrated above, he actively attempted to limit new protected areas to those that had little economic impact. He also attempted to defer the creation of new parks by insinuating that more, presumably scientific, analysis needed to be completed. To the extent he was successful, he narrowed the terms of reference, reduced complex land use decisions to purely economic ones, and precluded the adoption of an ecosystem approach. His participation on the GLSL Round Table proved a successful strategy in terms of defending

industrial interests by normalizing an economic and reductionist construction of Crown land.

Other Round Table members also seemed closed to the notion of environmental protection, invoking negative characterizations of environmentalists. To wit, GLSL Round Table member, Frank Tagliamonte, took issue with the “doomsday scenarios” offered by “environmental groups.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of January 27, 1998) And, at a later date, he reflected on what he perceived to be a “paranoia with protection,” arguing there are “too many restrictions,” and, for the “need to be innovative.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of May 12, 1998) By characterizing the visions put forward by environmentalists as paranoid, restrictive, doomsday scenarios, Tagliamonte attempts to discredit and dismiss their concerns altogether.

Instead, Tagliamonte drew on discourses that effectively greenwashed industry, supporting: “environmentally sound mineral exploration methods” as well as the “use of wetlands for purification of mine tailings” and the “most up-to-date technological advances to support land use planning decisions.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of January 27, 1998) By framing his vision in this way, he draws on modernist discourses of science and technology as up-to-date and environmentally sound. His allusions also imply that nature can withstand industrial assaults.

Instead, Tagliamonte viewed the region as “a vast wilderness area” and “one gigantic wetland teeming with wildlife.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of June 9, 1998) He further argued: “This vast, sparsely populated land mass comprises approximately one-quarter of the province of Ontario and contains the largest de facto wilderness of any political jurisdiction on earth.” (ibid.) Clearly, this description makes it seem as if these resources, and wilderness areas in general, are teeming with wildlife, abundant and inexhaustible. The logical extension of such a characterization is that the area in general, and its non-human inhabitants in particular, does not require protection. However, his description fails to account for an already fragmented landscape in which countless species are threatened or endangered.²

Next, without doubt, certain presentations carried more weight than others did. Generally, the Round Table accorded the views of those living in the South less significance than those living in the North (i.e., those who were local to the planning area). For instance, following a public consultation in Toronto, Tagliamonte characterized the testimony of a group of students as passionate, but ultimately, he felt they were “misinformed.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 28, 1997) GLSL Round Table member, Richard Fillion, following the same consultation, summarized: “The overwhelming theme was that they want

² For more information on the 21 species at risk in Ontario’s boreal forest, go to: <http://www.rom.on.ca/ontario/risk.php?region=3> (Royal Ontario Museum, 2006)

Ontario kept green and free of exploitation. Southern Ontario looks upon these parts of Northern Ontario as a place of recreation.” (ibid.) Thus, Round Table members portrayed southern concern as pure self-interest—the desire to keep the North “pristine” so that it may continue to be enjoyed for vacations and recreational purposes. They further portrayed southerners as fundamentally out of touch with, and unsympathetic to, the economic reality faced by those living in the area. In so doing, they created a dichotomy between northern and southerners, reinforcing both existing and perceived tensions.

Conversely, Filion commented on the number of “genuine people using or making a living on the land” who are coming forward. Implicit here is an assumption that those who are not directly deriving their livelihood from the land are less genuine in this context. Barker also posited: “The presentations that mean the most are those that are personal and come from the heart.” He also felt the Round Table was “...hearing directly from those in the community, which is important.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 28, 1997) And perhaps most telling, Barker felt they were “getting solutions from small town[s].” He stated: “In larger centres there seems to be a knowledge problem.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of November 11, 1997) Again, some Round Table members portrayed those in urban centers as misinformed; their views were considered less legitimate, less heartfelt than those living in communities reliant on resource extraction. Conversely, Filion and Barker privileged the testimony of those from

smaller, northern communities as authentic, genuine, personal and heartfelt. Of course, the strategy of categorizing intervenors in regional (North/South) terms, is itself a device to divide and conquer. The dichotomy reinforces existing and perceived tensions, and falsely—but effectively—homogenizes interests into North/South categories, erasing differences within both.

Yet another GLSL Round Table member, Rob Keen, resisted the emphasis placed on conservation, challenging: “[The] Partnership’s analysis is more of an intuitive analysis not scientific.” He further questioned: “Why are we putting so much emphasis on Scenario 4?”³ (GLSL Round Table minutes of May 19, 1998) Keen’s comments not only belied his own bias against conservation, but also represented an obvious attempt to dismiss the ideas put forward by Partnership ENGOs by characterizing them as lacking rigor, i.e. as being non-scientific and intuitive. In Foucauldian terms, Keen is attempting to subjugate, and thus dismiss, the knowledge offered by the Partnership—to characterize it as naïve and insufficiently scientific. (Foucault, 1980: 82) As illustrated above, this represents an element of the political technology employed not just by Keen, but also by Barker, Tagliamonte and Filion.

Comments by GLSL Round Table Chair, Bob Gray, indicate that he was aware of the bias inherent in the Round Table. To this end, he critically summarized:

³ Scenario 4 was a detailed land-use planning map, put forward by the Partnership, advocating 15-20 percent protection.

The forest and mining industries have asserted, without feeling the need to provide any evidence, that any and all land allocations to non-industrial uses are unacceptable and constitute a threat to their immediate economic viability. The Round Tables themselves have been captured by this mood and have focused the vast majority of their attention at avoiding immediate conflict with powerful industrial interests. (Gray, June 8, 1998)

Clearly, in spite of its discourse of objectivity and multiple representation, for the most part, the government appointed Round Table committee members whose interests/ perspectives closely allied with industry (broadly interpreted). In this way, the government privileged a hegemonic discourse of Crown land.

Who would be consulted?

The government exercised power in this process not only by deciding *who* would do the consulting, but also by deciding *who* would be consulted. Originally, the government instructed the Round Tables to limit their consultations to their respective planning areas. They framed this decision as a desire to consult those who would be most deeply impacted by the decisions. To this end, they announced: “*Lands for Life* puts the development of strategies for the protection and use of natural resources in the hands of those who live and work in three Ontario planning areas...” (MNR, June 17, 1997) As one Round Table member recalled: “...we were to have our information sessions restricted to the Great Lakes St-Lawrence region. That was where we were to seek input.” (RT₁, 2001:

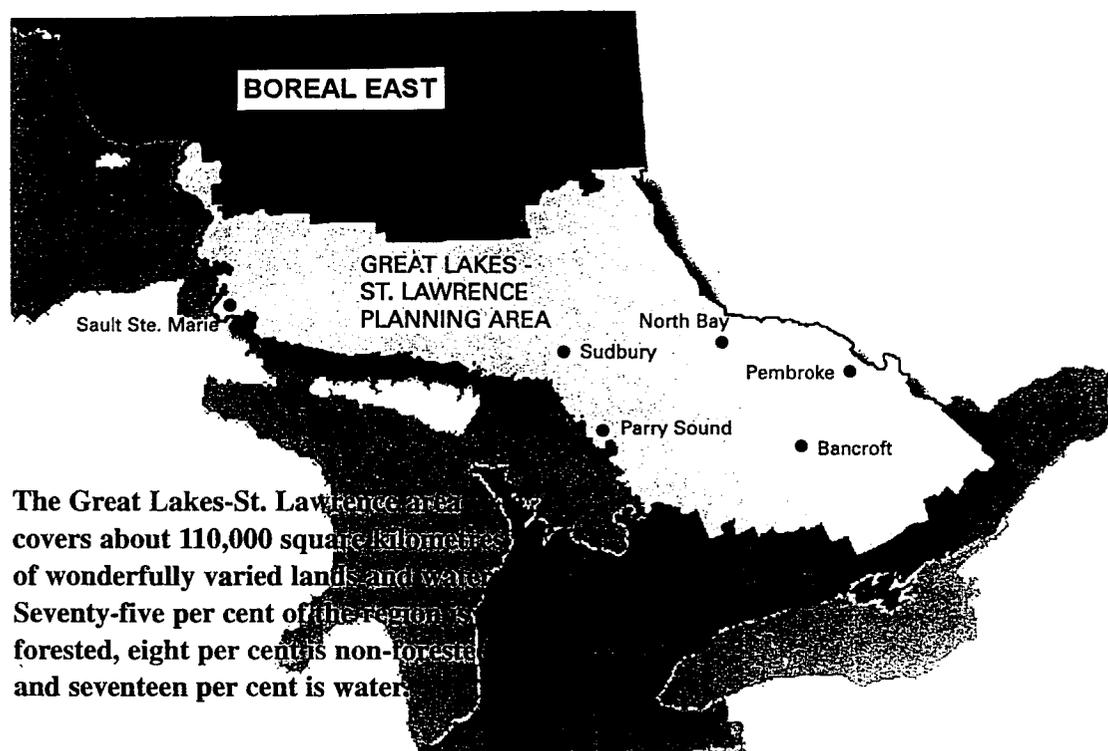
1) It is also important to note that Minister Hodgson asked the Round Tables to

“consult with Aboriginal people on their involvement in the process.” (MNR, October 1998: 11) However, First Nation peoples argued that these discussions did not constitute meaningful consultation (a subject Chapter 5 deals with at length).

Figure 4.2 details the locations of the GLSL Round Table public consultations. Appendix 1 also provides a comprehensive list of the public consultations that took place, and their corresponding locations. By soliciting input mainly from northern residents who were local to the actual planning regions (many of whose livelihoods would be derived either directly or indirectly from Crown land), some were deemed to have a more legitimate say in determining the fate of Ontario's Crown lands. Here, northerners were privileged over southerners. In fact, the government attempted to exclude the input of those living south of the planning area. One Partnership representative believed the government's efforts to exclude the South from consultation were “deliberate”—attempts to create “a ‘made in the North’ policy.” (ENGO₁, 2001: 2)

Certainly, the notion that those with close material and spiritual ties to the land should decide on the fate of the land holds tremendous philosophical appeal. As Wallace and Knight reflect: “If humanity consists of communities of people within their biophysical setting, in their ‘place’, then the identification of value in a regional environment must be accompanied by a recognition of value in the lives of those who inhabit it.” (Wallace and Knight, 1996: 94)

Figure 4.2: Location of Great-Lakes St. Lawrence Public Consultations



Source: Ministry of Natural Resources, February 1998a.

In fact, several northern residents made a plea to the Round Tables to take the needs of local communities into account. During the public consultations, concerned citizen Dianne Isaacs declared: “The position of [local] residents should have greater weight than those of urban populations.” Isaacs explained that local residents will be “more affected” and, ultimately have “few professional lobbyists” to advance their cause. (GLSL Round Table minutes of March 27, 1998) Similarly, the Mayor of Sturgeon Falls, Gary O'Connor, asserted: “The needs of the local economy and the residents of Northern Ontario must be considered by the Round Table.” He also claimed: “Community based decision-making is key to the future.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 16, 1998) Hugh Clark expressed the general sentiment of people who felt *Lands for Life* threatened their livelihood: “Ordinary citizens are lost in this process.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of November 25, 1997) And Vince Auger, owner of a Temagami area forestry operation, spoke “on behalf of the ‘little guy’.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 27, 1998) These actors invoked the seemingly inherent legitimacy of local community residents to have their concerns privileged in the consultation process. In fact, representing northern residents as the underdogs seems to have spurred the Round Table to protect the interests of Vince Auger’s ‘little guy’ and Hugh Clark’s ‘ordinary citizens’. Such testimony calls implicitly on a discourse of social justice, and privileges local, northern residents in the construction of Crown land.

Some groups even attempted, unsuccessfully, to have their land base exempted from the planning process, opting for a more local decision-making process. For example, Pat Ross (Share the Lands Alliance of Algoma) requested that the Algoma/North Shore area be exempt from *Lands for Life*. Instead, she wanted the MNR to “facilitate a more local decision making process for this area, involving all users.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 8, 1998) However, this, and other such attempts to localize power, failed.

Clearly, northern residents have unique stakes in the outcomes of decisions affecting their region, and for this reason, the voices of people living in situ might justifiably be privileged. However, many argued that they ought not to have been privileged to the extent they were, particularly in the context of Crown lands. John Cartwright reasoned: “While there was a certain logic in holding the hearings in those areas where the impact of land use decisions would be most heavily felt, the fact remained that Crown lands were the property of *all* Ontario citizens...” (Cartwright, 2002) Thus, if Crown land is constructed as common property, then many felt the GLSL Round Table limited excessively the concerns voiced by groups based in the South.

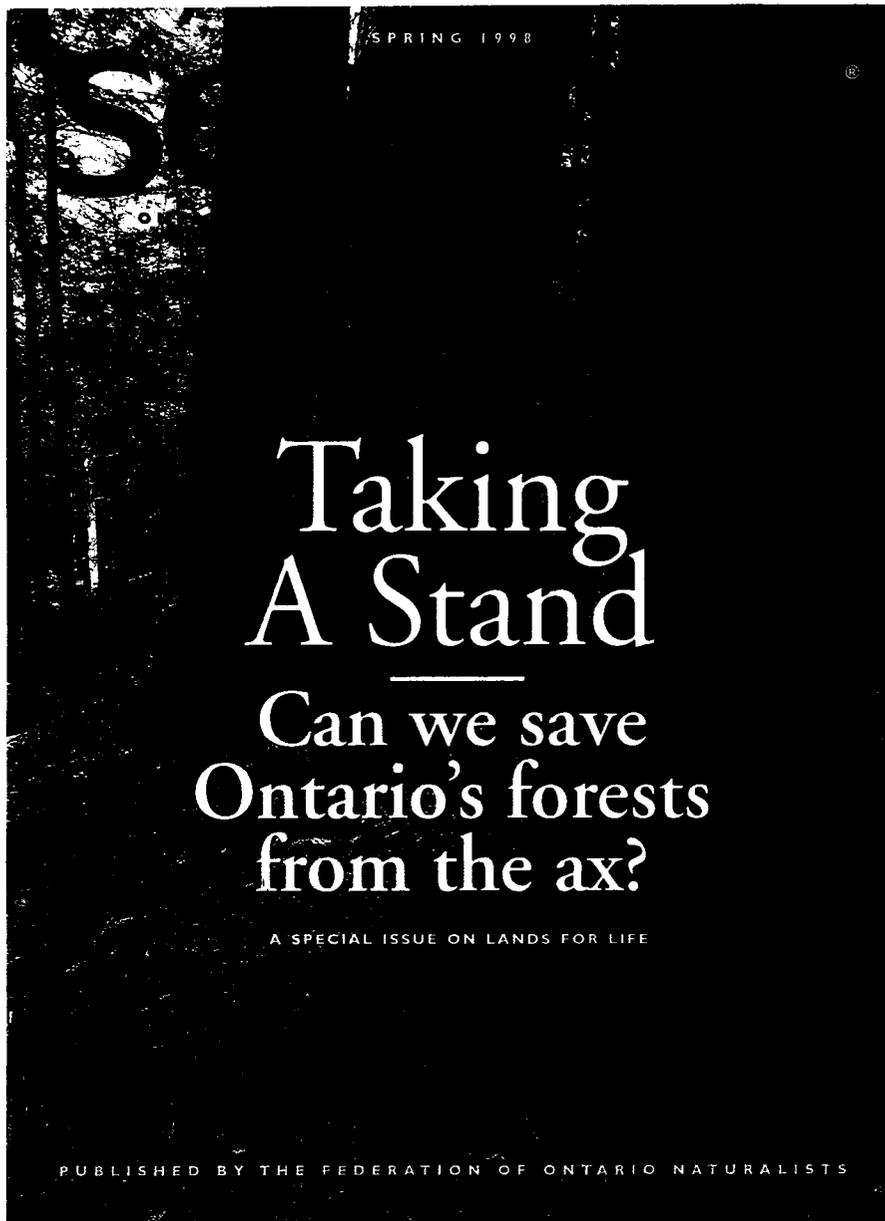
In fact, it was not until the Partnership and other ENGOs mounted significant opposition that the government expanded the geographic scope of their consultations southward. Specifically, the Partnership raised public awareness by

devoting an issue of *Seasons* magazine⁴ to *Lands for Life*. Specifically, they encouraged the public to “Take a Stand,” and to “save Ontario’s forests from the ax.” (Federation of Ontario Naturalists, 1998) (See Figure 4.3) They stressed “what’s at stake,” noting the ecological significance of the Crown lands at risk. Here, they referred to “Ontario’s rich biological and geological diversity,” its “few remaining old-growth forests,” wetlands and wilderness areas. They further stressed the urgency of the initiative: “*Lands for Life* is happening now and it’s happening fast...” (ibid.) (See Figure 4.4) The Partnership also published pamphlets, aimed again at mobilizing public support, eliciting proprietary interest by constructing Crown land as common property, hence the slogan: “It’s Your Land”. (See Figure 4.5)

One Partnership representative, explained: “After some prodding they held a few token hearings [in the South]. We actually forced them to, but in the end, it was not very many...” (ENGO₁ 2001: 2) Another environmental advocate similarly asserted: “Southern consultations occurred only after the Sierra Club of Canada, Animal Alliance, and Earthroots got Eva Ligeti [then Ontario’s Environmental Commissioner] involved.” (ENGO₄, 2001: 1) Without active ENGO involvement, coupled with Ligeti’s support, consultations would surely have been restricted to the north—to the very planning regions themselves.

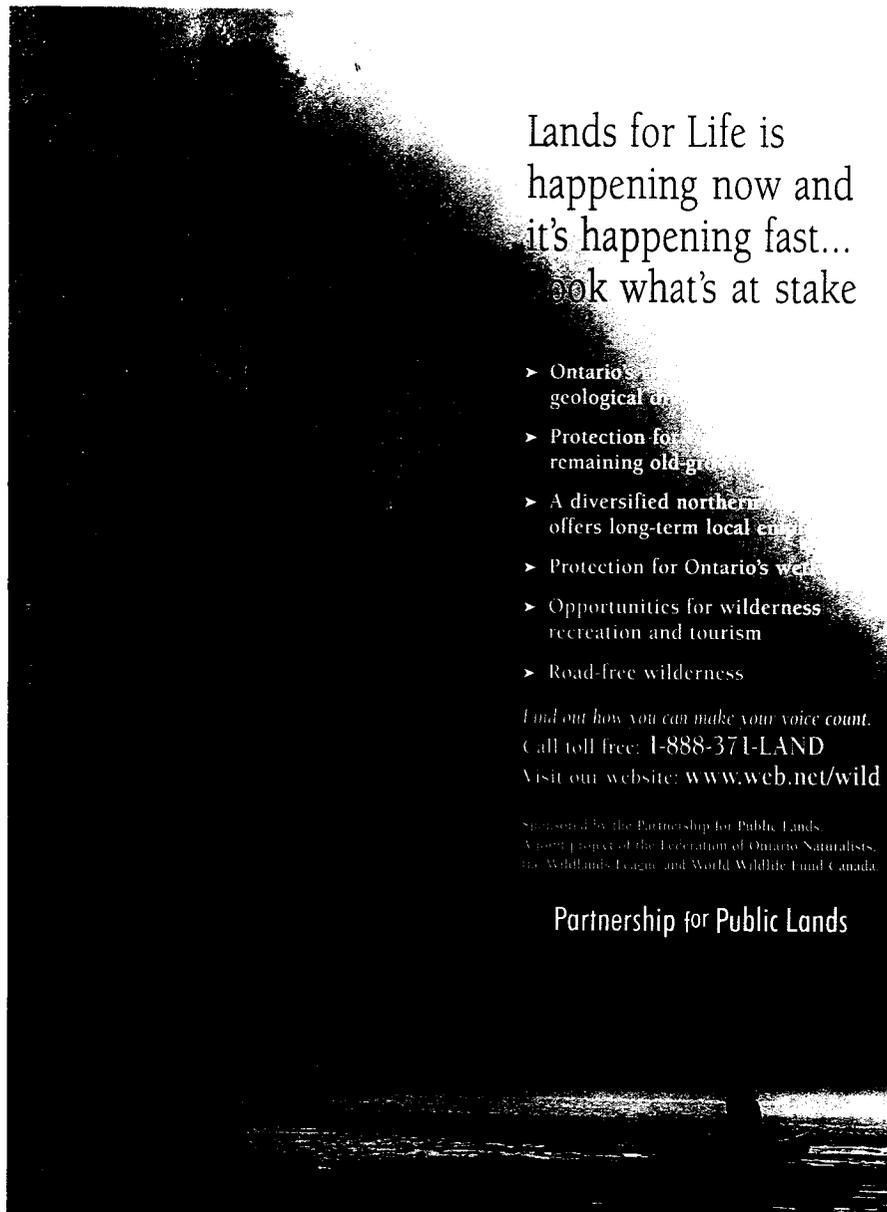
⁴ *Seasons* is a quarterly magazine, published by the Federation of Ontario Naturalists.

Figure 4.3: Seasons: Taking a Stand



Source: Federation of Ontario Naturalists, 1998: 38:1

Figure 4.4: *Lands for Life* is happening now...



Lands for Life is
happening now and
it's happening fast...
Look what's at stake

- ▶ Ontario's
geological diversity
- ▶ Protection for
remaining old-growth
- ▶ A diversified northern
offers long-term local employment
- ▶ Protection for Ontario's wetlands
- ▶ Opportunities for wilderness
recreation and tourism
- ▶ Road-free wilderness

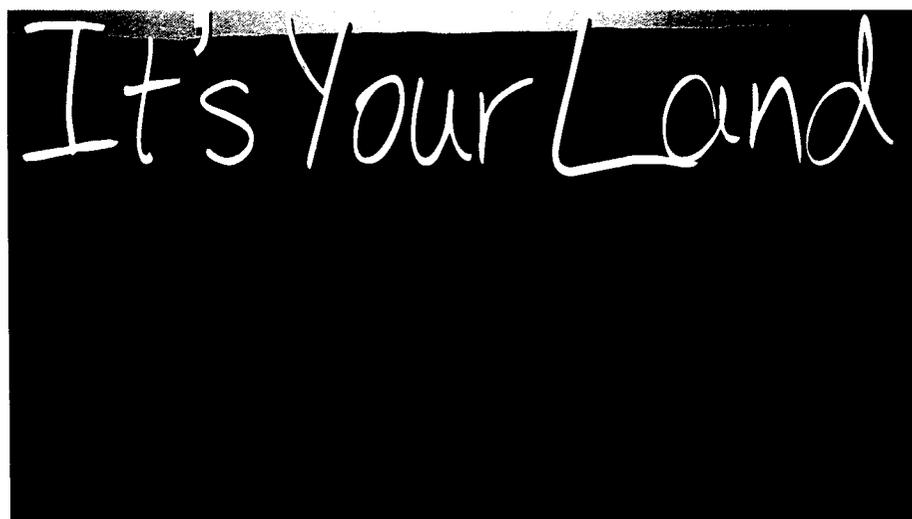
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Sponsored by the Partnership for Public Lands.
A joint project of the Federation of Ontario Naturalists,
the Wildlands League, and World Wildlife Fund Canada.

Partnership for Public Lands

Source: Federation of Ontario Naturalists, 1998: 38:1

Figure 4.5: It's Your Land



COMPLETING ONTARIO'S SYSTEM OF PARKS AND PROTECTED AREAS



THE CALL OF A LOON, the fleeting glimpse of a caribou, the majesty of a white pine towering above the forest canopy, the fragile remains of our ancient history —these are the sights and sounds of our wild places, our natural heritage. These lands also contain other values important to our society and First Nations, such as forestry and mining industries, tourism and recreation opportunities, a livelihood for many people, and spiritual, cultural or historical values.

Our desire to protect our natural heritage and our need to exploit it are often in conflict. But if we do not use our 'natural capital' in ways that also preserve it for the future, our 'renewable resources' will cease to renew themselves and our wilderness and natural areas will disappear. We must protect our natural environment for future, as well as present, generations to enjoy.

The Ontario government has introduced a land-use planning process, called Lands for Life, that will decide how the public lands within a 46 million hectare area of central and northern Ontario will be used now and in the future. This process is determining land allocations for industrial and recreational uses, such as forestry, mining and tourism, and allocations for the protection of our wilderness, wildlife and natural heritage.



Three regional Round Tables—Boreal East, Boreal West and Great Lakes-St. Lawrence — will recommend Regional Land Use Strategies to the Minister of Natural Resources in June 1998. NOW IS THE TIME for you to speak forcefully on behalf of our natural heritage and influence the Lands for Life process.

Partnership for Public Lands



Source: Partnership for Public Lands, 1998.

One GLSL Round Table member remembered: “The Premier, and the government, undoubtedly in their wisdom, I would guess, came to the conclusion that it would not be politically wise to ignore this. And so we were given new marching orders to do selected cities in Southern Ontario.” (RT₁, 2001: 2) As a result, in July 1997, the GLSL Round Table discussed how best to “deal with those interested in planning for Crown lands who resided south of the planning area.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of July 8, 1997) In sum, only after a significant public outcry, led by ENGOs and supported by Ligeti, did the government extend their consultations to the South.

Certainly, some members of the Round Table embraced this move. For example, one Round Table member mused:

Halfway through, we were told to extend our interviews to Southern Ontario, because it was felt by a lot of people, apparently, and rightly so I think, that Crown lands are the property of all Ontarians, not just those living in the Great-Lakes St. Lawrence Region... (RT₁, 2001: 1)

Interestingly, this Round Table member constructs Crown land as property, a discursive practice employed by ENGOs and the government alike. However, he also recognized the limitations involved in the southern consultations that did take place, questioning: “How wide do you throw the net?” (RT₁, 2001: 1) In fact, consultations took place in Toronto (October 22nd), London (November 6th), Ottawa (November 17th), and Kingston (November 18th). (GLSL Round Table minutes of September 30, 1997) (See Figure 4.2) But as the Round Table

member further reflected: “Well, that doesn’t, of course, cover anything close to all of Southern Ontario. Why not Windsor? Why not Hamilton? ...” (RT₁, 2001:

1) And, as one environmentalist submitted: “Why not in every city with more than 100,000 people?” (ENGO₄, 2001: 1) Clearly, the government decided strategically what sized city/ town they considered worthy of consultation.

Although the decision to privilege large and medium-sized urban centres probably has more to do with logistics (the desire to hear from the largest segment of the population in light of limited funding), it forms a bias nonetheless.

Perhaps most telling is the overall breakdown of time spent consulting those in the North—in the actual planning regions—versus time spent consulting those in the South—in the remainder of Ontario south of the GLSL planning region. On April 6, 1998, a member of the audience directly inquired into the Round Table’s allocation of time. The Round Table responded: “In the North—approximately 8 months, in the South—approximately 3 weeks.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 6, 1998) Similarly, when another audience member asked: “Will northerners determine the outcome of *Lands for Life*?” The answer was a resounding: “Yes.” (ibid.)

Southerners put forward a counter-discourse that actively challenged the sole legitimacy of northerners to decide the fate of Ontario’s Crown lands. As one environmentalist held: “As somebody who lives in Toronto, I have as much right to enjoy the forest outside of Kenora, as somebody who lives in Kenora.”

(ENGO₄, 2001: 1) Similarly, Brian Byrnes, speaking in Toronto, emphasized that the interests and concerns of Ontarians not residing directly in the planning areas need to be addressed. (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 28, 1998) Perhaps southern concern belies a spatially extensive sense of identity that includes distant Crown lands?

Interestingly, a number of northerners also supported the right for southern Ontarian voices to be heard. For instance, David Pearson of Laurentian University affirmed: “*Lands for Life* needs to reinforce that all Ontarians have a right to be involved in planning Crown lands.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 9, 1998) Or, as one northern tourism advocate explained:

... The argument that, ‘This person in Southern Ontario who works in an office tower has no right to tell me how this land should be used. I should be able to take my ATV and run it over, or catch as many fish out of my lake as I want. And if they don’t like it, they can stay away.’ ... This is not a good enough reason... We have a responsibility to every person in this country, not just the people who live in those communities. I think in some of those communities, the view can be quite narrow, and we have to protect ourselves against that. Not everyone in the North thinks that way. (NORTH₂, 2001: 2)

Certainly, this individual is expressing a spatially extensive sense of responsibility. Clearly, not all northerners wished to exclude southerners in the discussions over Crown lands. Many recognized the input from southerners as both legitimate and desirable (though the positionality of the speakers quoted above, an academic and a tourism advocate no doubt comes into play).

Premier Harris and Minister Hodgson purported to want protection for the sake of future generations, as a “guarantee that future generations will enjoy the wilderness and natural landscapes that are the defining characteristics of Ontario.” (MNR, February 27, 1997) Recall the list of stakeholders and interested parties identified by the government in their initial press releases. Most telling, perhaps, is the absence of youth on that list. Of course, most public consultation processes fail to consult adequately youth, and in this respect, *Lands for Life* was not at all unusual.

But surely, some argued, if our obligation to future generations is of concern, youth ought to have been consulted in this process. Several participants noted the absence of youth involvement. For example, in the consultations, public participant Jamie Moore critically asked the “Round Table about their efforts to solicit the input of youth.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 16, 1998) Another public participant, Lesley Adams, also noted the “absence of youth on [the] Round Tables,” and “described a petition supporting natural heritage protection undertaken by her teenage daughter.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 28, 1998)

During the consultations, the only youth input, readily identified, came from a young woman, Rebecca Hart, who purported to speak “on behalf of the youth of Ontario.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 28, 1998) And although her proclamation of representing all Ontario youth is obviously problematic, she

raised several concerns. First, she challenged the “short-term economic perspective of *Lands for Life*.” She also questioned “increased tenure for industrial use of the forest,” and emphasized the “need to have a long-term perspective for the future” so that future generations might have an “opportunity to experience the future magnificence of the forest.” Hart ultimately advocated a minimum of 17% protection. (ibid.) Hart’s testimony highlights the fear that current land-use decisions might preclude future generations from meeting their basic material needs, let alone experiencing the same levels of consumption currently enjoyed.

Similarly, others such as Eleanor Wellman of the Muskoka Field Naturalists advocated a long-term planning horizon in order to “protect our children’s future.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of September 30, 1997) Yet others foretold a future in which children would be precluded from experiences such as trekking through wild places, or viewing animals in their natural habitat. In an *Ottawa Citizen* article, Scott McKinlay proffered: “Our children will only visit such creatures [bears, wolves and caribou] in cyberspace and museums, and they will study them only in history class.” (McKinlay, November 27, 1998: B5)

The Canadian Environmental Law Association (CELA) similarly argued that long-term tenure amounts to an “enforceable economic right” (CELA, May 21, 1999) which may preclude future generations from protecting even more land, since the cost of buying out company tenures might prove too prohibitive.

They explained: “This is partly because the process for additional protection is vague and non-specific, while the forest industry is [guaranteed] ... present levels of fibre and wood supply, and without increased costs.” (CELA, May 21, 1999)

In constructing a counter-discourse, CELA held that inter-generational responsibility, as both a guiding principle and moral imperative, ought to be upheld by law. CELA argued that the government holds Crown lands in trust for all Ontarians, including future generations, as a matter of constitutional law. CELA advocate, Professor Noel Lyon, cogently argued that provinces bear the greatest responsibility to future generations, since the resources within their boundaries fall under their jurisdiction, and, as a result, Lyon stated that provinces should “play the dominant role in pursuing sustainability.” (CELA, May 21, 1999) He further submitted: “I will argue that public lands are held in trust for the benefit of the people, whose lands they are, and the terms of the trust are fixed, at least in general terms, by the *Charter*.” (ibid.)

Although CELA makes a convincing legal argument for the doctrine of public trust, and although the principle of inter-generational responsibility is certainly a noble one, it is, without doubt, a difficult principle to both enforce and operationalize. Moreover, Professor Lyon’s characterization of Crown land as “public land held in trust for the benefit of all the people” directly contradicts the commonly held construction of Crown land as property. CELA alluded to the normative nature of these challenges: “The three March 29, 1999 announcements

involve profound legal and value decisions. Among them is the question of the role of today's government in making long-term decisions for the use of Crown lands.” (CELA, May 21, 1999)

During the hearings, several others advocated a longer-term planning horizon. David Pearson of Laurentian University felt the process was being “rushed,” and advocated the adoption of a “long-term” and “adaptive” perspective—one that could not only respond to potential climate change, but could also incorporate new insights from the field of environmental science. (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 14, 1997) Clearly, social actors from a variety of perspectives invoked scientific insights to further their particular end. Similarly, Pat Potter of the Bancroft Field Naturalists argued that we did not currently have enough information to “commit resources to industry which we may require in the future.” Much like Pearson, she felt we “must maintain flexibility for the future.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of March 26, 1998) And finally, Bob Barnett of the Niagara Escarpment Biosphere Committee felt strongly that the government should “err on the side of caution”—something he (somewhat ironically) characterized as a “conservative approach.” Barnett also stressed the importance of seeing tangible improvements in environmental indicators every ten years. (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 28, 1998) All invoked precautionary discourses to legitimate their concerns. Pearson raised the specter of climate change, and the corresponding imperative to remain adaptable to unforeseen

impacts. Potter argued that in light of incomplete information, we should opt to maintain flexibility. And Barnett's testimony similarly embodied the *precautionary principle*—when faced with risk in an uncertain situation, it is better to take proactive measures to mitigate adverse outcomes.

What would they be asked?

In October 1998, the Ontario Government set the agenda for the Round Tables, and specifically, the Minister asked that special attention be paid to four key objectives: (1) “Completing Ontario’s system of provincial parks and other protected areas.” (2) “Recognizing the land use planning needs of the resource-based tourism industry.” (3) “Providing the forest, mining, and other resource industries with greater land and resource use certainty.” And (4) “Enhancing angling, hunting, and other Crown land recreation opportunities.” (MNR, October 1998: 11) In response to this mandate, the Round Tables developed three land use scenarios; each detailed a different percentage of protected land. They did so as if their sole purpose was to determine the percentage of Crown lands to be protected... provided it fell between the status quo—approximately 6 percent—and the minimum 15 percent put forward by the Partnership. Separate GLSL sub-committees were formed to discuss specific issues: forests; tourism; fish and wildlife; lands, waters and fires; and minerals (including aggregates).

Following Richardson et al., the government effectively confined discussion by intentionally framing, and limiting, the terms of reference. (Richardson et al., 1993: 11) Dreyfus and Rabinow explain that such political technologies normalize and totalize the political process. They state: “By determining what counts as a problem to be solved and what counts as a solution, they set up normal science and normal society as totalizing fields of activity which continually extend their range of prediction and control.” (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 198) Thus, the four objectives stated above were determined to be problems worthy of being solved. But other important objectives were notably absent from this list, namely, First Nation concerns over outstanding land claims and unresolved treaty rights, concerns over industrial forestry practices, and concerns over ecosystem integrity. Regardless of their importance or relevance to the discussion at hand, these concerns were deemed to lie outside of the terms of reference.

How would the public be consulted?

Next, the government exercised power in determining the parameters of *how* the public would be consulted. First, they imposed an initial deadline on the Round Tables of approximately one year for interim recommendations, after which a set of more detailed plans would be developed. In their news release, they stated: “The Round Tables will develop recommendations on a land use strategy for each region that will be presented to the Minister by mid-1998. After that the second

phase of *Lands for Life* will begin in the fall of 1998, when decisions from the Round Tables will be used to develop detailed plans.” (MNR, June 17, 1997) On January 30, 1998, Minister Snobelen announced that the deadline for Round Table recommendations would be extended from March to the end of June 1998 due to what he characterized as an “overwhelming response” to the process. (MNR, January 30, 1998) He further argued: “Allowing more time will enhance the process because the round tables have hundreds of submissions to consider.” (ibid.)

In spite of this extension, many felt that the abbreviated time frame for consultation was inappropriately short, given the massive scale of the endeavor. One environmentalist invoked democratic principles in an effort to have the timeline extended: “A process which will determine the fate of half the province in two years is undemocratic.” (ENGOs, 2001: 3) Interestingly, British Columbia’s Commission of Resources and the Environment conducted multi-stakeholder land use planning exercises during the early 1990s in various regions of the province over a similar, though slightly longer, period of time.⁵

Others such as then Environmental Commissioner for Ontario, Eva Ligeti, and CELA felt the period for public comment on the announcements of March 29,

⁵ Regional plans in British Columbia have subsequently given way to sub-regional land and management resource plans “which, due to their smaller geographic scale, provide a better fit for the public involvement and shared decision-making.” (Ministry of Sustainable Resource Management, 2003)

1999 was inadequate considering the “long term, far ranging impacts” of the announcements. (CELA, May 21, 1999) Ligeti also “... called for a re-posting of the announcements on the Environmental Bill of Rights registry for comment because many of the announcements [such as the Forest Accord] made on March 29, 1999 were not included in the original posting.” (CELA, May 21, 1999) In so doing, Ligeti sought to invoke legal instruments to ensure governmental accountability.

In a similar vein, First Nation participants John Beaucage of the Wasauksing First Nation, Sam Kewaquado of the Shawanaga First Nation, and Dwayne Nashkawa of the Union of Ontario Indians (UOI): “...raised concerns over the rushed nature of the process.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of September 30, 1997) Moreover, they collectively “urged that there be time for ‘sober second thought’,” warning: “A wrong decision can take generations to undo.” (ibid.) Thus, both environmentalists and First Nation participants employed precautionary discourses in an attempt to lengthen the consultation process, but to no avail.

Even the GLSL Round Table members were acutely aware of the time constraints they were under. They discussed how to “meaningfully involve the public in this short time frame,” (GLSL Round Table minutes of July 8, 1997) recognizing that: “...due to the short time for making decisions it will be difficult to build in ‘standard’ consultation approaches.” (ibid.) They also considered

dividing the Round Table, so that not all members would be obliged to attend each meeting. However: “A concern was expressed with this approach... that all ‘sectors’ would not be represented at the public meetings.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of September 9, 1997) Clearly, their need to ensure sectoral presence at each meeting reveals a politics of representation rather than a desire to optimize consultation.

GLSL Round Table deliberations revealed committee members’ personal feelings over the rushed nature of the consultations in general, and over the challenge of reviewing (within the time constraints) individual site designations in particular. Richard Filion joked: “I used to have a dental practice, now I don’t have time to even brush my own teeth.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of May 12, 1998) Mike Barker attested: “[He] felt a great deal of pressure to hurry to make decisions he wasn’t comfortable making.” (ibid.) Gerry Hunnius expressed frustration over the “time element.” And similarly, Rob Keen affirmed: “Time frame is a concern.” (ibid.) As one Round Table member summarized: “One fairly unanimous feeling amongst all of the Round Table members was that the time table was not realistic. This government has had, and still has, a reputation for doing things really, really fast.” (RT₁, 2001: 4) Thus, Round Table members characterized the timeline as rushed, inadequate and unrealistic, and, as a result, they felt frustrated and pressured.

According to Laurie Adkin: “The length of the consultation period is a contested issue in almost every regulatory process.” (Adkin, 1998b: 62) She further explains that: “The significance is that the citizens’ and environmental groups view an inadequate period for study and consultation as a government tactic to limit their input, as well as their ability to mobilize public opinion.” (ibid.)

Indeed, Tony Weis and Anita Krajnc used strong language in their critique: “...the Harris government used an unfair, unrepresentative blitzkrieg approach. This ensured that the process would be hijacked by industrial interests.” (Weis and Krajnc, 1999: 37) Certainly, at the Round Table meetings I attended, industrial interests (i.e., forestry, mining, and so on) were able to rally considerable support on short notice, to produce glossy materials, and to offer slick video presentations—no doubt thanks to in-house public relations. Conversely, the short time line seemed to hamper the efforts of smaller, poorly funded ENGOs (the Partnership notwithstanding) to generate public interest and outrage over the process. Again, the discrepancy here speaks to Foucault's *differentiations* in the ability to act. (Foucault, 1983, 223) However, although the time frame may have been consciously designed to achieve such objectives, no doubt it was at least partly dictated by the Harris government’s desire to campaign for re-election on the heels of the *Ontario’s Living Legacy* announcement.

The government also exercised power in selecting the type of forum in which consultations would take place. Certainly, the formality of the hearings might well have intimidated some—preventing them from expressing their views. Consider the locations and venues in which the consultations took place. For example, in Ottawa, consultations took place in the upscale, Westin Hotel, and in the somewhat large and daunting, Nepean Sportsplex. The dress code and demeanor of most Round Table members, coupled with the time limits imposed on public input, added to the formality of the process. Participants spoke into a microphone, and were obliged to address not just the Round Table, but the entire audience. Of course, many people are uncomfortable presenting their views publicly to a room full of spectators. Moreover, the audience sometimes heckled those who supported protection, no doubt pre-empting and silencing others from making similar statements.

Foucault would call such disciplinary technologies “meticulous rituals of power.” (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 192) These rituals enable “the exercise of power with limited manpower [sic]” by involving all those who “come into contact with the apparatus” in its functioning. (ibid.) Thus, hundreds of participants tacitly consented to the structure of the consultations, and to the protocol involved in soliciting public testimony. By normalizing such protocols, a dozen (or so) Round Table members were able to conduct consultations regarding a hotly contested question with a minimum of overt discord. To

question the format of the consultations publicly would have been to expose oneself to ridicule, since most participants accepted the normalcy of proceeding and engaging in the process in the prescribed ways.

Next, the Round Table differentiated their treatment of participants, depending on their political views, privileging some over others. To an astute observer, this belied their “mask of neutrality.” (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 193) At times, Round Table members seemed attentive, particularly during the multi-media presentations offered by industry. At other times, some members seemed completely uninterested in the testimony—reading the newspaper, dozing off, or staring into space. As one environmentalist approached the microphone, she heard a Round Table member quip: “At least this one is good looking”—clearly an inappropriate and offensive though not inaccurate comment.

How would the public be notified?

Another aspect of *how* the public would be consulted involved determining the ways in which they would be notified. The government established various channels beyond the actual consultations through which they sought to solicit input from, and communicate with, the public. First, on October 9, 1997, Minister Hodgson announced the creation of 13 GLSL Round Table reading

rooms⁶—places where the public could consult governmental documents by appointment. Hodgson concurrently announced the creation of a *Lands for Life* Internet site. (MNR, October 9, 1997a). He stated: “This is the latest step in our efforts to ensure that people have access to information about *Lands for Life*.” (MNR, October 9, 1997b) Concerned citizens who did not have home Internet access were instructed as follows: “For those who don't have Internet access at home, computers with links to the Internet are available in various public buildings, such as libraries and schools.” (ibid.) According to the Round Tables, the web site proved an effective mechanism through which to disseminate information: “Visits to this site peaked between 1,000 to 2,000 a day.” (MNR, October 1998: 13)

In addition, Round Tables explained other ways in which they sought to consult the public and publicize their efforts: through news releases⁷, speaking engagements, invitations to special interest groups, sectoral and community workshops, provincial reading rooms, and a toll-free telephone line. (MNR, October 1998: 13) In their *Consolidated Recommendations* report, the Round Table cited various statistics in support of the breadth of consultation that did take

⁶ GLSL Round Table reading room locations included: Sault Ste. Marie, Blind River, Sudbury, Espanola, North Bay, Parry Sound, Bracebridge, Bancroft, Minden, Pembroke, Kemptville, Peterborough and Kingston.

⁷ The GLSL Round Table issued seven news releases, between October 8, 1997 and February 27, 1998. (D:\lfl-english\gls\publications.html)

place. For example, of the 66,000 planning options tabloids (each of which included a detailed workbook, to be completed), 7,000 workbooks were returned. (ibid.: 2) Moreover, the cumulative mailing list of the three Round Tables totaled 17,000, and some fifteen thousand people attended a total of 95 public meetings. (ibid.: 2)

According to the GLSL Round Table: “It was recognized that communications, through the media, would be an important tool in dealing with the public south of the planning area.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of July 8, 1997) Advance public notice was sent to all those who had previously attended Round Table meetings (whose addresses had been recorded), all members of the Provincial Forum, all southern Ontario residents on regional mailing lists, and all previous presenters. Notice was also given in the form of newspaper advertisements, television and radio interviews. (GLSL Round Table minutes of January 27, 1998)

According to the Round Tables, they gave “top priority” to: “disseminating planning information and proposals as widely as possible, and ensuring the broadest possible public involvement and response.” (MNR, October 1998: 12) By stressing the breadth of consultations, and by focusing on the sheer number of people consulted, the MNR put forward a hegemonic discourse that framed the consultations as the largest and most extensive to date in Ontario history.

Moreover, they drew on democratic discourses to frame the significance of the process. Specifically, they asserted: “Any process in which thousands of Ontarians debate how our lands and resources can best contribute to our environmental, social, and economic well-being is as important for the health of our democracy as for the plans it produces.” (ibid.: 13) As political scientist, John Cartwright, points out: “As an exercise in public participation, these meetings exceeded most expectations.” (Cartwright, 2003: 123)

In spite of the volume of written public feedback generated, Round Table members acknowledged limitations in actually reviewing this input. On January 15, 1998, committee members discussed whether they ought to “individually or collectively review all pieces of public correspondence received through the planning process...” (GLSL Round Table minutes of January 13, 1998) Rather than reviewing each and every submission, they opted instead for a strategy whereby they would be provided with “an abbreviated ‘content and issue analysis’” so that they could “selectively choose which correspondence (issue, location, other) they wish to access.” (ibid.) Though it might well have proven logistically unfeasible to review each and every piece of correspondence, this pre-selection by Round Table members of relevant content forms an obvious bias. However, the impact of this bias remains undetermined, since to uncover it would require interviewing each Round Table member—a task that lies beyond the scope of this thesis.

Many critics expressed deep concern over the lack of public awareness in southern Ontario, especially given the importance of the initiative. Tom Spears, in *The Ottawa Citizen*, challenged the government's promise to distribute the plan widely: "Some 15,000 people were supposed to get copies of the plan, but the government has instead told them they'll have to look it up." (Spears, November 24, 1998)

Moreover, the process received relatively little media coverage, thus ensuring the general public remained largely unaware of the enormity and consequences of the undertaking. For instance, throughout the process, and retrospectively, I actively scanned for reports, and, in the end, found very little. Susan Fisher offered a similar lament in *The Ottawa Citizen*: "I am puzzled by the *Citizen's* lack of attention to the very crucial *Lands for Life* process. Although it has been under way for more than a year and deeply concerns every person in Ontario, most residents still know nothing about it." (Fisher, November 30, 1998: C5) Fisher attributed the lack of public awareness to both "stingy media coverage" and inadequate efforts on the part of the government to notify the public: "Our government has not worked hard enough to alert people." (ibid.)

A Partnership representative similarly characterized the media coverage as follows: "The publicity was nominal, so we assumed that it was intentional." (ENGO₁, 2001: 2) He further submitted that in spite of the Partnership's ongoing efforts to publicize the issues—including numerous news releases and briefs—

coverage remained “modest,” “it just didn’t register.” (ibid.) He explained: “The whole World Wildlife Fund communications group helped us, but it didn’t generate much awareness outside the conservation community... but we built a great electronic network of supporters by email, list serve and our Internet alerts.” (ENGO₁, 2001: 2) In *The Toronto Star*, Ian Urquhart confirmed: “That it [*Lands for Life*] remains one of the more obscure policy initiatives of the Harris government is not for want of trying by the environmentalists.” (Urquhart, December 17, 1998)

As a result, the level of public awareness around *Lands for Life* remained quite low. A Partnership representative cited this statistic: “By August of 1998..., our polling showed that only 11 percent of people south of French River had any idea of what *Lands for Life* was about.” (ENGO₁, 2001: 2) Stated differently, 89 percent of the bulk of Ontario’s southern population remained unaware of the largest land use planning process in Canadian history.

Certainly, the media exerted its power in the usual ways: by choosing whether or not to cover the issue; by framing the debate in a particular light; by selecting those with the most extreme, and thus newsworthy, views to interview; by privileging certain opinions; by characterizing certain groups and individuals, and so on. However, in spite of a few notable exceptions (see Mackie 1998-1999; Mittelstaedt 1998-1999; Reguly 1998-1999; and McAndrew 1998-1999), the electronic, print, radio, and television media, by and large, failed to draw attention

to the *Lands for Life* consultations. However, given the substantial efforts of both the government and ENGOs to alert the public to this momentous planning exercise, lack of awareness about the process was not entirely, or necessarily, by design.

Perhaps it is fair to assume that only a limited segment of the population will ever really care about any given issue. No doubt, the efforts of the Partnership and other ENGOs to publicize and politicize this process within the conservation community and beyond, account for a considerable proportion of the 11 percent of Ontarians, south of French River, who were, in fact, aware of the process. One environmentalist commented cynically: “Very few people follow this stuff... Nobody really cares... Do you have a duty to consult people who don’t really care? ...It is difficult to get people excited by the process. You can’t.” (ENGO₄, 2001: 1) Perhaps the lack of awareness is a sad commentary on the level of political apathy in Canadian society, or perhaps it is a measure of the multiple pressures and time-constraints people experience. But certainly, as another environmentalist commented: “So few people were even aware of the *Lands for Life* process, so it’s really problematic to participate in a process like that.” (ENGO₅, 2001: 3)

In spite of the above critiques, it should be noted that the Round Tables provided the opportunity to complete a written submission rather than oral testimony. Also, the public had the chance to complete and submit several

detailed questionnaires. However, given the abbreviated nature of the consultations, and the sheer volume of submissions, I doubt Round Table members had the time, energy or inclination to review and reflect upon these questionnaires adequately. As a result, it seems fair to assume that written submissions were most likely not given the consideration they deserved.

Finally, several dissenting, counter-hegemonic voices emerged during these struggles to critique the government in its exercise of power. These actors viewed the consultation process as biased, abbreviated and, ultimately, undemocratic. For instance, Anita Krajnc dismissed the process as nothing more than “smoke and mirrors”—giving the public the illusion of a consultation while failing to address, and deflecting criticism from, more substantive environmental policy issues. (Krajnc, 2000: 124) One environmentalist similarly summarized: Public consultations and round table committees can be thought of as “busy work,” “window dressing,” “allowing the government to be able to say it consulted broadly.” (ENGO₆, 2001: 1)

Richardson, Sherman and Gismondi lobbed similar charges at the Alberta government in their 1993 analysis of the hearings around Alpac’s proposed kraft pulp mill on the Athabasca River, detailed in *Winning Back the Words*. They stated: “... if citizens take part in a public hearing believing they can influence its outcome, they unwittingly participate in their own subjugation.” (Richardson et al., 1993: 13) They further reflected that members of the public may knowingly

engage in a process “that is hopelessly stacked against them” even with only a dim hope of influencing the outcome. Alternately, they mused that the public might be unaware of the extent to which public hearings are predetermined and carefully orchestrated, such that: “...dissent will not be registered.” (ibid.: 22) Both dynamics were at play in the *Lands for Life* struggles.

Clearly, in considering the contrasting hegemonic and counter-hegemonic representations of the *Lands for Life* process—as broad and inclusive versus biased and undemocratic—multiple truths are revealed, wherein truth is “an effect of discourse.” (Flax, 1992: 452)

Section 4.2: Abandoning the public process

Section 4.2 briefly explores the first set of formal recommendations generated by the Round Tables—the October 1998 *Consolidated Recommendations Report*. It then examines how the government abandoned the public process, and opted for private negotiations between key insider forestry and environmental stakeholders.

In November 1998, Chairs from the three Round Tables (Boreal East, Boreal West and the GLSL) released a *Consolidated Recommendations Report*, advocating 6-7 percent protection of the planning area. The Round Table Chairs framed the *Lands for Life* process as “the most extensive and comprehensive public dialogue about land use planning in Ontario’s history” (MNR, October 1998), and as a “bold experiment in citizen participation.” (MNR, October 1998:

3) The Chairs explained: “Since the colonial era, MNR and the government agencies that preceded it have been responsible for deciding how Ontario’s Crown land should be used. For most of that time, only politicians and civil servants were involved in making those decisions.” (ibid.: 10) The *Lands for Life* process reflected a significant shift in the level of public involvement. The Chairs characterized the discussions that took place as often “pointed and passionate” (ibid.: 3), “difficult and contentious.” (ibid.: 4) Invoking a discourse of democracy and inclusion, they stated: “Everyone’s input truly made a difference.” (ibid.: 4) Finally, they insisted: “There was strong agreement on one basic premise, however, that as Ontario moves into a new century, it needs a clear and coherent vision for how it plans to effectively and equitably manage its Crown land resource.” (ibid.: 4)

But perhaps most telling is the way in which the Round Table Chairs constructed Crown land. First, they stated: “Ontario is Canada’s most populous and developed province, yet its 11 million people live on one-eighth of its vast territory. The other 93 million hectares is Crown land, owned by the Ontario Government and managed mainly by the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR).” (MNR, October 1998: 7) Thus, Crown land is characterized as a relatively unpopulated territory, owned by the provincial government, and managed by the MNR! Second, the Chairs explained that all references to Crown land are explicitly meant to include: “the resources on those lands—forests, mineral and

aggregate resources, fish, wildlife, [and] hydro power”; “the vast majority of the beds of our lakes and rivers”; as well as “provincial parks.” (MNR, October 1998: 7) Here, they construct Crown land, not as ecosystems, but rather, as resources.⁸

The *Consolidated Recommendations Report* generated significant public resistance in southern Ontario. For example, the Sierra Club of Eastern Ontario ran this advertisement (see Figure 4.6) in the *Ottawa Saturday Sun*: Is this what you really want for Ontario wilderness? Clearly, the photo of a clearcut in Algoma Highlands—identified as one of the few remaining areas of “wilderness” and old growth forests in Ontario—is intended to evoke a visceral response. The group also produced a cheeky image of a bald Premier Harris, with the statement, “Don’t Clearcut Ontario,” attached, in an attempt to raise public awareness following the disappointing Round Table recommendations. They further used the image to produce posters, postcards, and pins. (See Figure 4.7)

Earthroots, another ENGO with an active interest in the process, raised awareness by holding a “mock funeral for wilderness” at the front door of the Ontario Legislature. One sign in the back of the photography in Figure 4.8 reads:

⁸ It should be noted that the Chairs were clear that the *Consolidated Recommendations Report* represented a simplified version of the Round Tables’ intentions. They clarified: “This report does not represent Ontario Government policy. Nor is this report the Government’s response to the Round Table recommendations.” (MNR, October 1998: 7)

Figure 4.6: Is this what *you* really want for ONTARIO WILDERNESS?

Is this what *you* really want for ONTARIO WILDERNESS?



Clearcut logging in the Algoma Highlands, one of Ontario's few remaining areas of wilderness and old growth forests. (Photo: Andrea Maenza)

Time is running out... Contact Minister of Natural Resources John Sheehan by Monday November 30th to voice your concern and demand for protection for Ontario wilderness. Telephone (416) 914-2301; fax (416) 914-2301; toll free 1-800-368-4213; email lfcc@mim.gov.on.ca

To learn more steps you can take this week and beyond to help protect Ontario's wild places, please contact us <http://www.cpaws-ov.org>, phone (613) 730-2737 <http://www.sierraclub.ca/national>, phone (613) 241-4611.

If you share our concern about 'Lands for Life' and the future of Ontario's public land, please contact us.

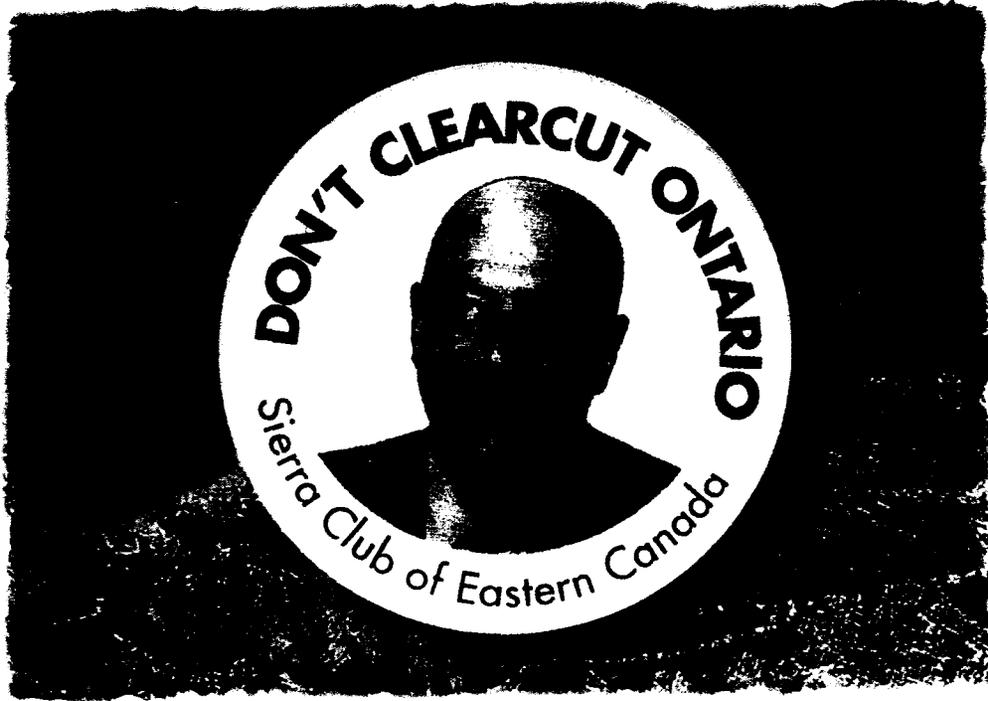
 CANADIAN PARKS AND WILDERNESS SOCIETY
Ottawa Valley Chapter

 Sierra Club of Canada

Page 4/34 The Ottawa Saturday Sun, November 28, 1998

Source: Sierra Club of Canada, November 28, 1998: 17

Figure 4.7: Don't Clearcut Ontario



Source: Sierra Club of Eastern Canada, Fall 1998

Figure 4.8: Earthroots: Mock funeral for wilderness



Source: McAndrew, December 1, 1998, *Toronto Star*

“In loving memory of Ontario’s Wilderness—victim of *Lands for Life*.”

(McAndrew, December 1, 1998)

Final negotiations at the Fern Resort

The government was then faced with a dilemma in the context of the Round Tables’ *Consolidated Recommendations Report*. Specifically, the proposal to protect 6-7 percent of the planning area essentially represented not just the status quo, but less than half of what they had publicly promised. Moreover, as detailed above, the recommendations generated significant opposition and negative press coverage. In a purported effort to salvage the process and make good on their political commitment, the government brought together key stakeholders to negotiate details of the resultant 12 percent announcement.

To this end, the government selectively engaged Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) from the forest sector and key representatives from the Partnership in negotiations at the Fern Resort in Orillia, Ontario. First Nation peoples, Round Table Chairs and committee members, and other interested parties were notably excluded from the discussions. However, this account of what transpired is based on interview data, since governmental publications seem completely devoid of any explicit reference to the Fern negotiations. This is hardly surprising, since these discussions effectively rendered the public portion of the process irrelevant,

and it would not be in the government's best interests to highlight that fact willingly.

The final negotiations at the Fern Resort in Orillia, which some interviewees characterized critically as secret, closed-door negotiations, provided a lesson in how political decisions actually get made. From the government's perspective, this move can only be viewed as a highly successful orchestration of the final outcome, though a clearly problematic one if viewed from a democratic perspective. According to one environmentalist, the consultation process, and in particular, the final negotiations, were nothing more than "a political maneuver to limit democracy... ensuring that the outcome will not be in the public interest." (ENGO₅, 2001: 3)

One GLSL Round Table member mused over the final negotiations: "I think Harris to some degree railroaded them. The rumors are that they were told, 'You either come up with an agreement... Or we will impose it.'" (RT₁, 2001: 4) Had the Partnership not mounted such a successful campaign, he felt that the 12 percent figure "would not have come about." (ibid.) He reflected:

The Partnership was very effective at putting the pressure on. They got hundreds and maybe even thousands, of scientists in that ad... They got some of the important media on their side... And they had at least one or two key Tory shakers in the circle around Harris who were pushing for it, who were either supporters or members of the Federation of Ontario Naturalists. (ibid.: 5)

He further summed up the outcome: “I think, the government felt there would be more damage than good to gain if they didn’t increase it substantially.” (ibid.: 5)

Interestingly, one key Partnership stakeholder argued that the Fern negotiations *needed* to take place. He explained the importance of going to the top of an industrial organization: “A Forest Operations Vice-President cannot give away a stick of wood; it may be a career-limiting move for him even to suggest it. His job is to get more wood. So the only person who can really make a change is the Chief Executive Officer [CEO].” (ENGO₁, 2001: 4) This observation helps to explain why GLSL Round Table member, Mike Barker, proved so consistently intransigent in approving new parks and protected areas. Barker was not authorized to reach a compromise. Instead, he was charged with the task of ensuring forest sector interests were protected.

Fortunately, the Partnership representative identified two forest sector CEOs whom he felt “had a wider vision”—namely: Frank Dottori of Tembec and Raymond Royer of Domtar. (ENGO₁, 2001: 4) [Keep in mind the infamous comment made by the CEO of Buchanan Forest Products Ltd., arguing that: “...‘every tree on this land is needed to run our sawmills’.” (McAndrew, June 28, 1998)] Clearly, the Partnership needed to engage relatively progressive, forward thinking leaders, like Dottori and Royer, in order to reach some sort of compromise. The Partnership representative further reflected: “In the end, these

contacts helped ‘turn the corner’ when time came to negotiate a resolution at the Fern Resort.” (ENGO₁, 2001: 4)

One GLSL Round Table member expressed genuine surprise at the outcome reached: “When the forest industry finally met with the Partnership and the MNR, lo and behold, it was possible to add several more percentage points to the protected land, and no mills have closed down, and no unemployment has resulted, to the best of my knowledge...” (RT₁, 2001: 4) One environmentalist mused that: “The process slipped away from the Ministry of Natural Resources.” (ENGO₄, 2001: 1) He further offered: “These decisions were political, not ecological, or as a result of public input.” (ibid.)

Another environmentalist held a straightforward but insightful view on how decisions actually get made. He claimed: “Environmental groups have virtually no understanding of how the political system works in this country. Decisions that governments make are not the result of public consultations and round table committees... Power can only be asserted via electoral politics.” (ENGO₆, 2001: 1) Although this analysis may have been true for some ENGOs, the Partnership did manage to engage successfully in the political process. However, this environmentalist's general hypothesis would likely hold: “The government made its decision based on what would win votes. Politicians are in a votes economy.” (ibid.) John Cartwright characterized the 12 percent figure as “more politically palatable” than the 6-7 percent put forward in the *Consolidated Recommendations*

Report. (Cartwright, 2003: 124) In an earlier, unpublished paper, Cartwright reasoned: "...the government could expand its support at a minimal political cost." (Cartwright, 2002: 12) Certainly, this speaks to the paradox faced by members of civil society when they engage in pseudo-democratic public consultation processes.

In fact, many believe that the *Lands for Life* outcome was settled in advance of the consultations. One environmental critic stated: "The outcome was pre-determined." (ENGO₅, 2001: 2) Similarly, another interviewee offered: "They started working backward from a pre-determined outcome." (ENGO₄, 2001: 1) In fact, one of the government's stated objectives was to complete a system of provincial parks and conservation reserves. Had elected officials acted upon the results obtained through the (albeit deeply flawed) consultation process, environmentalists would only have secured 6-7 percent protection of Ontario's Crown lands. But if, in fact, the outcome was predetermined, why would the government have established such a biased Round Table process? Surely a process that resulted in an outcome closer to 12 percent would have added credibility and legitimacy to the government's move to create a network of parks.

Premier Harris and Minister Snobelen likely expected the results they received from this carefully orchestrated process. They appeased the North: we listened to your concerns, we consulted you... while wooing the South—unwittingly, or more likely, wittingly, pitting one against the other. The government gave

northerners, and to a lesser extent, southerners, the impression they had been consulted widely. And then, by rejecting the recommendations, the government affirmed its commitment to protection, presumably to impress its southern constituency prior to the election. Each of these formed an element of the political technology employed by the government.

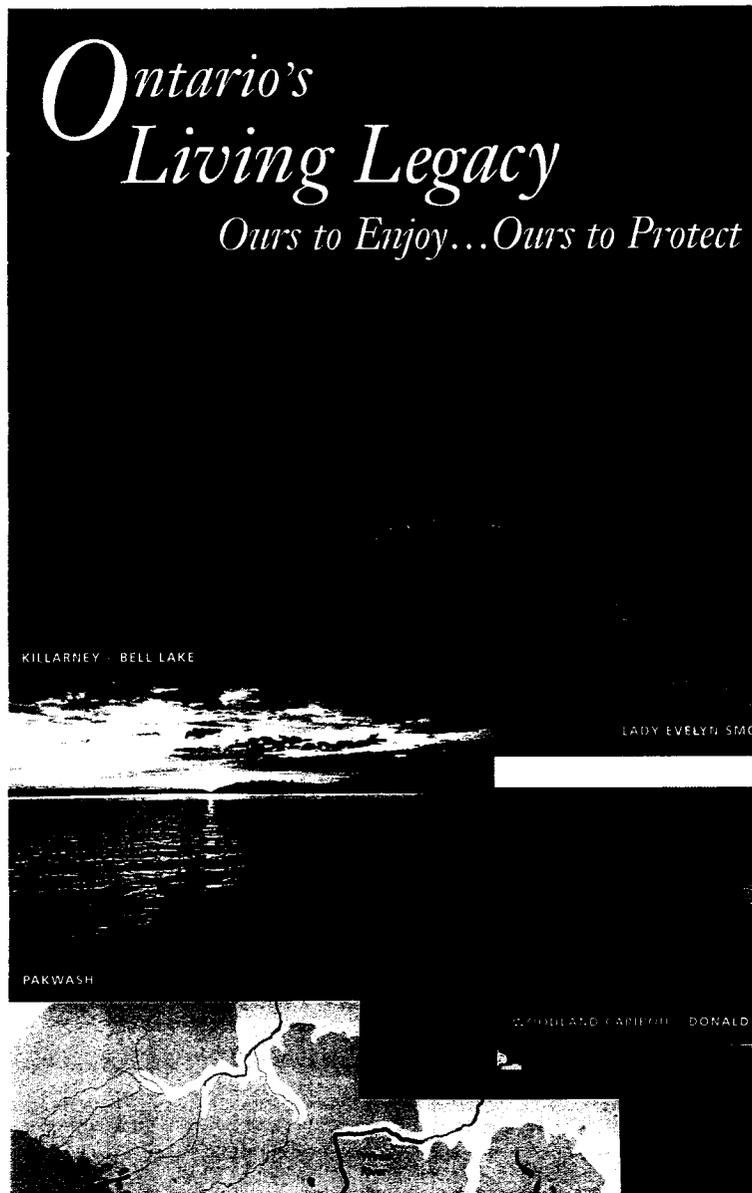
Section 4.3: *Ontario's Living Legacy*

Section 4.3 examines the ways in which the Harris government constructed a hegemonic discourse of both the *Lands for Life* process, as well as Crown land in key publications associated with *Ontario's Living Legacy*. Specifically, it deconstructs the press release associated with this final announcement, the key report—*Ontario's Living Legacy Land Use Strategy*, as well as the full color poster/ supplement distributed in major Ontario newspapers (see Figure 4.9)—the document that would have reached the greatest number of Ontarians.

In March 1999, Premier Harris announced a land use strategy for Ontario's central and northern Crown lands, coined *Ontario's Living Legacy*.⁹ Highlights of this announcement included the creation of 378 new provincial parks and

⁹ For more information on land use and environmental planning in Ontario, go to: <http://www.mnr.gov.on.ca/MNR/luep/>

**Figure 4.9: Ontario's Living Legacy:
Ours to Enjoy... Ours to Protect**



Source: Ontario Government, 2000.

protected areas, and the designation of nine new “signature sites.”¹⁰ The government argued that the strategy honored a public commitment: “*Ontario’s Living Legacy* fulfils a promise to protect 12 percent of a vast area...” (Ontario Government, 2000) Moreover, they framed the increase in protected areas as unprecedented and unparalleled—“the biggest single expansion of parks and protected areas anywhere.” (ibid.) The strategy was also portrayed as an effort to protect flora and fauna at risk. To this end it included “millions of dollars to develop and implement species recovery plans... to increase awareness of the need to protect species at risk, to encourage public participation in conservation and protection efforts, and to support public resource stewardship programs.” (ibid.) *Ontario’s Living Legacy* was framed as a “win”—not just for conservationists, but for other stakeholders as well. Minister Snobelen asserted: “Living Legacy will also strengthen the forest and mining industries, and enhance tourism and recreation in northern Ontario to improve the economic health of northern communities.” (Snobelen in MNR, July 1999: i)

Interestingly, in the official *Ontario’s Living Legacy* strategy document, in an introductory ‘Message from the Minister’, Snobelen framed the strategy as a direct result of what he characterized as an “unprecedented consultation process”

¹⁰ Each of these *signature sites* received special protection and promotion under Ontario’s Living Legacy: Great Lakes Heritage Coast, Nipigon Basin, Algoma Headwaters, Spanish River, Kawartha Highlands, St. Raphael, Nagagamisi and additional sections of Woodland Caribou and Killarney Provincial Parks.

(Snobelen in MNR July 1999: i). He further expressed: “Three Round Tables did an outstanding job of stimulating public discussion about the best use and protection for our natural resources. Thousands of Ontarians provided valuable input. That input and the recommendations of the Round Tables provided the foundation for Ontario’s Living Legacy.” (ibid.) However, Snobelen failed to mention that the final announcement of 12 percent protection bore little resemblance to 6-7 percent figure recommended by the Round Table Chairs. Nor did he note that the public part of the process was eventually eclipsed by the final, private negotiations amongst insider stakeholders.

In fact, during the process, Crown land was constructed as falling more legitimately within the purview of northerners and industrial interests. However, in their key advertizing supplement, the government *re-made* Crown land (see Castree, 2001: 10-15) in terms of its significance for southerners—the bulk of whom would determine their fate in an upcoming election. Specifically, Crown land was constructed as a legacy to future generations, as common property, as nature (to be protected in discrete parcels, and enjoyed for recreational purposes), and as resources (seemingly vast and inexhaustible).

First, in the very title of its land use strategy, the government constructed Crown land as a “living legacy” to Ontario’s future generations. To this end, in the newspaper supplement, the government characterized *Ontario’s Living Legacy* as: “A long-term investment in our youth, our communities and our

environment...” (Ontario Government, 2000) Similarly, Premier Harris stated: “Ontario’s natural beauty is the envy of the world, and a point of pride about the place we call home. It’s one of the things we have to protect, for this and future generations.” (ibid.) Here, Harris invokes an almost territorial and nationalistic sense of pride for home place. Moreover, in characterizing Crown land as a ‘living legacy’—a gift of value to be passed on to the next generation—the Premier invokes a sense of inter-generational responsibility. But the term ‘legacy’ embodies a notion that current generations enjoy implicit ownership of Crown lands, for you cannot bequeath that which you do not own. In this sense, 12 percent of the planning region represents a rather modest legacy that clearly privileges current generations by allowing the remaining 88 percent of the land to be used for current industrial purposes. Stewardship of Crown lands might better be conceived of as a sacred trust.

Second, through the sub-text of the *Ontario’s Living Legacy* slogan, “Ours to Enjoy... Ours to Protect” as well as the possessive descriptor of the legacy as “Ontario’s,” the government further constructs Crown land as common property—owned by all Ontarians.¹¹ Interestingly, this construction is consistent

¹¹ Another reference within the text invokes a property discourse, alluding to the “acquisition of lands for protection and public use.” (Ontario Government, 2000) But ultimately use of the term ‘acquisition’ begs the question: acquisition from whom? In this sense, it remains unclear whether acquisition is meant as purchase, addition, gain or appropriation.

with a popular understanding of Crown land. As one environmentalist stated: Crown lands are “for everyone to use. They belong to the people of Ontario (not taxpayers, or industry, but the public). They ought to be managed to the benefit of the public.” (ENGO₄, 2001: 1) In *The Toronto Star*, Anne Hansen similarly reflected: “The land belongs to the people. It is not the government’s property to sell or give away... The Ontario government exists to represent all citizens of Ontario, not just its corporate citizens.” (Hansen, December 3, 1998) Finally, prominent environmentalist, Elizabeth May, in *At the Cutting Edge*, further posited: “The term ‘Crown land’ means that the land is owned by the people of Canada, with jurisdiction over forests vested in the provinces as representatives of the people.” (May, 1998: 5) May further asserted that the public might legitimately exert a proprietary interest in the management of their forests. (May, 1998: 5)

Here, the construction of Crown land as common property has become normalized. However, the term Crown land must be qualified to acknowledge the pre-existence of indigenous cultures across the land in question. CELA offers:

Crown lands are owned by Her Majesty the Queen in right of Ontario, subject to the underlying rights of the First Nations peoples insofar as their rights are ‘existing’ and unceded or unextinguished as of 1982 when they received constitutional protection. (CELA, May 21, 1999)

While most would find laughable the notion that the Queen of Britain actually owns Crown land, on first formulation, few would likely concede the legitimate claim of First Nation peoples.

In fact, in the characterizations above, what is not said is perhaps most telling. No one stressed the very important legal caveat to collective ownership of Crown lands—that this ownership is subject to the unceded rights of First Nations peoples. Clearly, the term is contested, and the ways in which it is constructed (e.g., as the collective property of all Ontarians, rather than as collective property subject to the unceded treaty rights of First Nation peoples) demonstrate how power is both exercised and resisted.

Third, Crown land is represented as nature—“spectacular,” “clean,” “wild” and “unspoiled”—to be protected in discrete parcels and to be enjoyed by the general public. To begin, the government stressed the vastness of the territory that would be protected, in terms southern Ontarians could presumably understand: “Ontario’s system now totals 650 parks and protected areas encompassing 9.5 million hectares—a *huge land mass* equal to all of Ontario south of Algonquin Park!” (Ontario Government, 2000, emphasis mine) Provincial parks, new protected areas and signature sites are all clearly delineated. Although the names of towns and major rivers, as well as highway routes are included on the map (contained within the poster/ supplement), the remainder of the province, by default, is devoid of identifying content, and shaded green. Since

provincial parks are themselves represented in dark green, the choice of shading the topographical data for rest of the province in lighter shades of green is somewhat misleading. It makes it seem as if the entire province enjoys some degree of protected status, when clearly this is not the case. Also, First Nation reserves and treaty areas are notably absent. (ibid.). (Chapter 5 deals with this cartographic erasure.)

Next, photos of various species (specifically, polar bear, red fox, moose, blue heron and caribou) were strategically included, implicitly portraying Crown land as habitat. Similarly, 'Nature Reserves' are characterized as areas deserving special protection. Here, references are made to "... *rare* plants, *fragile* wildlife populations, *delicate* geological formations and other *sensitive* natural features..." (Ontario Government, 2000, emphasis mine.) However, only select and discrete portions of Crown land are constructed as rare, fragile, delicate and sensitive.

Another theme contained in the subtext—"Ours to Enjoy"—ran throughout the supplement. Certainly, the photographs contained within the document supported this theme. Images included a family fishing at Sibbald Point, people touring petroglyphs, birders at White Lake, trippers on the French River, a tourist on a lookout at Ouimet Canyon, hikers at Neys Park, cross-country skiers at Algonquin, a white-water kayaker on the Lower Madawaska River, and canoeists in Pakwash. Thus, recreational opportunities were featured in a significant way. The government reasoned: "With more lands set aside for protection, there will be

more opportunities to enjoy and appreciate Ontario's great outdoors." (Ontario Government, 2000)

The text of the supplement also featured Ontario parks prominently, offering a panoply of recreational opportunities. First, 75 'Recreation Parks' were announced, and were framed in anthropocentric terms for the amenities they offered to families (e.g. "beaches, picnic tables, campgrounds and other facilities for family fun" [Ontario Government, 2000]), and for their proximity to urban centres. Second, 90 'Nature Reserves' (discussed earlier) were announced and included only limited human access: "Though usually open for educational and research purposes, these areas could be harmed by excessive human traffic. For that reason, people are generally discouraged from visiting." (ibid.) Third, 'Wilderness Areas' were described as vast regions "where nature functions freely" (ibid.), and as "undisturbed settings"—unperturbed by adverse human impacts. Here, the government argued that low-impact users such as canoeists, hikers and campers can experience the "solitude, challenge and thrill of being close to nature." (ibid.) Fourth, 'Historical Parks' were detailed for their contribution to preserving Ontario's heritage, and to making historic and prehistoric sites accessible to the public. Fifth, 60 'Natural Environmental Parks' were highlighted as sites that offered "features of outstanding natural or historic interest, including waterfalls, geological formations, old growth forests and

cultural sites.” (ibid.) And 30 ‘Waterway Parks’ “in both wild and developed areas” were announced, some coinciding with “ancient canoe routes.” (ibid.)

Finally, 9 new ‘Signature Sites’, containing “exceptional natural features” were deemed to “warrant special protection and promotion.” (Ontario Government, 2000) These included sites of “outstanding natural beauty” (e.g., Great Lakes Heritage Coast), critical sites that would afford protection to “spectacular old-growth red and white pine forests” (Algoma Headwaters and Spanish River), and sites that would augment existing parks (Kawartha Highlands, Woodland Caribou, Killarney, and Nagagamisis), or would protect “critical caribou habitat” (St. Raphael). (ibid.)

The poster quoted prominent environmentalist, Monte Hummel, then President, World Wildlife Fund Canada. Hummel praised *Ontario’s Living Legacy* as follows: “This province has made an unprecedented contribution to conservation on a global scale. This is definitely a good day for loons, for old-growth forest and protected areas, and it’s a good day for people too.” (Ontario Government, 2000) His comments seem to implicitly recognize the need to frame the announcement in both human and ecological terms. He also stressed its global ecological significance. Second, artist Ken Danby offered:

People come from all over the world to see this special part of our country. It has magic; it has great spirit. But it can only sustain that and grow if we look after it. And I think we should all take a special role in responding. (ibid.)

Danby similarly alludes to the global significance of the boreal forest. He also constructs a romantic and essentialist view of both nature and Crown land (as magical, spiritual), and appeals to our desire to protect that which he believes is sacred and precious.

Including testimony from a key environmentalist and prominent artist represents yet another element of the political technology employed by the government. Such testimony normalizes and legitimates the outcome. The message conveyed is that individuals from various sectors of society have embraced this announcement, and thus it should be similarly praised by the public at large, and not questioned.

While the concept of Crown land as nature is brought to the fore in the poster, the concept of Crown land as resources is most definitely played down. In spite of the fact that 88 percent of Crown land would be open to the industrial sector for exploitation, the poster refers only briefly to the notion of Crown land as resources. Here, in the sense that Crown lands are portrayed as vast and abundant, with teeming wildlife and seemingly inexhaustible resources, they are represented implicitly as being capable of withstanding industrial assaults. Interestingly, these references are contained only in the text (though a multitude of trees and rocks are portrayed in the photos). Presumably, photos of logging and mining would not have generated the desired public response.

A second reference alludes to the promise of: “GREATER SECURITY FOR NORTHERN COMMUNITIES AND RESOURCE-BASED INDUSTRIES...” (Ontario Government, 2000, capitals in original.) By promising greater security to resource-dependent communities and industry, the government implicitly promises greater access to resources (i.e., trees and rocks), without stating this in an obvious way. One sub-title reads: “In Balance with Nature—the Ontario Forest Accord.” (ibid.) According to the text, the Ontario Forest Accord is “innovative” in that new protected areas were established “while considering the needs of the forest industry for a sustainable wood supply.” (ibid.) The text further posits: “Under this agreement, the forest industry and the environmental community are sitting down together with government to talk about their needs and to resolve differences over how Ontario’s Crown land is used and protected.” (ibid.) The government asserts that the OFA “fundamentally changes the relationship between the forest industry and the environmental community” and that this will provide “a model for other jurisdictions around the world.” (ibid.) Thus, the government conveys the desire to bring together competing interests in order to achieve greater understanding, to resolve differences, and ultimately, to balance protection with jobs and economic stability.

Tim Millard, Executive Director of the Ontario Forest Industries Association, embraced the deal: “Ontario’s Living Legacy as a win-win strategy for everyone. It enables us to plan ahead, conduct our business in an environmentally sound

manner, and thereby help protect our natural environment for centuries to come.” (Millard in Ontario Government, 2000) This very public show of support illustrates how closely the interests of the government and the forest sector were tied. Certainly, by attempting to frame this announcement, in such seemingly fantastic terms, as beneficial to a wide range of stakeholders (a “win” for virtually everyone), the text above reads like an election platform. The government sought to appease conservationists, recreationists, fishermen and hunters, northerners, resource workers, young people, tourist operators and future generations, all at once.

In the *Ontario's Living Legacy* Land Use Strategy document, Snobelen further invoked concepts of environmental health: “Ontario’s natural resources are vital to the environmental health of our planet. *Ontario's Living Legacy* is a strategy for ensuring the long-term health of our natural resources.” (Snobelen in MNR, July 1999: i) Here, Snobelen alludes to the interconnectedness between environment and health, although he frames Ontario’s Crown land exclusively as natural resources. He did not claim: Ontario’s complex ecosystems are vital to the environmental health of our planet. Nor did he assert that *Ontario's Living Legacy* was intended to ensure the long-term health of our ecosystems.

Thus, Crown land is *made* and *re-made*, to further a particular political end. At times, the nature contained within Crown land is portrayed as rare, fragile and threatened, and as such, in need of protection. In this sense, the government has

become adept at employing greener discourse to pacify an increasingly critical segment of their core constituency. At other times, resources contained within Crown lands are portrayed as vast, abundant and seemingly inexhaustible—capable of withstanding industrial assaults. Interestingly, both constructions reinforce a nature-society dichotomy.

Conclusion

This chapter details a myriad of ways in which the government orchestrated the *Lands for Life* public consultation process: by determining *who* would consult the public, *who* would be consulted, *what* the public would be asked, *how* they would be asked, and *how* they would be notified. Throughout, the government privileged northerners and industrial interests, and de-legitimated southerners, environmentalists and First Nations. Based on this public process, Round Table Chairs put forward a proposal to protect 6 percent of Ontario's Crown lands. Faced with opposition to this proposal, the government then engaged select stakeholders (including senior representatives from the Partnership, from the forest sector, and from the MNR) in private negotiations at the Fern Resort in Orillia, Ontario. The outcome was *Ontario's Living Legacy*—a land use strategy designed to protect 12 percent of the planning region. In their key advertizing supplement, the government *re-made* Crown land (see Castree, 2001: 10-15) as a legacy to future generations, as common property, as nature (to be protected in

discrete parcels, and enjoyed for recreational purposes), and as resources (seemingly vast and inexhaustible). However, as this chapter details, in spite of the rhetoric put forward in the poster, the government privileged a reductionist and economic view of Ontario's boreal ecosystems in the *Lands for Life* process.

CHAPTER 5: THE ERASURE OF FIRST NATION PEOPLES

First Nation peoples were faced with a paradox in the context of *Lands for Life*. Their limited engagement in the consultations served to legitimate an outcome unfavorable to their interests. Their eventual withdrawal served to exclude them from the fruits of negotiation. Section 5.1 details the various moral and legal precedents First Nation proponents invoked in an effort to have their concerns taken more seriously in the context of *Lands for Life*. Such resistance, though ultimately of dubious impact, illustrates Foucault's notion of power as “multidirectional”—in this case, operating from the “bottom up.” (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 185) Section 5.2 discusses the initial participation of First Nations, their concerns (which the Round Tables lacked the mandate to truly address), and their eventual rejection of the process. First Nation input into what *meaningful* consultation might have entailed is also summarized. Finally, Section 5.3 explores the counter-hegemonic discourses put forward by select First Nation representatives in an attempt to re-imagine a post-colonial future. Throughout, various elements of the political technology employed by the government, which effected what Braun describes (in the context of British Columbia) as the “constitutive erasure” (Braun, 2002) of First Nations peoples, will be discussed.

Section 5.1: Moral imperatives and legal precedents

Section 5.1 briefly notes the various legal precedents, reports, and decisions, ranging from global to local in scale—from international to national to provincial and territorial, that First Nation proponents argued ought to have informed the Ontario government in their dealings with First Nations. Specifically, the *Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, the *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, three recent and relevant Supreme Court decisions (Sundown, Delgamuukw and Sparrow), the *Environmental Bill of Rights*, and, finally, aboriginal treaty rights were all invoked, but to no avail.

Several proponents invoked a discourse of social justice in arguing for aboriginal rights. They framed the issue as a moral imperative—a pressing need for the government to address the significant social problems faced by Ontario’s First Nation communities. Specifically, they cited a myriad of endemic problems such as lack of basic infrastructure, high unemployment, youth suicide, substance abuse, health problems and domestic violence, amongst others. And some argued that the best way to address these problems was through a combination of access to resources and more secure treaty rights. As one proponent of First Nations noted, many members of the First Nation community expressed desperation: “We have no running water. We have to boil the water that we have. Our social problems are staggering, and our unemployment is upwards of 90 percent. And so we need some of the crumbs that are falling off *Ontario’s Living Legacy*.”

(FN₃, 2001: 2) Certainly, this description is both vivid and depressing—designed to underscore the seriousness of the plight faced by many First Nation communities. Similarly, a Union of Ontario Indians (UOI) representative highlighted a related paradox. He mused over the promises that *Lands for Life* would not adversely impact land claims and aboriginal rights: “What the Ontario government and federal government’s promises are worth; they are hardly worth the paper the treaties are written on, and still we cling to them.” (FN₁, 2001: 6) Again, such a discourse invokes a sense of desperation and an implicit demand for justice.

But the federal government has over the last few decades expressed repeated and seemingly sincere concern for aboriginal rights, both internationally and nationally. To begin, as Chris Gibson notes: “The rights of indigenous peoples to determine their own lives have been entrenched in various documents, culminating in the *Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*.” (Gibson, 1999: 45) Indeed, an international working group established by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights—comprised of indigenous organizations and member states—has been meeting since 1995 to create and finalize the Declaration. However, as they near the end of their 10-year mandate, the likelihood of reaching a consensus remains slim. Regardless, Canada

expressed support for the Draft Declaration¹—a point raised by First Nation participant Bernard Abraham during the *Lands for Life* consultations. Abraham highlighted this contradiction: “Canada supported [the] United Nation’s resolutions regarding Aboriginal people, but is not following the direction.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 6, 1998)

Moreover, the moral imperative to address both historical grievances and contemporary conditions is cited throughout the 1996 *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, and is summarized by the following quote:

Aboriginal people must have self-governing powers over their lands, as well as a share in the jurisdiction over some other lands and resources to which they have a right of access. This is both a matter of justice—of redressing past wrongs—and a fundamental principle of the new relationship with Aboriginal people that we are proposing throughout this report. (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1996: 4)

The authors of the Report also assert: “Aboriginal peoples will be unable to build their societies and economies without an adequate land base.” (ibid.) And finally, they conclude: “Now the time of reckoning has arrived.” (ibid.: 4.1)

In fact, the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* carried out an exhaustive amount of work, and provided a comprehensive set of concrete recommendations, not to mention a moral compass for dealing with aboriginal issues. Unfortunately, although a UOI representative described the Report as “a benchmark,” he

¹ For more information on the *Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, go to: <http://www.iwgia.org/sw248.asp> (International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs, 1995)

lamented: “We saw the federal government shelve it, and the Ontario government completely ignore it.” (FN₁, 2001: 1) As Wallace and Knight reflect: “What is plain is that within the institutions of the modern state system, the legitimacy of claims to self-determination, and with it the recovery of control over territory and environmental resources, is only selectively recognized.” (Wallace and Knight, 1996: 85) Selective recognition of rights and precedents is yet another aspect of the political technology employed by the government in its exercise of power over First Nation peoples.

In contemplating these issues, one regional First Nation Chief questioned: “What does a community need to sustain itself?” (FN₂, 2001: 4) With this in mind, he reflected on the applicability of a Saskatchewan process (i.e., *Treaty Land Entitlement*) to Ontario, reasoning that if communities have grown since the creation of reserves, should the land base required to sustain them not also grow? Such a discourse implicitly draws on notions of sustainability and of common sense; this Chief raises the question: why should a First Nation community be denied the land base to adequately sustain itself? To this end, First Nation communities in Ontario are attempting to negotiate with the federal and provincial governments, and relevant third parties, to develop a cooperative approach to land use, described by this First Nation Chief as based on “protocols of co-existence and co-management ... not necessarily exclusive use.” (ibid.) No doubt, this Chief (and other members of Native leadership) invoked the above-mentioned

report to lend support to their efforts to secure an adequate land base. Moreover, they have clearly adopted a discourse of pragmatism in striving for a compromise of co-existence and co-management.

Next, there are a number of recent Supreme Court decisions that proponents argued ought to have informed the provincial government's dealings with First Nations—namely, *Sundown*, *Delgamuukw*, and *Sparrow* (listed chronologically, from most- to least- recent). Some argued that the provincial government's failure to heed the decisions from no less than Canada's highest court amounts to criminal neglect.

First, the Supreme Court's 1999 decision in the case of *Her Majesty the Queen versus John Sundown* will be summarized in order to provide a brief background. Sundown, a Cree Indian of the Joseph Bighead First Nation, had built a log cabin without a permit in Meadow Lake Provincial Park for shelter while hunting, and for smoking meat and fish. The Court upheld and protected Sundown's right to build such a shelter, and to hunt on Crown land, based on Treaty No. 6, and on evidence of historical practice. But David McLaren viewed the implication of this ruling even more broadly. He argued:

Sundown should mean that, at the very least, provincial governments should be consulting with First Nations regarding the use of Crown lands, *before* decisions are made to parcel them out or to allocate resources to industries. The federal government should be holding provinces to account on this. (McLaren, 2001)

Clearly, McLaren believes the ruling ought to have conferred entitlement to First Nations to receive priority in being consulted on matters related to Crown lands, summoning a discourse of accountability to support his point. Interestingly, the Sundown decision confirmed James Morrison's 1993 prediction: "So long as the argument pits Native subsistence against the recreational needs of an urbanized general society, then aboriginal people will always have the moral upper hand." (Morrison, 1993: 28)

Second, *Delgamuukw versus British Columbia* (1997)², a claim by Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs for "ownership" and jurisdiction of some 58,000 square kilometers, became a struggle for aboriginal title—characterized as an *inalienable right*. Although the Supreme Court decided in favor of *Delgamuukw*, it did so with certain provisions. In sum, aboriginal title would be held communally, and "uses cannot destroy the ability of the land to sustain future generations of aboriginal peoples"—in effect, a sort of sustainability clause.

Although such a clause is attractive, and, ultimately, in the best interests of the communities in question, it is nonetheless patronizing. However, the limitation would be more palatable were it applied in a less discretionary and more even manner to all private and public lands in Canada. This would help to ensure that

² For more information on the Supreme Court's *Delgamuukw* decision, go to: http://lexum.umontreal.ca/csc-scc/en/pub/1997/vol13/html/1997scr3_1010.html

all Canadians, both aboriginal and non-aboriginal, act in a way that is responsible to future generations.

A regional First Nation Chief reflected on the implications of the Supreme Court's *Delgamuukw* versus British Columbia³ decision: "... a decision like *Delgamuukw* in B.C. suggests there are inherent rights to the land and resources where there is no treaty. [Where] they never gave up or lost sovereignty. What does it say about those rights in the rest of the country? Is it applicable?" (FN₂, 2001: 2) Here, he invokes legalistic discourses, specifically, notions of inherent rights and sovereignty, to argue the broader significance of the *Delgamuukw* decision. McLaren drew on similar discourses, reflecting on the same issue: "The Supreme Court's *Delgamuukw* decision has not yet been tested with respect to lands shared by treaty. Treaties notwithstanding, there may be some residual aboriginal title left to Crown lands in Ontario." (McLaren, 2001) Indeed, references to unceded treaty rights emerged repeatedly in the context of *Lands for Life*.

³ For an insightful poststructural analysis of the *Delgamuukw* decision, see Matthew Sparke's 1998 essay, 'A Map that Roared and an Original Atlas: Canada, Cartography, and the Narration of a Nation.' Specifically, Sparke describes how the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en took on the Canadian legal system—which he characterizes as a "dubious ally" (Sparke, 1998: 470)—ultimately "...insinuating their claims into the terms of reference of the dominant discourse." (ibid.: 471) Of particular interest was the strategic use of modern mapping to "articulate their claim to their territories in a way the judge might understand." (ibid.: 472)]

Third, an earlier Supreme Court decision, *Ronald Edward Sparrow v. Her Majesty the Queen* (1990)⁴, concluded that government regulations could not jeopardize existing aboriginal rights. However, a regional First Nation Chief pointed out that in spite of these decisions: "... the provincial government still fails to recognize and respond in terms of development policy." (FN₂, 2001: 2) Rather than dealing with these issues in the courts, the province opted instead to "turn a blind eye" to their own policies, he said. (ibid.) But surely there must be some legal mechanism through which provinces can be held accountable to Supreme Court decisions?

Next, critics invoked yet another piece of relevant legislation, Ontario's Environmental Bill of Rights—a 1994 law aimed at increasing government accountability to its citizens for environmental protection. According to the official Environmental Bill of Rights web site: "The EBR guarantees the basic environmental rights of Ontario residents and opens the decision-making process to greater public scrutiny than ever before." (Ontario Government, 2002) Along with the Environmental Bill of Rights came a new position—Environmental Commissioner—an independent environmental auditor of the provincial government's activities.

⁴ For more information on the Supreme Court's Sparrow Decision, go to: http://www.lexum.umontreal.ca/csc-scc/en/pub/1990/vol1/html/1990scr1_1075.html

From 1994-1999, Eva Ligeti held the post of Ontario Environmental Commissioner. However, she proved too successful in her critique of provincial government policies, and was summarily dismissed from her duties. In fact, amongst other things, she was highly critical of the *Lands for Life* consultation process. Gord Miller, who replaced Ligeti, has subsequently heaped praise on the accomplishments of *Ontario's Living Legacy* program. Clearly, by replacing Ligeti with Miller, the Harris government not only limited public criticism of its performance and policies, but also succeeded in generating positive feedback on this particular initiative, ultimately improving its public image. In place of dissent and legitimate public critique—a cornerstone of democracy—the government achieved a public relations coup. This proved to be an effective political technology employed to silence dissent.

According to one proponent of First Nations, when the MNR's Resource Stewardship Agreements came under review by the Environmental Bill of Rights, the following conclusion was reached: government regulations “shall not interfere with First Nation's rights.” (FN₃, 2001: 6)⁵ He argued that while *in theory* First Nation's rights will be maintained—“constitutionally speaking”—*in practice*, they will be denied. He also maintained that clearcut logging practices and

⁵ Resource Stewardship Agreements are protocols for sharing managerial responsibility over natural resources amongst industry sectors (namely, forestry, mining, and tourism).

industrial mining activities in particular, and Resource Stewardship Agreements in general, derogate from First Nations rights:

There will be no forests for First Nations to claim a right to. There will be no animals or fish for First Nations to practice their rights (even their food and ceremonial rights, let alone commercial rights). There will be no forests for them to take up logging if they wanted to, in a sustainable manner. It's a joke. (FN₃, 2001: 6)

In effect, the Ontario government has precluded certain development options for First Nations, and in so doing, has potentially limited and narrowed their possible futures. This sort of political technology is particularly insidious, since it effects differential access to resources and power not just in the present, but also through time. This is why this proponent of First Nations characterized *Ontario's Living Legacy* as disastrous for First Nation peoples: "If those rights and claims are never realized, First Nations will have virtually nothing left in the North on which to assert their authority and with which to practice their rights to hunt and fish." (FN₃, 2001: 2)

David McLaren posed various critiques of Resource Stewardship Agreements. First, both he and the Chippewas at Nawash would like: "... the Crown to negotiate resource agreements with First Nations, on a government-to-government basis, *before* allowing business-to-business agreements..." (McLaren, 2001) Only then would there be some hope that aboriginal and treaty rights would be protected. Second, he posited:

In the case of Resource Stewardship Agreements, *Ontario's Living Legacy*, and resource management in general in Ontario, the frame of reference is one of 'wise use'—sustainable use for the benefit of the most users. To us, and I dare say to most First Nations peoples, this philosophy is a license for exploitation; for how can a resource be sustained if it must also benefit the greatest number? (McLaren, 2001)

Certainly, McLaren's characterization of 'wise use' as 'a license for exploitation' is consistent with other critiques of this prevalent yet deeply flawed resource paradigm (see Tokar, 1995; Helvarg, 1994).

In addition, McLaren argued that Resource Stewardship Agreements fail to respect Canada's commitment to the *International Convention on Biological Diversity*⁶—signed and ratified by Canada in 1992. Under the Convention, signatory nations are obliged to bring the traditional knowledge of indigenous and local communities into stewardship schemes (McLaren, 2001), provided traditional cultural practices are relevant to, and consistent with, the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity. (United Nations Environment Programme, 1992: 1-7)

And finally, McLaren argued that Resource Stewardship Agreements are yet another mechanism in the ongoing devolution of power, and corresponding off-loading of responsibilities, from the provincial government to the private sector for the management of natural resources. McLaren summarized: "Those whose

⁶ For the full text of the 1992 *International Convention on Biological Diversity*, go to: <http://www.biodiv.org/convention/articles.asp> (United Nations Environment Programme, 1992)

motives are to extract resources for financial gain are being given more say over what happens to the land than the original stewards who also have constitutionally protected rights to the land and its resources.” (McLaren, 2001) McLaren cited the MNR’s Resource Stewardship Agreements with the Bait Association of Ontario, the Ontario Commercial Fisheries Association, and the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, as evidence of such devolution. (ibid.)

The proponent of First Nations summarized why *Lands for Life* was so critically important for First Nations: “I think it is a crime to basically give away the North... without the recognition of Native rights and land claims.” (FN₃, 2001: 2) By characterizing the land allocations resulting from the *Lands for Life* process as a “crime,” he implicitly calls for social justice to be served. Similarly, CELA argued:

The [Forest] Accord and the Strategy do contain rhetoric to the effect that the existing rights of Aboriginal peoples are not affected by the Accord. However, there is no provision as to how traditional uses of the land will be protected; as to what will happen if the planned forestry activities are inconsistent with traditional and Treaty rights to use the land. (CELA, 1999: 25)

Here, CELA dismissed the promises made in these documents as mere rhetoric, lacking in substance, with no real provisions for ensuring accountability.

Moreover, they argued that reconciling these rights should have been of paramount importance given recent Supreme Court decisions, and “the fiduciary duties owed to First Nations peoples by the province...” (ibid.)

A regional First Nation Chief, in the context of outstanding federal and provincial land claims, stated: “The federal government continues to give us dollars to study and research land claims issues.” (FN₂, 2001: 3) Indeed, it must be much cheaper to temporarily appease communities by paying for studies than to resolve such complex and difficult claims. This represents yet another element of the political technology employed by the provincial government to defer the resolution of these issues. But, as he summarized: “So, we have spent an awful lot of years studying the issue, but we have a government that is unwilling to sit down with us...” (ibid.) Ultimately, this Chief and countless others want the provincial government’s policies to be reconciled with recent Supreme Court decisions.

According to this Chief: “And because we were told by Harris that we were only another interest group... every aspect of government policy suggests that... we will only treat [aboriginal people in Ontario] as citizens of Ontario, not governments in their own right.” (FN₂, 2001: 3) Of course, he firmly rejected being portrayed as “another interest group,” and recommended expanding the authority of the Indian Commission of Ontario, or some such similar organization, to achieve wider resolution through a tri-partite, government-to-government process. However, as detailed in Chapter 4, by representing First Nations as one amongst a number of special interests, the government eliminated the need for a separate consultation process.

For many, the situation faced by Ontario's First Nation peoples is intolerable, especially in light of recent Supreme Court Decisions. But as John Berger wrote: "...the naming the intolerable is itself the hope. When something is named intolerable, actions must follow." (Berger, 1984: 18)

Perhaps it is naïve to think that Ontario's outstanding land claims and unresolved treaty rights could have been settled prior to the *Lands for Life* consultation process. But certainly, if the government were serious about protecting the rights of Ontario's First Nation peoples, proponents argued that this surely would have been its first course of action. However, from the outset of the process, the government implicitly framed the resolution of these long-standing issues as lying beyond the scope of the consultations. By limiting the terms of reference to exclude First Nation concerns in any meaningful way, the government implicitly deemed these issues as not worthy of being solved. They thus totalized the field of political possibility, and normalized the exclusion of First Nation peoples. (Following Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 198)

Section 5.2: "Constitutive erasure"

In their *Consolidated Recommendations Report*, the Round Table Chairs argued that they achieved "both success and disappointment in consulting with Aboriginal people." (MNR, October 1998: 12) They further purported: "Each Round Table had Aboriginal members, and the Round Tables had many valuable

discussions with both Aboriginal people and organizations, who shared their knowledge and experience of the planning areas. However, many Aboriginal organizations either refused to participate in *Lands for Life*, or restricted their participation.” (ibid.)

Section 5.2 investigates claims that the state failed to consult adequately First Nation peoples in the context of this process. It discusses the initial participation of First Nation peoples in the consultations, it summarizes their concerns, and it explores their eventual rejection of and withdrawal from the process.

From the outset, various Ontario First Nation organizations and community representatives warily participated in the Round Table meetings, though they soon condemned the process, withdrew in July 1998 (Cartwright, 2003: 121), and demanded government-to-government negotiations. Specifically, the Union of Ontario Indians (UOI)⁷ followed the process closely, since the planning region encompassed all of their treaty areas (FN₁ 2001: 1). To this end, a UOI representative expressed skepticism over the government’s promises that the *Lands for Life* process would not adversely impact land claims or aboriginal treaty

⁷ A representative briefly explained the history and composition of the Union of Ontario Indians: “We are a political advocacy organization with our roots dating back to the *Three Fires Confederacy* in the 1500s; mainly comprised of Ojibways, Odawa, Potawatami people, but also the Algonquins, Mississaugas, Delewares and Chippewas, which are all very closely tied historically and culturally and through language ties...They are basically all Anishnabek people... We have 43 First Nations who are members of our organization.” (FN₁, 2001: 1)

rights on traditional Anishnabek territory. (ibid.: 6) As the government prepared to grant access to Ontario's Crown lands to competing interests, he contended: "... [we] were extremely concerned that the process would ignore First Nation issues, and that was largely borne out..." (ibid.: 1)

In fact, on July 10, 1998, Nishnawbe-Aski Nation chiefs recalled their aboriginal representatives from the Boreal East and Boreal West Round Table discussions. Soon after, Grand Chief Charles Fox, on behalf of the Chiefs of Ontario and Independent First Nations, formally rejected the *Lands for Life* initiative (Chiefs of Ontario, 1998)⁸. Fox lamented: "There was no mention whatsoever of our particular issues and we are profoundly and deeply disappointed by that because we agreed to participate in the process in good faith." (Fox cited in Chiefs of Ontario, 1998) Grand Chief Francis Kavanaugh also commented: "The Ontario government is trespassing on First Nations' rights every time it cuts a tree in Ontario" (Kavanaugh cited in Chiefs of Ontario, 1998).

Other First Nation representatives also condemned the *Lands for Life* process. Michael Sherry, counsel to the Chiefs of Ontario: "The allocation of land, announced yesterday under the *Lands for Life* process, leaves 30,000 members of native communities in the region 'totally frozen out'." (Mackie, March 30, 1999: A13) Similarly, Chief Robert Whiteduck of the Algonquin First Nation, Golden

⁸ This rejection resulted from Resolution 98/14, determined at the All Ontario Chiefs Conference in West Bay, Ontario, June 2-4, 1998.

Lake, expressed this concern: “Algonquin aboriginal rights existed before Champlain's arrival. ... [The] *Lands for Life* report should state that Algonquin aboriginal rights and land claim proceedings take precedence over any other recommendation...” (GLSL Round Table minutes of November 25, 1997) Fred Haavisto, a retired forester who spoke on behalf of the Aboriginal Trappers' Association, posited: “*Lands for Life* does not pay adequate attention to Native interests.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 6, 1998)

Still others called for a halt to the proceedings. Both Peter Watclay of the Wahnipitae First Nation and Honorine Trudeau Wright of the Wikwemikong Unceded First Nation, recommended that the process be put on hold until all outstanding land claims had been settled. (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 9, 1998) With these and other concerns in mind, the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation applied to the Ontario Court, General Division, to have the process declared illegal. (Mackie, March 30, 1999: A13; Rau, 1999: 8) However, neither the invocation of aboriginal rights nor such juridical measures proved effective in halting the proceedings.

Several political analysts shared the indigenous groups' outrage. Weis and Krajnc lamented “...the complete exclusion of First Nations peoples from the planning process and the failure of the settlement to increase their land and managerial rights...” (Weis and Krajnc, 1999: 36) The academic activists further asserted: “Reforming the land management regime over such a vast extent of land

could ideally have been a vehicle to address the ongoing and debilitating colonial inequities faced by Ontario's First Nations." (ibid.) Along similar lines, Pat Potter of the Bancroft Field Naturalists, argued the need "to identify the location of Aboriginal land claims," and "to show respect for the native land claim process" by excluding such claims from the planning process. (GLSL Round Table minutes of March 26, 1998) These non-native proponents invoked discourses of rights and respect in an effort to address post-colonial inequities. Others, such as CELA, also strongly advocated First Nation rights.

In critically reviewing the public transcripts from the *Lands for Life* hearings and Round Table meetings, this research aimed to uncover why the voices of First Nation peoples were so sorely neglected. However, in combing through the minutes, a somewhat conflicting account emerged. Round Table members seemed genuine in their desire to address First Nation concerns in a fair and inclusive manner. Specifically, GLSL Round Table Chair, Bob Gray, identified the "need to make a special effort to communicate with the aboriginal community." (GLSL Round Table minutes of August 19, 1997) The Round Table further expressed their sincerity "... in reaching out to the native community in the spirit of lasting communication in a climate of mutual respect, cooperation, mutual benefit and influence." (GLSL Round Table minutes of September 30, 1997)

To this end, Round Table members suggested an invitation be extended to all First Nation communities, indicating a willingness to meet separately with them in any of the formal consultation locations. The Round Table further reflected: “There may even be benefit ... to hold a meeting in one of the native communities.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of August 19, 1997) Still, while a token meeting in one community might have proved a symbolic gesture, the fact that most of the meetings were held in urban centers (specifically, in Bancroft, Huntsville, Pembroke, Sudbury, Sault Ste. Marie, and North Bay; and later in Kingston, London, Ottawa, and Toronto), served to exclude many First Nation peoples. (See Figure 4.2 for the locations of GLSL consultations.)

However, Round Table members recognized the need to “respect treaty and aboriginal rights, fiduciary rights, and [to] be cognizant of land claims,” recognizing the potential for conflict. (GLSL Round Table minutes of July 8, 1997) To this end, they sought the advice of Round Table member, Holly Charnya of the Temagami First Nation regarding how best to consult First Nation peoples. The Round Table also considered “whether a separate Aboriginal sub-committee was required,” but rejected the idea, believing that aboriginal issues did not represent “a single domain and should be handled by the committee as a whole.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of September 30, 1997) It is difficult to know in hindsight whether the formation of an aboriginal sub-committee would have served, or further ghettoized, native interests.

Initially, First Nation representatives engaged with the *Lands for Life* Round Tables, though not without serious trepidation. As a regional First Nation Chief explained: "...Because we have gotten burnt badly in the past, just because we have a meeting to discuss an issue doesn't necessarily mean we agree to have a consultation... For us, all we were responding to was, 'Here's another process that we have to do.'" (FN₂, 2001: 6) Such emotionally charged comments reveal a deep-rooted cynicism toward the government. And given the history of failed negotiations between the government and aboriginal peoples, such cynicism seems warranted. Similarly, a UOI representative maintained: "You won't find in the minutes anywhere, where any [First Nation] community made specific recommendations about a specific geographic area... What you will see a lot of is people complaining about the process." (FN₁, 2001: 3) In sum, it is important to note that First Nation participants emphasized that their limited involvement *did not* constitute meaningful consultation.

However, the voices that did emerge offered powerful, counter-hegemonic critiques of the process, and of its potential implications. Specifically, First Nation peoples noted their relative absence on the Round Tables, and reflected on the inexperience of most Round Table members with aboriginal issues. Moreover, some felt condescended to, and resented the inclusion of recommendations concerning aboriginal peoples, especially in light of their open rejection of the process. Ultimately, they considered these recommendations to

be an appropriation of native culture—making it appear as if First Nation peoples embraced *Ontario's Living Legacy*, when in fact they did not.

Wikwemikong elder, Honorine Trudeau Wright, also expressed serious concern over lack of aboriginal representation on the Round Tables. She contended: “The number one concern is that out of three Round Tables, with fourteen people on each table, only two are representatives from the native community.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 28, 1997) In fact, as detailed in Chapter 4, of the 13 members on the GLSL Round Table, only Holly Charnya of the Temagami First Nation was from a native community.

With the obvious exception of Holly Charnya, Bob Gray had relatively more experience with First Nation issues than other Round Table members (who, by and large, had very little). A UOI representative asserted: “From the outset, there was a real arrogance within the Chair, Bob Gray, that he knew all about what Indians wanted... And he tended to have a really condescending approach to dealing with First Nations. And he felt he was doing the Indians great favors... So they [the other Round Table members] got led by the nose by Bob Gray.” (FN₁, 2001: 3) However, notwithstanding these heartfelt concerns, the GLSL Round Table minutes provided little evidence of this purported arrogance.

It must be noted that after a while the UOI representative felt encouraged by some of the GLSL Round Table members. He reflected: “... they started to understand where... we were coming from, with this perspective... Some of the

working group members started to come around and support what we were saying.” (FN₁, 2001: 7) Unfortunately, this shift was not borne out in the GLSL Round Table recommendations.

On the contrary, recommendations concerning aboriginal peoples were perceived as “completely inappropriate.” (FN₁, 2001: 4) The UOI representative explained:

We didn't want them to recommend anything because we didn't see the process as legitimate, but if you are going to recommend anything, recommend that you set up a separate process with aboriginal people. And if they had truly respected what we had to say, that would have been one of the recommendations. (ibid.)

He described what he contends is a “recurring theme”: “The government coming to First Nations and saying, ‘We want to consult with you,’ and taking the information back and doing what they want with it...” (ibid.: 3) He further argued: “It’s appropriating that knowledge for your own purpose, and giving nothing back in return, and often ignoring the parts that aren’t palatable, or don’t fit, with your agenda. (ibid.: 3) Such an analysis sums up yet another element of the political technology at work in this process. The government can temporarily appease/ placate First Nations by consulting them, but with no real means of accountability. The government can then use the input generated to further its own political agenda.

One concrete example is the Round Table’s adoption of native terminology and principles. For instance, the Round Table noted their commitment to

incorporate the “Aboriginal principle of long term stewardship” into their recommendations. (GLSL Round Table minutes of January 13, 1998) Certainly, aboriginal peoples do not have a monopoly over the principle of long-term stewardship. And no doubt the Round Table sought to include the reference as a show of respect. But, ultimately, First Nation peoples felt that since the Round Tables failed to address their concerns in a meaningful way, the inclusion of long-term stewardship as explicitly aboriginal could only be viewed as an act of cultural appropriation.

The issue of aboriginal representation

Having looked into First Nation critiques of the process, this next section briefly explores the issue of aboriginal representation. Specifically, it examines the Union of Ontario Indians’ (UOI) decision *not* to appoint an official First Nation representative to the GLSL Round Table. It also looks into the tension between consulting individual community members and officially designated representatives.

Minister Chris Hodgson approached the UOI, requesting that they appoint a First Nation representative to the GLSL Round Table. However, a UOI representative recounted:

We refused to do that, from the outset, because we said... 'We are not a user group. We are not a stakeholder. We have a separate relationship with the government of Ontario, and with the government of Canada, based on treaty... And there were a number of issues that were outstanding, and until they were resolved, we didn't see how any legitimate [land use] process could go forward. (FN₁, 2001: 1)

Thus, the UOI immediately recognized the need for a separate consultation process, and resisted the appointment of a token representative to the GLSL Round Table. (ibid.)

As a result, the inclusion of Holly Charnya on the GLSL Round Table cannot be seen as an official, broadly endorsed appointment. The UOI representative further submitted:

We didn't have any direct contact with her [Holly Charnya]. We didn't condemn her choice to sit there—her personal choice, she always made that quite clear—that it was a personal choice for her, and that she wasn't... there representing any particular group of First Nations people, or even First Nations in general. ... I think she saw herself as a citizen at large, who happened to be an aboriginal person. We respected her personal views. (FN₁, 2001: 2)

Charnya no doubt brought a wealth of personal experience, and legitimate First Nation insight, into her role as Round Table member. Still, though the Round Table drew on her relative expertise with First Nation issues, her participation cannot be viewed as formal First Nation representation.

The government's desire to appoint a single First Nation representative to the Round Table underlies an attempt to portray the First Nation cause as one amongst a number of competing interests. In so doing, the state, either

consciously or inadvertently, diminishes the need to settle outstanding land claims and resolve contested treaty rights. Rather than squarely addressing longstanding issues of human rights and social justice, a history of post-colonial oppression is perpetuated. In sum, by portraying First Nation peoples as a special interest group, the need for a separate consultation process is eliminated.

A second issue of indigenous representation arose when the GLSL Round Table consulted the following individuals: John Beaucage of the Wasauksing First Nation, Sam Kewaquado of the Shawanaga First Nation, and Dwayne Nashkawa of the UOI. Interestingly, this caveat appeared within the minutes: “Note that those in attendance do not necessarily represent the views of the communities they come from but are monitors of the process or speak only for themselves from their own experiences.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of September 30, 1997) By prefacing First Nation comments with such a caveat, the views held by these individuals are more easily dismissed. And though the caveat might well have been intended to address the thorny ethical issues associated with indigenous representation, it also served to undermine and discount, in this context, the messages that emerged.

A UOI representative described the caveat as a “deliberate misinterpretation” by the government. He explained: “The reason why those people would consistently preface their comments would be because the process of speaking for your people within the Anishnabek tradition is... very rigorous... and it is one

that you don't embark upon lightly." (FN₁, 2001: 2) He further posited: "with *Lands for Life* rushing along at such breakneck speed," people felt compelled to speak out, even if "they hadn't had the chance to talk to their entire community..." (ibid.)

Moreover, many *legitimately* spoke on behalf of their people. As a regional First Nation Chief reflected:

If...[we] take the time to develop our position or response, there should be some recognition when... [we] send the Grand Chief to make a presentation (he's taking the time to consult with us, to gather our views, to take a position, to formulate a presentation). And that is why we have advocacy organizations to stand up there and protect our rights and interests. So, they know that they have the mandate to speak on our behalf. (FN₂, 2001: 6)

Certainly, the comments of two Chiefs and an official of the UOI represent more than the sum of the three individuals presenting them.

Equally, although individuals do not necessarily represent the views of their community, as citizens, they possess the inherent right to have their voices heard in such a public forum. Also, the UOI representative asserted: "The people that *did* speak were a fairly broad representation..." (FN₁, 2001: 2) And, as discussed earlier, they offered a potent critique of power, and call for justice.

The tendency to characterize a First Nation perspective, to paint a picture in what a UOI representative described as "broad red brush [strokes]," simply "because one First Nations person said something at a meeting," (FN₁, 2001: 2) must be avoided. The so-called First Nation perspective is neither homogenous

nor uncontested; rather, it is a multiplicity of voices—sometimes competing, sometimes not, but always irreducible. Clearly, this insight is consistent with the Bruce Braun’s characterization of the temperate rainforest “as a site of irreducible difference rather than as transparent and singular...” (Braun, 2002: 2)

Thus, erasure was effected in a number of ways: by failing to consult First Nation peoples adequately, by representing them as one amongst a number of competing interests, by attempting to appropriate aboriginal culture, and by appointing token First Nation representatives.

Mapping Crown lands

However, the government (as well as the Partnership) also effected the erasure of First Nation peoples in their various land use scenarios, through a set of technically detailed maps. Matthew Sparke and Chris Gibson provide insights into this last aspect of erasure.

Clearly, access to public lands in Ontario is a political problem. Those who successfully secure access will benefit financially. Not everyone will be granted access. Access by some will preclude access by others. These insights have tremendous significance for Ontario’s First Nation peoples. However, the complexity of the technical data presented in the maps portrayed the problem in less of a political light, and in more of a technical one. Dreyfus and Rabinow

describe such efforts—to recast essentially political problems as technical and scientific ones—as political technologies. (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 196)

Sparke discusses the political implications of cartography, or as he describes it, the intersection of “power, knowledge, space, and political struggle.” (Sparke, 1998: 465) Similarly, post-colonial theorists have long critiqued cartography for its role in the imperial project, both past and present. For example, Gibson reflects on the importance of studying: “...the imperial map both as an instrument of knowing and controlling space and as a legitimizing device for the state and capital.” (Gibson, 1999: 49) Gibson further posits: “... the map continues to act as an instrument of power in the negotiation of territory and identity.” (ibid.: 50)

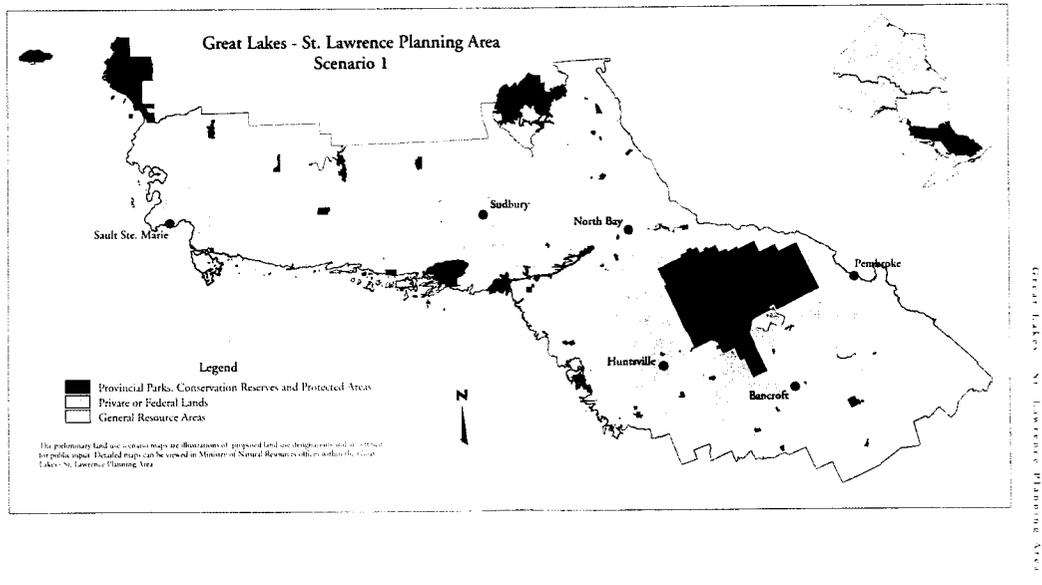
In the case of the Gitksan and Wet’suwet’en of British Columbia, Sparke argues that a process he calls “enframing” effectively eclipsed “the lived spaces of everyday life” from those spaces abstractly represented on a map. (Sparke, 1998: 465) Sparke further asserts: “...the Chief Justice’s overall view might also be said to have dispossessed the Gitksan and Wet’suwet’en ‘by engulfing them with blank spaces’ (1992: 531).” (ibid.: 477)

A similar dynamic was at play in the *Lands for Life* land-use scenario maps. First Nations were notably absent. As a UOI representative reflected: “The maps didn’t identify...First Nations communities. There was just this gray area that was totally blank... Nothing was there. It’s funny that that notion still persists.”

(FN₁, 2001: 6) Here, the omission of First Nations is another aspect of the political technology that served to exclude them as a problem to be solved. John Rajchman comments: “A significant portion of Foucault's discussion of 'space' is devoted to the problem of visibility—how spaces were designed to make things visible, and seeable in a specific way.” (Rajchman, 1991: 81) In the context of the maps, First Nation peoples are invisible. And since they *do* actually exist across space, they are only made invisible through erasure and omission. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 represent samples of such maps.

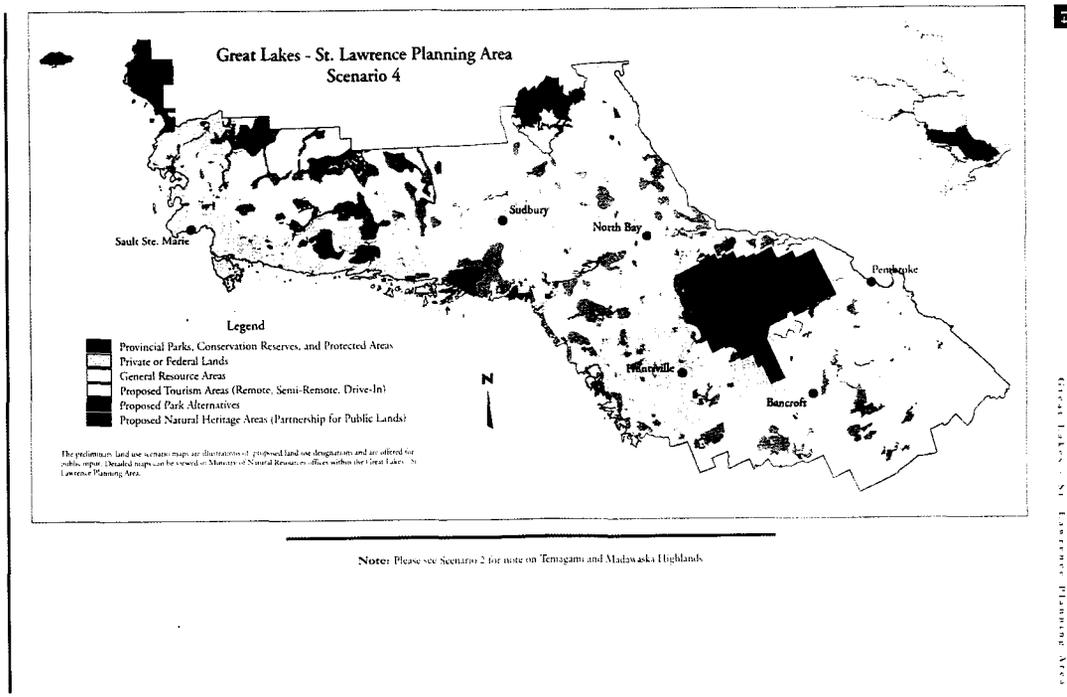
Sparke advances the field of critical cartography by illustrating not just how maps are used as vehicles for post-colonial oppression, but also as political technologies to assert counter-hegemonic discourses. (Sparke, 1998: 466) Ultimately, as Sparke illustrated in the case of the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en: “One way of looking at the maps, therefore, is as illustrations of how the counter-hegemonic can rearticulate the hegemonic in its own oppositional terms.” (ibid.: 474) By mapping traditional hunting and gathering routes—obtained through the oral traditions—these peoples successfully asserted their interests using the dominant hegemonic paradigm, the map. Gibson posits: “The map must be reconceptualized as an ‘open’ construct, rather than one that by definition requires containment, subsequently allowing more possibilities for indigenous and other voices to shape alternative strategies to re-territorialize space.” (Gibson, 1999: 50)

Figure 5.1: Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Planning Area: Scenario 1



Source: Ministry of Natural Resources, February 1998b, GLSL Tabloid Number 3

Figure 5.2: Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Planning Area: Scenario 4



Source: Ministry of Natural Resources, February 1998b, GLSL Tabloid Number 3

Sparke, drawing on an analogy developed by Edward Said, argues for “a contrapuntal *reading* of cartography.” (Sparke, 1998: 467) He summarizes:

Said thus reworks the formal musical meaning of the term, suggesting that a contrapuntal interpretation involves a strategic revoicing of the subdominant to make it equal to the dominant and thus to orchestrate a balance that can potentially edify and educate an audience about the power relations of culture. (Sparke, 1998: 467)

Unfortunately, according to the UOI representative, at that time, First Nations lacked access to the requisite technical resources—namely, Geographic Information Systems (GIS)—to create such a “contrapuntal reading” of Ontario’s Crown lands. However, he noted that access to GIS, along with access to the necessary data from the MNR, has improved since the hearings: “...but back then it was still a relatively new technology...” (FN₁, 2001: 6)

What remains unclear is why First Nations did not attempt to put forward any sort of maps that indicated their presence in the region, or their treaty interests on Crown lands. Interestingly, the maps did serve to spur First Nation peoples to voice their concerns to the MNR and to the Round Table Committees. In fact, the UOI used the maps strategically to raise awareness and generate interest in the process. Specifically, they brought the maps into First Nation communities with this message: ‘Look at what they are doing. This is how they are parceling out your territory.’ (FN₁, 2001: 6) Clearly, this statement reveals a proprietary sense of ownership over Crown land.

Ultimately, Sparke remains doubtful “whether it [a counter-hegemonic mapping] can be used as a lever for resistance by those marginalized in the modern nation-state, or whether it can be simply internalized by a more geographically open-ended, yet still hegemonic, narrative of nation.” (Sparke, 1998: 488) Notwithstanding this legitimate concern, I cannot help but wonder whether such a project would not have served First Nation interests in the context of *Lands for Life*. Indeed, had First Nation communities, outstanding land claims, areas over which treaty rights existed, and sacred places been concurrently mapped, those maps would have offered a counter discourse to resist erasure. Had these areas been superimposed over the proposed land use designations, had First Nation peoples been made *visible* in this struggle, perhaps a different outcome would have emerged. At best, such a cartographic project would have alerted the public to the fact that First Nation issues really ought to be resolved *prior to* dividing up Crown lands amongst competing interests. At worst, they would have highlighted the ongoing injustices perpetuated by the state on First Nation peoples. And at the very least, they would have enabled Ontario First Nations to challenge the MNR in its public construct of Crown lands as devoid of aboriginal peoples.

Section 5.3 Meaningful consultation

Obviously, in the eyes of First Nation peoples and their supporters, the Round Tables specifically, and the government more generally, failed to do justice to the native cause. But what form would meaningful consultation have taken? And how do you respect First Nation protocol concerning representation, without completely undermining the right of an individual to be heard? To this end, the critical insights and counter discourses offered by First Nation peoples into how they might have been better consulted⁹ will be summarized.

To begin, when asked what form meaningful consultation might have taken, a UOI representative proposed: “That, in and of itself, would have taken a lot of discussion. It would have required a serious commitment by the Minister, with our Grand Council, to sit down and discuss the issues...” (FN₁, 2001: 2) He further argued for the need to jointly determine, as partners in a process, “a set of consultation guidelines or principles that both parties could live with.” (ibid.) So,

⁹ Several outstanding professional research bodies (both domestic and international) have given this subject considerable thought. For example, the following sources provide an excellent springboard from which to develop an ethical framework for consulting Aboriginal peoples: (1) ‘Appendix E: Ethical Guidelines for Research’ in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*; (2) *Ethical Principles for the Conduct of Research in the North* published by the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies; and (3) ‘Section 6: Research Involving Aboriginal Peoples’ in the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada 1998). Round Table members, at a minimum, ought to have become familiar with these documents, though a complete ethical review would obviously have been preferable.

to reiterate, for First Nation peoples, meaningful consultation would have involved a ministerial commitment to engage in a separate, cooperative, nation-to-nation negotiation process, rather than assigning governmental delegates in the form of Round Table members, or resource- and native- liaison officers, to solicit aboriginal input.

Indeed, countless aboriginal voices echoed the need for government-to-government negotiation. Ron Manitowabi of the Wikwemikong Unceded First Nation and Art Jacko of the Whitefish Lake First Nation submitted: "...the consultation process should be broader, with nation-to-nation consideration to First Nations people who have a greater stake in the land than the general population." (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 14, 1997) Similarly, Chief Margaret Pitawanakwat of the Wikwemikong Unceded First Nation, asserted: "...that discussions regarding Crown lands affecting their people should be on a government-to-government basis." (GLSL Round Table minutes of November 11, 1997) Moreover, one proponent of First Nations argued that rather than addressing land claims on "a case-by-case basis," "a government-to-government process" might lead to "a much wider resolution." (FN₃, 2001: 3) He further advocated for an expansion of an authority such as the Indian Commission of Ontario and the tripartite process—bringing together federal, provincial and aboriginal representatives—as one way to achieve government-to-government negotiation. (ibid.)

In all fairness, the Round Tables acknowledged this desire in their *Consolidated Recommendations Report*, stating: “First Nations and treaty organizations believe they should be dealing with Ontario on a direct ‘government-to-government’ basis. This belief was not consistent with their participating in the Round Table process as one of many stakeholders.” (MNR, October 1998: 12)

In his 1993 discussion paper, ‘Protected Areas and Aboriginal Interests in Canada’, James Morrison argued that aboriginal insistence on “government-to-government” negotiation stems from this fact: “They see their eventual self-governing institutions as being at least parallel in status to those of the provinces.” (Morrison, 1993: 27) Perhaps the repetition of this desire, over time, will serve to normalize its eventual manifestation.

Second, First Nation representatives argued that the government must devote the requisite funds to ensure participation by First Nation communities and institutions. As discussed earlier, the course of bringing native views to the fore, and of designating an individual to represent those views, is a lengthy, rigorous process—requiring time and resources. Within the UOI, for instance, only one individual was able to follow the process closely. Without the resources, a UOI representative claimed: “We really couldn’t do it justice.” (FN₁, 2001: 2)

Furthermore, the notion that Chiefs, who contend on a daily basis with a host of social and economic challenges, might also devote already scarce energies to such

an ongoing, time-consuming process is impractical at best. As a UOI representative explained, not only were the Chiefs “simply too swamped,” but they also lacked the technical resources necessary to engage in the process. (ibid.: 3) Clearly, the difficulties faced here underscore Foucault’s differentiations of power. (Foucault, 1983, 223)

Since mapping of various land-use scenarios proved fundamental to *Lands for Life*, the relative absence of GIS (i.e. Geographic Information System) resources in particular, and cartographic capabilities in general, amongst First Nation communities in Ontario impeded their ability to put forward an alternate vision. (FN₁, 2001: 3) If nothing else, *Lands for Life* highlighted the need to build capacity and develop First Nation infrastructure strategically—so that during subsequent land-use struggles First Nation aspirations will not be thwarted by a lack of technical expertise.

Next, the form of communication the government adopted proved ineffective with First Nation communities. Many felt they were poorly notified, and, as a result, were not well represented. (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 14, 1997) A UOI representative posited: “Dear Sir/Madam, the form letters, publications in the newspaper... None of that works with First Nations people.” (FN₁, 2001: 3) Wikwemikong elder, Honorine Trudeau Wright, explained: “Native culture is oral, not written. Aboriginals deal person to person, not just by written word.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 28, 1997) However, such

insights should have come as no surprise; the importance of oral culture, relationships of trust, and significance of human contact in First Nation culture is well documented.

A further challenge lies in consulting those who do not speak English. As the Medical Research Council et al. warned: "Language differences may impede clear communication and understanding that is instrumental to the informed consent process." (Medical Research Council et al., 1998: 6.2) Also, Alex Peltier of the Wikwemikong Unceded First Nation asserted: "Proper consultation would require the Round Table to come to the reserve to speak with the elders and children." (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 28, 1997) Thus, First Nation peoples invoked discourses of inclusion and inter-generational responsibility in constructing their notion of what more meaningful consultation would have entailed.

Finally, a UOI representative argued the following, traditionally ignored, issues must be addressed: "[the] exercise of aboriginal treaty rights, [the] resolution of historic grievances, and [the] reconciliation for past practices of the Ministry of Natural Resources." (FN₁, 2001: 2) First Nation peoples felt these issues, along with the resolution of outstanding land claims, ought to have been dealt with prior to engaging in a land use planning process. By excluding First Nation concerns, the government ensured the process was neither comprehensive nor just.

In sum, First Nation peoples put forward a counter-hegemonic discourse of resistance in identifying various shortcomings in the *Lands for Life* process. From their perspective, ideally, the government would have engaged in a separate, nation-to-nation negotiation process aimed at first resolving outstanding land claims, the exercise of aboriginal treaty rights in the context of Crown lands, and past grievances. They further argued the need for sufficient resources, both financial and technical. And finally, they stressed the importance of consulting the whole of the community, including elders and children, in a way that is mindful of the significance of oral culture, and relationships of trust.

At this point, it is important to acknowledge the unenviable task presented to the GLSL Round Table members. Since the Premier and Minister ultimately overrode their recommendations, they obviously lacked the mandate to truly address First Nation concerns, let alone resolve outstanding land claims, treaty rights, and self-governance issues. Second, though there may well have been goodwill on the part of some members to make amends for past and present injustices, the majority of members lacked the experience and insight required to negotiate such thorny ethical ground. Round Table members seemed to recognize the limitations of their consultations with First Nation peoples. They felt the discussions that did take place *honored the process*, "...but in no way... [could] be construed as a nation-to-nation consultation." (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 14, 1997)

Section 5.4: 'Living a good life'

Much like industry, First Nations lobbied for access to Crown land, though with markedly different success. A UOI representative described access to a resource base as pivotal to building an economy, and thus critical to self-determination. He argued that the social, economic and environmental interests of First Nations are inextricably linked. (FN₁, 2001: 5)

For example, the UOI representative explained that many communities wish to harvest wood from Crown land—a job which people can be readily trained for. However, he stated: “I don’t think you would find any community that would want to do it the same way industry does.” (FN₁, 2001: 5) He added: “I think in the long run, who we are, who the Anishnabek people are... is really quite closely related to our relationship to the land. And there’s no way we would ever be able to fundamentally alter that.” (ibid.) Here, the UOI representative invoked a somewhat essentialist discourse in describing the Anishnabek people’s relationship to the land as close and unalterable. He also argued that if First Nations were to be given a stronger hand in managing resources, they would strive for a better balance between economic and social interests. (ibid.)

To this end, the UOI representative espoused the principle embodied in a common Anishnaabe phrase: “‘mino bimaadziwin’ —‘living a good life.’” (FN₁, 2001: 5) Rodney Bobiwash, Director of the Centre for Indigenous Studies at the University of Toronto, explains the meaning of this phrase: “Living a good

life can mean many things but it can essentially be reduced to the sense of balance and beauty that is the result of the taking up of one's responsibilities." (Bobiwash, 1999) Clearly, a discourse of balance, stewardship and responsibility is invoked.

Similarly, a regional First Nation Chief argued that the scale of resources used by First Nations is, in reality, fairly limited. As he reflected: "I can count the number of people who actively fish on one hand, so there isn't really a raping of the resource (though that's the impression [being conveyed]... in the media)." (FN₂, 2001: 1) Here, the Chief downplays the significance of First Nation impact, characterizing it as limited.

But John Cartwright argued that aboriginal people's response to development ought instead to be characterized as ambivalent. He wrote:

On the one hand, most did not like the devastation which they saw caused by industrial logging, since this destroyed such sources of income as trapping and hunting; but quite a few [bands] would accept logging if they were allowed a share of its jobs. (Cartwright, 2003:121)

Grand Chief Fox clarified that First Nations were not opposed to development, but rather that they simply wanted to be full participants in the process, and to enjoy a fair share of the proceeds (as agreed upon when Ontario Chiefs signed Treaty #9 in 1905). (Fox in Chiefs of Ontario, 1998)

But according to a UOI representative, both the media in general and the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters in particular, attempt to dismiss the notion of First Nation stewardship by citing "bad actors"—instances of

indigenous exploitation and destruction of the environment, both current and historic. (FN₁, 2001: 5) Certainly, this strategy is one aspect of a political technology employed to limit indigenous access to the land.

No doubt, many would argue that First Nations, if given the chance, would prove themselves to be no better stewards of the land than current industrial managers. However, this ploy must be deconstructed in much the same way as the notion that White Man *always* harms the environment. It is also important to note that indigenous exploitation of natural resources occurs, and has occurred, largely out of necessity, and certainly not in the same systemic way as industrial capitalism. Above, First Nation interviewees invoked essentialist notions of identity, coupled with sacred cultural principles, to point towards an alternative vision of development distinct from industrial capitalism.

Moreover, as Alf Hornborg comments in his analysis of Mi'kmaq environmentalism: "The pivotal contribution of indigenous activists to environmental discourse is to have redefined its framework so that it is becoming increasingly legitimate to evoke concepts of 'sanctity'." (Hornborg, 1998: 143) But while this may be true, at best, it translates into a selective acceptance of First Nation spiritual claims. A regional First Nation Chief mused that not until very recently has the Supreme Court acknowledged the legitimacy of the oral tradition (including the teachings of elders and anecdotal information) in aboriginal culture. He argued: "So if you get someone telling his creation story, and what

that means to him in terms of his present life, that that ought to be good enough for the government to say, ‘Yes. This is how they view the world. This is how they see things.’” (FN₂, 2001: 7)

In fact, several First Nation participants raised the issue of sacred sites during the Round Table consultations. For example, Honorine Trudeau Wright of the Wikwemikong Unceded First Nation noted the absence of any mention of sacred grounds, including aboriginal burial grounds, in any of the Round Table literature. She further stressed the critical cultural importance and spiritual significance of these lands to First Nation peoples. (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 28, 1997) Doug Belanger of the Batchewana First Nation reiterated the “need to protect all First Nation sacred sites.” (ibid.) Belanger also expressed concern over the “European” place names that have been given to many of the sacred sites—“sites that had [had] names associated with them for thousands of years”—and the need to revisit this issue. (ibid.)

In addition to renaming, and thus reclaiming, sacred sites, many have yet to be formally identified, and even then, there is reticence to do so. Gilbert Labreche of the Algonquins of Mattawa and North Bay stated: “Sacred and burial sites in the Mattawa area have yet to be identified.” Labreche would like to see some sort of process put in place to identify and preserve these sites. (GLSL Round Table minutes of November 11, 1997) However, as Dwayne Nashkawa of the UOI reasoned: “There is a concern with mapping out sacred sites and burial grounds

because the land is sacred and there is a concern of people visiting these sites if they know where the sites are.” (ibid.)

A UOI representative described a history of cultural appropriation over the last 100 years “in virtually every First Nation in Ontario,” whereby archaeologists and others dug up sacred sites and removed artifacts from the community. He explained:

A lot of the sites, which have become public knowledge, have been ruined... or cheapened, or somehow diminished by the fact that a lot of people know about them. Because people don't respect those places, and they don't respect First Nation's sacred sites the way they do a cemetery... (FN₁, 2001: 7)

Although this interviewee is obviously concerned about the desecration of such sites, he readily acknowledged that “if people don't know where they are” then they could not be protected. He stated: “And we struggle with that, even as an organization, because we've tried to set up our own values collection program, and people don't even trust us, and we're from those communities.” (ibid.) This challenge is yet another of the paradoxes that emerged.

Conclusion

First Nation peoples, and their proponents, invoked numerous moral and legal precedents (from international declarations to relevant Supreme Court decisions) in an effort to have their concerns addressed. However, they did so to no avail. Although they initially participated in the public consultations, they later rejected

both the process and its outcomes. Moreover, they offered potent critiques and specific reflections on what more meaningful consultation might have entailed. They put forward a counter discourse: invoking the sanctity of their relationship to the land (thus drawing on an essentialist concept of identity), critiquing industrial capitalism, calling for social justice, and espousing values of stewardship, responsibility and balance. In so doing, they attempted to re-imagine and assert an alternative vision of First Nation development.

Moreover, First Nation interviewees seemed acutely aware of the various elements of the political technology employed by the government in managing First Nation demands. In sum, they cited the following micro-level practices. First, the government ignored moral and legal precedents, and proceeded with *Lands for Life* rather than seeking to settle outstanding land claims and treaty rights at the outset. They also rejected First Nation demands for a separate, government-to-government negotiation. To this end, First Nation issues were deemed to be problems not worthy of being immediately solved.

Second, as discussed in Chapter 4, throughout the *Lands for Life* process, the government constructed Crown land as falling within the legitimate domain of northerners and industrial interests. Conversely, the government then greenwashed its construction of Crown land in *Ontario's Living Legacy* to appease a southern, urban constituency concerned about protection. Both

constructions are devoid of aboriginal peoples, and this is perhaps most evident in their cartographic erasure.

Third, the government appointed a GLSL Round Table committee which, by and large, did not have experience consulting First Nation peoples. Moreover, the appointment of a single First Nation representative to the Round Table attempted to portray the First Nation cause as one amongst a number of competing interests. Although they held a few meetings in First Nation communities, they ultimately portrayed First Nation peoples as too diverse and heterogeneous to consult. In fact, the GLSL minutes included a caveat to dismiss those voices that did emerge as not representative. However, even this limited involvement was portrayed as meaningful consultation, and in at least one instance, aboriginal cultural concepts were co-opted and incorporated into the final recommendations.

Fourth, the government adopted tactics of deferral and delay, primarily by making promises they were not obliged to keep, and by giving aboriginal communities money to further study the issue. The government also recognized indigenous rights on a discretionary basis, selectively 'turning a blind eye' to indigenous resource use rather than changing legislation, in an effort to temporarily appease First Nation peoples with 'de facto' rights rather than 'de jure' rights.

Finally, the government also devolved power from the public to the private sector: by guaranteeing industry long-term access to Crown lands, and by

establishing Resource Stewardship Agreements. In so doing, the government effected differential access to resources through time, privileging industry and subjugating First Nation peoples. They precluded certain development options for First Nations, thus narrowing their possible futures. Whether First Nation peoples would adopt an industrial mode of development, or strive for something different—embodied in the principle of ‘living in a good way’, or opt for some hybrid, remains to be seen. But their ability to determine their own future will be severely limited in the context of Crown lands that have already been exploited for industrial purposes.

CHAPTER 6: EARTH ALLIES? FIRST NATIONS AND ENVIRONMENTALISTS

Any policy that ignores First Nations' environmental rights, denies Native people their constitutional rights. Such policy also erodes the protection due to the environment. (David McLaren, Chippewas at Nawash, 2001)

Drawing primarily on interviews conducted with key representatives from First Nation communities in the GLSL region of Ontario and from Partnership organizations, Chapter 6 examines the potential that existed for a political convergence between First Nations and environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOS). Section 6.1 examines how Partnership and First Nation representatives explained the failed attempts to form such an alliance. Section 6.2 uses those insights to explore more fully and analytically the difficulties these groups faced in finding common cause. This chapter aims to identify such obstacles so that they might possibly be overcome in the future (recognizing, of course, that these differences might also prove irreconcilable).

Chapter 2 introduced several insights of poststructural theorists into theorizing difference, identity and affinity (see, Moore et al., 2003; Braun, 2002; Barron, 2000; Escobar, 1995; and Haraway, 1990). These insights are relevant in theorizing a potential political convergence between First Nations and ENGOS. Although First Nation peoples and environmentalists represent diverse subject positions (both between groups, and amongst individuals within each group),

Haraway argues that different groups might come together to form a *coalition* based on *affinity* rather than *unity*. (Haraway, 1990: 197) Similarly, Barron argues for an “articulatory politics” whereby temporary alliances form, and are continually re-negotiated, in a variety of ways, depending upon specific constellations of subject-positions and interests. (Barron, 2000: 102) This chapter explores why such alliances are tenuous and elusive at best, and calls for real conversation about power relations, privileges and compromises.

Section 6.1: The failed alliance

In the context of *Lands for Life*, neither First Nation nor environmental discourses proved powerful enough to displace or supplant the logic of industrial capitalism. In theory, a strategic, counter-hegemonic alliance between ENGOs and First Nation peoples could have challenged the power juggernaut of government-industry collusion. Such an alliance might have resulted in an entirely different material outcome for Ontario’s Crown lands (i.e., one in which more than 12 percent of the land would be “protected”). Preliminary efforts to form such an alliance took place, though they proved unsuccessful. This failure occurred in no small part due to competing and conflicting constructions of nature.

In order to understand why this alliance failed, Section 6.1 examines the perspectives and reflections offered by key First Nation and Partnership representatives. To begin, one regional First Nation Chief reflected on the

generally positive support that First Nations have received from Ontario environmental organizations on a number of environmentally related political stands. He felt that working cooperatively with ENGOs had assisted First Nations to disseminate their message more effectively in a variety of contexts. He cited the following examples: “Whether it is protecting old growth forests in Temagami, or cleanup of an industrial site, or dealing with mine tailings, or ensuring that clear-cut forestry operations are not happening in certain areas.” (FN₂, 2001: 3) Thus, when an environmentally related, political objective can be agreed upon, such an alliance can be of benefit to both groups.

But this conflation of interests is not necessarily a given, and thus cannot be assumed. This regional First Nation Chief also cited several instances where environmentalists directly opposed First Nation development projects. For example, environmentalists opposed the Municipality of Espanola in their attempts to build a marina down river from a mercury hot spot, for fear that dredging the river bottom would disturb heavy metals and other toxic contaminants—a project supported by local First Nations. (FN₂, 2001: 3) Clearly, the development aspirations of Ontario’s First Nations communities will at times conflict with the mandates of environmental organizations.

Thus far, ENGO support for First Nations has been qualified and conditional. Barron arrived at a similar conclusion in her analysis of the Labrador Innu and their southern supporters. She states: “Rather, affinity is contingent on Innu

decisions to articulate their struggle for sovereignty and decolonization to the concerns of activist networks, e.g., militarism, environmental sustainability.” (Barron, 2000: 109) Barron further states: “... neither the identities of political actors nor the meanings of a given struggle exist *a priori*; rather, they are constituted discursively through the political process—i.e., the definition of interests and the elaboration of strategies.” (ibid.: 102) For this reason, temporary alliances must be viewed as “moment[s] of discursive articulation [that] do not necessarily persist for all time, nor under all circumstances.” (ibid.: 111)

One Union of Ontario Indians (UOI) representative indicated that his organization had struggled for years to join forces with ENGOs, to create what he argued ought to be “a natural partnership or advocacy relationship.” (FN₁, 2001: 4) He stated: “I think, by and large, we have entirely the same goals and aspirations, and concerns about protection of Mother Earth.” (ibid.) According to this UOI representative, the bigger ENGOs were initially keen to establish and develop a working relationship with First Nations. However, he concluded: “But what we really quickly found out was that as soon as their issue was dealt with, it was, ‘See you later.’” (ibid.) In the end, the lack of long-term commitment, and the perceived utilitarian nature of the relationship, took its toll. The UOI representative bitterly concluded that although ENGOs claimed to want a substantive relationship: “The only interest that we really found ... was to add color to their campaigns...” (ibid.)

The UOI representative initially admired the stance advocated by the Wildlands League: “They were really concerned that industry was dominating the meetings and the agendas, and that their voice wasn’t being heard, and First Nations voice wasn’t being heard...” (FN₁, 2001: 4) Addressing this concern, the Wildlands League invoked discourses of democracy and inclusion to characterize the process as inherently flawed. However, the Partnership (a coalition that included the Wildlands League) gradually received privileged status, and, in the end, secured a seat at the final negotiations. Thus, once they had gained differential access to the matrix of power, their insistence on First Nation inclusion subsided. For First Nations, this was a complete betrayal of trust. The UOI representative felt that ENGOs “showed their true colors” when they abandoned the public process and jumped into the back room. He stated: “We haven’t had a relationship with them since.” (ibid.)

According to the UOI representative, groups like the Forest Stewardship Council¹ or Wildlands League include: “flowery principles in their mandate” to (amongst other things) “respect aboriginal rights.” (FN₁, 2001: 5) But if those words were more than mere rhetoric, how then could the Partnership justify signing onto The Forest Accord? The UOI representative mused:

¹ For more information on the Forest Stewardship Council— a forest certification program aimed at improving the practice of forestry from an ecological and social perspective—go to: <http://www.fsccanada.org/> (Forest Stewardship Council Canada, 2006)

Maybe they [the Partnership] were the ones who put some of the wording in there [i.e. into The Forest Accord] about aboriginal people, but they completely abandoned their responsibilities as friends with us. Having a friendly, cooperative relationship. There's no trust there, anymore, at all. (FN₁, 2001: 5)

Certainly, the choices made by Partnership representatives did damage relationships, possibly precluding future alliances.

The UOI representative identified Northwatch as the one group with whom they have had a consistently positive relationship. Northwatch, based in North Bay, is a coalition of environmental groups and citizen organizations from the northeastern Ontario region.² One of its prime directives is to create a more sustainable north through the integration of environmental, social, and economic concerns. Perhaps their unique northern subject position facilitates their relationship with First Nation peoples. Certainly, as Chapter 5 explored, a discourse of integrating multi-faceted, social, economic and ecological concerns is consistent with that offered by many First Nation peoples.

The UOI representative attributed the success of their relationship with Northwatch to trust. Unlike with other ENGOs, the trust between the UOI and Northwatch remained intact. In a similar vein, a regional First Nation Chief

² For more information, go to: <http://www.web.ca/~nwatch/> (Northwatch, 2004)

characterized his working relationship with Brennain Lloyd, Executive Director of Northwatch: "...it is sort of an up-and-down process. At best, we work together on some things, and part on some things." (FN₂, 2001: 3) However, in the case of the Partnership, First Nations felt betrayed, their trust violated. Here, the UOI representative reflected on the Partnership's decision to engage in the final negotiations: "I guess it's a tradeoff they felt was important for them to make. But it has really damaged their reputation within First Nations." (FN₁, 2001: 5)

To obtain the ENGO perspective on the failed alliance, I interviewed three key representatives from the Partnership. In all instances, they proved to be not just receptive to the idea of working together with First Nation peoples, but genuinely sympathetic to their struggles. However, they cited several legitimate stumbling blocks, not to mention general frustration, to accomplishing such an enterprise.

To begin, one Partnership representative stated: "During the process, we tried to liaise with First Nations, tried to cooperate with them, but we were unsuccessful. They weren't interested in finding common cause with us." (ENGO₁, 2001: 4) Another Partnership representative expressed a similar sentiment: "As a group, we would have liked them to be allies, and we did some exploratory work on trying to create more of an alliance with them, and it just didn't lead to anything." (ENGO₂, 2001: 7) Such comments reflect the real

difficulty of agreeing upon a mutually beneficial political end; common cause cannot be assumed.

One Partnership representative attributed part of the challenge to the fact that each of the groups had different “starting points.” (ENGO₂, 2001: 7) He explained: “The First Nations, in most cases, are so preoccupied with economic survival and development, and everything that goes with that, that there is a legitimately different set of interests than there is in the environmental community, where we are primarily looking at protection.” (ibid.) Certainly, the First Nation representatives interviewed for this thesis echoed these concerns (to be detailed shortly).

In his 2004 “wake-up call” to conservationists, Mac Chapin challenged three of the world’s largest environmental groups—World Wildlife Fund, Conservation International, and The Nature Conservancy—for what he characterized as their “disturbing neglect of indigenous peoples whose land they were in the business of protecting.” (Chapin, 2004: 17) In his analysis, he came to a similar conclusion regarding seemingly divergent starting points, which he characterized as “different agendas”:

Indigenous agendas almost invariably begin with the need to protect and legalize their lands for their own use. They emphasize the importance of finding ways to make a living on the land without destroying those resources. And they give high priority to documenting their people’s history, traditions, and cultural identity. (Chapin, 2004: 21)

Certainly, Chapin's analysis is consistent with the vision of development espoused by the First Nation representatives interviewed in this project.

One Partnership representative felt the voice of First Nations was, to a certain extent, silenced, by virtue of the fact that they withdrew from the process. He explained: "The Partnership *chose* to participate; the First Nations community *chose* not to." (ENGO₂, 2001: 7, emphasis mine.) But it is difficult to know in hindsight whether the land allocations would have been substantively different had First Nation peoples been more actively and formally engaged in the process. Moreover, given the paradoxical nature of engagement (detailed in Chapter 5), the decision to withdraw seemed the only possible path of resistance.

Another Partnership representative felt the government made it clear from the outset "that there would be no land allocated to First Nations in this process"—effectively treating First Nation peoples in the same way they would "another non-native interest." (ENGO₃, 2001: 6) Moreover, this Partnership representative indicated that the Round Tables had no jurisdiction over the very interests most dear to First Nations: land rights and access to resources. He posited: "They are not going to talk about government-to-government negotiations, treaty rights or land claims, it's just not on their agenda." (ibid.) In this regard, the outcome was predetermined. Clearly, by virtue of the limited mandate of the Round Tables, and the fact that Premier Harris and Minister Snobelen ultimately rejected their recommendations, the government had no intention of dealing with First Nation

issues, and was, in all likelihood, determined to conclude the process with 12 percent protected areas. ENGOs seemed acutely aware that First Nation issues lay beyond the mandate of the Round Tables, and perhaps this weakened their perception of First Nation peoples as political allies in this process.

Section 6.2: Obstacles to a Convergence

The essentially contradictory testimony to follow reflects the notion that no single individual holds a monopoly on the truth—that multiple truths will be embodied by different subject positions. Social identity invariably influences perception of events. However, these incongruencies and points of dissent are useful in so much as they flag the very obstacles that need be overcome for a successful convergence.

Specifically, Section 6.2 examines five obstacles to convergence. First, environmentalists and First Nation peoples hold different, and seemingly incompatible, notions of nature (and thus protection). In addition, environmentalists remain skeptical about First Nation stewardship. Second, the closely related issue of aboriginal treaty rights on protected areas remains unresolved—a tension highlighted by the creation of the Great Lakes Heritage Coast Signature Site. Third, taking on First Nation constitutional issues represents a daunting challenge, with potentially uncertain implications for most ENGOs. Moreover, environmentalists must overcome and/or reconcile their

skepticism towards First Nation land stewardship (which again, results from divergent constructions of nature). Fourth, differences within the aboriginal and environmental communities are essentially irreducible, which results in thorny issues of political representation. And finally, there are ongoing logistical challenges involved in forming an alliance, as well as the need to overcome past grievances.

Constituting ‘nature’ and ‘protection’

Ironically, one of the major stumbling blocks to forging an alliance may well have been the Partnership’s objective of protecting 15-20 percent of the land base—seen by many as inadequate to maintain ecological integrity. One proponent of First Nations claimed that most wildlife analysts argue: “12 percent is not nearly enough. It should be closer to 30 or 33 percent.” (FN₃, 2001: 4) In fact, the UOI representative argued: “You can’t just say: ‘12 percent is a good number, 10 percent isn’t, 14 percent is better.’ You should protect all of it to the best of your ability.” (FN₁, 2001: 6) However, he also provided this caveat: “That doesn’t mean setting 100 percent of it aside, either. Part of protecting the land is protecting the people who make a living from it, and enabling people to make a living from it.” (ibid.) Interestingly, this notion is consistent with the Partnership’s ecosocialist discourse (to be discussed at greater length in Chapter

7); however, the Partnership still advocated setting aside protected parcels of representative ecosystems.

One Partnership representative identified this tension: “How they [First Nations] would define conservation, for example, would be quite different than [how] the environmental community would.” (ENGO₂, 2001: 7) The representative further claimed that First Nations have “a different perspective on protected areas, and whether you really need protected areas.” (ibid.) Certainly, this different perspective is apparent in the UOI representative’s comments, above.

Apparently, this issue surfaced during the meetings between the Partnership and First Nations. Each side was looking to the other to support their cause. One Partnership representative recalled Monte Hummel, then Executive Director of World Wildlife Fund Canada, posing the following question directly to First Nation representatives: ““We’ve heard a lot about what you want. What are you prepared to give? Are you prepared to support any of the things we are talking about?”” (ENGO₂, 2001: 7) The Partnership representative continued: “And the answer was basically, ‘No.’” (ibid.) He further indicated that First Nations wanted the process halted (including the creation of new parks and protected areas) until their concerns had been adequately addressed. He summarized: “We couldn’t do that. And we weren’t going to set our agenda aside until theirs is resolved, knowing that theirs could take 25 years to resolve.” (ibid.)

Consider the primary mandates of the key ENGOs within the Partnership.

World Wildlife Fund Canada's mission statement reads: "To stop the degradation of the planet's natural environment and to build a future in which humans live in harmony with nature..." (World Wildlife Fund, 2006) Similarly, the Federation of Ontario Naturalists seeks: "To protect and restore natural habitats through research, education and conservation, connecting thousands of individuals and communities with nature." (Federation of Ontario Naturalists, 2006) And finally, the Wildlands League—a chapter of the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society—states: "Our mandate is to protect wilderness and wild places through the establishment of protected areas and the promotion of natural resource use that is sustainable for nature and communities." (Wildlands League, 2000) As Chapin asserts: "Conservationist agendas... often begin with the need to establish protected areas that are off limits to people, and to develop management plans." (Chapin, 2004: 21)

Clearly, as you'd expect, the *raison d'être* of these organizations is *protection*. To this end, 'nature' has been constructed/ represented as something *distinct from* human community—something in need of protection and restoration, something with which we should seek to live harmoniously, something of which we are not fundamentally *a part*, but rather, *apart from*. Such a construction serves to perpetuate false nature-society dichotomies. Moreover, by problematizing this binary, it becomes subject to scrutiny.

However, representing nature in this way has proven a tremendously successful strategy in garnering support from an urban constituency in order to secure protected areas. But it is also in fundamental conflict with First Nation constructions of nature and self. For example, the UOI representative asserted: “In the long run, who we are, who the Anishnabek people are, is really quite closely related to our relationship to the land.” (FN₁ 2001: 5) And the regional First Nation Chief echoed an essentialist discourse of identity: “What is our relationship to the land? We say the people and the land are one. We say we are self-sustaining. And I have seen and visited communities that did not need government handouts to sustain them. They built their houses out of logs, they hunted and they fished.” (FN₂ 2001: 4) The proponent of First Nations also asserted that First Nation peoples are “much closer to the land” than both the environmentalists negotiating the deal, and the folks at the Ministry of Natural Resources. (FN₃, 2001: 4) Such testimony points to a conception of self that is embedded in nature and intricately bound to the land—a conception at odds with the pervasive nature-society dichotomy. Clearly, such a fundamental discrepancy in the construction of nature is difficult for both ENGOs and the government to reconcile.

Although it seems reasonable to think that ENGOs might show support for First Nations in the *Lands for Life* process, as they indeed attempted to, it does not seem realistic to expect these groups to place First Nation interests *above* their

own. Nor would it be acceptable for them to speak *on behalf of* First Nation peoples. One Partnership representative expressed this sentiment: “We’re not you [i.e., First Nations]. We can’t represent your interests. We are conservation groups. Our agenda is improving forest practices and getting protected areas... There was almost an expectation that we’re political allies, but we’re not.” (ENGO₃, 2001: 6) Here, I suspect there would be support from at least some members of Ontario’s left-leaning constituency for an environmental organization that sought to also work towards the rights of First Nation peoples.

Again, Barron’s insights are especially pertinent. In the context of the Labrador Innu, Barron reconciles the issue of political representation as follows:

... I therefore take it as a given that we cannot speak for others *in their voice*; this, however, does not mean that we cannot speak *of* their struggles and speak *with* them. To fail to do so would be to shirk the responsibility we have to act in the interests of justice. (Barron, 2000: 94)

Barron further warns: “...the challenge for support groups is not to avoid representation altogether, but to see that our politics, or discourse of solidarity, does not employ representational strategies that end up limiting the practical possibilities for justice and Innu self-determination.” (ibid.)

One proponent of First Nations argued that ENGOs must temporarily set the environmental agenda aside. He posited:

Environmental groups have to realize that they've got to go far beyond where they would normally go when they are dealing with First Nations and First Nations' rights. They have to realize that they have to subvert their own goals, and even their own principles sometimes, in order to ensure that First Nations rights are taken into account. (FN₃, 2001: 4)

Although this may prove to be a laudable goal, it doesn't seem to be a realistic one based on the reticence expressed by Partnership representatives.

The proponent of First Nations further reflected on what seems implicitly to be at the very heart of the dilemma—environmentalists must first be satisfied that: “to recognize First Nations' rights is to protect the environment.” (FN₃, 2001: 4) Indeed, whether or not First Nation land stewardship would prove to be better for the earth than, and fundamentally different from, industrial capitalism remains to be seen. But the discourse of connectedness to and reverence for the land posited by First Nation interviewees points to a different imaginary of self and nature.

The proponent of First Nations described the task of finding common cause with First Nations—“people who have first claim to the land”—as difficult but ultimately satisfying work. (FN₃, 2001: 5) He listed several hurdles ENGOs must overcome in supporting First Nations struggles, including (but not limited to): cultural and linguistic differences; the potential alienation of the surrounding White population; opposition from the Ministry of Natural Resources, coupled with suspicion from the Ontario Provincial Police. He believed that an ENGO/First Nation partnership would fundamentally challenge (and indeed, threaten) existing power structures—and as such, is implicitly counter-hegemonic.

However, he also felt that well established ENGOs still want to ensure they have some influence over key decisions, and, he described the choice to partner with First Nations as “one quick way to oblivion.” Yet he ultimately held: “You either choose the environment, in which case you partner with a First Nation, or you choose the road of having some influence over power brokers.” (ibid.) This last point seems to sum up at least one paradox faced by ENGOs.

Aboriginal treaty rights

Another potential challenge arises in the fact that conservation initiatives such as the designation of park or some degree of protected status can threaten aboriginal rights of access, and thus limit First Nation rights to self-determination. The Great Lakes Heritage Coast—one of the “signature sites” designated by Minister Snobelen in 2000 under *Ontario’s Living Legacy*—highlights this tension.

The Great Lakes Heritage Coast stretches some 2,900 kilometers along the Ontario coast of Lake Superior, the north shore of St. Mary’s River, and the coast of Lake Huron to the eastern coast of Georgian Bay. The Great Lakes Heritage Coast is a site of historical significance: an area where Ojibwa, Cree and Huron settlements were established in the 1600s; a site explored by Etienne Brûlé in 1620; and a major route through to western Canada which was used as a conduit for the fur trade of the early 1800s.

First Nations quickly perceived the threat posed by conservation in the context of the Great Lakes Heritage Coast project. In particular, the regional First Nation Chief raised this concern: “We thought we were being jeopardized in terms of our access to hunt, fish, trap, and gather on those sites.” (FN₂, 2001: 1) This First Nation Chief participated in one of the consultations, and reiterated the rights of First Nation communities to some of the islands of the Great Lakes Heritage Coast: “Certainly there had to be recognition of our treaty right of access to resources on those islands. Certainly we were supportive of not privatizing the islands, but also not supportive of making them into parks as well.” (ibid.) He continued:

We used to have a large tradition of gathering—be it nuts in the fall, berries in the summer, and maple syrup in the spring. So you can see where our traditional lifestyle over the years has been impacted by not only this current process, but by past processes as well. You see less and less [sic] people exercising their traditional livelihoods. (FN₂, 2001: 1)

In asserting their collective right to a traditional subsistence livelihood, First Nations challenge the juridical categories of private and public property established by the colonial state. Moreover, they lie in the genuinely unique epistemic domain *between* (or perhaps *beyond*) the privatization and protection and nature. Such practices, in both a historical and contemporary context, offer evidence of a fundamentally different and genuinely closer tie to the land. Certainly, they are at odds with individual ownership, exploitation and commodification of nature.

In the context of the Great Lakes Heritage Coast site, the First Nation Chief alluded to possible resistance: “I think they [local First Nations communities] will probably actively resist and attempt to continue their right of access as before.” (FN₂, 2001: 1) And, in all likelihood, authorities will continue to turn a blind eye to such activities. Here, James Scott’s insights into class relations in Sedaka, Malaysia apply. Scott states: “While institutionalized politics is formal, overt, concerned with systematic, de jure change, everyday resistance is informal, often covert, and concerned largely with immediate, de facto gains.” (Scott, 1985: 33) Thus, although the Great Lakes Heritage Coast may be formally designated as a protected site, if provincial authorities continue to “turn a blind eye” towards traditional First Nations activities in the area, First Nation resistance might mitigate de facto losses.

Esteva and Prakash (albeit in a different context, i.e. discussing Gandhi) offer another way to frame resistance—as *ignoring* rather than *opposing*. (Esteva and Prakash, 1998: 30) Thus, by opting out of the public consultation process, by continuing to engage in traditional activities, by reasserting traditional beliefs, First Nations ignore governmental power rather than oppose it.

Next, the First Nation Chief believed “a more solid alliance” between First Nations and ENGOs could be built: “If there is a respect for right of access in protected areas, and there is no clear cutting or logging or mining...” (FN₂, 2001: 4) He cited the example of the remote Polar Bear Park (located on the western

shore of Hudson Bay, in northern Ontario)—a traditional Cree hunting ground.

The Chief concluded: “So long as there is respect for the needs of the community, based on not exploiting the resource but just using what we need, then I am sure we could probably iron things out in terms of protecting the land.” (ibid.) Again, this perspective lies somewhere beyond both exploitation and outright protection of nature.

Of course, the “needs of the community” will necessarily vary over time, and are subject to interpretation and contestation. It should be noted that how these needs are defined has radically different material impact. For example, if needs are defined in a subsistence context, then the material impact will likely remain relatively limited. But if needs are defined as they are within an industrial model of development, then their material impact will likely prove more substantial.

According to the proponent of First Nations, one environmentalist expressed concern over the desire of First Nations to become involved in the timber industry. This spurred the proponent of First Nations to question: “Why would an environmentalist criticize a First Nation becoming involved in an economic venture that they have every right to be involved in?” (FN₃, 2001: 4) He further argued that First Nations have more of a legitimate right to the land than both “the timber companies who have 99-year leases under *Ontario’s Living Legacy*” and environmental groups. (ibid.) But Partnership reticence in this regard probably speaks to the contingent nature of their support.

The proponent of First Nations thinks that environmentalists “recognize that First Nations are perhaps much better stewards than anybody else around, [were they to be] given half a chance...” (FN₃, 2001: 4). However, he also felt: “They [environmentalists] still have yet to overcome that ‘White Man perspective’ about knowing what is best for the environment (even better than the people who have lived in that environment for thousands of years)...” (ibid.) Here, the proponent of First Nations acknowledged his own difficulty in this regard:

It wasn’t until I stopped imposing my own values, and my own ways of thinking about the environment, and what is right, and what is wrong, and how to go about doing things. It wasn’t until I shut up, and started to listen, that I began to understand a lot better about what was being said, and what wasn’t being said. (ibid.)

He argued that listening to “what is not being said” is particularly important with Anishnawbe-Ojibway peoples, and that ultimately, only through a much greater understanding of, and deeper appreciation for, First Nation culture will their rights be truly respected. (ibid.)

The UOI representative explained the First Nation reticence to dividing up the land, and setting aside certain parcels of protected land. He stated: “It doesn’t make a lot of sense to our elders, or to me personally... to say we have to save this, and preserve it, but we’ll do whatever we want over here... It’s like we’re creating a museum.” (FN₁, 2001: 6) As James Morrison argued, it is simply not possible for Native leadership to extricate notions of protection from land claims, treaty rights and aboriginal title. (Morrison, 1993: 1)

The UOI representative also cited concerns over the role different land-use designations (including protected status) have played in dramatically decreasing “the amount of land we can exercise our rights on.” (FN₁, 2001: 6) He reflected: “When the treaties were signed, we could do whatever we wanted, in all of this [land], there were no restrictions.” (ibid.) He stated that the land on which elders traditionally hunted and fished has increasingly either been sold or is now inhabited by non-natives (e.g. lodges). (ibid.)

Constitutional challenges

According to the proponent of First Nations, ENGO involvement with First Nations necessarily means taking on a “huge constitutional challenge” (FN₃, 2001: 5)—a formidable and time-consuming task at best. James Morrison cited this very challenge in his 1993 report, warning that: “Sorting out these questions of jurisdiction and title will slow government action on new protected areas...” (Morrison, 1993: 2) Similarly, Mac Chapin believes that ENGOs have been, by and large, unwilling to take on legal battles over First Nation land tenure because they consider such actions to be too overtly political, and, ultimately “outside their conservationist mandate.” (Chapin, 2004: 21)

To this end, the proponent of First Nations reflected on the difficulties faced by the Canadian Environmental Law Association (CELA)—a group of environmental lawyers attuned to First Nations struggles. He stated: “They too

had real difficulties in getting Native people to sit on the Board of Directors. They too had difficulty in putting environmental groups off to one side in order to deal with First Nations rights.” (FN₃, 2001: 5) He further posited that because CELA understood “the extent of the problem,” they were reluctant to become fully involved with First Nations. (ibid.) He continued: “You have to help First Nations make a constitutional argument, as well as making an argument out of natural right. And making a constitutional argument is a lot harder, and a lot more expensive, than making an argument out of natural right to resources.” (ibid.)

The constitutional struggle remains elusive for most First Nation communities. According to the proponent of First Nations: “A lot of First Nations are not up for that struggle, because they are just struggling to survive; they are struggling to make sure their water is clean enough.” (FN₃, 2001: 5) Again, his comments allude to the different epistemological starting points, and thus imaginaries, of ENGOs and First Nations.

Moreover, if ENGOs were to assist First Nations in asserting their constitutional right to resources, the ENGOs might eventually have their own interests subsumed. The proponent of First Nations explained: “If you choose to partner with a First Nation, and the First Nation is successful in having its rights recognized, then you end up taking a back seat.” (FN₃, 2001: 6) This proponent feels that those within the environmental movement remain unwilling to take a

back seat to First Nation rights and struggles. (ibid.) Without doubt, this represents a significant obstacle to forming a political alliance.

Irreducible differences

One Partnership representative identified a further challenge to convergence. First Nations, he argued, are far from monolithic—representing a diverse range of values and perspectives. He reflected: “Within the First Nations’ communities there are traditionalists, who are concerned about trap lines ... and sacred places (they tend to be elders), and they tend to find common cause with organizations who are for conservation—like us.” (ENGO₁, 2001: 4) In other words, ENGO representatives might find common cause with certain members of the First Nation community (such as elders concerned about sacred spaces), but not necessarily with Band Development Officers. So, deciding exactly *who* represents a given community, and *who* to engage with politically, can be difficult.

Again, Jennifer Barron's insights are relevant here. She explains that in any community, different subject positions (and thus divisions) exist. She notes: “As a result, political unity... is not assumed, but achieved with some effort (and invariably some dissent).” (Barron, 2000: 107) Certainly, if ENGOs were to form an alliance with Ontario First Nations, achieving this unity within a diverse aboriginal community would prove a significant challenge. Of course, the same

difficulty applies equally to coalitions of environmental groups (agreement amongst the Partnership organizations notwithstanding). Although the government endorsed the Partnership as representative, this was not the case—even in regard to the limited objective of conservation. Clearly, having a select group of moderate organizations represent all environmentalists, or the environment more generally, is problematic.

Logistical challenges

The Partnership representative also cited the logistical challenges that arise when you attempt to develop a meaningful relationship with a spatially diffuse, and linguistically diverse, community. “Communications and misunderstandings are a real problem since we rarely can afford to get to northern communities...”

(ENGO₁, 2001: 4) Barron identified similar constraints in the context of the Innu and their distant supporters. She argued that because of:

...an absence of concrete connections across geographic and social distances... the public tends to know the Innu more by way of representation—news accounts and/or media-inspired images of the generic 'Native'—than by way of direct personal encounters. (Barron, 2000: 91)

Beyond linguistic barriers and physical distance Chapin also cites: “...the difficulty of reconciling cultural differences between industrialized and indigenous ways of viewing the world, deliberating, negotiating, and making

decisions.” (Chapin, 2004: 21) Certainly, these differences came to the fore in First Nation critiques of the process.

Finally, the Partnership representative reflected on the failed attempts to find common cause with First Nations, and on the grievances these attempts generated: “First of all, I think they [First Nations] went into *Lands for Life* with expectations that were too high.” (ENGO1, 2001: 4) He indicated that First Nation peoples and their supporters critiqued ENGOs, demanding: ““How could you have agreed to anything before First Nations agreed?”” (ibid.) But the Partnership representative asserted: “We felt this was really unfair since we tried to work with First Nations... We really needed allies, but they did not want to work with us, so we went ahead and made our separate peace.” (ibid.) In fact, both ENGOs and First Nations felt as if they had tried to join forces, but blamed the other side for the failure. This speaks to the need to examine systematically the tensions of identity and structure within each community, and to begin the difficult discussion around power imbalances and real differences.

Certainly, the testimony of First Nation peoples (both during the consultations and during my interviews) consistently attested to their fundamentally different epistemological starting points. Without falling into the trap of romanticizing ‘the ecological Native’ (see Hornborg 1998; and Hornborg and Kurkiala 1998), there remains the potential for First Nations to continue to assert, and in some cases re-establish, a relationship to the land that is fundamentally different from that of

industrial capitalism. Although it lies beyond the scope of this research to explore what this imaginary might entail, the opportunity for environmental groups to influence (and/or learn from) this relationship is significant. This is yet another reason why environmentalists should attempt to join forces with First Nations.

The proponent of First Nations viewed *Ontario's Living Legacy* to be an attempt by the MNR [and groups like the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters] to thwart First Nations struggles. He stated: "I think the two have conspired, either willingly or not, to actually frustrate the recognition of Native rights." (FN₃, 2001: 2) In particular, he remained justifiably critical at the failure to include First Nations in the final negotiations of the Forest Accord. He characterized the omission as "a huge mistake on the part of the environmental groups that negotiated the Accord..." (ibid.) And he argued that, without First Nation participation, the Forest Accord was a much weaker agreement than it could have otherwise been. (ibid.)

In particular, the proponent of First Nations questioned the Partnership's decision to ally themselves with industry and the government. He stated: "...if they had reflected properly on what interests they were supposed to be presenting or protecting or representing, then their proper alliance is with First Nations." (FN₃, 2001: 2) He held that an ENGO/ First Nation alliance would have resulted in a greater percentage of the forest being protected. Had the forest sector been less successful in securing access to so much of the region, this proponent of First

Nations believed: “There would still be some room for First Nations to negotiate their rights to those resources, and to settle outstanding land claims.” (ibid.) He further asserted:

I think it is a crime to basically give away the North... without the recognition of Native rights and land claims... If those rights and claims are never realized, First Nations will have virtually nothing left in the North on which to assert their authority, and with which to practice their rights to hunt and fish. So, from my point of view, *Ontario’s Living Legacy* is a disaster when it comes to First Nations. (ibid.)

The UOI representative lamented that the economy of northern Ontario has been largely built on the exploitation of natural resources, and that First Nations have been generally excluded from reaping the benefits of such exploitation. He felt this was particularly ironic and unjust in light of the Robinson-Huron and Robinson-Superior Treaties.³ For this UOI representative, these treaties were about “sharing the land, [and] sharing what we had...” He further commented: “The fact that we hear consistently from MNR and forest companies, ‘There’s nothing left to give’ is really frustrating.” (FN₁, 2001: 6)

According to the UOI representative, much of the power, particularly over forest management practices, has been turned over to industry. He stated: “It started with the Crown Forest Sustainability Act, but *Lands for Life*, and

³ To access the complete text of the Robinson-Huron Treaty, go to: <http://www.anishinabek.ca/uoi/tr%20-%20robhur.htm> (UOI, 2004a) To access the complete text of the Robinson-Superior Treaty, go to: <http://www.anishinabek.ca/uoi/tr%20-%20robsup.htm> (UOI, 2004b)

Ontario's Living Legacy, and the Forest Accord, entrenched that. Now you have the fox in charge of the hen house.” (FN₁, 2001: 6)

Conclusion

It remains to be seen how the development aspirations of First Nation peoples in Ontario will ultimately manifest themselves; and whether or not they will prove substantially different than those of industrial capitalism. Even those who strongly support the concept of self-determination (including myself) face this challenge: as Jennifer Barron reflects, “It is one thing to support self-determination in principle, and quite another to advance specific directions that self-determination may bring on.” (Barron, 2000: 109) Yet, it is not for non-Aboriginals to pre-determine such an outcome. And, just as Barron argues for the Innu, there remains potential to move toward: “...the ideal of making space for Aboriginal people to be or become something as yet unknown.” (ibid.: 106) And without romanticizing or essentializing First Nation peoples, their unique subject position, and their ability to think outside the narrow domain of privatization/ protection, may indeed yield a new way of “knowing, making and re-making” (Castree, 2001) the world.

Chapter 6 details the various challenges that emerged in the context of forming a First Nation/ ENGO alliance during the *Lands for Life* struggles. Specifically,

First Nation and Partnership representatives offered divergent constructions of nature, and thus protection. Moreover, in some cases, protected status was perceived by First Nations as a potential threat to their treaty right of access. The implicit delay in tackling First Nation constitutional challenges, and the potential to have First Nation rights supercede environmental concerns were also raised as issues. Finally, Partnership representatives cited the logistical challenges of dealing with a spatially diffuse and linguistically diverse community.

However, in spite of these seemingly daunting obstacles, an alliance between First Nations and ENGOs would better serve both sets of interests, for their respective goals are, in the end, overlapping or at least complementary, though not completely identical. But the path towards convergence seems fraught with potential misunderstandings, risks of cultural appropriation or homogenization, and, indeed, the potential for (possibly even the likelihood of) failure. Even the dim hope of a potential convergence warrants a whole-hearted attempt to resolve the obstacles. And if an alliance cannot ultimately be struck, the attempt to forge it might result in other unforeseeable but intriguing possibilities.

CHAPTER 7: ENGOs CHALLENGE FOREST SECTOR DISCOURSE(S)

Buchanan Forest Products Ltd.:

““Every tree on this land is needed to run our sawmills.””

-- (McAndrew, June 28, 1998) --

Discursive struggles around forestry (and indirectly, around nature) proved to be a contentious site of encounter during the *Lands for Life* consultations. Section 7.1 explores forest industry bids to secure a guaranteed wood supply from Crown lands. In particular, various representatives of the forest sector argued the need for long-term leases, resisting not just the creation of *future* parks, but attacking *existing* parks as well. They advocated ‘multiple use’ management of Crown lands (to be elaborated upon shortly), greater industry self-regulation, and the adoption of Scenario #1 (a land use option which essentially represented the status quo—business as usual). They supported their position with the threat of job losses. But more questionably, they also argued that harvesting practices have improved significantly, that forestry is actually beneficial to the land, that biodiversity is not at risk, and that old-growth forests are unhealthy and ecologically undesirable. All of these tactics represent aspects of the political technology employed by industry to further their own interests and to assert a hegemonic construct of Crown land.

In contrast, environmentalists rejected this economic and reductionist construction of Crown land. Rather, drawing on discourses of sustainability, they put forward a counter-hegemonic discourse, which actively deconstructed, and

thus resisted, the forest industry position. Section 7.2 examines a series of arguments aimed at challenging what environmentalists characterized as industry rhetoric. First, several actors critiqued the problematic guarantee of “no net loss of fiber,” particularly in light of the fact that current forestry practices, especially clear-cut logging, are inherently unsustainable. Second, environmental analysts argued that job losses have resulted not from environmental protection, but rather, from technological change (primarily increased mechanization), poor resource management, and global market conditions. Environmentalists further expressed concern around what they perceived to be an over reliance on old-growth forests, casting into doubt the future competitiveness of Canadian industry. The Canadian Environmental Law Association also questioned the legality of the Ontario Forest Accord, equating long-term leases with virtual ownership (and thus privatization) of Crown land. Throughout the process, environmental actors attempted (somewhat unsuccessfully) to broaden the debate, to resist the forest sector’s attempts to dominate the agenda, and to critique the greening of industry discourse. Finally, Section 7.3 examines the emergence of what Adkin describes as “ecosocialist” discourse (Adkin, 1992: 153) in the context of *Lands for Life*. Specifically, the Partnership's proposal that jobs and ecological protection are compatible, rather than an either/or proposition will be discussed.

Section 7.1: Forest Sector Discourse

Through the *Lands for Life* process, the Ontario forestry sector succeeded in achieving its primary goal—to negotiate long-term leases to Crown land, and, in so doing, to secure both a land base and guaranteed wood supply. To this end, Bill Hall of the Opeongo Forestry Service argued: “Forestry is a long term venture.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of November 25, 1997) Similarly, Paul Berges and Bruce Ferguson, during a special forestry presentation, insisted that the forest industry’s long-term survival depended upon a secure land base. (GLSL Round Table minutes of September 9, 1997) And indeed, the GLSL Round Table must have been swayed by such arguments. For example, in a discussion around sustainability, they listed the need to: “Provide for enhanced *long-term certainty* in Crown land planning and management and resource allocation for *all* users and uses, including: business investment confidence; continued and secure access to resources; protection of resource.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of January 13, 1998, emphasis mine) Here, “protection of resources” seems as if it were added almost as an ecologically correct afterthought.

However, even experienced environmentalists such as Elizabeth May of the Sierra Club of Canada (SCC) see some merit in the need for greater security of tenure. In her 1998 book, *At the Cutting Edge*—a province-by-province critique of Canadian forestry practices—May reasoned:

With forests requiring anywhere from forty to eighty years, depending on the ecosystem, before another round of logging can be undertaken; private companies argue that it is only logical that if they had a long-term stake, such as they would in their own land, they would be more likely to take responsibility for the future productivity of the forest. (May, 1998: 6)

Thus, in theory, longer-term leases should both encourage and reward stewardship. Longer-term leases also allow the sector to maintain equipment and mills with some assurance they will generate profit on their investment.

In the 1999 Ontario Forest Accord, forest industry, Partnership and MNR representatives agreed there would be: “no net increase in the cost of wood delivered to the mill and there would be no long term reduction in the supply of fibre... as a result of the establishment of new parks and protected areas...” (MNR, 1999: 2) Weis and Krajnc argued: “This implies the need for intensified logging on unprotected lands.” (Weis and Krajnc, 1999: 35) CELA lawyers, Winfield and Jenish, argued such conditions amount to long-term leases—nothing less than “virtual ownership of public lands.” (Winfield and Jenish, 1998: 142) Moreover, they further argued that these leases were granted in the broader context of the province divesting various public trusts and responsibilities to the municipal level and private sector (see Chapter 1 for greater detail). They wrote:

The forestry industry also stands to be a major beneficiary of the ‘Lands for Life’ process as the government has indicated its willingness to consider providing perpetual tenure on public forest lands as ‘compensation’ for the transfer of the Ministry of Natural Resource’s monitoring and enforcement functions to the industry. (ibid.: 142)

However, these analysts (Winfield and Jenish, May, Weis and Krajnc) would no doubt agree that ownership (and especially ‘virtual ownership’ and ‘perpetual tenure’) does not necessarily equate with stewardship (particularly in this age of capital mobility). Long-term leases amount to de facto privatization of the land, and as such, represent a key element in the political technology used to legitimate and privilege industrial interests in this process.

In her analysis, May identified the ongoing threat of capital flight. Specifically, she cited the following remarks of Thomas Stephens, President of MacMillan Bloedel, at the inauguration of a massive new pulp mill in Indonesia: “B.C.’s [British Columbia’s] wages and forestry rules ‘can’t be tolerated in a world where free-market forces will determine the winners and the losers.” (May, 1998: 6) Within this paradigm, when Ontario’s forests have been logged, industry will simply re-locate to lesser-developed countries where environmental regulations and labor laws are poorly developed or non-existent, and where stands of trees will grow faster due to warmer climes. As Bill Templeton demanded in *The Ottawa Citizen*: “Are profit-focused executives bent on improving their short-term earnings suddenly going to take a long-term view of local community development in the North?” (Templeton, 1997: A13) To be sure, if Stephens is representative of this class of executives, the answer will remain a resounding, “No.”

In her *Globe and Mail* article, 'Land grab alarm bells', Stephanie Amos described *Lands for Life* as "a business proposition" and "a euphemism for unbridled commercial development." (Amos, 1998: B2) Similarly, environmentalists cynically mocked the long-term leases as: "'Lands for Logging for Life'." (McAndrew, June 28, 1998)

Although large forestry companies wished to secure as much wood pulp as possible, there were instances when they clearly crossed the threshold of public tolerance. Brian McAndrew alluded to one infamous statement (which he characterized as an "extreme position") made in a letter from Buchanan Forest Products Ltd., arguing that: "... 'every tree on this land is needed to run our sawmills'." (McAndrew, June 28, 1998) According to McAndrew, E.B. Eddy Forest Products also requested that logging be permitted in existing and newly created parks. (ibid.)

But, such seemingly outrageous (and bleak) propositions, in all likelihood, undermined industry bids. One Partnership representative described the Buchanan statement: "It was, in reality, a gift to us. Because by making such an extreme public statement, they showed how extreme was the approach of some parts of the forest industry, and that was helpful to us in many ways." (ENGO₁, 2001: 3) In other words, such discursive statements ultimately revealed the potentially insatiable, all consuming nature of the forest industry. They also revealed the fact that at least some industry representatives seemed incapable of

acknowledging any limits whatsoever to forestry operations. And finally, they revealed an exceedingly narrow and economistic construction of Crown land—as lumber which exists solely to fuel sawmills, and thus, indirectly, create jobs and generate wealth.

But more interesting than the wish itself, to secure the land base, were the tactics used by industry to further this end—all aspects of the political technology through which industry constructed a discourse of Crown land which furthered their own interests. Specifically, the forest sector attempted to normalize and legitimize forestry operations as inevitable, based on traditional, historical access to the land base. For example, Peter Hynard of the Ontario Professional Foresters Association, represented foresters as *traditional* users, and warned that the province ought to adopt: “...a *judicious* approach to designating new protected areas, as they may exclude some *traditional* users.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of December 8, 1997, emphasis mine.)

Along similar lines, others spoke against further withdrawals from the land base. For example, John Grass, a Community Development Officer with the Temagami and Latchford Economic Development Corporation, rejected the creation of new parks and protected areas, arguing: “... any further erosion of the land base is unacceptable.” (Clearly, his choice of metaphors is ironic, given that forestry and mining contribute to the real and serious problem of soil erosion.) Grass went on to declare that his region: “... has been *under siege* for a decade.”

(GLSL Round Table minutes of April 20, 1998) Mark Stevens of Grant Lumber in Elk Lake and Terry Fiset of Elk Lake Community Forest offered similar testimony. (ibid.) Finally, Rudi Ptok, Montreal River-Bay Lakes Users Association, cited a myriad of ongoing reductions in the amount of land available for industrial activities, including: “parks, conservation reserves, private lands, utility and transportation corridors, cultural heritage, wetlands, lands for native negotiations... Special Management Areas...” Ptok expressed this sentiment: “Enough is enough.” (ibid.) However, the argument expressed by these participants seems based upon a false premise, since it seems to imply an almost quasi-ownership of Crown land. For how can land that you don’t own (at least, exclusively) be withdrawn from you? Moreover, such assertions attempt to normalize not just the legitimacy, but, even more problematically, the entitlement of industry to access and use Crown land for private, exploitative, commercial ends.

Next, numerous forest sector proponents actively advocated ‘multiple use’ management of Ontario’s Crown lands. For example, Norm Stephens of Agawa Forest Products, described this as “shared use of the forest amongst multiple users.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 28, 1997) Jim Miller of Clergue Forest Management similarly argued the Round Tables ought to: “minimize exclusive use designations” and “maximize the opportunities for ‘shared use’ of the forest.” (ibid.) Laird Nelson of Domtar Forest Products advocated a

“...‘multiple use’ approach versus a ‘uni-use’ approach to Crown land management.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of December 8, 1997)

Other participants imbued ‘multiple use’ with moral and ethical undertones. For instance, Chris Merla of the Arnprior District Fish and Game Club argued against “control of Crown lands by any special [interest] group.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of March 27, 1998) Presumably, the special interest group Merla is referring to would be conservationists. He viewed the typical “conflict driven model for allocation of resources” as unproductive, stressing: “conflicts occur when someone is excluded.” He concluded: “A better approach to planning” is required. (ibid.)

Others, such as Claude Mayer, Reeve of Cosby, Mason and Martland, argued for ‘multiple use’ as an inherently more “balanced use of the forest.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 9, 1998) Mayer spoke in favor of what he characterized as “wise forest management (e.g. modified harvesting [in provincial parks]) and recreational use of Crown land.” (ibid.) Similarly, Roger Betz, posited: “Multiple use is based in sound resource management practices.” Betz “cautioned against extremist approaches to developing public land use policies.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 16, 1998) Here, environmentalists have been implicitly characterized not just as a special interest group, but also as extremists.

Industry proponents cited examples of ‘multiple use’ management in arguing their case. For instance, Phil Bunce, Northshore Forest Inc., cited the Northshore sustainable forest license—“established for the former Mississauga and Spanish River forest management units”—as a successful example of multiple use management. (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 14, 1997) John Field of the Sudbury Trail Plan Association advocated the multiple use of Crown lands, stressing the need for snowmobile access to remote areas such as Killarney Provincial Park. (ibid.) Similarly, Larry Wood of Domtar Forest Products and Barry Wannamaker of Gilmour Freehold Lands provided the example of “Domtar’s Gilmour Freehold lands, where forest harvesting and recreational activities are co-existing.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of December 8, 1997) Faye Johnson of Grant Forest Products Ltd. stressed that “remote resource-based tourism can co-exist with timber harvesting”—seeming to represent an infinitely reasonable, middle ground—the compromise of shared use and co-existence. But do clear-cut logging operations [which, according to May, account for more than 90 percent of Ontario’s harvests (May, 1998)] not constitute exclusive use of Crown land (even if only in the short- and medium-run)?

Certainly, ‘multiple use’, or what Eric Reguly described as “the principle of non-exclusive use of Crown lands” (Reguly, December 3, 1998: B2), poses inherent limitations as it is currently formulated. For instance, industrial logging clearly detracts from remote tourism, though remote tourism probably poses only

a minor inconvenience to logging operations. And, as Reguly commented: "... the government should remember that Crown lands were deeded to the people of Ontario in perpetuity and that someone with a canoe has as much right to them as someone with a chainsaw." (ibid.) Here, Reguly argues that Ontario recreationists have the same inherent legitimacy to enjoy Crown land as loggers do to exploit it. But despite Faye Johnson's opinion to the contrary (above), in all likelihood, the sound of a distant chainsaw or Feller Buncher (not to mention the visual disgrace of a clear cut landscape) would deter even the most passionate of recreationists. Obviously, industry benefits disproportionately from the principle (or rather, the euphemism) of 'multiple use.' Moreover, 'multiple use' jeopardizes long-term ecological integrity when it involves clear-cut logging operations.

One northern tourism operator identified specifically the following uses he felt were incompatible with ecotourism: "ATVs. Quads. Snowmobiles. Hunting. Forestry. Prospecting." And on reflecting about the last of these, he joked: "There's just something about those explosions." (NORTH₇, 2001: 3) Vicki Mather, a private citizen from Sudbury who took an active interest in the process, stressed that: "Not all land uses are compatible with each other; especially some consumptive and recreational uses." (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 9, 1998) She further claimed that "private lands are available for resource use (hunting, forestry, mining)" and that fishing and hunting is allowed in some

provincial parks. Finally, she cautioned that once roadless areas have been established, they could not [easily] be restored. (ibid.)

Interestingly, not all non-governmental organizations (NGOs) opposed the notion of allowing 'multiple uses' in parks, and many acknowledged the success of 'multiple use' principles in Algonquin Park¹. For example, Mike Wilton of Algonquin Eco Watch recommended establishing a "special zone within [the] park which permits a number of land uses [such as logging, trapping, and hunting] but not mining." (GLSL Round Table minutes of March 26, 1998) However, Bill Brown of the Algonquin Forestry Authority argued: "... the success of multiple use in Algonquin Park is partially based upon the primary use of selection and shelterwood silvicultural systems, which minimize the aesthetic impacts of forest harvesting." (GLSL Round Table minutes of December 8, 1997) Thus, selective, small-scale harvesting may be more compatible with recreational uses of a forest than large-scale industrial logging and mining operations. However, since forestry practices were deemed to lie outside the scope of inquiry, environmental advocates and concerned citizens were not able to engage in a more nuanced debate around qualified principles of 'multiple use'.

¹ For more information on sustainable forest management in Algonquin Park, go to the Algonquin Forestry Authority's web site at: <http://www.algonquinforestry.on.ca/> (Algonquin Forestry Authority, 2004)

Above all else, representatives of the forest sector continually stressed the importance of the industry to the northern economy, threatening job losses should additional lands be protected. To this end, countless presentations advanced the economic contribution made by the forest industry to the local and regional economy. [For example, see the comments of Mike Brophy, Chair of the forestry cluster for Nipissing East-Parry Sound and George Breummer of Tembec Forest Products (GLSL Round Table minutes of November 11, 1997).] Similarly, Scott Mosher of McMillan Bloedel Ltd. argued for the need to ensure the continued economic health of the forest industry, as well as continued investment confidence. (ibid.)

One GLSL Round Table member commented on feedback the Round Table received during a tour of mills around Sault Ste. Marie: “We were told repeatedly, ‘If you create another park of 1,000 hectares, it will mean loss of jobs for us. And there were several small towns that depended almost entirely on the logging industry... And if you make an even bigger park, this industry will go belly-up. (RT₁, 2001: 4) Thus, Round Table members felt as if they were faced with an either/or proposition in terms of protecting jobs and the environment. Framing the discussion in such terms represents yet another aspect of the political technology employed by industry. Moreover, the Round Table member explained that there was an antagonistic, “anti-park feeling” (ibid.), and that this negative

sentiment was also projected at those who supported the notion of increased protection. In fact, according to this Round Table member, another GLSL Round Table member antagonistically referred to other, more protection-oriented members as “park-creeps.” (ibid.)

The threat of job losses was reiterated in the popular press. Here, Richard Mackie quoted Cecil Makowski, Vice-President of the Canadian Energy and Paperworkers Union: “The Canadian Energy and Paperworkers Union estimates it has 12,000 members involved in forestry and papermaking in Northern Ontario. About 600 of these workers could lose their jobs as a direct result of the *Lands for Life* proposals and hundreds more could be at risk, depending upon future decisions under the process...” (Mackie, December 1, 1998: A10)

Not surprisingly, forest sector representatives unanimously supported Scenario #1, an option that entailed no new protected lands, and essentially represented business as usual. They also unanimously rejected Scenario #4, an option put forward by the Partnership, advocating 15 to 20 percent protection. David Stewart, a northerner with some experience in land use planning, argued that if Scenario #4 were to be adopted, Renfrew County alone would lose an estimated 300 jobs. Stewart viewed Scenario #1 as the “best option” since it: “Provides for multiple use and will not impact economy.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of March 27, 1998) Brent Rankin of Rankin Trucking in Thessalon also stressed the

adverse impact further withdrawals of red and white pine would have on the local economy. (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 28, 1997)

Similarly, Tom McCullough of the Bonnechere Madawaska Sustainable Forest Alliance Inc. described Scenarios #3 and #4 as “problematic.” He spoke of a “sense of betrayal” in light of the fact that silvicultural investments have been made in areas that might potentially be protected. Moreover, he alluded to a sense of ownership, and inherent right of access, when he argued that further protection “...will deprive us of the use of much of ‘our neighborhood’.” Finally, McCullough concluded his testimony by arguing that further withdrawals from the forestry land base are “not economically viable” (GLSL Round Table minutes of March 27, 1998)—an interesting argument given that it is also not ecologically viable to continue deforesting the land.

Others went further in their opposition to Scenario #4. For example, Howard Hennesey, a local member of the Economic Development Organization and a Tourist Operator in Elliot Lake, declared that Scenario #4 was not based on fact, and would ultimately “kill [the] forest industry.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 6, 1998) Similarly, Peter Hynard of the Eastern Ontario Sustainable Forest Licence argued that Scenario #4 “would create major problems for industry.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of March 26, 1998) Brad Jourdin, who represented the unionized workers of St. Mary's Paper, objected to all but Scenario #1. Jourdin assured the Round Table that layoffs and mill closures would result from

the other three preliminary land use options, negatively impacting local communities. (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 8, 1997) Paul Krabbe of Tembec Forest Products detailed the socio-economic impact of various scenarios: “Scenario 2: 8% of productive forest and 64 direct jobs; Scenario 3: 14% of productive forest and 105 direct jobs; Scenario 4: 36% of productive forest and 281 direct jobs.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 16, 1998)

Brian McAndrew characterized industry resistance to additional parks and protected areas as “unyielding.” He wrote: “They [forestry companies] claim production will decline, jobs will be lost and the economy of the north will collapse unless they are given the right to cut as many trees as they want.” (McAndrew, June 28, 1998) Indeed, these types of claims evoked fear for workers in not just the forest sector, but also in related secondary and tertiary industries that rely on this economic activity. Such scare tactics are effective, and are difficult, if not impossible, to counter. But, to this end, one UOI representative reflected: “The sad thing is, it is not reflective at all of the people from Northern Ontario... You had very vested interests there.” (FN₁, 2001: 7) Moreover, the entire discussion holds up the economy as a Holy Grail, effectively *totalizing* the field of discussion—making other social and ecological considerations irrelevant and reducing land-use decisions to purely economic matters.

As mentioned earlier (see Chapter 1), some of those vested interests were directly represented on the Round Table. Both Mike Barker, and shortly after, Rob Keen, formally disagreed with the decision to include the Partnership's Scenario #4. Specifically, Barker objected to the display of Scenario #4 alongside the three developed by the Round Table, as if it carried equal moral weight, and presented an equally viable option. Instead, he recommended it be displayed with the contributions of groups like the Friends of Blue Lake.

Jeff Barton of Liskeard Lumber also tried to dismiss Scenario #4, which he described as “created by a third party”—an option that could potentially bias the process. (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 20, 1998) (Of course, this seems to imply that is it possible to achieve a more or less *unbiased* process, which is clearly problematic in a postmodern sense.) Also, George Farku, Mayor of Elliot Lake, felt Scenario #4 failed to take the needs of the local community adequately into consideration. He declared: “Scenario 4 cannot be implemented without more analysis.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 6, 1998)

But in the end, in spite of considerable effort to dismiss Scenario #4, and after much Round Table deliberation, the Chair, Bob Gray, to his credit, ruled on its inclusion. (GLSL Round Table minutes of January 27, 1998) In fact, the inclusion of Scenario #4 was a tremendous coup for the Partnership, reflecting the privileged status they achieved in the negotiations. As stated earlier, it would

have been interesting had Ontario's First Nation peoples had the cartographic capacity at the time to develop their own alternate, competing land-use Scenario.

Next, forest sector representatives put forward a fourth line of argumentation—that forestry practices have improved considerably of late, and are now inherently more sustainable. To this end, Tom Clouthier of H. Couthier and Sons contended: “Industry has taken great strides to correct the wrongs of the past.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of November 25, 1997) In a similar vein, Phil Hearn, Director of Communications at Domtar Inc., invoked legalistic discourses in making the following juridical claim: “Not only is it now law but sustainable forest management has also been industry practice for the past two decades...” (Hearn, November 9, 1998: B2) Hearn continued: “Today’s society demands that the forest industry—Canada’s largest net exporter and provider of foreign income—deliver both economical products worldwide and ecological protection at home...” (ibid.) Hearn also characterized the approach environmentalists tend to adopt, in critiquing forestry practices, as an “outdated adversarial premise.” (ibid.)

But, as Adkin asserts, the greening of industry discourse has occurred in part “as the ‘environmental crisis’ has increasingly infiltrated political discourse” (Adkin, 1992: 136), and in part through the conscious appropriation of eco-friendly metaphors and rhetorical devices. The messages embodied in the statements above are intended to appease the concerns of those who are

ecologically aware. Once these concerns have been addressed, silenced, dismissed or deflected, if only discursively, and not substantively, hegemonic discourses and corporate power can prevail.

Geoff Meakin of the Sault District Wood Producers Association emphasized “that forest harvesting practices are changing, improving the opportunity for multiple use management.” Yet Meakin also “recommended against harvesting reserves along roads”—[lest the unsightly view of a clear-cut remind the public of the deforestation underway]—and “advocated appropriate clear cut silviculture.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 28, 1997) The significance of Meakin’s last comment remains somewhat ambiguous. Is he acknowledging that the amount of clear-cut harvesting that currently takes place is inappropriate? Or is he arguing that clear-cut harvesting is a generally appropriate method to deforest the landscape?

Time and again, forest sector representatives coupled (and thus normalized, in the Foucauldian sense) ‘multiple use’ with ‘sustainable management’. For example, Kenton Martin recounted Tembec’s economic contribution, growing industrial strength, and movement towards sustainable forestry certification, advocating a ‘multiple use’ management approach. (GLSL Round Table minutes of September 30, 1997) Similarly, Bruce Morgan and Dave McGowen of Midway Lumber also linked “sound sustainable forest management practices”

with “shared and multiple use of the forest” in their joint presentation. (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 28, 1997)

Industry representatives also stressed the importance of value-added processing. Jack Shields from the Specialty Products Division of Tembec Forest Products detailed his company’s efforts to “achieve optimal economic benefits from ‘value added’ forest” through: (a) the sale of high value products such as hardwood flooring; (b) making the best use of lower value wood products (e.g. laminated wood, finger joint products); and (c) identifying market niches and full use of the wood product. (GLSL Round Table minutes of December 8, 1997)

Similarly, Ron Aubin, also from Tembec Forest Products, explained how “...former waste lumber is now being used to manufacture value-added products.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of November 25, 1997) Finally, Marc Dube of St. Mary's Paper Ltd. recounted his company’s evolution towards ‘value-added’ paper products and noted an increased use of “alternative tree species for paper production.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 28, 1997) Hopefully, these statements reflect a substantive and not just a discursive shift. Certainly, value-added processing has the potential to help communities retain profits, generate more income, and mitigate waste—factors that would ultimately contribute to the long-term sustainability of northern resource towns.

Other arguments posited by industry were more circumspect. Bruce Jewitt, President of Elk Lake Planing Mill Employees Association, member of Kirkland

Lake Forest Management Local Citizens Committee, and editor/owner of the Timiskaming Forest Chronicle, stated: “Protected spaces don't have beneficial effect on the land; forestry does.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 20, 1998)

But without some type of support for such a counterintuitive statement, it is difficult to know how Jewitt would defend such a claim. However, even some GLSL Round Table members seemed convinced that old-growth forests were unhealthy and ecologically undesirable. For instance, Rob Keen reflected on the declining condition of old growth stands that exist in and around Sault Ste. Marie. Keen advocated preparatory and seed cuts, reasoning: “If something is not done to initiate [the regeneration of] old growth forest, they may be there for the next hundred years but not for the next 2 to 3 hundred years.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of June 9, 1998)

In a similarly puzzling manner, Kevin Loftus, during his Round Table presentation on wildlife, concluded that none of the four scenarios threatened endangered species. (GLSL Round Table minutes of May 5, 1998) Clearly, this comment is difficult to reconcile with the number of species currently at risk in Ontario (i.e. species which are either extirpated, threatened, endangered or of special concern).²

² For more information on the 173 species currently at risk in Ontario, go to: <http://www.on.ec.gc.ca/wildlife/sar/sar-e.html> (Environment Canada, 2006)

Without doubt, the forest sector successfully influenced the GLSL Round Table with regards to its calls for long-term tenure and self-regulation. Following consultations on September 9, 1997, the GLSL Round Table established a list of priorities, including (but not limited to): “to ensure long-term resource base security (resource access, tenure, exclusive use),” and “to address and encourage industry self-regulation.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of September 9, 1997)

The forest sector employed other discursive tactics in order to dominate the agenda, attack existing parks, and promote the concept of “floating reserves.” In spite of their rhetoric about environmentalists adopting a conflict-driven approach, the forest sector also engaged in adversarial politics. To begin, the UOI representative felt the process “put people at odds with each other.” (FN₁, 2001: 7) In fact, he witnessed the forest sector “take over entire meetings,” citing one consultation in Sault Ste. Marie: “where basically, one or two groups just flooded the assembly with all their members.” (ibid.) He believed this form of intimidation to be an abuse of a public process, dominating the agenda by effectively silencing “people who don’t think the way you think...” (ibid.)

Industry also launched an attack on existing parks, advocating the concept of “floating reserves” instead (to be explained shortly). To this end, Michael Brouse of Agawa Forest Products, Bruce Strapp, an Economic Development Officer, and Mark Dube of Algoma Share the Lands Alliance, characterized existing parks policy as “outdated,” demanding that the government re-evaluate its policies.

More specifically, they hoped the government would examine “innovative ways to deal with parks” that allow for multiple uses. (GLSL Round Table minutes of May 26, 1998)

Industry extended the logic of ‘multiple use’ even further in the promotion of ‘floating reserves’. For example, David Ramsay, a Timiskaming Member of Provincial Parliament, urged the government to consider Saskatchewan’s “new approach” of floating reserves, whereby the “whole province is managed in an integrated manner, not carved up.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 20, 1998) GLSL Round Table member, Barb Boland, explained that Saskatchewan operates a system of ‘floating reserves’—in addition to protecting ecologically representative areas, the province has also adopted a mechanism known as ‘Term Representation Areas’. Boland expounded that these areas “provide supplemental [ecological] representation” and “can be used over a timber rotation period to provide or augment representation.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of June 9, 1998) Norm Lamke of the Communications, Energy & Paper Workers Union of Canada “recommended ‘cycling’ provincial parks through forest management planning.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 27, 1998) In Lamke’s vision, parks would be temporarily protected, until they are either logged or mined, after which they would (presumably) regenerate to become parks again.

The GLSL Round Table was clearly aware of how contentious the term, and the concept, of “floating reserves” might be, and indicated its preference for

seemingly more benign descriptor: “successional.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of May 5, 1998) Regardless of the euphemism adopted, be it floating reserves or successional parks, the material reality of ‘cycling’ land through episodes of protection and exploitation remains contentious, and ought to be subject to public scrutiny and rigorous debate.

In sum, the forest sector constructed a hegemonic discourse of Crown land. They did so by characterizing forestry as a long-term venture that requires a secure land base to ensure investment confidence and to reward stewardship. Industry was ultimately successful in securing long-term leases under the Ontario Forest Accord; critics argued these leases amounted to perpetual tenure, and thus privatization, of Crown land. Some forest sector proponents went so far as to attack existing parks, but most argued strongly for the adoption of Scenario #1. Industry representatives normalized and legitimized forestry operations throughout, portraying the industry as a traditional, historic user of Crown land, and characterizing protection as a withdrawal from the land base and yet another attack on an industry that is already under siege.

The forest sector advocated the seemingly reasonable, middle ground of multiple, shared use of Crown land. To this end, ‘multiple use’ was regularly coupled with ‘sound resource management’. Industry proponents argued that environmentalists adopted an outdated, adversarial and extremist approach, and that conflict only occurs when users are unfairly excluded. Moreover, they

stressed the economic significance of the industry, and threatened job losses should any scenario other than the status quo result. In particular, they vigorously attempted to dismiss and discredit Scenario #4, an option developed by the Partnership, as lacking in analysis and biased. Instead, they portrayed forestry as beneficial to the land, they asserted that biodiversity is not at risk, and they portrayed old growth forests as ecologically undesirable. Finally, they argued for a concept of ‘floating reserves’, wherein parks would receive temporary protection and then withstand a cycle of exploitation—an approach they characterized as new, innovative and holistic. Each of these represents an element of the political technology employed by industry to legitimate their interests in this process.

Section 7.2: Deconstructing forest industry discourse

Throughout the process, environmentalists offered a counter-discourse that actively resisted the forest industry’s hegemonic construct of Crown land. Drawing on principles of sustainability, they argued that current industrial forestry practices, especially clearcut logging, were inherently unsustainable. They also challenged industry claims that job losses have resulted primarily from protection, arguing instead that job losses have resulted from technological change (namely, increased mechanization), poor resource management, and global market conditions. Environmentalists challenged what they perceived to

be an over reliance on old-growth forests, questioning the future competitiveness of Canadian industry. CELA further questioned the legality of the Ontario Forest Accord, equating long-term leases with virtual ownership, and thus de facto privatization, of Crown land.

To begin, Bill Templeton made an early attempt to broaden the *Lands for Life* debate in his 1997 article in *The Ottawa Citizen*—‘Nine hard questions about trees.’ (Templeton, 1997: A13) He critiqued private sector management of Crown lands, demanding: “Can the MNR point to any other jurisdiction (in or outside of Canada) where forest sustainability and environmental protection have been successfully managed by the resource-extraction sector?” (ibid.) He similarly charged: “Can the MNR and the new private-sector stewards assure taxpayers that Ontario’s Crown lands are being harvested in a sustainable manner?” (ibid.) Templeton further questioned the effectiveness of current reforestation efforts, asking: “Are replanting and other forest re-generation techniques working in Ontario’s boreal forests? ... Has the MNR researched forest re-generation after harvesting in other extensive boreal forest jurisdictions? ... Is the current cut-rate of timber in Ontario’s forests sustainable?” (ibid.) Finally, Templeton drew on a discourse of governmental transparency and accountability in asking: “Will the MNR prepare and release an equivalent ‘harvest-timber’ audit of our forests at the outset of the *Lands for Life* process so as to benchmark the success of private management?” (ibid.)

Ultimately, Templeton argued that these questions—all related to the long-term ecological viability of current industrial forestry practices—really ought to have been thoroughly addressed before giving industry long-term tenure to Crown lands. In posing these questions, Templeton challenged a construct of Crown land that privileges the interests of the industrial forest sector. Moreover, he put forward a counter-discourse in which principles of sustainability are at the fore.

Environmentalists argued that forestry practices have not significantly changed, in spite of industry rhetoric to the contrary, and, in fact, remain inherently unsustainable. In their view, the notion that practices have improved immensely is simply a myth perpetuated by industry. One environmental advocate equated current forestry practices to a model of industrial agriculture, which he described as, a: “huge experiment in long-term crop rotation.” (ENGO₄, 2001: 1) Public participant, John Carruthers, also questioned the ecological sustainability of converting, and reducing, biologically diverse forests to monocultures. (GLSL Round Table minutes of March 27, 1998)

Several opponents to clearcut logging voiced their concerns throughout the process. First, the Sierra Club of Eastern Canada used strategically the specter of clearcut logging to generate public awareness. The group produced a cheeky postcard (see Figure 4.6) in an attempt to expand protected lands following the disappointing release of the October 30, 1998 Round Table Report. “Don’t Clearcut Ontario” depicts a bald Premier Harris in the foreground, clearcut land in

the background. Clearly, such a powerful visual statement is intended to evoke a visceral response—to make the idea of clearcut logging repugnant. Whether this sort of personal physical distortion is morally justified remains questionable.

(Premier Mike Harris is not, in reality, bald.) But, by virtue of its shock value, the advertisement aimed to alert Ontarians to the potential risk posed by clearcut logging to Crown lands.

A number of other participants, from a range of different backgrounds, also directed their critique at the practice of clearcut logging. In fact, academic Anwar Maun, of the University of Western Ontario's Department of Plant Sciences, recommended a moratorium on clearcut logging in favor of selective harvesting techniques. (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 27, 1998) Public participant Tim Lynham argued that widespread clearcutting has resulted in serious changes to the landscape. He further stressed that clear-cut harvesting does not mimic wild fires—an argument often posited by industry. (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 28, 1997) And Fred Haavisto, who spoke on behalf of forester Doug Skeates, urged the creation of a Community Forest Program, arguing that “single industry communities [are] in peril,” that current forestry practices are unsustainable, and that the “status quo is not viable.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 6, 1998) Thus, diverse social actors, from academics to concerned citizens, and even some foresters, characterized current practices as

inherently unsustainable and expressed concern about the long-term viability of their communities.

In pointed critique, Eric Reguly noted that the rate of deforestation by far exceeds the rate of regeneration. In fact, he explained: “It takes 60 to 100 years for black spruce or jackpine—the species that form most of the natural boreal forest—to grow back on land that has been clear-cut... As a result, the forestry companies have a voracious appetite for new land.” (Reguly, December 3, 1998: B2) Some argued that industry intentionally deceives the public by keeping the reality of clear-cut logging out of view. Reguly further commented: “A motorist may not realize that vast tracts of Northern Ontario look like the moon because the degradation is concealed behind uncut ‘beauty strips’ along the sides of roads and highways.” (ibid.) Such beauty strips represent another aspect of the political technology employed by industry and government—whereby representation (the appearance of vast tracts of forest) and material reality (an increasingly deforested and fragmented landscape) become more and more divergent. They reflect one concrete example of how industry has suppressed, and made invisible, practices of clearcut logging.

One local ecotourism operator felt the government failed to address each area in a comprehensive, ecosystem-based way. In particular, he expressed concern over the impact of logging on wildlife. For example, at his base camp, this ecotourism operator has witnessed the negative impacts of logging first-hand:

“Already, when the smaller operations occurred, we started seeing more bear and moose, obviously displaced...” (NORTH₇, 2001: 1) According to this interviewee, most other locals attributed the increased contact with wildlife to the controversial cancellation of the spring bear hunt in Ontario. He lamented: “[As if] it has nothing to do with the scarcity of blueberries. [As if] it has nothing to do with losing their habitat...” (ibid.) He also questioned whether any given area would be capable of regeneration, and noted a disturbing but ongoing denigration of the Crown lands on and through which most of his trips take place. (ibid.) Certainly, although this testimony is obviously anecdotal, it raises the potential inconsistency of having logging and eco-tourism operations co-exist—effectively precluding ‘multiple use’ in this context.

As an aside, other conservationists put forward a counter-discourse of ‘multiple use’, constructing the term in a very different context than industry intended it. For example, Kara Mitchell of the Haliburton Field Naturalists interpreted ‘multiple uses’ to include “protection, tourism, recreation, [and] genetic species banks.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of December 8, 1997) Here, she implicitly constructs Crown land in protectionist terms: as nature to be protected and enjoyed for recreational purposes. She also implicitly draws on a discourse of sustainability in alluding to the need to protect biological diversity and to the potential role of Crown land to contribute to genetic species banks.

Clearly, Mitchell's construction of the term 'multiple use' is at odds with the construction offered by forest sector representatives (see Section 7.1).

Unfortunately, forestry practices were deemed by the government to fall beyond the scope of the *Lands for Life* consultations, despite the counter-discourses detailed above, and the various attempts to broaden the debate from its narrow focus. As detailed in Chapter 4, the government deliberately narrowed the terms of reference to exclude any meaningful discussion, or critique, of current forest management practices. Thus, the forest industry conveniently secured long-term leases to Crown lands without any qualifications or conditions around the ecological sustainability of its operations.

Next, as detailed earlier, industry representatives threatened job losses should additional protected areas be secured. But environmentalists argued that job losses have resulted not from environmental protection, but rather, from technological change (mainly, increased mechanization), poor resource management, and global market conditions.

To begin, environmentalists argued that recent (and ongoing) technological advances in the forest industry have allowed more wood to be cut using less labor. Multi-operational equipment such as the Feller Buncher³ has replaced dozens of

³ A Feller Buncher is a piece of heavy machinery that has almost completely mechanized logging. The machine secures trees, cut them in place and then stacks them on a skidder for transport to the lumberyard.

forest workers with chainsaws. According to the Wildlands League (one of the key Partnership ENGOs): “Industry’s high capital investments have provided a powerful incentive to redesign harvesting practices. To suit the expensive new machinery, operations often continue around the clock and throughout the year.” (Wildlands League, 1997) Thus, through increased capitalization, industry has become exceptionally efficient at extracting lumber from forests, while employing a minimum number of people.

Certainly, employment in all primary, resource-extraction industries has steadily declined over the last couple of decades. For instance, the Partnership cited a 43 percent decrease in employment in the northern resource-extraction industries (including mining, logging, fishing and trapping) between 1981 and 1997. (Partnership, November 1998: 2) Similarly, Weis and Krajnc cited an inverse relationship over the last twenty years between logging jobs and the volume of wood harvested. They stated: “In fact, while jobs in the logging sector have been in a prolonged, steady decline since the 1960s, falling by 40 percent from 1965-1990, the average annual harvest increased by 75 percent over the same time frame. (Weis and Krajnc, 1999: 35) In sum, based on these statistics, fewer and fewer workers seem to be harvesting an increasing amount of wood.

Thus, environmentalists argued that the forest industry’s increased reliance on capital has negatively impacted employment, much more so than the creation of protected lands. Moreover, in addition to automation, the Partnership cited

industry mergers as yet another factor which has served “to reduce the number of administrative, logging and mill jobs...” (Partnership, November 1998: 2)

Unfortunately, by virtue of their subject position, it is difficult for many northerners to critique job losses due to automation and mergers—to criticize the industry on which their jobs depend. Instead, their frustration and hostility is directed toward those advocating protection.

Analysts further argued that job losses have also occurred due to global market conditions. To this end, Ann Gibbon (of *The Globe and Mail*) reported on the loss of 240 jobs when Abitibi-Consolidated Ltd. shut down its Iroquois Falls paper mill. The company cited “poor market conditions” as the culprit—specifically, a North American surplus of wood fibre that lowered the price per tonne by close to 8 percent. (Gibbon, 1999: B3) This “glut of fibre” has no doubt resulted in part from the devastating efficiency with which industry can deforest the landscape. It could equally have resulted from the increased volume of recycled newsprint, effectively displacing new fibre. Plus, in an earlier assessment, Brian McAndrew quoted forest industry analyst, John Duncanson: “‘The lumber quotas imposed by the United States are costing more jobs than any Ontario government policy...’” (McAndrew, December 17, 1998: A4) Thus, these actors argued that surpluses of fibre coupled with U.S. import quotas have had a significant effect on employment.

In spite of global surpluses, representatives of the Ontario forest sector have cited local wood supply shortages. But several individuals contested these claims, arguing that poor management practices were to blame. In his *Toronto Star* article, Andy Park called for the restoration of degraded forests. Park concluded that in spite of seemingly progressive forest legislation (such as our current *Crown Forest Sustainability Act*⁴), such laws have been “poorly enforced in the field.” He reflected: “...little effort has been devoted to the processes of replanting and stand tending—i.e. forestry as opposed to logging—that could have maintained the value of the new tree crop.” (Park, January 2, 1999: C3)

Here, Park’s distinction between ‘forestry’ and ‘logging’ is apt. Had the forests under industry stewardship been managed sustainably, then maintaining an adequate local wood supply should never pose a challenge. The mere fact that industry has cited local wood supply shortages speaks volumes (no pun intended) to their own failure(s) in stewardship.

Similarly, the Concerned Forest Scientists of Algoma argued that better forest management would “result in more ‘merchantable fibre’ from a smaller area of land.” (McAndrew, June 28, 1998) Incidentally, the group also advocated

⁴ To review the Crown Forest Sustainability Act, go to: http://www.e-laws.gov.on.ca/DBLaws/Statutes/English/94c25_e.htm (Ontario Government, 1994)

protection of 20 percent of the land base, “to ensure the preservation of a vast array of plant and animal species.” (ibid.)

In addition, Monte Hummel, World Wildlife Fund Canada, advocated the need for a longer-term perspective. He stated: “[The] Ministry of Natural Resource's own wood flow data indicates by the year 2040, wood flow will stabilize, regardless of new protected areas...” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 28, 1998) Presumably, this stabilization will occur as young stands of trees mature into harvestable crops. But as we exhaust existing old-growth forests, some argued that the future of Ontario's industry remains tentative at best. Below, Tim Gray of the Wildlands League identifies a significant constraint:

... Ontario's competitiveness in the lumber and pulp business has been based on quality, old-growth, slow-grown trees. As these original old-growth forests are exhausted, our forest industry must begin to compete with short-rotation forests of the U.S. South, Chile and elsewhere. Wood Gundy and others have questioned the ability of Canadian forests to compete effectively against southern countries. (Gray, June 8, 1998)

Thus, according to Gray, global market conditions coupled with the reality of our northern climate will threaten the economic stability of the Ontario forest sector, and will no doubt result in the loss of even more forest sector jobs. Certainly, events from 2005-2006 have substantiated Gray's concerns with respect to global competitiveness. (Rising energy costs have been a major factor.)

It is worth stressing that corporate interests are not necessarily workers' interests, although they are often strategically portrayed by industry as one and

the same. Of course, a temporarily vibrant industry will not only maximize short-term profits, but will also ensure continued employment for some. But environmentalists raised several important questions: How are workers' interests served by heavy mechanization? How are workers' interests served once the forests have been logged, and mills have been shut down? How are workers' interests served when wood leaves the community for value-added processing elsewhere? How are workers' interests served when the majority of profits accrued from logging local areas leave the community to be enjoyed by distant shareholders and corporate executives?

In an age of capital flight, Adkin posits: "Those who are dependent upon a wage for subsistence are uniquely vulnerable to the vagaries of capitalist accumulation." (Adkin, 1998b: 11) Perhaps it is the realization of this vulnerability, and the fear that it no doubt inspires that deters workers from looking critically at the industries that employ them. One Partnership representative offered this explanation:

Jobs in the North, particularly outside of the cities, are precious... The North has been depopulated even more so than rural, southern Ontario. There are a lot fewer people out there, and they've moved into the cities and become more urban. And the forest industry jobs have dropped dramatically in the past 25 years. The jobs that remain pay \$50,000, sometimes \$80,000 per year. (ENGO₁, 2001: 3)

Clearly, this interviewee is aware of, and sympathetic to, the tenuous economic plight of people living in northern resource-based communities. He further

reflected on how those “precious” few jobs indirectly support other forms of secondary and tertiary industry, commenting: “So they [the workers] are very vulnerable to being manipulated by the companies...” (ENGO₁, 2001: 3)

In fact, corporate public relations specialists manipulate workers by pitting them against environmentalists. According to Sharon Beder: “Industry interests have been able to turn the disaffection of rural and resource industry workers, farmers and small business people into anti-environmental sentiment.” (Beder, 1998: 23) Normalizing discourses that equate corporate and community interests contribute to these antagonisms. Such a conflation of interests, and representing this conflation as inevitable, is another aspect of the political technology employed by industry in this process.

Section 7.3: Ecosocialist discourse

Section 7.3 examines the emergence of what Adkin describes as “ecosocialist” discourse (Adkin, 1992: 153) in the context of *Lands for Life*. Specifically, the Partnership put forward a counter-discourse that framed jobs and ecological protection as compatible, rather than an either/or proposition—effectively exploding the “jobs-versus-the-environment” conundrum. The Partnership’s attempt to unravel and reconstruct the seemingly divergent subject positions of environmentalists and northern resource workers will be discussed.

During the *Lands for Life* struggles, certain southern environmental organizations (namely, the member organizations of the Partnership) expressed sympathy for the economic realities faced by those living in northern communities. Ric Symmes, Partnership Chair, summarized the economic and ecological status quo faced by northern communities dependent on logging: “‘Business-as-usual’ on the northern landscape is a recipe for environmental and economic decline—the Newfoundland cod scenario.” (Symmes, 1998: A28) The Partnership clearly acknowledged the livelihood issues faced by northern communities, declaring: “...a healthy social and natural environment is seldom achieved in impoverished communities.” (Partnership, November 1998: 2) Similarly, The Canadian Society of Ornithologists expressed concern for both social and ecological goals. On behalf of the Society, A.W. Diamond wrote: “In recommending an expanded system of protected areas, we [were] fully cognizant of the need for economic development and sustainability in the *Lands for Life* area, and consider these economic and ecological ends to be compatible.” (Diamond, December 4, 1998: A14)

Following Laurie Adkin, Section 7.3 briefly explores the potential for an ecosocialist convergence between southern environmentalists and northern resource workers. Adkin explains: “The articulation of a counter-hegemonic discourse will create equivalences among subject positions where before there were antagonisms, as between the subject positions ‘worker’ and

‘environmentalist.’” (Adkin, 1992: 153) Indeed, the Partnership, in publishing their report, *Planning for Prosperity: How Ontarians can protect 15-20% of the land, maintain wood flows to mills and create 8,000 new jobs*, sought to achieve just such a union of interests by directly addressing the supposed *jobs-versus-environment* conundrum. The Partnership’s vision addressed what Adkin identifies as a legitimate challenge—the “perception that, in a situation where trade-offs between jobs and the environment... unions and environmentalists confront each other in a zero-sum game.” (Adkin, 1998b: 66-67) Certainly, the *Lands for Life* struggles provided ample evidence that environmentalists were not just sympathetic to the plight of northern resource workers, but were actively attempting to envision/ imagine an alternate development path for the north.

In *Planning for Prosperity*, the Partnership proposed a comprehensive, alternative development strategy (demonstrating genuine concern for not just ecological protection, but also for the economic health of northern communities—characteristic of an *ecosocialist* movement)⁵. In particular, the Partnership offered the following six suggestions for creating new employment. First, the Partnership argued that existing forestry operations ought to be inherently more labor-intensive (thus creating silvicultural jobs as the forest is better cared for,

⁵ For more information on the Partnership’s vision for northern Ontario, see: Partnership, November 1998 and 2000; Wildlands League, 1997, 1998a and 1998b.

tended, spaced and thinned). This suggestion seems consistent with Andy Park's distinction between logging and forestry. (Park, January 2, 1999: C3) It also implicitly privileges the presence of workers rather than capital on Crown land, and stresses an element of stewardship—an inherently less mechanistic and industrial construction. In a related vein, the Partnership also called for certification by the Forest Stewardship Council to make forest management more sustainable, and to make Canadian forest products more competitive on the world market. But as John Cartwright assessed: the creation of jobs resulting from “more intensive forestry operations” remains a “long-term and somewhat uncertain prospect” for the workers themselves. (Cartwright, 2003: 13)

Second, the Partnership (1998) recommended the local manufacture of value-added products (suggesting the production of “specialty products such as windows or paddles”) in order to optimize income generated in northern communities. By retaining profits derived from the secondary-manufacturing sector, communities would benefit as spending circulates through the local economy. Otherwise, these communities remain susceptible to the ongoing drain of profits to corporate headquarters—the multiplier leakage effect. Here, the Partnership constructs Crown lands for the benefit of local communities and resource workers rather than distant shareholders.

Third, the Partnership (1998) asserted that “roadless areas around lakes and lodges” would be critical to ensuring ongoing tourism opportunities, including both traditional recreational activities and the more contemporary ecotourism activities. In suggesting the importance of roadless areas, the Partnership attempted to set limits to the habitat fragmentation wrought by the forest sector in creating a network of logging roads. They also implicitly argued against multiple use—insinuating that the presence of logging roads in and around lakes and lodges might preclude tourism options. The Partnership stressed the significance of tourism as “a large and growing industry”—whose success is contingent upon the protection of wilderness. They further posited: “Wilderness is a scarce and increasingly valuable resource that Northern Ontario can promote and protect.” (Partnership, November 1998: 2) One Partnership representative felt the tourism option takes advantage of “...one of the traditional strengths of the North,” but he cautioned: “If you destroy the basic resource, your options... are reduced.” (ENGO₁, 2001: 3) Thus, the Partnership put forward a construction of Crown land as nature—to be protected and enjoyed—and they argued accordingly for a tourism strategy centered around parks and signature sites.

Finally, the Partnership argued that northern communities ought to actively market themselves (in particular, their high “quality of life” and protected spaces) in order to attract what they characterized as “‘footloose’ businesses.” (Partnership, November 1998: 4) The Partnership cited certain counties in the

state of Maine, which had managed to successfully draw secondary businesses to the region, based on the beauty of their natural, and largely protected, environs.

They reasoned:

Relative to forest product-dependent counties in Maine, counties near national parks had ‘higher incomes, lower unemployment, less poverty, a higher level of education and more employees in professional jobs...’ It is reasonable to expect additional high-quality jobs in communities adjacent to the proposed parks and protected natural areas. (Partnership, November 1998: 4)

While this scenario might well unfold, it remains an uncertain though hopeful prospect—a conclusion similar to John Cartwright’s assessment of more labor-intensive forestry operations (above).

But Partnership Chair, Ric Symmes, insisted: “A network of protected areas should be the foundation for a more diverse and prosperous northern economy.” (Symmes, 1998: A28) Similarly, one Partnership representative believed strongly that the Partnership offered “a better economic option for the North” (ENGO₁, 2001: 3)—one he characterized as balanced. He stressed the need to protect what he characterized as “some of the good areas” (ibid.: 5). But he also stated: “We’ve got to recognize that people need jobs, and so we have to live with some logging, just as we have to live with some farming (which does damage, but it feeds us)...” (ibid.) Here, resource exploitation/ use is represented almost as a necessary evil. The interviewee drew on discourses of sustainability and balance and interconnectedness. He characterized the Partnership plan: “We were looking

for something that showed some balance and some forethought, and was sustainable. Nature supports the community and the economy, so we have to keep those three things in balance.” (ibid.)

Similarly, the Wildlands League sought to debunk the traditionally framed ‘jobs-versus-the-environment’ debate:

The argument that loggers only care about jobs while environmentalists only care about trees ignores the many areas of common interest between resource-dependent communities and forest conservation advocates. It is critical that we begin working together to develop solutions to sustain communities and protect forests which will benefit BOTH the economy AND the environment. (Wildlands League, 1997, capitals in original.)

Many individuals echoed the Partnership’s message. In London, public participant Winifred Wake suggested that because industrial forestry is unsustainable, we “need to compassionately help Northern Ontario communities adjust to the new future.” (GLSL Round Table minutes of April 27, 1998) She further equated deforestation to the collapse of East Coast cod fishery, and stressed the need for a “long-term, conservative approach to managing public resources.” (ibid.)

'Not all communities are viable'

However, while many supported the ecosocialist initiatives detailed above, others suggested quite strongly that limits be imposed on development. For example, one environmental advocate stated: “It is simply not possible in many

communities to transform what has been a resource extraction community to something that is sustainable and viable... It isn't a bad thing to have communities shut down in the North..." (ENGO₆, 2001: 2) He also asserted: "Allowing people to have cottages is not sustainable." (ibid.) Similarly, another environmentalist questioned the viability of certain northern communities: "Some communities are not publicly viable, unless we decide we want to subsidize them." (ENGO₄, 2001: 1)

While the environmental advocate felt Ontario's Crown lands might be thought of as "real estate that is held aside for certain activities," he posited: "All Crown lands ought to be designated as wilderness, and people should not be allowed to go there. ... I don't think we have the right to go there. ... All of what we do to the environment should be seen as a *privilege* and not a *right*, period." (ENGO₆, 2001: 2, emphasis mine.) While such assertions are certainly heartfelt, they are difficult to reconcile with sympathies towards the plight of those living in northern communities. Moreover, an outright restriction of people on Crown lands seems unnecessarily Draconian, impractical, and politically unfeasible. However, even the government, in their *Ontario's Living Legacy* announcement, supported setting aside select wilderness areas (such as critical breeding grounds, migratory habitat, and so on) where human access is severely (perhaps seasonally) limited.

The editorialist for *The Globe and Mail* wrote: “The extremes of the environmental debate must be transcended, whether it’s environmentalists who believe that cutting a tree is the moral equivalent of murder or provincial development ministers who never met a strip mine or a gas well they didn’t like.” (March 1, 1999: A10) However, aside from one environmental advocate interviewed, who obviously opposed human presence in wilderness areas, most environmentalists accepted, sometimes grudgingly, that some logging must take place. But they would no doubt unanimously agree that current forestry practices fall drastically short of what could reasonably be deemed ‘sustainable’.

The editorialist continued: “Protecting representative samples of Canada’s natural heritage is compatible with a high degree of natural resource development. There is a continuum of management policies that can be tailored to suit the needs of people and the environment.” (Globe and Mail Editorial, March 1, 1999: A10) Here, the discourse that ecological protection and resource development are compatible may be alluring—we can “have our cake and eat it too!”—but it is also dangerous. Regardless of the “management policies” employed, environmentalists argued that large-scale, mechanized, industrial forestry operations remain unsustainable. However, if the “continuum of management policies” alluded to included labor-intensive, ecoforestry practices, perhaps this tenuous balance may be struck.

Conclusion

The Ontario Forest Accord, an agreement endorsed by representatives from the Partnership, forest sector, and MNR, granted industry long-term leases to Crown land, and, as a result, a secure land base and guaranteed wood supply to its mills. (MNR, 1999: 2) Forest sector proponents characterized these conditions as critical to long-term economic viability. However, the Canadian Environmental Law Association questioned the legality of binding signatories into contractual agreements into the future, arguing that long-term leases amounted to virtual ownership, and thus privatization, of Crown land.

Forest sector advocates framed newly protected areas as *withdrawals* from the land base, and as *restrictions* on Northern Ontario and rural people—resulting in reduced access for *traditional* users. In so doing, they attempted to normalize both the *legitimacy* and *entitlement* of industry to access and use Crown land for private, exploitative ends. In fact, they advocated for logging in newly created *and* existing parks, exhibiting a seemingly insatiable demand for trees. Moreover, by consistently coupling the construct of *multiple use*—the combination of industrial and recreational activities—with *sustainable management*, *wise forest management*, *sound resource management* and *co-existence*, they attempted to normalize this contentious concept. Finally, industry proponents promoted the concept of *floating reserves*—the notion of cycling parks through episodes of protection and exploitation.

Environmental advocates challenged the notion that industry was entitled to access Crown lands, and instead, advocated a curtailment of industrial activities in favor of parks and protected areas. Environmentalists characterized industrial forestry as incompatible with ecotourism, thus resisting the concept of multiple use.

Forest sector proponents embraced Scenario #1 (a land use option that entailed no new protected areas) and dismissed Scenario #4 (a land use option created by the Partnership, that advocated 15-20 percent protection) as biased. Industrial advocates posited that forestry practices have improved significantly within the last couple of decades, and that abuses of the past have been corrected. Drawing on legalistic discourses, they argued that under the Crown Forest Sustainability Act, sustainable forest management is now mandated by law. They further framed forestry as beneficial to the land, and conversely, old growth forests as unhealthy and ecologically undesirable. Moreover, they threatened job losses should new protected areas be created, conflating corporate and workers' interests, and they promoted industry self-regulation over stringent government legislation and regulations. Finally, they characterized environmentalists as extremists, conflict-driven, and bent on adopting an outdated adversarial approach.

In spite of these characterizations, the Partnership successfully engaged the government and industry as a seemingly moderate representative of

environmental interests. By developing Scenario #4, and by maintaining public pressure throughout the process, the Partnership encouraged the government to fulfill its commitment to complete Ontario's system of parks and protected areas. The fact that other ENGOs advocated 30 percent protection no doubt made the Partnership's objective seem all the more reasonable.

Environmental advocates attempted unsuccessfully to broaden the debate to include a critique of forest management practices. They argued that current, clear-cut logging operations are inherently unsustainable, given that the rate of deforestation by far exceeds the rate of regeneration. They questioned the ability of industry to manage forest sustainability, and challenged MNR expertise in forest regeneration. They characterized purported improvements in forest management practices as a myth perpetrated by industry, and an example of environmental public relations. Although they acknowledged that more progressive legislation exists *de jure*, that legislation is poorly enforced *de facto*. They also attempted to draw a distinction between logging and forestry. Here, they described logging as a highly mechanized, capital-intensive, experiment in long-term crop rotation that reduces biologically diverse forests to monocultures. Instead, they advocated more labor-intensive, selective harvesting practices.

Environmental actors accused industry of deceiving the public with 'beauty strips'—making the reality of clearcut logging beyond visibility. They further argued that the Ontario forest sector relies too heavily on old growth forests, and

some actors advocated a moratorium on logging of old-growth forests.

Environmental proponents questioned future competitiveness of the forest sector once old growth stands have been depleted. They revealed that job losses have resulted primarily from increased mechanization, poor resource management, industry mergers, U.S. import quotas and global market conditions, rather than protection. The Partnership challenged directly the conflation of corporate and workers' interests, promoting an *ecosocialist* convergence between workers and environmentalists.

Ultimately, discursive struggles around forestry were ostensibly about nature. What constitutes both nature and its protection? How do *de jure* and *de facto* constructs of nature differ? Does nature exist solely to provide resources and employment opportunities, or does it serve other equally critical roles? Who does nature benefit most (public or private interests)?

Figure 7.1 provides a detailed summary (in table form) of the various elements of the political technology employed by industry, and the corresponding ways in which environmental actors resisted this hegemonic construct of Crown land.

Figure 7.1: Table of Comparative Discourses

Aspects of the Political Technology Employed by Industry	Forms of Resistance Employed by Environmentalists
Partnership ENGOs, forest sector CEOs, and the MNR endorsed the Ontario Forest Accord.	CELA questioned the legality of binding signatories into contractual agreements into the future.
Framed <i>long-term leases</i> , a <i>secure land base</i> , and <i>guaranteed wood supply</i> as critical to long-term economic viability.	Argued that long-term leases amounted to virtual ownership and thus privatization of Crown land.
Framed protection as <i>further withdrawals from the land base</i> , <i>restrictions on Northern Ontario and rural people</i> —resulting in reduced access for <i>traditional users</i> .	Questioned the notion of <i>entitlement</i> implicit in this construction.
Normalized the <i>legitimacy</i> and <i>entitlement</i> of industry to access and use Crown land for private/ exploitative ends.	Questioned the extent of industrial activities on Crown land, and advocated curtailment.
Advocated for logging in newly created <i>and</i> existing parks; claimed to require 'every tree on this land to run our sawmills'.	Successfully characterized such claims as extreme.
Coupled (and thus normalized) 'multiple use' with: 'sustainable management', 'wise forest management', 'sound resource management', and 'co-existence'.	Argued that industrial forestry is incompatible with ecotourism, thus precluding 'multiple use'.
Characterized environmentalists as 'special interest groups' and 'extremists'.	Partnership successfully engaged government and industry as a seemingly 'moderate' representative of environmental interests.
Promoted the concept of 'floating reserves' by citing Saskatchewan's Term Representation Areas.	Critiqued the notion of 'cycling' parks through periods of protection and exploitation.

<p>Embraced Scenario #1—no new protected areas (i.e. business-as-usual); dismissed Scenario #4 as biased—created by a third party.</p>	<p>The Partnership pushed for Scenario #4—15-20 percent protected areas. Encouraged the government to fulfill its public commitment to complete Ontario’s system of parks and protected areas. Other ENGOs advocated 30 percent protection.</p>
<p>Posited that forestry practices have improved within the last couple of decades—abuses of the past have been corrected.</p>	<p>Argued that current, clear-cut logging practices are <i>inherently unsustainable</i>—an <i>experiment in long-term crop rotation</i>. Argued that improved practices represent a <i>myth perpetrated by industry</i>—an example of environmental public relations. Claimed that the rate of deforestation by far exceeds the rate of regeneration. Distinguished between forestry and logging. Advocated for labor-intensive, selective harvesting practices.</p>
<p>Planted ‘beauty strips’—stands of trees left along the sides of roads and highways.</p>	<p>Accused industry of deceiving the public with ‘beauty strips’—making the reality of clearcut logging beyond visibility.</p>
<p>Argued that sustainable forest management is now mandated by law.</p>	<p>Explained that although more progressive legislation exists <i>de jure</i> (i.e. the Crown Forest Sustainability Act), <i>de facto</i>, that legislation is poorly enforced.</p>
<p>Promoted industry self-regulation over stringent government legislation and regulations.</p>	<p>Questioned ability of industry to manage forest sustainability; questioned MNR expertise in forest regeneration.</p>
<p>Restricted debate to percentage of lands to be protected.</p>	<p>Attempted to broaden the debate to include forest management practices.</p>
<p>Framed <i>forestry as beneficial to the land</i>.</p>	<p>Asserted instead that biologically diverse forests are reduced to monocultures.</p>

Argued that <i>biodiversity is not at risk</i> .	Cited the Ontario Species at Risk - COSEWIC Taxonomic Categories, detailing numerous species that are either extirpated, threatened, endangered or of special concern.
Framed old growth forests as <i>unhealthy</i> and <i>ecologically undesirable</i> .	Argued that we currently over-rely on old growth forests; advocated a moratorium on logging of old-growth forests. Questioned future competitiveness once old growth stands have been depleted.
Threatened job losses as a result of new protected areas.	Revealed that job losses have resulted from increased mechanization, poor resource management, industry mergers, U.S. import quotas, and global market conditions.
Employed capital-intensive, mechanized forestry operations.	Advocated labor-intensive, selective-harvesting practices.
Conflated corporate and workers' interests.	Challenged the conflation of corporate and workers' interests; and instead, promoted an <i>ecosocialist</i> convergence (of workers and environmentalists).
Characterized environmentalists as extremists, conflict-driven; bent on adopting an outdated adversarial approach; 'park-creeps'.	
	Advocated for greater economic diversification, arguing: "single industry communities are in peril."

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

Based on the poststructural insights generated in this thesis, Section 8.1 summarizes the paradoxes of power implicit in this geopolitical struggle. Throughout, unanswered questions and future lines of inquiry will be identified. Section 8.2 reflects on the theoretical contributions this thesis makes to critical political ecology. Section 8.3 offers prescriptive reflections on the requirements of a First Nation/ ENGO political alliance. And Section 8.4 concludes with a set of normative recommendations around how future land-use planning processes might be further democratized.

Section 8.1: Paradoxes of power

Foucault's genealogical approach to analyzing how power operated, coupled with contemporary insights into the social construction of nature, proved to be well suited to this particular case study. By examining the operation of power, including various elements of the political technology employed by the government and industry, this thesis questioned globalizing, hegemonic discourses of Crown land with the explicit aim of destabilization—opening up (Butler, 1992: 15) the term to reveal its construction. As Foucault asserts: “What is found at the historical beginning of things is not the inviolable identity of their origin; it is the dissension of other things. It is disparity.” (Foucault, 1977: 142)

This thesis corroborates Foucault's insight: underlying the provincial government's *Ontario's Living Legacy*—an announcement embraced by key forest sector, Partnership and MNR representatives—lie rifts and instability. (Foucault, 1973: xxiv)

In contemporary geopolitical struggles, the operation of power more often than not results in certain voices being legitimized while others are silenced. Certain knowledges are privileged while others are dismissed and/or subjugated. Clearly, the government privileged the interests of the industrial forest sector, and of moderate environmental representatives, in this struggle. Chapter 4 examined the hegemonic discourses of both the *Lands for Life* process and of Crown land constructed by the Harris government through language employed in key texts, and through its practices during the public consultation process. As a result, engagement by actors within civil society (namely, First Nations and environmentalists) proved to be paradoxical. They were faced with what, in colloquial terms, would be described as a “catch-22”—in this case, a predicament whereby engagement initially promised the possibility of political gains, but ultimately proved futile. The only acceptable outcomes for these actors were denied by the government in the formulation of the problem to be solved, and as a result their engagement legitimated an outcome not in their interests. (Merriam-Webster, 2003: 194)

In fact, the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR) has consistently promoted resource extraction in Ontario, with relatively weak efforts to rein it in, in any meaningful way, or at the very least, mitigate its adverse health and environmental impacts. As one environmental advocate emphasized, the Harris government declared that Ontario was “‘open for business’.” (ENGO₆, 2001: 1) Ultimately, the government is beholden to industry for its tax revenues, and since health and environmental regulations decrease the amount of taxes collected, the government continues to represent corporate interests. While the government ought to be protecting the ecological integrity of the province, instead, by virtue of its deep and unchallenged collusion with industry, it actively undermines this integrity. This thesis highlights the need to implement safeguards that address the inherent conflict of interest the government faces in both *promoting* and *regulating* industry.

Underlying neo-liberal philosophy and environmental policy is the basic assumption that environmental protection and economic growth are incompatible. Token conservation efforts such as the gains made in the *Lands for Life* process can be attributed more to political posturing than to an actual concern for the environment. Winfield and Jenish attribute this to “... a genuine failure, within the government’s political leadership, to understand the linkages between economic and environmental sustainability.” (Winfield and Jenish, 1998: 144) The authors further reflect: “There appears to be a deeper, ideological hostility to

the concept of public goods themselves and, to an even greater degree, to the idea of collective societal action, through government institutions, to protect these goods.” (ibid.) This hostility was made manifest in the various elements of the political technology enacted by the government.

A related paradox lies in the difficulty of thinking about nature (and thus Crown land) beyond the codified realm and constraints of the industrial capitalist economy—a challenge faced by government officials, industry proponents and Partnership representatives. Representations put forward by these actors reflected a narrow epistemic domain that codified nature as commodity—something to be protected and enjoyed for recreational purposes or to be exploited for its resources. Both constructs have become normalized. Moreover, they maintain a nature-society dichotomy, and further a very particular set of political interests. Although valuation of nature will remain an inevitably anthropocentric endeavor, environmental advocates must attempt to re-imagine nature beyond capitalist constraints.

The government placed heavy emphasis on detailed land-use scenario maps—a tactic that erased First Nation presence in the region and precluded many from commenting. These maps represent an important element of the political technology employed in this process; they abstracted political, cultural and biophysical data into seemingly apolitical, scientific representations. The government took a highly contentious political problem, and recast it “in the

neutral language of science”—in this case, GIS—so that it became a technical problem for only “specialists to debate.” (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 196) Certainly, the imposition of such “mystifying representations” (Foucault, 1983: 212) privileges certain knowledges and silences others. However, the reverence for scientific knowledge was determinedly selective, for instance, there were no scientists on the Round Tables.

The government engaged a select group of Partnership representatives and key leaders from the forest sector, and granted them privileged status in the final, private negotiations. Certainly, there is irony in a supposedly public process ending in closed-door negotiations, negating all that preceded it. Moreover, if in fact that outcome was pre-determined, as many suggested, then engagement of any form is paradoxical.

If the government first constructed Crown land as more legitimately falling within the purview of northerners’ and industrial interests, it effectively “greenwashed” (Weis and Krajnc, 1999) *Ontario’s Living Legacy* to emphasize the interests of southerners and conservationists. The government thus *re-made* (Castree, 2001: 10-15) Crown land as a legacy to future generations, as common property, as nature and as resources. Throughout, the government employed various elements of a political technology that effected a hegemonic construct of Crown land.

Various social actors offered potent counter discourses of resistance. First Nations unsuccessfully invoked moral and legal precedents, as well as a discourse of social justice, in an attempt to assert and legitimize their interests in Crown land. They also offered concrete suggestions around what meaningful consultation might have entailed (namely, a nation-to-nation negotiation process that would have involved the whole community, including elders and children, and would have required sufficient resources). By failing to address unresolved land claims and treaty rights, and through cartographic and logistical means, the government effected the erasure of First Nation peoples in the region. As a result, First Nation engagement in the process, from the outset, proved to be paradoxical. Moreover, as Braun summarizes: “At any moment, that which is disavowed (i.e., the territorialities of First Nations) may return to haunt the colonial order, and reveal its constitutive displacements as a type of violence enacted on people and things.” (Braun, 2002: 260)

The GLSL Round Table espoused certain contradictory aspirations. They purported to respect aboriginal principles (GLSL Round Table minutes of January 13, 1998) while at the same time they issued a set of formal recommendations that optimized resource extraction opportunities for the industrial sector. (McAndrew, December 26, 1998: B4) The GLSL Round Table also made explicit recommendations about aboriginal peoples in spite of their open rejection of, and retreat from, the public process. This fact reflects the contradiction, dissent, and

“immobile foundations” that Foucault argues run through Western culture. (Foucault, 1973: xxiv) It also reveals the paradox First Nations faced, and continue to face—even limited engagement served to inadvertently legitimate an outcome not in their interests, while failure to engage ensured they were not beneficiaries of the final, closed-door negotiations. At the end of the day, some were deemed to have had a more legitimate say over the future of Ontario's Crown lands, and clearly, First Nation peoples were not among this privileged group. Forest industry executives and key Partnership and MNR representatives ultimately determined the outcome of the *Lands for Life* process.

This research generated various unanswered questions in relation to First Nation peoples. Several aboriginal actors asserted the desire to combine sustainable livelihoods with resource use, but not the outright destruction of nature. If this vision is realized, what forms might it take? Will the aspirations and development choices of First Nation communities in Ontario prove to be substantially different from industrial capitalist development? Moreover, since the interests of First Nation peoples are multiple, competing, and ultimately, irreducible, how do you address the inherent limitations of dealing with representatives of invariably diverse social actors? (Certainly, this last challenge also applies to environmental actors.)

Adkin argues that private sector associations and environmental groups alike generally view round tables—“relatively new appendages of the State”—as

“crucial terrain in the battle for representation within the State.” (Adkin, 1998a: 63) Thus, the Partnership engaged the power juggernaut of government-industry collusion by positioning itself strategically in relation to both the GLSL Round Table, and the MNR. Cartwright reflects: “To be given credence as a bargainer at the table, it had to show its willingness to work within the rules of give and take, and also to show that it could control its supporters sufficiently that any agreement it made could be carried out.” (Cartwright, 2002) More specifically, representatives of the Partnership achieved their political clout by maintaining a constant presence throughout the consultation process; by generating their own alternative land-use strategy, Scenario 4, which advocated 15-20 percent protection; and by seeming to represent a moderate and obviously well-funded southern contingent. Ultimately, the Partnership achieved success in this regard, as is evident by its inclusion in the final round of ‘closed door’ negotiations that resulted in the Ontario Forest Accord.

Without doubt, the active engagement of the Partnership spurred the government to make good on their pledge to create a system of parks and protected areas in Ontario. But ironically, by embracing the deal and aligning themselves with the government and industry (and not with First Nations and/or other, more “radical” ENGOs), they precluded the possibility of a higher percentage protection and legitimated a figure which they themselves questioned as sufficient to ensure long-term ecological integrity. Whether the material

impacts would have been substantially different had the Partnership allied themselves politically with First Nations and/or other ENGOs remains an unanswered question.

Throughout, the Partnership and other environmental advocates actively challenged the forest industry in their discursive claims. Specifically, they questioned the desirability of 'multiple use' and 'floating reserves'; they pressed for new protected areas and defended existing parks; and they critiqued industry claims of sustainable resource management, especially in relation to the practice of clearcut logging.

The Partnership also developed an ecosocialist proposal around how resource-dependent northern communities might successfully combine ecological protection and sustainable livelihoods. This initiative helped to deconstruct the stereotype that southern environmentalists are unsympathetic to the economic realities faced by those living in the North (many of whom derive their livelihood either directly or indirectly from Crown lands). In fact, a similar discussion around sustainable livelihoods needs to take place in the context of ENGOs and First Nations. Northern communities cannot continue to pursue resource extraction as their primary and exclusive mode of development, for this path is ultimately shortsighted and unsustainable. The government ought to show leadership in assisting these communities towards a more diversified, and hence

more sustainable, economy. Here, the work of the Partnership ought to be lauded for its integrative ecosocialist vision.

In sum, this thesis illustrated how the operation of power in the *Lands for Life* public consultation process was paradoxical by virtue of the political technology employed by the government to effect a hegemonic discourse of Crown land. This thesis sought to make visible popular, subjugated knowledges (Foucault, 1980: 81-82), and to reveal dissent, conflict, contradiction and discontinuities. (Foucault, 1977: 162) All of these had been suppressed by the government, and thus hidden from history (Scott, 1992: 23). The result is a fuller narrative, though possibly less clear-cut (De Vries, 1992: 67), but more inclusive of the counter-discourses offered by First Nations and environmentalists. Such a “rupturing narrative” (Fine 1994: 78) interrupts the “tyranny of globalising discourses” (Foucault, 1980: 83), and involves a “strategic revoicing of the subdominant.” (Sparke, 1998: 467)

Section 8.2: Theoretical contributions

This thesis contributes to the field of critical political ecology by virtue of its explicit engagement with the political. By shedding light on the inner workings of a political process such as *Lands for Life*, political ecology “vitalizes environmental study.” (Gezon and Paulson, 2005: 2) Certainly, in this respect, it complements a work such as Richardson et al.’s (1993) *Winning Back the Words*.

Moreover, by elucidating the myriad ways in which Crown land was made and re-made during the *Lands for Life* process, this thesis echoes insights put forward by Braun (2002) in *The Intemperate Rainforest*. Thus, it serves to further develop nature as a social construct—still a fairly recent poststructural contribution to the field of political ecology. Specifically, this thesis illustrates that Ontario’s Crown lands have infinite meanings, and are continually re-made by social actors in ways that are multiple and irreconcilable. For example, the ways in which an environmental advocate living in downtown Toronto might construct Crown land are clearly disparate from those of an aboriginal elder living on a reserve on Manitoulin Island, or from a forest sector CEO living in Espanola. Braun comments of the west coast: “there are many forests, not one; there are myriad ways in which the physical worlds are imbued with meaning and intelligibility, not a single, unassailable truth that once found will show us the way forward.” (ibid.: 259) The ways in which nature is socially constructed determine how it is protected, and what is deemed worthy of being protected. (ibid.: 257)

But this thesis illustrates that the concept of ‘protection’ is itself contested terrain. The multiple ways in which ‘protection’ is constructed by competing social actors, and the normalization of a hegemonic discourse of ‘protection’, here, in the context of Crown land, continually re-makes nature. Thus, what counts as ‘nature’ and what counts as ‘protection’ are mutually constitutive—they

are always both in the process of becoming. Forest sector proponents invoked economic discourses of 'multiple use' and 'floating reserves' to inform their concept of protecting Crown land. Partnership representatives advocated for the protection of discrete parcels of what they deemed to be ecologically significant land. And First Nations offered a discourse of protection whereby land is to be used and revered, but not destroyed. By privileging the constructs put forward by the forest sector and by the Partnership, the government temporarily fixed a construction of Crown land that advanced their political agenda (i.e., primarily, to appease the industrial forest sector and to impress southern voters prior to an upcoming election). Braun explains: "the stabilization of nature's truth at any given moment is both an effect of power and something that serves particular interests." (Braun, 2002: 262) He further reflects: "...what counts as nature is, unavoidably, an effect of culture (and power)..." (Braun, 2002: 258) Similarly, what counts as protection is inevitably the negotiated outcome of struggle amongst competing social actors, all of whom experience differential abilities to act.

Insights into the constitution of protection demand that environmental actors reflect critically on their political allies, and entertain the possibility that a different constellation of alliances might prove fruitful in ways that cannot be immediately conceived. Thus, I echo Braun's call for a re-conceptualization of environmental politics in terms of not just nature's production (Braun, 2002: 256),

but also, protection's production. And certainly, attending to other discursive formations (such as 'development', 'sustainability' and 'exploitation') would also serve to inform political struggles over environmental issues.

Section 8.3: First Nation/ ENGO convergence

Chapter 6 explored the potential for, and obstacles to, a counter-hegemonic alliance, or what Barron describes as an 'articulatory politics' (Barron, 2000) between ENGOs and First Nations during the *Lands for Life* struggles. Section 8.3 now offers various prescriptive reflections on the requirements and conditions necessary for such a political alliance to come about. First, Adkin flags one of the limitations of convergence amongst diverse groups: bringing together different social subjects to form a common front will not necessarily "result in their actually engaging in a discussion about both their conflicts and their commonalities, and hence, in the modification of their particular identities." (Adkin 1998b: 10) And this is precisely the type of critical reconciliation that needs to take place in the context of a First Nation/ENGO alliance.

Representatives from these groups need to sit down and work through the process of either reconciling epistemological differences (especially around discrepancies in their respective constructions of Crown land, and in their understanding of both protection and nature) or modifying their subject positions to find a middle ground. They must ultimately determine whether they can reach some sort of

consensus over both the means to achieving their newly unified vision, as well as the end itself. Adkin further asserts: "...equivalences must be established among these different subject positions [e.g. gender, race, class, ethnicity, etc.] which acknowledge what is unique about each experience while demonstrating their common stakes in a counter-hegemonic project." (ibid.: 18)

James Morrison, in his 1993 WWF-Canada discussion document, *Protected Areas and Aboriginal Interests in Canada*, argues: "Conservationists and aboriginal people should not be expected to agree on goals or tactics. What is needed is respect for alternate positions so that gains can be realized." (Morrison, 1993: 29) Morrison further elaborates on two common interests shared by ENGOs and First Nations. First, he explains: "One is the shared antipathy to the type of large-scale resource development which has ravaged much of the country." (ibid.) Indeed, both First Nation and environmental actors in this process expressed criticism towards the management practices employed by large-scale, industrial forestry and mining operations.

But more important is the imaginary put forward by First Nation representatives: they were not interested in being romanticized or fossilized or confined to a subsistence livelihood. Instead, interviewees invoked discourses of balance, stewardship and responsibility. They sought a hybridized vision of development that respects traditional ways, while engaging in/with modern economies. This imaginary is embodied in the common Anishnaabe phrase:

“‘mino bimaadzwiwin’—‘living a good life’” (FN₁, 2001: 5), and also in the desire to make use of the land without destroying it. It also entailed an element of social justice, wherein First Nations would become “full participants in the [development] process,” enjoying their “fair share of the proceeds.” (Fox in Chiefs of Ontario 1998)

Morrison identifies a second point of commonality:

Another is a commitment to the ethos expressed recently by naturalist Ron Reid—that, while humans have become the dominant species on earth, ‘we still have a cardinal responsibility to share our whole planet with all other living creatures, plant and animal, that evolved here’ (1992: 46). (Morrison, 1993: 29)

Both First Nations and environmentalists profess to embrace a sense of shared responsibility and connectedness to other non-human species, although they obviously do so from fundamentally different cosmological beginnings.

Clearly, ENGOs and First Nations require a forum through which both differences and past grievances can be addressed; through which a relationship of trust can be built; and through which overlapping or at least complementary interests can be identified and brokered, if only temporarily. Rather than setting a final goal, these groups need to determine a process they can agree upon, and recognize that objectives will naturally evolve and change over time. They also need to explicitly acknowledge points of difference, so that these very tensions do not unravel any hard-earned gains.

Here, Jeremy Brecher's 2001 insights into lessons learned from political struggles around tobacco apply. Brecher posits: "Movements need venues in which they can debate objectives in ways that are insulated from immediate tactical positions." (Brecher, 2001: 301) Certainly, given the politically contentious nature of a First Nation/ ENGO alliance, securing such a venue (literally and metaphorically) would prove critical. Brecher further argues that movements need not settle on a final goal, but rather they need to agree upon a process through which they can negotiate continually evolving set of objectives. (ibid.) This last point seems particularly relevant. And finally, Brecher warns: "It is perilous to ignore or paper over these differences; if they are not acknowledged, they are likely to explode at crisis points, with catastrophic results." (ibid.: 303) However, even within such a forum, it may ultimately be unrealistic to think that two groups can act as allies when their interests overlap and as opponents when their interests conflict.

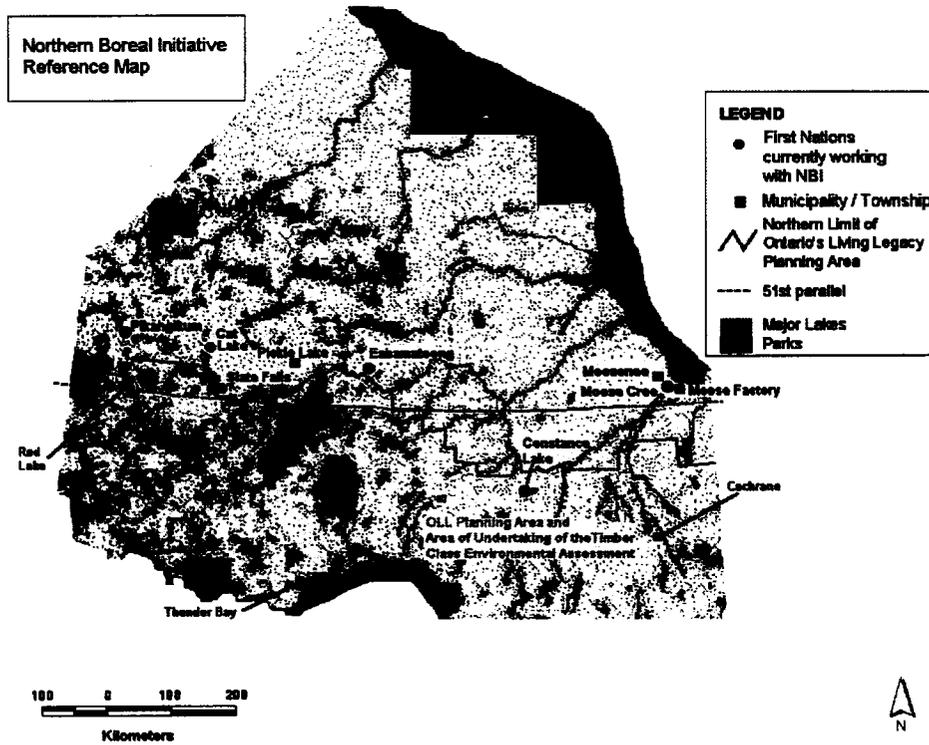
Clearly, First Nations must (and will) continue to press their case for justice—to contest land claims and to assert treaty rights through the Supreme Court of Canada. Moreover, McLaren identifies two further issues that require resolution. First, he asks "...whether First Nations have constitutionally protected aboriginal and treaty rights to timber and minerals." (McLaren, 2001) This issue would without doubt be subject to vigorous debate, since if it were to be answered in the affirmative, it would fundamentally re-allocate resources away from existing non-

aboriginal and industrial users. Second, McLaren also questions "...whether these same constitutionally protected rights would not also apply to 'a clean and biologically diverse environment.'" (ibid.) Each of these issues deserves thorough investigation. There remains a small hope that the provincial government will take heed of these concerns, since in their final report on the implementation of the Forest Accord—*Room to Grow*—the Forest Accord Advisory Board lists the resolution of First Nations issues as a "next step." (MNR, March 2002)

The research conducted in this thesis could easily be extended to analyze a similar set of struggles underway just north of the *Lands for Life* planning regions. More specifically, the MNR is working with several First Nation communities north of the 51st parallel, in a program known as the Northern Boreal Initiative¹ (see Figure 8.1: Northern Boreal Initiative Reference Map). The MNR's aim, as detailed in their 2001 concept document, is to "provide several northern First Nation communities with opportunities to take a leading role in the development of new, sustainable commercial forestry opportunities..." (MNR, 2001: 2)

¹ While the Northern Boreal Initiative falls beyond the scope of my inquiry, to read more about this program, go to: http://www.mnr.gov.on.ca/MNR/nbi/C-LUP-English_opt.pdf

Figure 8.1: Northern Boreal Initiative Reference Map



Source: Ministry of Natural Resources, July 10, 2001

Obviously, involving First Nation communities from the outset, and hopefully, in a more meaningful way than was previously accomplished, would be an improvement over *Lands for Life*. The fact that participating communities (Pikangikum, Cat Lake, Slate Falls, Eabamatoong, Constance Lake and Moose Cree) have been identified and mapped (see Figure 8.1) points towards a construction of Northern Crown land as populated by First Nation peoples—a discursive juncture from the practice of cartographic erasure identified and discussed in this thesis.

However, critics allege that the government’s underlying concern still seems to be ensuring forestry companies an adequate and secure supply of timber, and, in order to achieve that end, “enlisting First Nations to deliver timber to mills.” (McLaren, 2001) This would more fully incorporate existing First Nation communities into a paradigm of industrial development. Moreover, according to one First Nation proponent such practices are particularly problematic in fragile northern ecosystems, since they are “easily stressed” and “cannot take change.” (FN₃, 2001: 7)

Without doubt, efforts to allocate land north of the 51st parallel—what one Partnership representative referred to as “*Lands for Life II*” (ENGO₃, 2001)—represent a new site of encounter, and a new potential for convergence between

First Nations and ENGOs. To their credit, the Partnership pushed the government to address First Nation rights in the area. A Partnership representative explained: "... we absolutely insisted that nothing could happen there without their approval. And we encouraged government, because First Nations wanted to work on a government-to-government basis, to work something out with them..." (ENGO₁, 2001: 4) So clearly, in this case, ENGOs served a role in advancing the First Nation cause.

To this end, in the context of the lands north of the 51st parallel, one Partnership representative expressed support for First Nations' right to self-determination, though with a few caveats. First, he would like to ensure that the First Nation community is widely consulted, and that people are able to make informed decisions. Here, his specific concern is that Band Development Officers might have a disproportionate say in determining the fate of a given community. (ENGO₁, 2001: 5) Based on the testimony that emerged on what meaningful consultation might have entailed (detailed in Chapter 5), the need for broad and inclusive consultation was echoed by First Nation representatives.

From an ecological perspective, the Partnership representative cited the deleterious impact of logging on traditional activities and land uses, including hunting and trapping. However, if informed consent is achieved, he posited: "If the community makes a decision within a traditional land use area to log, well, we must respect that... We have made a conscious decision not to stand in the way.

It would be presumptuous for us to say everything in the north has to be de facto a park.” (ENGO₁, 2001: 5) However, notwithstanding this statement, he also asserted: “We just ask that First Nations at the same time set up protected areas to make sure that other values are protected as well...” (ibid.)

This last statement seems to embody the greatest point of contention: whether protection is a philosophy that ought to be applied to the entire landscape, or whether certain ecologically significant (and ideally, biologically representative) areas ought to be designated as protected. This issue will no doubt lie at the heart of future negotiations between ENGOs and First Nations, and its resolution will prove critical to a successful alliance.

Although the challenges to forging an alliance north of the 51st parallel remain daunting, there are some optimistic signs. One Partnership representative reflects: “It looks as though relations with First Nations are improving... Initially, they [First Nation leaders] resented us...saying ‘Just get out of the way’... But in some cases, that has changed.” (ENGO₁, 2001: 5) He continues: “Over the year now, what we hear First Nation leaders saying, ‘We are going to do it better than you did it south of 51. We are going to make sure we are in tune with what people want up here. We are not just going to be used. We are not going to ruin our resource.’... Bravo!” (ibid.)

According to a different Partnership representative, another area of potential convergence, in addition to work in the northern boreal forests, includes “... the

continuing Forest Accord work on new protected areas.” (ENGO₃, 2001: 6) He asserted: “... we’re making a greater effort to try and see if we cannot forge some alliances at appropriate levels with First Nations...” (ibid.) In particular, he views capacity development as pivotal to meaningful engagement. His interests lie in: “Helping them [First Nations] with fundraising, getting technical staff [in this case, biologists or land-use planners] at the tribal council level or the treaty organization level or sometimes even at the local level, who then *can* represent their interests, and then we have someone to work with.” (ibid.)

Morrison muses: “Should Native rights take precedence over wilderness protection, or vice versa?” (Morrison, 1993: 1) And need this be an either/or proposition? Can ENGOs and First Nations not find mutually beneficial ends, if only in a temporary and negotiated way? I remain convinced that in spite of the seemingly daunting obstacles, an alliance between First Nations and ENGOs would better serve both sets of interests. Their respective goals are, in the end, overlapping, or at the very least, complementary, though not completely identical.

Ultimately, the path towards convergence seems fraught with potential misunderstandings, risks of cultural appropriation or homogenization, and, indeed, the potential for (possibly even the likelihood of) failure. Strategic, counter-hegemonic alliances are tenuous and elusive at best. First, points of dissent may prove to be insurmountable. How do you reconcile the contradictory ends and multiplicity of voices that inevitably emerge? Second, points of

commonality are not always easy to identify, and require an appropriate forum within which they can be safely negotiated. Moreover, once such heterogeneity has been reconciled and reduced, how meaningful is the outcome (especially given that identity is perpetually re-negotiated—continually in the process of becoming)? And what is the ultimate impact of a mutually beneficial political end agreed upon only by institutional representatives and moderate ENGOs? But even the dim hope of a potential convergence warrants a whole-hearted attempt to resolve the obstacles.

Democracy will never be served if powerful industrial interests dominate public consultation processes. In the case of *Lands for Life*, power imbalances were reinforced by government-industry collusion. Although the Partnership managed to engage with a degree of success, they alienated First Nations in the process. Chapter 6 sought to identify the causes of this failure, in the hope that such a tactical relationship might eventually be forged to their mutual benefit.

The active role played by civil society vis-à-vis the liberal democratic state is an increasingly critical aspect of contemporary democracy. Here, engagement in and critique of quasi- or pseudo-democratic processes represents important attempts to challenge existing power dynamics. Counter-hegemonic discourses put forward by First Nations and environmentalists are essentially democratizing discourses. These actors offer potent critiques of process and outcome, and envision alternative ways of understanding and relating to the earth, to non-human

species, and ultimately, to ourselves. Only by embracing such pluralistic demands will political institutions realize what Braun describes as a “radical environmental democracy.” (Braun 2002: 5)

In the case of *Lands for Life*, neither First Nation nor environmental discourses proved powerful enough on their own to displace or supplant the logic of industrial capitalism. As a result, only 12 percent of Ontario’s Crown land received official protected status (of course, the corollary to this figure is that 88 percent is exposed to the possibility of some form of industrial development). Had First Nations and ENGOs been able to create some sort of strategic alliance, perhaps their shared, negotiated vision might have resulted in an entirely different material outcome for Ontario’s Crown land. Specifically, had *Lands for Life* been framed as an opportunity to redress colonial (and post-colonial) inequities, and to ensure social and ecological sustainability for all Ontarians, greater gains in these regards might have been achieved.

Section 8.4: Democratizing future consultations

Chapter 4 detailed various aspects of the political technology employed by the provincial government during the *Lands for Life* consultation process. However, that same critical, ascending analysis of how power operated through micro-level practices generated significant insights into how the government might further democratize similar consultation processes. If governmental representatives were

to examine these critiques self-reflexively, they might help to ensure that future consultations stand up to ethical scrutiny. To this end, Section 8.4 details several prescriptive suggestions and reflections as constructive input towards democratizing future land use planning processes, and thus mitigating the paradoxes of power. Specifically, it addresses a number of considerations that might be taken into account when posing the following questions: *Who* should consult the public? *Who* should be consulted? *What* should they be asked? And *how* should they be asked?

Who should consult the public?

In any public consultation process, one of the first critical decisions the government faces lies in determining *who* will consult the public on a given issue. In the case of the GLSL Round Table, notwithstanding some obvious exceptions, the group was composed predominantly of men, from the planning region, who possessed close ties to, or, in at least one case, directly represented industry. This selection implicitly privileged the interests of individuals local to the planning area and of the industrial sector. It also entailed a significant gender bias. However, when the government selects individuals to sit on consultative bodies, they ought to consciously strive for greater representation—attempting to strike a reasonable balance between constituencies, interests, origins, and social identities (e.g., gender, race, ethnicity, etc.). Of course, the determination of what

constitutes “a reasonable balance” will always remain contentious, but the principle of striving towards diversity is a laudable one. Had these considerations been incorporated into the GLSL Round Table selection process, First Nation peoples, women, scientists, academics and southerners might have been better represented.

Only by attempting to achieve this end, will the government be responsive to the pluralistic demands of its citizens, and not simply to the demands of large industrial interests. Ideally, the government would recruit Round Table members who do not directly represent special interests (i.e., neither industrial nor conservation), and who would at least attempt, to the extent possible, to listen impartially and weigh competing perspectives. This in no way negates the inherent situatedness of every individual, and does not imply that objectivity is anything but an illusion. But it does infer that some individuals are more objective than others, and a close, direct tie to a particular sector should preclude participation on a committee that is by design intended to solicit and evaluate feedback from a variety of social actors. In particular, the ability to problematize opposing discourses would prove critical. Moreover, in order to ensure transparency and public accountability, the background and affiliations of Round Table members ought to be published, and thus open to public critique.

Who should be consulted?

When determining the terms of reference for *who* should be consulted, this critical question ought to have been posed: Who should have *first* been consulted? In the context of Ontario's Crown lands, and in light of the moral and legal precedents detailed in Chapter 5, the legitimate concerns of First Nation peoples around outstanding land claims and unresolved treaty rights ought to have first been addressed. Instead, the government effected the erasure of First Nation peoples in the region. They did so by deeming their concerns to lie beyond the scope of the process, by failing to include their presence on the various land-use planning maps, and by appointing a token representative on the GLSL Round Table.

Although the concerns of northern residents, many of whom derive their livelihood either directly or indirectly from Crown lands, might reasonably have been privileged over those of southern residents, it is the *extent* to which this privilege took place that proved to be problematic. Clearly, a process that dedicates more than 90 percent of its time to soliciting feedback from northerners is disproportionately biased. A more spatially extensive, and thus inclusive, consultation would have been more appropriate in the context of publicly owned lands, thus ensuring a more democratic outcome.

If social justice is to be served, it will be critical to bring what Foucault refers to as popular, previously subjugated knowledge (Foucault, 1980: 81-82) to the fore. In the *Lands for Life* struggles, these counter-hegemonic discourses of

resistance would have been posited not just by First Nation peoples, but by anyone who rejected a wholly productivist, industrial view of both nature and Crown land. Otherwise, land-use decisions will continue to be based on values that lie within the narrow epistemic domain of economic rationality.

However, how, as a society, do we actually achieve this end? Without exception, we are all complicit in the industrial assaults on our earth and her diverse species. Ongoing resource flows from periphery to core—in this case, from northern to southern Ontario²—allow us to enjoy a conspicuous material standard of living, at least over the short-run. To this end, a very real obstacle to embracing counter-hegemonic discourses lies in the resistance posed by those benefiting from the status quo—not just industry, but also the government (by virtue of the revenues it collects through taxation of the primary resource sector) and the public at large. Again, this speaks to yet another paradox of power.

The task of re-imagining a post-industrial future, though laudable, remains daunting. In part, it is difficult because we are so deeply steeped in capitalist discourse that we are unable to see the ways in which our thoughts and language and imaginations are constrained by it. Although it is difficult to imagine non-academics musing over the articulation of knowledge and power through discourse, perhaps they might more consciously consider how competing social

²Notwithstanding other significant global resource flows.

constructions of nature embody certain underlying values and assumptions. In order to go beyond current discourses/ representations of nature, we must first be aware that they exist! This is perhaps one of the greatest contributions of poststructural political ecology—explicit theorizing around the social construction of nature (see Braun, 2002; Castree, 2001; Castree and Braun, 1998).

Ultimately, myopic industrialist discourses have significant material implications: they limit the future of human communities in the North to a paradigm of continued resource exploitation. They thwart the protection of the very ecosystems whose long-term ecological integrity will determine even our own survival. And they compromise the viability of countless non-human species. These discourses serve to define, and limit, the scope of the possible. Or, as Adkin posits: "...through close industry-state collaboration: *industry will determine the limits of sustainability.*" (Adkin, 1992: 138) In the context of *Lands for Life*, that limit was most likely pre-determined to be 12 percent of Ontario's Crown lands.

Fortunately, both environmentalists and concerned citizens within civil society—an autonomous social realm distinct from both state and corporate structures (Esteva and Prakash, 1998: 12-13; Carroll, 1992: 9)—played a crucial role in helping to legitimize counter-hegemonic discourses. It is worth noting that ENGOs participated in a myriad of ways. Many engaged within the terms of reference provided (most notably, members of the Partnership and the Sierra Club

of Canada). Earthroots staged silent protests by holding placards at the back of the room. The Ontario Public Interest Research Group opted out of what they considered to be a process flawed from the outset. All of these actors attempted to broaden the epistemic domain from which the government would base its land use decisions. More specifically, they challenged economistic, hegemonic constructions of Crown land. They also played a critical role in holding the government more accountable to its diverse citizens, and making quasi-democratic consultation processes such as *Lands for Life* more transparent. Each of these functions ultimately undermined the power juggernaut of government-industry collusion, limiting unfettered capitalist exploitation of nature, and providing a fundamentally more democratic state. Whether these efforts will be adequate to ensure long-term ecological integrity remains to be seen.

Interestingly, these new social actors have emerged as a direct response to perceived government-industry collusion, and to the general sense that the state can no longer be trusted to protect the environment. Escobar cites “loss of confidence in the government and political parties” as one impetus behind the emergence of new social actors. (Escobar, 1995: 219) Others felt excluded from an obviously important process, and wished to ensure that public interests (broadly defined) were served. Others, such as First Nations, no doubt reacted to what Escobar describes as “the exclusionary character of development.” (ibid.) And some engaged for altruistic reasons—for example, to represent an ecocentric

perspective, or to advocate for the interests of non-human species and/or future generations.

Of course, it is possible to argue that social movements do not represent the people, since they are not democratically elected bodies. But at the very least they represent their membership base, which in terms of sheer numbers may in some cases be more significant than an electoral vote. Moreover, members of an environmental organization join freely and by choice—they are not obliged to do so. Sharon Brecher argues that social movements can avoid the issue of formal authorization by attempting: "...to make themselves so genuinely representative of the needs and interests of their constituents and of the public in general that most people support what they do even though they have not been formally authorized to do it." (Brecher, 2001: 301)

What should they be asked?

By narrowing the terms of reference, the government missed a critical opportunity to solicit meaningful feedback about how Ontarians currently use, and relate to, Crown land. In particular, numerous participants, from ENGO representatives to concerned citizens, invoked discourses of sustainability in questioning current forestry practices in Ontario. However, the government deemed their concerns to lie beyond the narrow terms of reference established in this process, and, in so doing, effectively silenced them. But if their discursive claims correspond to a

material reality—wherein current logging practices are unsustainable—then perhaps new leases on public lands should not be issued until industry has established a proven track record of sustainable logging practices over time. Moreover, given the ecologically sensitive nature of our dwindling old growth stands, would it not be prudent to adopt a precautionary approach, and impose a moratorium on logging in these areas?

But the government dismissed discussions about the broader normative and ethical principles that ought to inform our land-use decisions. For example, the following question was not adequately addressed: How can we best implement the precautionary principle³ in planning for the use of Crown lands? During the consultations, Barb Boland, GLSL Round Table member, argued the need for continued research, recognizing there is insufficient knowledge of the land. (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 14, 1997) Similarly, Ian Thompson argued that remaining old growth white pine forests are important benchmarks for assessing sustainability. (GLSL Round Table minutes of October 28, 1997) In light of these uncertainties, and in light of the need for baseline data, the Ontario government ought to adopt a precautionary approach to the ecosystem health of Crown lands. Although the precautionary approach is admittedly difficult to

³ The precautionary principle states that when faced with uncertainty/ risk (in this case, in the context of environmental decision-making), it is better to 'err on the side of caution' and take preemptive measures to avoid any adverse outcomes.

operationalize, how to accomplish this is a subject worthy of public consultation and debate in and of itself.

The government also failed to heed of the various calls for greater inter-generational responsibility, in spite of rhetoric to the contrary. To this end, *Ontario's Living Legacy* can be re-framed by simply focusing on what is *not* emphasized in the promotional literature. Instead of lauding the 12 percent protected areas, the Ontario public ought to take serious issue with the 88 percent of Crown lands that have now been formally opened to the resource extraction industry under new, long-term leases. Such leases, especially when coupled with an increased reliance on industry monitoring and voluntary compliance to environmental regulations, amount to de facto privatization of Crown lands.

Finally, in transforming Ontario's northern economy towards greater ecological sustainability, we must also look compassionately to those who will be most directly impacted. In this sense, the Partnership's vision—elaborated in their 1998 report, *Planning for Prosperity*—offered a beacon of hope. Specifically, they envisioned an alternative development path that aimed to protect 15-20 percent of Crown land while maintaining wood flows to mills and creating 8,000 new jobs. They sought to accomplish this through more labor-intensive forestry operations, increased local manufacture of value-added secondary products, the creation of more roadless areas, and the diversification of northern economies (where communities would actively market their high quality

of life and beautiful environs to attract businesses). However, Ric Symmes, Partnership Chair, identified several obstacles to implementation. Specifically, he stated: “Inertia, fear and short-term self-interest are substantial barriers to beneficial change.” (Symmes, 1998: A28) He further argued: “Implementing this vision requires strong leadership from the government, northern communities, and the forest industry. Failure to do so will sentence the North to a future with fewer jobs and a severely degraded wilderness heritage.” (ibid.)

Although the ecosocialist proposal put forward by the Partnership is visionary, it does not represent a counter-discourse and entails inherent limitations. According to Adkin: “...the ecosocialist perspective insists that the interdependency of economic and environmental issues necessitates an alliance to counter the logic of capitalism.” (Adkin, 1992: 146) But does the Partnership proposal—wherein the interests of workers and the environment supposedly converge—truly counter the logic of capitalism? Although alluring—we can create jobs *and* save the environment—those drawing on ecosocialist discourses still fail to address the fundamentally unsustainable, consumptive ways of Western, industrialized societies. Unless we dramatically reduce (and/or alter)⁴ our consumption of resources from Crown lands, future generations will be forced

⁴ Of course, certain modes of consumption such as harvesting mushrooms and medicinal herbs from an otherwise intact forest are far more sustainable than industrial clearcuts.

to confront an increased scarcity of material resources (given the timeline along which renewable resources replenish themselves, and the finite nature of non-renewable resources). Then, the government's construction of Crown land as a "living legacy" to Ontario's future generations will surely seem an absurdity. (Ontario Government, 2000)

The government took a complex moral, political and ecological problem, and reduced it to a discussion of the percentage of Crown land to be protected. Certain basic premises were never broadly challenged, because they have become so entrenched as to become normalized. Few acknowledged the juridical claims of First Nation peoples to Crown lands. Few questioned the legitimacy of industrial logging and mining operations on Crown lands. And few attempted to address what Braun describes as the "central question of our time"—"how are we to live?" (Braun, 2002: 258)

How should they be asked?

Once a pluralistic and diverse group has been convened, they ought to be charged with a clear task—based on terms of reference that are rigorously and publicly debated. In this context, one GLSL Round Table member lamented that the government failed to give them "clear marching orders." He further argued that

the imposed timeline was unrealistic—a sentiment echoed by most other Round Table members (RT₁, 2001: 4) and various members of civil society. Clearly, consultations of this scope and magnitude require sufficient time to carry out. As discussed in Chapter 4, the timeline impacts greatly the abilities of various parties to generate awareness and organize engagement. A shorter timeline privileges industrial actors who can draw on existing public relations capacities to respond on short notice. It similarly disadvantages smaller groups and social actors who lack the requisite funds and organizational abilities to engage in such public consultations. Thus, an insufficient timeline reinforces Foucault's differentiations in the ability to act (Foucault, 1983, 223), again, making engagement by members of civil society problematic.

The government ought to consciously address and attempt to mitigate differential abilities to engage. Adkin, in reflecting on the democratization of decision-making processes, summarizes the need to provide financial support for members of civil society to participate. Specifically, she refers to funding to travel to events, to hire technical or legal experts, or to engage in public awareness activities. (Adkin, 1998b: 315) This type of funding would help to address disparities in access to resources, and the differentiations (Foucault, 1983, 223) that result from those disparities. It would also offer otherwise marginalized groups the chance to present their case, potentially bringing previously subjugated voices to the fore. Regardless, it would help to make such processes inherently

more democratic, since consultative bodies would be forced to reconcile a multiplicity of discourses rather than continue to operate within a narrow discursive realm.

Given that the GLSL Round Table placed such a heavy emphasis on land-use scenario maps (indeed, the maps literally and symbolically framed the periphery of most meetings), financial resources specifically targeted to GIS should have been made available to other groups who lacked the requisite technical expertise. In the absence of such funding, only the Partnership—a group of well-funded ENGOs—was able to use mapping as a lever of resistance, and put forward an alternate cartographic scenario.

Notwithstanding some reasonable efforts to alert the public to this momentous undertaking, additional resources really ought to have been allocated to educating and involving *all* Ontarians at every stage of the consultation process. (However, the poor level of public awareness around the *Lands for Life* consultations can probably be blamed in part on political apathy.) One environmentalist suggested making the process as accessible as possible through the use of: “1 800 numbers, e-mail, evening and weekend forums, geographic access.” (ENGO₄, 2001: 1) Certainly, considerable funds must have been dedicated to distributing the glossy advertising supplement extolling the virtues of *Ontario's Living Legacy*. Perhaps these funds would have been more democratically spent engaging people in the process, rather than gaining political mileage by announcing the outcome?

Finally, at a minimum, consultative bodies, as quasi- research entities, ought to engage in an ethical review of their proposed projects. For such a review to prove effective, the Medical Research Council et al. suggest the involvement of “...academic or community members from representative groups, or advisory committees drawn from relevant communities.” (Medical Research Council et al., 1998: 6.1) In particular, when consulting aboriginal peoples, special consideration must be given to their unique “rights and interests.” (ibid.) For example, in the context of research ethics generally, the Council has deliberated over when it is legitimate to interview an “individual in their own right” and when “...the approval of the community as a whole should be required.” (ibid.: 6.2) This issue can be particularly difficult in the context of First Nation communities, and requires a good deal of forethought. An ethical review must also address the following issues: informed consent, cultural differences, historical context, and so on.

Figure 8.2 summarizes key considerations (around principles of representation, transparency, public awareness, social justice, bias, accountability and logistics) that ought to be taken into account in future consultations. Ultimately, any consultation process that seeks to be inclusive and representative and above all, democratic, is doomed to imperfection. But it is the degree of imperfection that counts. Moving along the continuum towards greater inclusivity of marginalized

social actors, representing a broader range of previously subjugated voices, and mitigating power differentials ensures at the very least a more robust democracy.

Figure 8.2: Democratizing Future Consultations

<p>Representation: Strive for consultative bodies that represent diverse constituencies, interests, origins and social identities (e.g., gender, race, ethnicity, etc.).</p>
<p>Transparency: Subject initial terms of reference to public debate; publish backgrounds and affiliations of members of the consultative body.</p>
<p>Public awareness: Establish specific targets for levels of awareness (e.g., at least 30 percent of the population, if polled, ought to have some idea of the significance of the undertaking).</p>
<p>Social justice: Resolve outstanding land claims and treaty rights prior to public consultations; mitigate differential abilities to engage by providing funding and expertise to interested parties.</p>
<p>Bias: Ensure Round Table members do not directly or disproportionately represent special interests. If certain groups are deemed to have a more legitimate say, this privilege ought to be publicly stated, and open to contestation.</p>
<p>Accountability: Assign Round Table members a clear task; charge them with the authority to make recommendations commensurate to their responsibilities.</p>
<p>Logistics: Ensure that the allotted time is sufficient to the task. Ensure that consultations take place in urban and rural areas.</p>

Appendix 1: Revised Application to the Ethics Committee

Memorandum

Office of Research Services
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
Dunton Tower, Room 1501
Tel.: 520-2516

To: Ethics Committee

From: Patricia Ballamingie, Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Geography and Environmental Studies,
Tel: (613) 565-6148 (H)

Date: November 29, 2000

Re: **SUPPLEMENTAL APPLICATION TO THE
CARLETON UNIVERSITY ETHICS COMMITTEE**

In response to the e-mail I received on September 22, 2000 from Darlene Gilson,
Director of Research Services, I am attaching the following:

- [*] A revised *Letter of Introduction and Informed Consent Form*
- [*] More explicit means of ensuring anonymity/ confidentiality
- [*] Research instrument (sample questions to be asked in a free flowing
format)
- [*] More explicit protocols for approaching First Nations people

I am familiar with the current *Ethical Review Guidelines* of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and agree to comply with these guidelines in carrying out this proposed research.

Researcher's Signature: (See original application)

Date:

I am familiar with the current *Ethical Guidelines for Research* issued by the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, and agree to comply with these guidelines in carrying out this proposed research.

Researcher's Signature: (See original application)

Date:

LANDS FOR LIFE: A CRITICAL REVIEW**LETTER OF INTRODUCTION**

May 14, 2001

Dear Participant,

I am a doctoral candidate in Geography at Carleton University. I am conducting a critical review of the *Lands for Life* public consultation process. In particular, I am investigating how competing understandings of 'place' result in different visions for the development and sustainability of Ontario's Crown lands.

Participation would involve being interviewed, either by phone or in person, at a time and location convenient for you. During the interview, you will be asked about your participation in (and critiques of) the *Lands for Life* public consultation process, your views on Ontario's Crown lands, and your understanding of place, community, and sustainability. The interview will be informal, and could last between 1 and 3 hours (a time limit can be agreed upon in advance).

A summary of the interview will be sent to you in a timely fashion. You may review your statements at this point, making any changes you feel are necessary. I would be happy to deposit data, working papers and related materials in an agreed-upon repository, or for distribution to the appropriate community institutions. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this research, please do not hesitate to contact any of the following sources:

- Fiona Mackenzie, Professor, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Carleton University, Tel: (613) 520-2600 x2576, E-mail: afdmackenzie@abdn.ac.uk

- Ken Torrance, Chair, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Carleton University, Tel: (613) 520-2600 x2563, E-mail: KenTorrance@pigeon.carleton.ca

- Chair of Ethics Committee, Office of Research Services, Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, Carleton University, Tel: (613) 520-2516

If you agree to participate in this research, please read and sign the attached Interview Consent Form. By signing this form, you are indicating your 'free and informed consent' to participate in the research, as well as your willingness to be

interviewed. This form also details how confidentiality will be maintained, how participation is voluntary, and how you have the right to withdraw from the interview at any time.

Please accept my sincere thanks for reading this letter and considering my request.

Sincerely,

Patricia Ballamingie

Doctoral Candidate

Department of Geography and Environmental Studies

Carleton University

Loeb B349, 1125 Colonel By Drive

Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6

Tel: (613) 565-6148

E-mail: bming@magma.ca

LANDS FOR LIFE: A CRITICAL REVIEW**INFORMED CONSENT FORM**

I have spoken with Patricia Ballamingie, and have read the attached letter informing me of her research. I agree to participate in an initial interview about my views on the *Lands for Life* public consultation process, and more generally about my thoughts on the development and sustainability of Ontario's Crown lands.

I agree to participate in this research under the following conditions:

- I understand that the research should not generate any discomfort, and, aside from the short time commitment, my inconvenience ought to be limited.
- I understand that my privacy and confidentiality will be maintained at all times by keeping my name separate from the interview data (both to be stored under lock and key), and by disguising other identifying information.
- I understand I have the right to withdraw, or, in an interview, not to answer all questions, without penalty.

- I understand I will receive a transcript/summary of the interview. After reviewing the interview, I will have the right to make any necessary corrections or to offer additional information.
- I understand an overview of the research results will be made available to all participants.
- I would like to receive a summary of the final results:
- Yes No

If yes, please indicate your mailing address (including an e-mail address, if applicable):

--

- I am comfortable with the session being audio taped.
- Yes No

N.B. The tapes would be used for the sole purpose of transcribing interviews accurately. The tape recorder can be turned off at any point.

<p>Signature of Research Participant:</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Name (printed):</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Date: _____</p>	<p>Signature of Researcher:</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Name (printed):</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Date: _____</p>
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Privacy, Confidentiality, and Anonymity

Most of the research data will be drawn from the extensive written records collected by the Round Tables during the period of formal public inquiry. However, supplemental contacts will be used to clarify, update, and enliven analysis. In any situation where I am securing identifiable personal information (as in the case of personal interviews), privacy and confidentiality will be maintained at all times. All transcripts and related documents will be stored in a locked cabinet. The list of participants will be kept separate from the interview data (both will be kept under lock and key). Other identifying information will be duly disguised.

NB Unless a participant explicitly requests in writing that their name be cited, anonymity will be ensured by the above means.

Research Instrument

The following questions will be asked in a free-flowing format to both aboriginal and non-aboriginal participants:

- Can you tell me the nature of your involvement in the *Lands for Life* public consultation process?
- What do you think were the strengths/weaknesses of the process?

- ❑ How might the process have been improved?
- ❑ How do you feel about the Harris government's *Ontario's Living Legacy*?
- ❑ What do you think of when you think of Ontario's Crown lands?
- ❑ Who do you think should make decisions about these lands?
- ❑ How would you define 'community'?
- ❑ With which communities do you identify?
- ❑ What kind of development do you feel is desirable for Ontario's northern communities?
- ❑ What is your understanding of 'sustainability'?

First Nations

In keeping with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct on Research Involving Aboriginal Peoples* (Section 6), I recognize that First Nations people have rights and interests that deserve the respect and sensitivity of the research community. [6.1]

I intend to closely follow the "good practices" detailed in the Tri-Council Policy [6.3]. Specifically:

- ❑ *To respect the culture, traditions and knowledge of the aboriginal group;*
- ❑ *To consult members of the group who have relevant experience;*

As a starting point, I intend to contact the following sources: (1) Past Grand Chief Ben Cheechoo of Treaty 9, who publicly spoke to the Federation of Ontario Naturalists about Ontario's Forest Accord; (2) The Aboriginal Rights Coalition and First Nations Environmental Network to see if any of their members are actively working on *Lands for Life* or related issues; (3) Grand Chief of the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation, who sought a court injunction to declare the *Lands for Life* process illegal.

- *To examine how the research may be shaped to address the needs and concerns of the group;*

Because my aim is to bring subjugated voices to the fore, this project is a direct attempt to address the concerns of First Nations people in the context of Ontario's "public" lands.

- *To make best efforts to ensure that the emphasis of the research, and the ways chosen to conduct it, respect the many viewpoints of different segments of the group in question;*
- *To acknowledge in the publication of the research results the various viewpoints of the community on the topics researched;*

Because I am adopting a poststructural conceptual framework, my aim is not to assign a characteristic set of values and views to First Nations people, but rather to uncover a multiplicity of voices. In particular, I recognize the need for sensitive, informed research that does not stigmatize, homogenize, or romanticize First Nations peoples.

- *To provide the group with information respecting the following:*
 - *The availability of a preliminary report for comment;*
 - *Researcher's willingness to cooperate with community institutions;*
 - *Researcher's willingness to deposit data, working papers and related materials in an agreed-upon repository.*

Each of the above mentioned criteria are addressed in the Informed Consent Form.

- *To afford the community an opportunity to react and respond to the research findings before the completion of the final report, in the final report or even in all relevant publications.*

I intend to provide an interview summary to each participant, for their review. Participants will have the right to make any necessary corrections, to omit statements, or to offer additional information.

Potential Risks

For the most part, I will be following-up or seeking clarification on existing public statements. The First Nations representatives I propose to interview would already be familiar with the topic, accustomed to being interviewed, fluent in English – in the public eye. In this context, I do not foresee any physical, psychological, or emotional risks associated with this research. Though I can certainly make myself available for debriefing, I do not feel a stress-line phone number or post-interview counseling service is necessary.

Appendix 2: Research Instrument

General Questions Intended for All Participants

- ❑ Can you tell me the nature of your involvement in the *Lands for Life* public consultation process?
- ❑ What do you think were the strengths/weaknesses of the process?
- ❑ How might the process have been improved?
- ❑ How do you feel about the Harris government's *Ontario's Living Legacy*?
- ❑ Is 12 percent protection sufficient to ensure ecological integrity?
- ❑ What, in your mind, constitutes *protection*?
- ❑ What do you think of when you think of Ontario's Crown lands?
- ❑ Who do you think should make decisions about these lands?
- ❑ When considering the tensions between users and protectors, northerners and southerners, and rural- versus urban-dwellers... Which of these tensions were most relevant? Need they be?
- ❑ What kind of development do you feel is desirable for Ontario's northern communities?
- ❑ What is your understanding of 'sustainability'?

Specific Questions Intended for Representatives of the *Partnership for Public Lands*

- How did the *Partnership for Public Lands* arrive at 15-20 percent protection?
- How did you feel about engaging with a neo-conservative government? Was there any downside?
- Since the *Partnership for Public Lands* represents a number of groups, was it difficult to achieve consensus within the coalition?
- The final decisions were hammered out in what many have described as “closed door, secret negotiations.” Can you provide some insight into this process?
- A few of the people I have interviewed have called the process “window dressing” and “busy work,” arguing that the “outcome was pre-determined.” Do you agree with this view? Perhaps you can comment more generally on the value of public consultations.
- Having read through the Round Table minutes, it seems there was some resistance to the presence (and active engagement) of the *Partnership for Public Lands*. Was this a minority view?
- What are some of the challenges in forming a strategic alliance with First Nations?

Specific Questions Intended for Round Table Members

- How did you feel about the role played by the *Partnership for Public Lands*?
And, on the inclusion of Scenario #4?
- Who originally decided not to consult southerners? (North - 8 months; South - 3 weeks)
- Do you have any thoughts on the disposition of Crown land?
- What were some of the challenges involved in consulting First Nations peoples?
- How constrained did you feel by the time limitations involved?
- How was dissent amongst Round Table members handled?
- How was the composition of the Round Tables determined? Why were there so few women?
- What did you personally think about the Preliminary Recommendations? The Final Recommendations? *Ontario's Living Legacy*?
- Which presentations most impressed you?
- Was it difficult for Round Table members to rise above their sectoral ties and take a broader view?
- Why were land-use practices not also under scrutiny? E.g. clearcut forestry
- Why not protect 100 percent of remaining, old growth forests?
- Why is it so difficult to achieve the concept of wildlife corridors?

Specific Questions Intended for First Nations

- ❑ At first, there was First Nation attendance and wary participation, followed by a rejection of the process. Can you comment?
- ❑ To what extent have Aboriginal rights been constrained by *Ontario's Living Legacy*?
- ❑ The following caveat was placed in the public records before any Aboriginal input: "Note that those in attendance do not necessarily represent the views of the communities they come from but are monitors of the process or speak only for themselves from their own experiences." Can you comment on issues of representation in the context of *Lands for Life*?
- ❑ What are the barriers in achieving nation-to-nation consultation?
- ❑ What assurances, if any, have you been given about the protection of sacred sites and burial grounds?
- ❑ How do you feel about the appropriation of Aboriginal culture in the *Land Use Strategy* document?

Specific Questions Intended for Proponents of Eco-tourism

- How does eco-tourism differ from traditional tourist activities?
- Who is your clientele? Where do they originate from geographically? How will the *Ontario's Living Legacy* announcement impact your business? Can you comment specifically on the Great Lakes Heritage Coast, or on the expansion of Killarney Park?
- *Ontario's Living Legacy* resulted in 12 percent of Crown land receiving protected status. Would you have supported more or less?
- Which activities are compatible with eco-tourism?

Appendix 3: GLSL Round Table Meetings and Record of Presentations

The minutes from all Great Lakes St. Lawrence Round Table meetings could be found during the planning process on the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR) Internet site. For research purposes, I obtained a CD-ROM copy of the entire *Lands for Life* Internet site, from:

Andy Todd

Policy and Coordination Branch

Land Use Coordination Section

300 Water Street, P.O. Box 7000

5th Floor, North Tower

Peterborough, Ontario

K9J 8M5

GLSL Round Table Meetings – Dates and Locations

Data source: (<file:///G:/lfl-english/gls/minutes.html>)

July 20, 1998: Peterborough	April 8, 1998: Sault Ste. Marie
June 23-25, 1998: Viamede, Woodview	April 6, 1998: Elliot Lake
June 16-17, 1998: Sudbury	March 27, 1998: Pembroke

June 9-11, 1998: Huntsville	March 26, 1998: Bancroft
June 2-3, 1998: Keene	March 24, 1998: Huntsville
May 26-29, 1998: Sault Ste Marie	January 27-29, 1998: Peterborough
May 19-20, 1998: Huntsville	January 13-15, 1998: Peterborough
May 12, 1998: Huntsville	December 8-9, 1997: Haliburton
May 5, 1998: Keene	November 25, 1997
April 30, 1998: Ottawa	November 11-13, 1997: Sturgeon Falls
April 29, 1998: Kingston	October 28, 1997: Sault Ste. Marie
April 28, 1998: Toronto	October 14-16, 1997: Sudbury
April 27, 1998: London	September 30, 1997
April 22-23, 1998: Sudbury	September 9, 1997
April 20, 1998: New Liskeard	August 19, 1997
April 16, 1998: North Bay	July 8, 1997
April 9, 1998: Sudbury	June 23, 1997
April 8, 1998: Sault Ste Marie	

Presentations to the GLSL Round Table Committee

Key

F = Forest industry interests
P = Protection/ conservation interests
FN = First Nation peoples
T = Tourism/ recreation interests
M = Mining interests
ED = Economic development interests
O = Other/ unidentified interests
RT = GLSL Round Table member
MNR = Ministry of Natural Resources

NB The names of female participants have been underlined to facilitate a gender breakdown of the public testimony.

Although I read through all of the testimonies presented to the GLSL Round Table, the following pages detail those that were explicitly incorporated into this thesis.

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gls/minute_97_09_09.html)

September 10, 1997 (2 participants)

- Paul Berges and Bruce Ferguson, *Forestry Presentation* [2F]

September 11, 1997 (2 participants)

- Stuart Mallany, Natural Heritage Specialist, Central Region MNR, Will Kershaw, *Provincial Parks Economic Impact* [P]

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gls/minute_97_09_30.html)

September 30, 1997 (3 participants)

- John Beaucage - Wasauksing First Nation, Sam Kewaquado - Shawanaga First Nation, Dwayne Nashkawa - Union of Ontario Indians [3FN]

October 1, 1997 (10 participants)

- Doug Bruce, Near North Dog Sled Trails [T]
- Patrick Northey, Georgian Bay Littoral Biosphere Project [P]
- Kenton Martin, Tembec [F]
- Tim Dyer, White Squall Outfitters [T]
- Eleanor Wellman, Muskoka Field Naturalists [P]
- Peter Wilmann, Wawanaisa Resort [T]

- Rick Symmes, Tim Gray, and John Riley, Coalition on Public Lands [3P]
- Barb Davis, Sand Bay Resort [T]

October 2, 1997 (3 participants)

- Kevin Loftus, *Wildlife Presentation* [P]
- Johial Newsome and Leo Owskiaki, *Minerals Presentation* [2M]

<p>Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gls/minute_97_10_14.html)</p>
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October 14, 1997 (3 participants)

- Ron Manitowabi - Wikwemikong First Nation, Art Jacko - Whitefish Lake First Nation, Dwayne Nashkawa - Union of Ontario Indians, at the, Great Lakes St. Lawrence Round Table Meeting [3FN]

October 15, 1997 (14 participants)

- Marg Watson Highland, Sudbury Aviation [T]
- Keith Ley, E.B. Eddy Forest Products – Espanola [F]
- Vicki Mather, Commercial Tourist Operator - Roadless Areas Interests [T]
- David Monday, Friends of Killarney [P]
- Ivan Filion, Cambrian College - Northern Environmental Heritage Institute [P]
- Franco Marlotti [O]

- John Field, Sudbury Trail Plan Association [P]
- David Pearson [O]
- Carol Leblanc [O]
- Phil Bunce, Northshore Forest Inc. [F]
- Dean Maceachern, Falconbridge Exploration [M]
- Gilbert Rioux, Chartered Accountant [ED]
- Jennifer East, Killarney Mountain Lodge/Outfitters [T]
- Wayne Olivier, Wanapatei Lake Tourism Operator [T]

October 16, 1997

- Richard Fillion, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- Glenn Crombie, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- Mike Barker, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- Barb Boland, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gls/minute_97_10_28.html) -

Ramada Inn Convention Centre, Sault Ste. Marie

October 28, 1997 (25 participants + GLSL Round Table)

- Honorine Trudeau Wright, Wikwemikong First Nations [FN]
- Alex Peltier, Wikwemikong First Nation [FN]

- ❑ Blain Belleau, Ceardin River [FN]
- ❑ Doug Belanger, Batchewana First Nation [FN]
- ❑ Richard Filion, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- ❑ William Mackasey, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- ❑ Frank Tagliamonte, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- ❑ Jim Miller, Clergue Forest Management [F]
- ❑ Ian Thompson [O]
- ❑ Gerry Bennett, Sault Ste. Marie Prospectors Association [M]
- ❑ Carol Lister, City of Elliot Lake [ED]
- ❑ Bruce Morgan and Dave McGowen, Midway Lumber [F]
- ❑ Austin Clipperton, Clerk, Township of the Spanish River [ED]
- ❑ Mike McQuewn, Great Lakes Power [ED]
- ❑ Norm Stephens, Agawa Forest Products [F]
- ❑ Bob Dale, Ontario Wilderness Vacations & Air-Dale Fly-in Ltd. [T]
- ❑ Robin McIntyre [O]
- ❑ Marc Dube, St. Mary's Paper Ltd. [F]
- ❑ Geoff Meakin, Meakin Forest Enterprises Ltd., Sault District Wood Producers Association [F]
- ❑ Tim Lynham [O]
- ❑ Brent Rankin, Rankin Trucking, Thessalon [ED]

- Joannie McGuffin [O]
- Sarah Faulhfer [O]
- Jim Johnston [O]
- Larry Gringorton and Gayle Phillips, Voyageur Trail Association [P]
- Allan Wright [O]
- Mike Barker [RT]
- Bob Gray [RT]

Data source: (file:///G:/fl-english/gls/minute_97_11_11.html) - Sturgeon Falls

November 11, 1997 (2 participants)

- Gilbert Labreche, Algonquins of Mattawa and North Bay [FN]
- Dwayne Nashkawa, Union of Ontario Indians [FN]

November 12, 1997 (18 participants)

- John Riley, Director, Conservation and Science, Federation of Ontario Naturalists [P]
- Susan Christian, North Bay Mattawa Conservation Authority [P]
- Mike Brophy, Chair, Forestry Cluster of Nippissing East- Parry Sound [F]
- Don Curry and Bill Steer, The Canadian Ecology Centre [2P]

- Collette Wilson, Mayor, Town of Mattawa, Mattawa and Area Forestry Committee [F]
 - George Breummer, Tembec Forest Products, Mattawa and Area Forestry Committee [F]
 - Chief Margaret Pitawanakwat, Wikwemikong Unceded Indian Reserve [FN]
 - John Killbridge, Friends of Temagami [P]
 - Bill Dawson, INCO Ltd. [M]
 - Mike Johns, Columbia Forest Products [F]
 - Claude Goulard, Goulard Lumber Ltd. [F]
 - Denis Gauthier, West Nippissing Economic Development Corporation [ED]
 - Scott Mosher, McMillan Bloedel Ltd. [F]
 - Faye Johnson, Grant Forest Products Ltd. [F]
 - Claude Mayer, Reeve, Cosby, Mason and Martland Township [ED]
 - Jan Vandermeer, Nippissing Environment Watch [P]
 - Brian Nicks, E.B. Eddy Forest Products [F]
- November 13, 1997 (1 participant + GLSL RT)**
- Mike Barker, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
 - Barb Boland, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]

- Fred Pinto, *Silviculture: Clearcutting, Old Growth* [F]

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gls/minute_97_11_25.html) –

Pembroke, Ontario

November 25, 1997 (12 participants)

- Algonquins of Golden Lake [FN]
- Gerry Courtmanche, Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters [T]
- Marie Rauter, Ontario Forest Industries Association [F]
- Alfred Beck, Pembroke Outdoor Sportsmans Club [T]
- Gus Zylstra, Landowner, Magazine Publisher [O]
- Ken Swayze, Professional Archeologist [O]
- Hugh Clark, Citizen [O]
- Chief Robert Whiteduck, Algonquin First Nations, Golden Lake [FN]
- Ron Aubin, Tembec Forest Products Ltd. [F]
- Bill Hall, Opeongo Forestry Service [F]
- Tom Clouthier, H. Couthier and Sons [2O]

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gls/minute_97_12_08.html) –

Wigamog Inn, Haliburton

December 8, 1997 (1 participant)

- Chief Barry Williams - Curve Lake First Nation [FN]

December 9, 1997 (23 participants + GLSL Round Table)

- Ruth Debicki, Mineral Exploration [M]
- Mike Barker, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- Chief Robert Levally, Whitney Algonquin First Nation [FN]
- Tom James [O]
- Helen James [O]
- Bob List, List Planning Ltd. [ED]
- Larry Wiwchar, Former Member of the Temagami Comprehensive Planning Council [ED]
- Jack Shields, Specialty Products Division, Tembec Forest Products [F]
- Peter Quimby, Thomas Lee, Michael Henry - Ancient Forest Exploration & Research [3P]
- Kara Mitchell, Haliburton Field Naturalists [P]
- Earling Armson, Ducks Unlimited Canada [P]
- Sandy Brady, Power Department, INCO Ltd. [M]
- Bill Brown, Algonquin Forestry Authority [F]
- Peter Hynard, Ontario Professional Foresters Association [F]
- Hap Wilson, Wilderness Impressions [T]

- Brian Randa, INCO Environment [M]
- Lea Ann Mallett, Earthroots [P]
- Rick Thompson, Zone E, Ontario Federation of Anglers & Hunters [T]
- Laird Nelson, Domtar Forest Products [F]
- Larry Wood and Barry Wannamaker, Domtar Forest Products & the Gilmour Freehold Lands [2F]
- Rob Keen, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- Frank Tagliamonte, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gls/minute_98_01_13.html) –

Holiday Inn, Peterborough

January 13, 1998 (GLSL Round Table)

- Mike Barker, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- Dean Wenborne, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]

January 15, 1998 (GLSL Round Table)

- *Sustainability*, GLSL Round Table
- *Balancing Benefits and Working Together*, GLSL Round Table

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gls/minute_98_01_27.html) –

Holiday Inn, Peterborough

January 27, 1998 (GLSL Round Table)

- ❑ Mike Barker, GLSL Round Table Member [RT], presented a paper on behalf of Great Lakes Power Limited
- ❑ Frank Tagliamonte, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]

January 29, 1998 (GLSL Round Table)

- ❑ GLSL Round Table Deliberations
- ❑ Land Use Planning Branch, Notes on Southern Ontario Consultations

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gls/minute_98_03_24.html) –

Grandview Inn, Huntsville

March 24, 1998 (4 participants)

- ❑ James Wilson, Ontario Mining Association [M]
- ❑ Chris McDonell, Tembec Forest Products [F]
- ❑ John Jackson, Christine Tudhope, Township of the Archipelago [2ED]

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/glsl/minute_98_03_26.html) –

Bancroft Fish & Game Club, Bancroft

March 26, 1998 (6 participants)

- ❑ Dave Comba, Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada [M]
- ❑ Peter Hynard, Eastern Ontario Sustainable Forest License [F]
- ❑ Mike Wilton, Algonquin Eco Watch [P]
- ❑ Herb Titze, New Restaurant Owner in Minden, Ontario [T]
- ❑ Paul Isaacs, Past Reeve of Denigh, Abinger and Ashby [ED]
- ❑ Pat Potter, Bancroft Field Naturalists [P]

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/glsl/minute_98_03_27.html) –

Pembroke Catering Hall, Pembroke

March 27, 1998 (9 participants)

- ❑ Gerry Lee, The Ontario Fur Managers Federation - Eastern Region [O]
- ❑ David Stewart, County of Renfrew [ED]
- ❑ Chris Merla, Arnprior District Fish & Game Club [T]
- ❑ John A. Carruthers [O]
- ❑ Dianne Isaacs [O]

- Tom McCullough, Bonnechere Madawaska Sustainable Forest Alliance Inc. [F]
- Alfred Beck, President Pembroke Outdoor Sportsman's Club [T]
- Hal Walker, Barry's Bay and Area Fish and Game Club [T]
- Rita Morbia, Sierra Club of Canada (Eastern Chapter) [P]

<p>Data source: (file:///G:/fl-english/gsl/minute_98_04_06.html) - Elliot Lake</p>
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April 6, 1998 (8+ participants)

- Mayor George Farku, City of Elliot Lake [ED]
- Bernard Abraham [O]
- Fred Haavisto - Retired Forester on behalf of Aboriginal Trappers' Association [FN]
- Fred Haavisto, on behalf of Doug Skeates, Forester [2F]
- Rene Fabris, H&R Fabris Ltd. [O]
- Howard Hennesey, local member of Economic Development Organization and Tourist Operator [ED]
- Steve Vanduin, Penokean Hills Field Naturalists [P]
- Questions/Answers/Comments from the Audience

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gls/minute_98_04_08.html) –

Ramada Inn, Sault Ste. Marie

April 8, 1998 (9 participants)

- ❑ Skip Jones, Garden River First Nation Resident [FN]
- ❑ Al Porcheron, Sault & District Prospectors Association [M]
- ❑ Tim Lynham [O]
- ❑ Albert Kangas, Prospector [M]
- ❑ Pat Ross, Share the Lands Alliance of Algoma [ED]
- ❑ Brad Jourdin, St. Mary's Paper [F]
- ❑ George Pinder [O]
- ❑ Geoff Meakin, Sault District Wood Producers Association [F]
- ❑ Robert Fleming, Concerned Forest Scientists of Algoma [P]

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gls/minute_98_04_09.html) –

Four Points Hotel, Sudbury

April 9, 1998 (13 participants)

- ❑ Claude Mayer, Reeve of Cosby, Mason & Martland [ED]
- ❑ Harold Tracanelli, President, Sudbury Prospectors & Developers [M]

- Martin Litchfield, E.B. Eddy Forest Products [F]
- Honourine Trudeau Wright, Wikwemikong First Nation [FN]
- Michael Eshkawkogan, Forestry Manager, Wikwemikong First Nation [FN]
- Peter Watclay, Wahnipitae First Nation [FN]
- Howard Noseworthy, Ontario Fur Managers' Federation [O]
- David Pearson, Laurentian University [O]
- Leonard Houle, Ontario Federation of Anglers & Hunters [T]
- John Gunn, Laurentian University/MNR [O]
- Peter Street, Vermilion Sustainable Forest Licence [F]
- Debbie Jenkins [O]
- Vicki Mather [O]

Data source: (file:///G:/fl-english/gls/minute_98_04_16.html) –
Pinewood Park Inn Ballroom, North Bay

April 16, 1998 (12 participants)

- Paul Krabbe, Tembec Forest Products [F]
- Mike Brophy, General Manager, Canadian Ecology Centre [P]
- Bill Steer, Friends of the Mattawa River [P]

- ❑ Mark Downey, Fur Harvesters Auction Inc. [O]
- ❑ Roger Betz [O]
- ❑ Gary O'Connor, Mayor, Town of Sturgeon Falls [ED]
- ❑ Eva Patterson [O]
- ❑ Brennain Lloyd, Northwatch [P]
- ❑ Sean Brady [O]
- ❑ June Keever [O]
- ❑ Jamie Moore [O]
- ❑ Jim Hasler [O]

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gisl/minute_98_04_20.html) –
Riverside Place, New Liskeard

April 20, 1998 (13 participants)

- ❑ Lorne Hillcoat, Temiskaming Development Fund Corporation [ED]
- ❑ John Grass, Community Development Officer, Temagami and Latchford
Economic Development Corporation [ED]
- ❑ Mark Stevens, Grant Lumber, Elk Lake [F]
- ❑ Jerry Joarison, Retired Teacher [O]
- ❑ Jeff Barton, Liskeard Lumber [F]

- John Wilson, Owner, Elk Lake Planing Mill; Life-Long Resident [F]
- Mr. David Ramsay, Timiskaming MPP [ED]
- Rudi Ptok, Montreal River-Bay Lakes Users Association [T]
- Bruce Jewitt, President of Elk Lake Planing Mill Employees Association;
member of Kirkland Lake Forest Management Local Citizens Committee;
and editor/owner of Timiskaming Forest Chronicle [F]
- Terry Fiset, Elk Lake Community Forest [F]
- Gino Chitaroni, Councillor, Town of Cobalt; Blackstone Development;
Geologist/Prospector; past involvement in family tourist business
[ED/M/T]
- Ed Carlton, Trapper [O]
- Del Butler, Former MNR Employee [O]

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/glsl/minute_98_04_22.html) –

Sheraton Four Points Hotel, Sudbury

April 23, 1998 (2 participants + GLSL Round Table)

- Richard Filion, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- Rob Cook, Ontario Aggregate Producers Association [M]

- Tony Andrews, Executive Director, Prospectors & Developers Association of Canada [M]

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gls/minute_98_04_27.html) –

London Convention Centre, London

April 27, 1998 (8 participants)

- Barb Yurkowski, Mellwraith Field Naturalists of London [P]
- Jean Law, Thames Valley Trail Association [P]
- Richard Culpepper [O]
- Norm Lamke, Communications, Energy & Paper Workers Union of Canada [ED]
- Vince Auger [O]
- Anwar Maun, University of Western Ontario, Department of Plant Sciences [O]
- Rosemary Kelly [O]
- Winifred Wake [O]

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gls/minute_98_04_28.html) –

Radisson Hotel, Toronto

April 28, 1998 (10 participants)

- ❑ Bob Burnett, Conservation Council of Ontario [P]
- ❑ Leanne Mallet, Earth Roots [P]
- ❑ Kyle Ferguson, Sierra Club of Canada - Eastern Chapter [P]
- ❑ Bob Barnett, Niagara Escarpment Biosphere Committee [P]
- ❑ Lesley Adams [O]
- ❑ Brian Byrnes [O]
- ❑ Monte Hummel, World Wildlife Fund Canada [P]
- ❑ Robert Savage, Ontario Camping Association, Environmental Advocacy Committee [P]
- ❑ Dr. Rudy Bunstra, University of Toronto [O]
- ❑ Rebecca Hart [O]

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gsl/minute_98_04_29.html) –

Ambassador Hotel, Kingston

April 29, 1998 (6 participants)

- ❑ Robyn Squires, R.K.Y. Camp [T]
- ❑ George Perrin, Brockville Sports & Conservation Club [T]

- Jack O'Dette, Director, Ontario Federation of Anglers & Hunters [T]
- G.L. Smith [O]
- Tom Hazelaar, Wildlife 2000 [P]
- George Clark [O]

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gls/minute_98_05_05.html) –

Keene, Elmhirst Resort

May 5, 1998 (4 participants + GLSL Round Table)

- Lorne Greig [O]
- GLSL Round Table Deliberations [RT]
- Chris Henschel, Landscape Ecology Principles [P]
- Dean Wenborne, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- Kevin Loftus, Wildlife [P]
- Wendy McNab, Aboriginals [FN]

Data source: (file:///G:/fl-english/gsl/minute_98_05_12.html) –

Pow Wow Point Lodge, Huntsville

May 12, 1998 (1 participant + GLSL Round Table)

- ❑ Douglass Legg, Laurie Gravelines, Dave Ferguson, Social and Economical Analysis [ED]
- ❑ GLSL Round Table Deliberations [RT]
- ❑ Gerry Hunnius, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- ❑ Frank Tagliamonte, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]

Data source: (file:///G:/fl-english/gsl/minute_98_05_19.html) –

Pow Wow Point Lodge, Huntsville

May 19, 1998 (GLSL Round Table)

- ❑ GLSL Round Table Deliberations [RT]

May 20, 1998 (1 participant + GLSL Round Table)

- ❑ Barb Boland, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- ❑ Gord Rodgers, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- ❑ Mike Barker, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- ❑ Holly Charyna, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]

- Gerry Hunnius, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- Rob Keen, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- Ron Reid, Partnership for Public Lands [P]

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gsl/minute_98_05_26.html) –

Stokely Creek Lodge, Sault Ste Marie

May 26, 1998 (GLSL Round Table)

- Bill Mackasey, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]

May 29, 1998 (3 participants)

- Michael Brouse, Agawa Forest Products; Bruce Strapp, Economic Development Officer; and Mark Dube, St. Mary's; on behalf of Algoma Share the Lands Alliance [3F]

Data source: (file:///G:/lfl-english/gsl/minute_98_06_02.html) –

Elmhirst Resort, Keene

June 2, 1998 (1 participant + GLSL Round Table)

- Norm Richards, Ontario Parks [P]
- Holly Charyna, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]

June 3, 1998 (GLSL Round Table)

- Barb Boland, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- Gord Rodgers, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]

Data source: (file:///G:/fl-english/gsl/minute_98_06_09.html) –

Pow Wow Point Lodge, Hunstville

June 9, 1998 (GLSL Round Table)

- Mike Barker, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- Frank Tagliamonte, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- Barb Boland, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- Rob Keen, GLSL Round Table Member [RT]
- Bob Gray, Chair, GLSL Round Table [RT]

June 11, 1998

- Sue Bryson and Jeff Bernardo, Consultation Results on Workbook
Analysis [2MNR]

Data source: (file:///G:/fl-english/gsl/minute_98_06_16.html) –

Ramada Inn, Sudbury

June 17, 1998 (1 participant)

- Brian O'Donoghue, Land Use Designations [O]

Data source: (file:///G:/fl-english/gsl/minute_98_06_23.html) –

Viamede, Woodview

June 24, 1998 (3 participants)

- Brian O'Donoghue, Land Use Designations [O]
- Gord Gallant and Beth MacKay, OFAH Presentation [2T]

June 25, 1998 (2 participants)

- Laurie Gravelines, Douglass Legg, Social Economic Evaluation [2ED]

Appendix 4: Summary of *Lands for Life* Articles Compiled to Date

(NB Complete citations are included in the bibliography)

The Ottawa Citizen

- 12/08/97 'Nine hard questions about trees'
- 11/24/98 'Final week to speak about plans for land'
- 11/24/98 'If you care about the wilderness, be sure to tell the government'
- 11/26/98 '*Lands For Life* report would put Ontario on a very scary, non-
returnable path'
- 11/27/98 'We won't tolerate provincial parks being thrown open to mining'
- 11/30/98 'Reject Crown lands plan'
- 12/04/98 'Process threatens birds'

The Ottawa Saturday Sun

- 11/28/98 'Is this what *you* really want for Ontario wilderness?' (Sierra Club of
Canada)
- 11/28/98 '*Lands for Life*'

<i>The Toronto Star</i>

- 10/31/98 'Wilderness report called inadequate: Land use plan angers both green groups and loggers'
- 12/01/98 'Mock funeral held for wilderness'
- 12/02/98 '*Lands for Life* is out of line'
- 12/03/98 '*Lands for Life* plan amounts to clear-cut theft of land' and '*Lands for Life* recommendations overlook how much we value our wildlife'
- 12/04/98 'Give *Lands for Life* a new lease on life'
- 12/08/98 'Group wants assessment of northern logging plans'
- 12/12/98 'Sweeping measures needed to protect wildlife'
- 12/14/98 '*Lands for Life* consultation extended twice: Snobelen'
- 12/15/98 'Forestry program headed to court'
- 12/17/98 'Lots of trees under Tory wilderness plan'
- 12/17/98 '400 northerners rally for provincial forest plan'
- 12/20/98 'Land vs. Jobs'
- 12/23/98 'High-risk plan for Northern Ontario'
- 12/26/98 'War in the woods': Is it Parks vs. Jobs?'

<i>The Toronto Star (continued)</i>
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- 01/02/99 'Looking for protected land like looking for Waldo
 'Which papers is he reading?'
 'North values wide-open spaces'
 'We must make investment to restore degraded forests'
 'Vast majority reject this plan'
- 'Look who's surfaced'**
 'Let's look at the facts'
 'Time to stop recycling stereotypes'
- 01/11/99 'Show reveals loggers stacked TV news poll'

<i>The Globe and Mail</i>

- 10/31/98 'Consultation report would open wilderness to loggers and miners'
- 10/31/98 'Ontario Crown land up for grabs'
- 11/09/98 'Public will being ignored'
- 11/09/98 'Land grab alarm bells' and 'Trees and Reguly'
- 11/28/98 'Lands for Lottery'
- 12/01/98 'Wilderness big enough for everyone, says northerner'
- 12/02/98 'Scientists urge Ontario to protect wilderness'

- 12/02/98 'Save the birds'
- 12/03/98 '*Lands for Life* assailed as threat to rare forests'
- 12/03/98 '*Lands for Life*: Give trees a chance'
- 12/07/98 'Ontario's *Lands for Life*'
- 12/07/98 'Ontario scientists in resource sector may be removed'
- 12/09/98 'Wilderness area's fate decided by Dec. 25'
- 12/10/98 'New vision for the North'
- 01/12/99 'Ontario working to protect more Crown land'
- 02/09/99 'Harris robs north to buy south'
- 02/26/99 'Greening of Ontario to spread dramatically'
- 03/01/99 'Making this land ours'
- 03/16/99 'Deal to expand Ontario parkland'
- 03/29/99 'Premier saves huge swath of land from logging, mining'
- 03/30/99 'Natives oppose plans for Northern Ontario'
- 03/30/99 'Ontario throws down gauntlet'
- 07/23/99 'New parks to be open to hunters, mineral exploration'

<i>New York Times</i>

12/23/98 'Anger Rises Over Plans For Ontario'

Appendix 5: Table of GLSL Round Table Composition

Member (Location)	First Nations?	Gender	Planning Region?	Ties to Resource Extraction?	Environmental advocate?
Mike Barker (Sault Ste. Marie)	No	Male	North	Yes (Forestry)	No
Barb Boland (Callander)	No	Female	North		Yes
Holly Charnya (Bear Island)	Yes	Female	North		
Glenn Crombie (Sudbury)	No	Male	North		Yes
Richard Filion (Sturgeon Falls)	No	Male	North	Yes	
Bob Gray, Chair (North Bay)	No	Male	North	Yes	Yes
Gerry Hunnius (Bancroft)	No	Male	South		Yes
Rob Keen (Huntsville)	No	Male	North	Yes	No
Bill Mackasey (Sudbury)	No	Male	North	Yes	No
Gord Rodgers (Peterborough)	No	Male	South	Yes	Ontario Government Representative
Tom Sutcliffe (Hagerman Township)	No	Male	North	Yes	No
Frank Tagliamonte (North Bay)	No	Male	North	Yes	No

Member (Location)	First Nations?	Gender	Planning Region?	Ties to Resource Extraction?	Environmental advocate?
Dean Wenborne (Alban)	No	Male	North		
Linda Shadbolt (Resigned)					
John Wood (Resigned)					

Source: This information was compiled in part based on biographical data published on the MNR Web site (see D:\lfl-english\gls\table.html) and in part based on testimony provided during the consultation process. NB some affiliations were difficult to determine, and as such, have been left blank.

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