

**CULTURAL PRESERVATION AND SELF-DETERMINATION
THROUGH LAND USE PLANNING:
A FRAMEWORK FOR THE FORT ALBANY FIRST NATION**

by

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To Ezra

who shone in the world
briefly and brilliantly
while I was writing this.

ABSTRACT

The Fort Albany First Nation (FAFN) in Ontario's western James Bay region is interested in undertaking a community-based process of land use planning for its traditional territory, in order to respond to increasing resource development pressure within the area. To construct a framework for such a process, semi-structured interviews were held with 12 members of the FAFN and two staff members of the Mushkegowuk Council, which represents the FAFN at the regional level. Interviews focused on the substantive values that community members see as worthy of protection or management through the land use plan, and on the procedural values that ought to guide the process. In addition, three group discussions on valued ecosystem components were observed, to supplement interview data on substantive values.

The results indicate that the community is concerned with preserving their way of life in the face of resource development pressure and social change, by protecting subsistence resources and strengthening the transmission of culture. Substantively, this means that the land use plan needs to protect wildlife and its habitat, navigable waterways, and water quality. Procedurally, this means that the planning process should engage the entire community in discussions of its cultural identity and connection to the land, in order to build a genuine consensus on appropriate land uses. It was felt that the process should be grassroots-based, that the FAFN should initiate the process autonomously, and that the planning process should pursue the twin goals of community self-determination and cultural continuity. It was also felt that neighbouring first nations should be invited to participate in the process or to conduct separate planning activities streamlined with those of the FAFN, because of overlap in traditional territories.

At the conclusion of this thesis, a set of recommendations outlines a planning process that is appropriate to the needs and values expressed by participants. This framework draws upon the principles of empowerment, advocacy, and collaborative planning, applying them to the local cultural context. It relies upon social learning as a vehicle by which to develop a community-wide vision for the traditional territory of the FAFN.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The western James Bay region of northeastern Ontario is set to experience new development in the resource sector. At issue is the extent to which the Mushkego Cree communities that constitute much of the western James Bay population will be able to participate in the resource development decisions that affect their traditional territory. One such community, the Fort Albany First Nation (FAFN), is interested in undertaking a community-based land use planning process for its traditional territory. The purpose of the participatory action research presented in this thesis is to develop a framework for the planning process that is appropriate to the values, culture, and needs of the community.

A review of the literature on selected trends in planning theory, Aboriginal issues in Canada, and land use planning involving first nations informs a conceptual framework suggesting how a land use planning process might unfold in the FAFN context. The conceptual framework envisions the process as an exercise in community empowerment, with the planning practitioner contributing as an advocate-facilitator. A planning process based on social learning and communicative action from the grassroots level would be used to achieve a system of land use zones to protect traditional land-based activities, in order to ensure sustainability and cultural continuity.

A series of semi-structured interviews were held with members of the FAFN, as well as staff of the Mushkegowuk Council, a tribal council representing the FAFN and neighbouring first nations. Interviews focused on the substantive values that community members see as warranting protection or management through the land use plan, and on the procedural values that ought to guide the process. In addition, three group

discussions within the FAFN on valued ecosystem components were observed, to supplement interview data on substantive values.

The results suggest that the planning process should pursue the dual goals of protecting the community's subsistence resources and re-strengthening cultural identity. The most important substantive values to be planned for are as follows, in approximate order of prominence in the data:

- Food resources, particularly moose, fish, geese, berries, and other animals and plants. Participants stressed that the land continues to be their grocery store, and that wildlife remains important to nutrition and food security in the community.
- Travel routes, specifically navigable rivers. Participants spoke of rivers as their highways, used to access subsistence resources and neighbouring communities by boat. Participants expressed mixed feelings on the development of transportation infrastructure, as it would bring both economic opportunity and social threats.
- Water resources, specifically potable groundwater. Participants valued local rivers as an important source of drinking water.
- Economic development and revenue, referring to the various financial and employment-related benefits that might be afforded to the community from resource development. Participants felt that the community would need to be diligent to ensure both that appropriate benefits accrue to the community, and that sudden generation of revenue does not exacerbate social problems such as substance abuse.
- Fur and traplines, described as both a subsistence and a commercial resource. Trapping was the only traditional land use that was described as taking place within territories with rigid boundaries to which individual families had exclusive rights.

- Forest and timber resources. While the forests surrounding the FAFN are probably too marginal to support commercial forestry, they are valued as fuel, building material and wildlife habitat.
- Recreation. Participants valued the opportunities afforded by the natural landscape for family bonding and individual spiritual healing.

The procedural values and issues identified by participants were as follows:

- Decision-making and engagement. Participants indicated that consensus-based decision-making and small group discussion are culturally appropriate models.
- Knowledge transfer and tradition, most notably transmission of culture between generations. There was concern among participants that degradation of cultural identity and knowledge is compromising community sustainability, and participants felt that cultural transmission should be part of the planning process.
- Land title, that is, the question of collective versus individualistic claim to particular territories. Participants felt that traditional understandings of collective land title were being challenged by contemporary, individualistic values, and the planning process would need to seek consensus on the question.
- Inclusion of other communities in the planning process, specifically neighbouring first nations. Participants noted that communities' traditional territories overlap in the area, and there therefore needs to be a mechanism for inter-community participation in the planning process.
- Area of interest, which would need to be determined through study of the distribution of land use by the FAFN.

- Stewardship and environmental protection, which were described by participants as key cultural values. Zoning of permitted and excluded uses based on environmental impact was seen as an appropriate way to apply this value through land use planning.

The recommendations offered in Chapter 6 of this thesis form a suggested framework for the FAFN land use planning process. The following is a condensed summary of the full set of recommendations.

Background Research

- The FAFN should carry out a community mapping exercise, seeking input on the locations of traditional activities from all community members who participate in such activities.
- Consultants should be retained to carry out studies on historical land use and occupation, traditional ecological knowledge about the land base, baseline ecological and development condition, and development pressure.
- The Mushkegowuk Council should assist the FAFN in processing and storing this data in GIS form.
- The FAFN should determine the planning area based on the community mapping and historical land use data, in consultation with neighbouring communities.

Plan-making

- The FAFN should form a working group to lead the planning process, and retain a planner with appropriate expertise to facilitate planning sessions and draft the plan.
- The FAFN should use the various media at its disposal to maximize awareness within the community of the planning process and of the opportunities for involvement.

- The planner should facilitate a series of family or small group meetings to discuss preferred land use restrictions in detail, and ensure that all community members have an opportunity to participate in a small group meeting.
- The FAFN should hold a series of community-wide meetings to discuss cultural self-identity and seek consensus on issues arising from the small group discussions.
- The planner should draft the plan according to the opinions expressed at the small group meetings, the consensus articulated at the community meetings, and the background studies, and present the plan for adoption at an FAFN general meeting.
- The adopted plan should be published in Cree and English, with the Cree version serving as the authoritative version.

Plan Content

- The plan should identify zones based on the uses and sensitivities ascribed to the various components of the landscape and articulate the community's management objectives, as well as permitted and excluded land uses, for each zone.
- The coastal waters of James Bay should be included in the area covered by zoning.
- The plan should make explicit the FAFN's expectations for the community development benefits that are to accrue from various resource development activities.
- The plan should include a community-based system for periodic review and amendment.
- If adequately discussed by the community during the planning process, the plan should include, or be coupled with, a fluid, community-based framework for management of subsistence resources by the FAFN.

Involvement of Other Communities

- The FAFN chief and council, with support from the Mushkegowuk Council, should be responsible for liaising with other communities about participation in the planning process.
- Because of their common history and traditional land base, the Kashechewan First Nation should be involved in the planning process as much as possible, to the extent of a fully joint planning process if interest exists.
- When the planning area has been determined, other first nations in the region should be consulted to determine any overlap with their traditional territories, and consulted to determine how to plan jointly for the overlapping area.
- Participation in the FAFN planning process should be extended to individuals in other first nations who identify as using or having customary responsibility for lands within the FAFN's planning area.
- Any meetings at which participation can be expected from individuals living outside of the FAFN should take place while the community is accessible by ice road.

Implementation

- Following adoption of the final plan, the FAFN chief and council or the Mushkegowuk Council should enter negotiations with the government of Ontario and all governments with relevant jurisdiction to implement a land use policy and adaptive management strategy for the region that is consistent with the plan.
- The completed plan should guide the FAFN in all negotiations and consultations regarding resource development proposals in the FAFN traditional territory.
- The FAFN should administer an ongoing monitoring process.
- Monitoring data should inform the periodic review and amendment of the plan.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EA	Environmental Assessment
FAFN	Fort Albany First Nation
INAC	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada
NAN	Nishnawbe-Aski Nation
OMNR	Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources
TEK	Traditional Ecological Knowledge
VEC	Valued Ecosystem Component

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context

1.1.1 The Fort Albany First Nation

The Fort Albany First Nation (FAFN) is a Cree community on the western shore of James Bay in northeastern Ontario. The community shares a reserve with the Kashechewan First Nation. The Fort Albany and Kashechewan First Nations are respectively located on the south and north sides of the Albany River delta. Access to both communities is limited to air and sea in the summer. Winter roads constructed each December link Fort Albany with Kashechewan and the other communities on Ontario's James Bay coast: the Attawapiskat First Nation to the north, and Moosonee and Moose Factory to the south. Moose Factory is an island in the Moose River delta that is home to the Moose Cree First Nation, while Moosonee, on the western shore of the same delta and accessible by rail, is the only non-Aboriginal community on the western shore of James Bay.

The four first nations on the western shore of James Bay are part of the Mushkegowuk Council, a tribal council representing first nations in the area traditionally dominated by the Mushkego or Omushkego Cree¹. Also included in the Mushkegowuk Council are Weenusk First Nation to the northwest, located at Peawanuck, on the south

¹ Honigmann (cited in Berkes et al., 1995) describes the traditional territory of the Omushkego Cree as being along the western shore of James and Hudson Bays and 200-300 km inland, from roughly the Ontario-Quebec border at the southern tip of James Bay to just west of the Ontario-Manitoba border on Hudson Bay. This defined area is considerably more extensive than the Mushkegowuk Council jurisdiction and would include the location of the Fort Severn First Nation, but exclude those of the Chapleau Cree, Missanabie Cree and Taykwa Tagamou First Nations.

shore of Hudson Bay, and the Taykwa Tagamou, Chapleau Cree and Missanabie Cree First Nations to the south, situated inland. The Mushkegowuk Council is one of seven tribal councils within the Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN), the regional governing body for first nations within the Treaty 9 area and the Ontario portion of the Treaty 5 area.

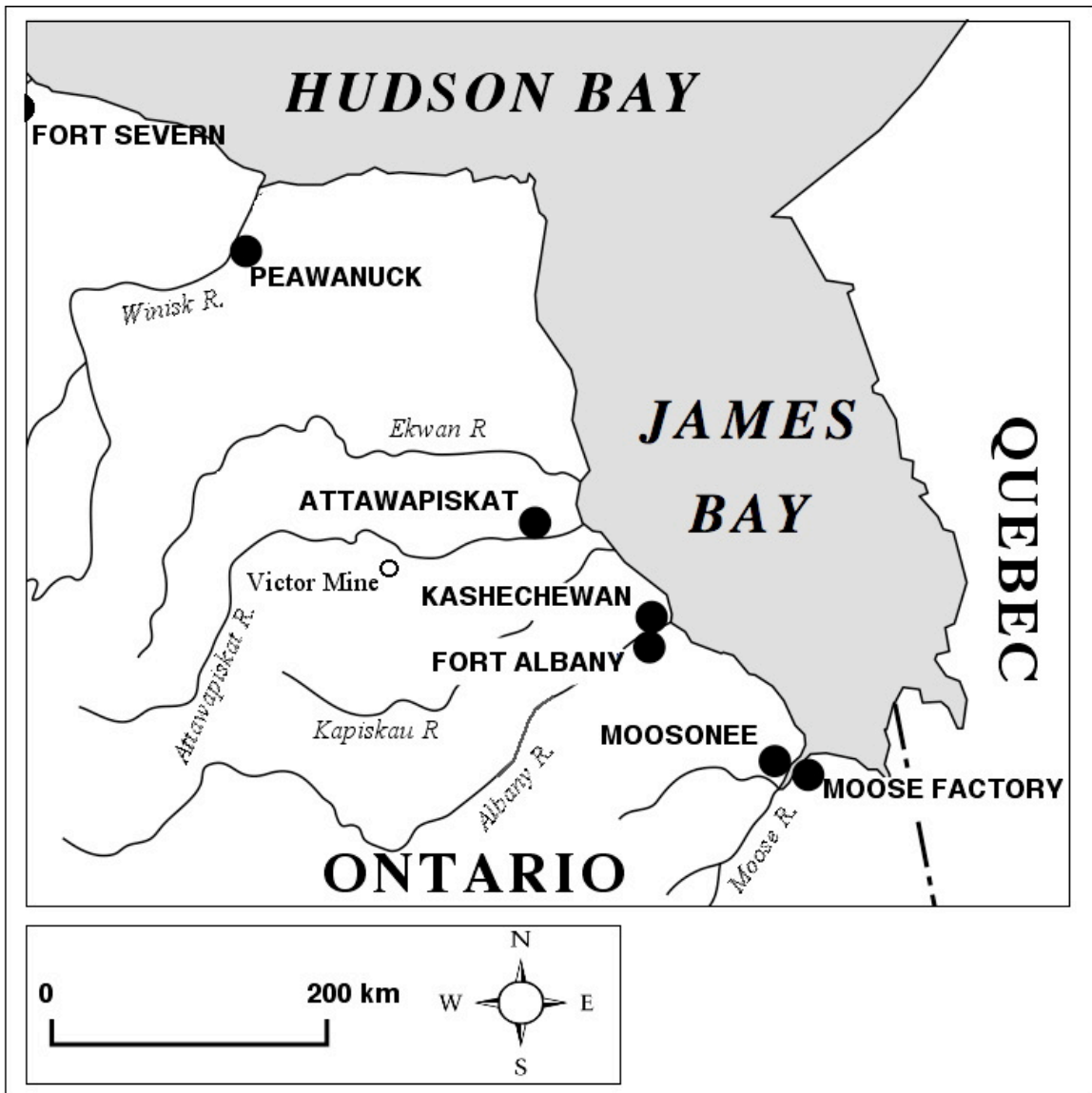


Figure 1. The western James Bay and Hudson Bay region of Ontario, including coastal communities, major rivers, and the Victor Mine. Adapted from map produced by Barry Levely.



Figure 2. The location of the Fort Albany First Nation within Ontario.

1.1.2 Capacity-Enhancement Needs and Research

In 2000, De Beers Canada began advanced exploration of kimberlite pipes along the Attawapiskat River. The exploration resulted in plans by De Beers to construct the Victor Diamond Mine on a site 90 km west of the Attawapiskat First Nation. Community consultation within the environmental assessment (EA) process for the Victor Diamond Mine (De Beers Canada, 2004) involved, for the most part, the Attawapiskat First Nation (Whitelaw et al., in progress). Feelings among FAFN members that they and other

communities in the Mushkegowuk territory had been excluded from the EA and impact benefit agreement, in spite of the mine's potential impacts on lands used by these communities, led to participatory action research by Tsuji et al (in progress) aimed at building capacity within the FAFN for participation in EA. Preliminary results from this research highlighted the need for a community-based system of land use planning to properly manage resource development in the Mushkegowuk territory, and interest from the FAFN in developing such a process for use in their own community (Whitelaw et al., in progress). Although the provincial government is negotiating with first nations in northern Ontario through the Northern Table towards co-operation on resource development in the region, no template has been produced for community-based land use planning.

Resource development pressure in the Mushkegowuk territory is not limited to diamond mining. Interest exists for hydroelectric development in many of the watersheds in the region, including that of the Albany River (The Society of Energy Professionals, 2007). Other mineral and energy resources could also be subjected to exploitation in the area. There is a need to develop EA capacity and undergo land use planning to address such development proposals in the future.

The Mushkegowuk Council completed a Resource Development Protocol in 2006 (Mushkegowuk Council, 2006). This Protocol sets out a process by which resource development applications in the territory are to be reviewed and approved or rejected by the affected communities. Since the Protocol mandates that decisions about development proposals be taken at the community level, a community-based land use plan would complement the Protocol by establishing coherent policies for resource development.

Ongoing research by Whitelaw et al (2007) will culminate in the development by the FAFN of a land use plan covering the territory used by the community for their traditional economic and social activities. This thesis represents the first step towards this goal: an examination of the values, both substantive and procedural, that will need to shape the process applied to the FAFN land use planning exercise.

1.2 Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this thesis is to develop a framework by which the FAFN can begin to carry out its community-based land use planning process. The specific objectives of the thesis are to illuminate the substantive and procedural values that would form the basis of a locally-appropriate planning process; to synthesize these values with planning theory and practices, to conceive and recommend a structure for the process; and to motivate future action towards plan development by guiding the next steps. Four of the broader objectives of the project are articulated below.

1.2.1 Empowerment

One of the primary objectives of this project is to advance the cause of community empowerment in the FAFN. Friedmann (1992: vii) describes the empowerment approach to planning as placing the emphasis “on autonomy in the decision-making of territorially organized communities, local self-reliance (but not autarchy), direct (participatory) democracy, and experiential social learning.” This description eloquently outlines the intentions shared by the researchers and community members involved in this project. The planning process to be developed from the recommendations of this thesis will offer the FAFN some degree of autonomy in its land

use decision-making. It will give the FAFN community a tool by which to ensure its self-reliance, by protecting the ecosystem components essential to the community's economic, nutritional and spiritual sustenance. It will be designed according to principles of participatory, grassroots-based democracy. Finally, it will engage the community in a social learning exercise in order to share traditional understandings of, and develop a coherent vision for, its traditional territory. These ideas are all drawn from discussions with FAFN community members, and will be highlighted in chapter 4.

1.2.2 Self-Determination

Writing in support of the project of which this thesis is part, Chief Andrew Solomon of the FAFN stated that “this [land use planning] is the only road that can be taken towards our goal of self-determination and cultural preservation”. The results of this thesis will help to provide the FAFN with a tool for determining their own future as a nation. With their own planning mechanism in place, FAFN members will have a way of influencing decision-making that affects the use of their traditional lands, an important step towards the actualization of their self-determination.

1.2.3 Practical Application of the Duty to Consult and Accommodate

It is becoming increasingly clear that proactive land use decisions by Aboriginal groups are necessary to ensure just and peaceful resolution of questions surrounding resource development on lands of Aboriginal interest. While decisions by the Supreme Court of Canada have made explicit the duty borne by Canadian federal and provincial governments to consult in good faith with Aboriginal communities before allowing development on lands to which such communities may have right or title (Bergner, 2005),

ambiguities exist as to the meaning of adequate consultation and accommodation (Natcher, 2001a). At the time of writing, differences in understanding between first nations and the government of Ontario as to what level of consultation and accommodation is adequate – as well as to which lands the duty applies – are the cause of ongoing disputes involving mining claims in northwestern and southeastern Ontario, in which leaders of the Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug and Ardoch Algonquin First Nations have been jailed. In the case of the Victor Mine, disagreements over which First Nation communities deserve to be involved in meaningful consultation resulted in a brief road blockade before some of the affected communities were brought to the table.

The land use planning process that this thesis will help structure will not provide a panacea to the problem of carrying out the duty to consult and accommodate. However, it will make clear what the FAFN expects in terms of accommodation and inclusion. This is an important step towards clearing the ambiguities that burden the practical application of the duty to consult and accommodate.

1.2.4 Transferability Between Communities and Scales

Although the FAFN is the community partner in this project and the recommendations in this thesis are tailored to their values and sentiments, the issues this project hopes to address are not unique to Fort Albany. It is hoped that the recommendations offered in this thesis for the FAFN will create a framework with applicability to other communities in the Mushkegowuk territory, and perhaps to communities elsewhere with a similar cultural and political context.

In addition to transferability between communities, it is hoped that the framework created out of these findings will be transferable from the community scale to the

regional scale. A planning process for the entire Mushkegowuk territory, led collaboratively by its constituent first nations, would help to avoid or resolve issues of conflicting interests between communities, as was experienced between the Attawapiskat First Nation and its neighbours over inclusion in the Victor project consultations and impact-benefit agreement. Perhaps more importantly, regional-scale application of the planning process would be appropriate to the traditional character of the territory: since the Mushkego Cree were not historically divided into the distinct communities recognized today by the Canadian government, many familial, cultural, and economic links still exist between communities along the James Bay coast.

1.3 Methods

The primary method of inquiry for this thesis was semi-structured interviews conducted within the FAFN. Interview participants were leaders within the community such as band council members, elders, and teachers. One additional interview was conducted with staff of the Mushkegowuk Council associated with the Council's Lands and Resources Program. The open-ended questions that made up the interviews explored the elements of the FAFN's broader environment that its members see as important for protection or enhancement, and the procedural values that community members espouse and want incorporated into decision-making processes.

Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. Transcripts were then analyzed for thematic content. The interviews and analysis roughly followed the long interview methodology outlined by McCracken (1988).

A second method of inquiry used in this thesis was direct observation. During EA workshops being carried out as part of Tsuji et al's (in progress) capacity-building

research, participants were asked to identify their valued ecosystem components (VECs). Responses were noted and are included among the results.

1.4 Outline of Thesis

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on relevant land use planning theory, Aboriginal issues in Canada, and past experiences of Aboriginal communities with land use planning. Chapter 3 details the methods used for this research. Chapter 4 presents the results of the interviews and participant observation. Chapter 5 provides discussion on the themes identified in the results. Chapter 6 offers recommendations for the FAFN land use planning process. Chapter 7 summarizes the contributions of this research and highlights the next steps in the broader project.

1.5 Terminology

In Canada, *Aboriginal* is used as an adjective to describe individuals and communities who trace their ancestry to those who inhabited North America before European settlement. Sources differ on capitalization of *Aboriginal* when used in this sense. In this thesis, the word is always capitalized.

The term *First Nation(s)* has two usages. In its first usage, it is the currently preferred term to describe those defined in the *Indian Act* as Indians – that is, Aboriginal people who are neither Inuit nor Métis. In this usage, the term is always capitalized, pluralized and used as an adjective – for example, “a First Nations woman”.

In its second usage, *first nation* is the often-preferred term for the body that the *Indian Act* defines as a band – that is, a community of First Nations people officially recognized by the Crown and governed by an elected chief and council. It is also

sometimes used in the absence of official band status under the *Indian Act*. In this usage, sources vary on capitalization of “first nation”. In this thesis, “first nation” in the sense of band is capitalized only when it is part of the proper name of a particular first nation, for example the Kashechewan First Nation.

The word *nation*, when used in an Aboriginal context but outside the term “first nation”, has no defined meaning. It tends to refer to a larger group than one first nation. It may refer to an Aboriginal ethno-cultural group, or to an Aboriginal governing entity encompassing numerous communities, such as the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation.

These usages are based on those by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) (2003) and the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996).

Use of the word *traditional* to describe elements of an Aboriginal culture has been critiqued by some scholars as constructing, and romanticizing, this culture as unchanging and antiquated (Butler, 2006; Cameron, 2006). Nevertheless, the term continues to be commonly employed in the literature on Aboriginal issues, particularly with reference to traditional activities, knowledge and territories (Jacono & Jacono, 2008; Manson & Rabbitskin, 2007; Tsuji, Martin et al., 2007). In this thesis, I use “traditional” not to imply that a concept is ancient or static, but to describe concepts that follow from the living and dynamic tradition that constitutes Mushkego Cree culture.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This literature review will explore existing scholarship on a number of ideas central to this thesis. These include:

- selected relevant trends in planning theory, namely advocacy planning, empowerment and alternative development theory, social learning, and collaborative planning;
- pertinent Aboriginal issues in Canada, including legal, political, social, and cultural issues; and
- examples of land use planning involving Aboriginal communities and organizations across Canada.

This chapter will draw general conclusions about these ideas and the state of inquiry in their regard. These conclusions will form a conceptual framework to guide the analysis and discussion of the research results.

2.2 Planning Theory

The trends in planning theory to be summarized in this section are those that would likely play a part in the development of a planning framework that addresses the needs of empowerment, capacity-building, and self-determination in the FAFN. These trends are advocacy planning, empowerment and alternative development, social learning, and collaborative planning.

2.2.1 Advocacy Planning

The notion of advocacy planning was first articulated in the 1960s. Davidoff (1965) stressed the value-laden, politically contentious nature of any city plan, rejecting the then-dominant rationalist view of planning as purely technical or value neutral. That is to say, he advanced the notion that any plan will serve the interests of some citizens at the expense of others, using as a prime example the residential displacement caused by current urban renewal movements in Pittsburgh, Boston and New York. He pointed out that the consideration of multiple courses of action is a well-accepted part of the planning process, and yet the only courses of action normally considered are those put forward by a single actor – the public planning agency.

Davidoff (1965) proposed that rather than accept the planning agency as the sole proponent of plans, groups within the community whose interests are at stake ought to prepare their own alternative plans, through the services of a professional planner. In this way, planners would take on an advocacy role: much like lawyers, they would help their clients develop and argue their case against that of their adversary. The plan produced by the planning agency, then, would be forced to compete for public acceptance with plans made from truly different points of view.

Critics of advocacy planning as envisioned by Davidoff point out that the model leaves plan-making in the hands of professionals who may or may not be accurate representatives of their client communities, and does not empower the communities to advocate on their own behalf (Checkoway et al., 1994). Forester (1989) endorses the criticism that advocacy planning does not address the structural nature of the inequalities

it seeks to mitigate, comparing the advocate planner to “a nurse, ministering to the sick yet unable to prevent their illness from occurring in the first place” (32).

Nonetheless, advocacy planning has been a very important influence on planning theory since its origin. The theory’s concept of planning as a value-laden activity rendered more just by a pluralism of visions, rather than a technical problem with a professionally determined “right answer”, essentially informs all the theoretical trends to be discussed in this section. Advocacy planning has also had a great impact on the process of planning – that is, on who is to be heard in a planning process, whose interests are to be considered, and how planning proposals are to be judged – without its idea of competition between plans being broadly adopted (Marris, 1994). Harwood (2003) suggests that advocacy planning has in practice had a more reformist tendency than originally envisioned, working within the system towards equitable goals. She names facilitating the inclusion of forgotten stakeholders and building organizational capacity in minority communities as contemporary forms of advocacy.

2.2.2 Empowerment and Alternative Development

The alternative development and empowerment trend in planning theory is largely associated with John Friedmann. Friedmann (1992) accused global capitalism and conventional development of creating a disempowered lower class, rendered “surplus” to the world economy. He proposed as remedy a theory of alternative development, targeted at “improving the conditions of life and livelihood for the excluded majority” (37). This theory regards households as the basic unit of both economic development and economic activity, in contrast with traditional models that have placed the state and the economically rational individual in these positions. Friedmann’s alternative development

model stresses the importance of the social and cultural relationships between households to their dynamics as economic actors. To Friedmann, the communities formed by these relationships can best achieve empowerment through a social learning approach to planning, following a community-based process that is participatory and autonomous, but not without the support of the state or the involvement of external agents such as non-governmental organizations.

Empowerment planning theory has developed since the early 1990s, supported by an older body of alternative development theory from the economic development literature. Wilson (1996) summarizes this literature as framing empowerment as a synthesis between individual and collective change, and stresses individual transformation as a basic building block towards community empowerment. This is not an argument against the involvement of external facilitators in community development: “Rather than providing the answers to those presumed not to know,” Wilson explains, “the facilitator orders their knowledge, bringing it out and enriching it” (Wilson, 1996: 627). Wilson also highlights a spiritual dimension to empowerment, citing examples of modern religious movements in India and Sri Lanka that work towards community empowerment and development, as well as the liberation theology of Catholic Latin America.

Amdam (1997) points out that the planning field has not developed an alternative planning model to parallel the alternative development model, and attempts to distill the principles of empowerment into guidelines for such a model. Amdam identifies three fundamental needs on which an empowerment process is dependent: a plan for the planning and development process, a social learning process, and a permanent democratic

political institution. Based on his own experiences with several local development projects in Norway, Amdam also outlines five prerequisites for the development of a plan for such a project – that is, for the satisfaction of the first need: the community as a whole must feel the need for the development project; the project must have support from the formal and informal leaders in the community; the community ought to have expertise in how to initiate, plan, implement and evaluate a project; the community must recognize the fact that development planning is a continuous process; and the objective for the project must be clearly defined but there must be opportunity to make adjustments along the way (Amdam, 1997: 342).

Rocha (1997) points out the lack of a coherent definition of empowerment for use in planning theory. By way of addressing this gap, she develops a hierarchical, five-part typology of empowerment, conceived as a “ladder” of increasingly high levels of empowerment. Rocha’s five types of empowerment are:

- Atomistic individual empowerment, achieved by altering the emotional or physical state of the individual through therapy, skill-building or self-help, with the goal of increasing individual efficacy;
- Embedded individual empowerment, achieved through participation in an organizational context, with the goal of enabling the individual to negotiate and affect their external environment;
- Mediated empowerment, achieved through a relationship with a professional or expert, with the goal of transferring the knowledge necessary for proper decision making to the individual or the community;

- Socio-political empowerment, achieved through critical reflection and collective action by communities and their constituent individuals, with the goal of both individual development and improved distribution of community resources; and
- Political empowerment, achieved through political action and representation, with the goal of expanded access for the community to services and rights.

This typology has been broadly cited in the literature (Jennings et al., 2006; Sieber, 2006; Umemoto, 2001) and provides a practical understanding of empowerment as a planning objective.

2.2.3 Social Learning

Social learning is a broad and vaguely defined term in planning theory, to which various meanings have been assigned. Friedmann (1987) describes social learning as a tradition within planning based on action by small groups, whose members learn informally from each other and/or from facilitating agents over the course of their action. Wilson (1996) summarizes the social learning literature as focusing on dialogue, not only in order to reach understanding between group members, but as a means towards individual and group empowerment. More recently, Glover et al (2008) also offer a dialogue-based model of social learning, with the goal of landscape and civic transformation through community-based land use planning.

Schusler et al (2003) define social learning as “learning that occurs when people engage one another, sharing diverse perspectives and experiences to develop a common framework of understanding and basis for joint action” (311). In Schusler et al’s (2003) conceptual framework, social learning happens through deliberation between participants in a process, and contributes to co-management both by providing or enhancing

knowledge that reflects social values and by creating, enhancing, and transforming relationships between participants.

Pahl-Wostl et al (2007) offer a conceptual framework of social learning in resource management that emphasizes relational processes and the interdependence between social involvement and the management of content. In this conceptual framework, multiparty processes pertaining to both relational issues between stakeholders and task-related issues surrounding the management effort itself are influenced by their structural and natural context, but create outcomes that alter the context. This results in an adaptive and iterative process of resource management.

Satake et al (2007) present a model of forest management decision-making by private landowners with the influence of social learning. Their findings suggest that social learning can improve forest management decision-making only when it increases knowledge of past management decisions, and their effects, over the long term. In other words, it is argued that social learning within one generation is not enough, and that social learning for improved natural resource management must involve inter-generational knowledge transfer. Satake et al (2007) therefore suggest that “a society needs to develop a system within which a cumulative body of knowledge about ecological value is handed down through generations by cultural transmission” (460).

Holden (2008) groups the literature on social learning into three distinct bodies of literature, with differing interpretations of social learning. The more conservative organizational learning school sees social learning as happening when an organization discovers an error and takes action to correct it. This concept of social learning assumes an important role for power hierarchies and does not view structural transformation as an

outcome of social learning. Secondly, the communicative action concept of social learning focuses on authentic dialogue as the means of social learning, and therefore requires egalitarian access to the means of communication and powers of persuasion in order to function correctly and achieve transformation. Finally, the more radical pragmatism model defines social learning as growing the community of inquirers to continuously test new knowledge, and sees transformation as occurring as the community of inquirers comes to include the entire affected population.

2.2.4 Collaborative Planning

Collaborative planning is an approach in planning theory that was most notably articulated by Healey (1997). It is a model of planning whereby stakeholders with different interests collaborate to build a plan together, outside the auspices of the institutions that traditionally control the planning process. The agency of these stakeholders, Healey argues, can alter or overcome the structures that limit process. While collaborative planning is not unique in promoting direct collaboration between diverse stakeholders, it can be distinguished from other approaches that share this objective by its emphasis on inclusiveness and learning (Healey, 2003; van Rii, 2007).

Collaborative planning comes out of the communicative planning tradition. The work of Habermas, a reformed modernist who believed in communicative rather than instrumental rationality, was the strongest influence on the communicative planning tradition (Allmendinger, 2002). Innes (1996) describes consensus building as the practical application of communicative rationality. Communicative planning is the idea that discourse and narrative, rather than technical exercise, should be used to come to decisions on planning questions. Within the communicative tradition, Healey (2003)

identifies Giddens's (1984) conception of the interaction between structure and agency as the main inspiration for her collaborative planning ideas. As a model of planning, the collaborative trend focuses on widening the breadth of both the stakeholders and the types of local knowledge included in the process, and on building the institutional capacity of communities for ongoing planning activities, rather than on the task of place-building itself (Healey, 1998a).

The communicative planning tradition has been criticized for drawing the attention of planning theorists away from the material development processes that shape communities and regions (Yiftachel & Huxley, 2000), and for assuming consensus as a pre-existing moral justification for political action, when in fact consensus can be manufactured or even coerced by the very mechanisms of communicative planning (Pugh, 2005). Collaborative planning is nonetheless a principle that has been applied practically in many recent North American cases, including the coastal resource management context (Rutherford et al., 2005) and processes carried out jointly between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal governments (Tota, 2002).

2.3 First Nations Social Issues

This section reviews bodies of literature that offer an understanding of First Nations issues in Canada, specifically those that influence land use planning in the FAFN context. In the cases of many of these issues, research pertaining specifically to the FAFN is not available. Therefore, research focusing more generally on the region, on Cree culture, and on Canadian Aboriginal issues in general is discussed as it pertains to the study area.

2.3.1 Traditional Land Use

Occupation and use of territory for subsistence purposes is not only a key aspect of the traditional lifestyles retained to varying degrees by some Aboriginal communities, but central to Aboriginal culture, philosophy and identity:

“The concept of territory is arguably the defining element in Aboriginal culture. Representing not only the geographical space from which Aboriginal peoples acquire much of their subsistence needs, territory also represents a continuum of cultural identity that links the past to the present and the present to the future” (Natcher, 2001b: 59-60).

Among traditional uses of the land associated with Cree culture, the harvesting of wildlife by hunting, trapping and fishing receives the most extensive examination in the literature (Berkes et al., 1995; Berkes, 1999; Feit, 2005; Peters, 1999; Tsuji, Martin et al., 2007).

The wildlife harvest is an activity that figures profoundly in Cree spirituality, with an intricate system of beliefs describing and mediating a sacred relationship between hunter and animal (Berkes, 1999; Scott, 2006).

Research on the FAFN goose harvest (Tsuji & Nieboer, 1999) has highlighted the concern that technological and cultural changes over time may have rendered the subsistence harvest less sustainable than it traditionally has been. Advances in firearms, transportation, and refrigeration technology have made it easier to harvest and stockpile large quantities of wildlife, removing a practical constraint on overharvest and incentive towards restraint. Perhaps more importantly, the loss of cultural traditions, structures and norms, due in large part to the residential school experience (see 2.3.2), has left harvesters without the social imperatives of prudent harvesting and use of wildlife that were traditionally present in Mushkego Cree society. Tsuji and Nieboer (1999) suggest

that relearning of these cultural norms would improve the sustainability of the subsistence harvest.

Berkes et al (1994; 1995) refute what they see as a common conception that the Cree communities of the Mushkegowuk region have largely given up the subsistence economy. Based on reports from samples of harvesters and potential harvesters, they estimated the economic value (Berkes et al., 1994) and documented the geographic distribution (Berkes et al., 1995) of the traditional harvest by each of the communities in the Mushkegowuk territory (plus Fort Severn on Hudson Bay) over the course of 1990. Their findings indicated that the traditional economy – that is, the fur and subsistence harvest, measured by replacement value – was roughly one third the size of the total cash economy, and provided 402 g of meat, or 97 g of protein, per adult per day. These figures suggest that the traditional harvest is an important component to the overall mixed economy (Berkes et al., 1994). Berkes et al (1995) also found that the subsistence activities of the eight communities included in the study were spread over a 250 000 km² area and that the spatial extent of this area had changed little over recent history, but that harvesters make much shorter trips into the bush than in previous decades. Estimates from Berkes et al (1994) suggest that traditional economic participation in the FAFN is below the average for Mushkego communities.

While the work of Berkes et al (1994; 1995) provides a vivid illustration of traditional land use in the Mushkegowuk territory, it should be used with caution. As Natcher (2001a) explains, Aboriginal land use data that reflect activities over a short period of time, and come from heads of household (“potential harvesters”) only, can paint

an incomplete picture of traditional land use intensity and distribution (see 2.4.1 and 5.2.5).

There is a paucity of research on the dynamics and causes of decline in traditional land use by Aboriginal communities, but examples of such research do exist. Natcher (2001b) explored this phenomenon in the context of the Whitefish Lake First Nation in northern Alberta. This study described the reduction in traditional harvest activity by community members not as a voluntary change in economic orientation, but as an alienation from the land caused by industrialization. The specific causes to which Natcher (2001b) attributes the withdrawal of Whitefish Lake First Nation members from traditional harvest activities include loss of available land to industrial development; reductions in wildlife stocks due to habitat loss and non-Aboriginal hunting pressure; and risk, real and perceived, of new environmental contaminants affecting wild food quality and ultimately the health of those who consume it. Indeed, risk of industrial development-related contamination affecting wild food has been a focus of investigation in Cree communities in the James Bay region (Tsuji et al., 2007).

Research by Samson and Pretty (2006) has examined the effects of lifestyle change among the northern Labrador Innu, a people with great linguistic and cultural similarity to the Cree. This study found that the change from the historical migratory, subsistence-based lifestyle to a modern sedentary lifestyle with limited subsistence activity has had strongly negative physical health consequences on the Innu, both by eliminating much physical activity from their daily routine and by replacing wild food with less healthy commercial food. Samson and Pretty (2006) therefore recommend policy measures that would encourage land-based activity within the modern context,

such as a food policy for wild food, an outpost programme, ecotourism promotion, and a school calendar customized to facilitate youth participation in the subsistence economy.

2.3.2 Traditional Knowledge, Cultural Continuity and Social Wellbeing

Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) refers, in Canada, to the knowledge about biotic and abiotic ecosystem elements that is accumulated by Aboriginal peoples through personal experience and transmitted between generations through oral teachings. It “represents a collective understanding attained over long periods of time, in particular places, of the relationship between a community and the Earth” (Doubleday, 1993: 41). In Canada, interest by non-Aboriginal scholars and professionals in the study of TEK has increased since the early 1980s, as land claim settlements and co-management arrangements have heightened the role of Aboriginal communities in natural resource and land use decisions. The gathering and documentation of TEK has been used in land claim negotiations to identify areas of importance to the Aboriginal lifestyle, and in resource management decision-making as a way of including first nations in the process (Kuhn & Duerden, 1996).

Canada adopted policies promoting the incorporation of TEK into environmental decision-making processes (Tsuji & Ho, 2002) after the role of indigenous knowledge in achieving sustainable development was recognized by the United Nations, through the 1987 Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development and the 1992 Convention on Biodiversity (McGregor, 2004). Traditional ecological knowledge has also been used to provide insight to inform biology and resource management, as Aboriginal knowledge traditions have often been found to understand ecological phenomena not yet described by science (Berkes, 1999). There have been numerous

examples of TEK playing an important role in improving forest and wildlife management and making it more sensitive to Aboriginal needs (Bouthillier et al., 2006; Kendrick, 2003; McGregor, 2002). In the context of the Mushkegowuk territory, the Victor Diamond Project environmental assessment process included the compilation of TEK from the Attawapiskat First Nation (De Beers Canada, 2004).

While a large body of research has examined TEK as a resource for non-Aboriginal environmental managers and as a means of protecting Aboriginal interests in environmental management, there has also been research examining the health of knowledge traditions within Aboriginal communities, and its implications for the communities themselves. Tsuji (1996) explored this issue in the FAFN, using community members' knowledge of the sharp-tailed grouse as a test case. He found that TEK was being lost between generations, and speculated that this is part of a general trend in first nation communities caused by a history of government suppression of Aboriginal culture.² Ohmagari and Berkes (1997) carried out a study in Peawanuck (Weenusk First Nation) and Moose Factory (Moose Cree First Nation), respectively the northernmost and southernmost communities in the Mushkegowuk territory, on intergenerational transmission of traditional skills among women. They found that although some of the most practically important "bush skills", such as preparation of the animals most commonly used for food, are still being transmitted well, there has been an overall decline in traditional skill transmission and some skills are being lost. Ohmagari

² While not named specifically in Tsuji (1996), one or two specific examples dominate the history of Canadian government disruption of Aboriginal culture. The residential school system, a federal government policy from the late 19th century until the late 20th century, removed Aboriginal children from their communities to give them an education that was intended to suppress their Aboriginal cultural background (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996). Secondly, from the 1960s to the 1980s, large numbers of Aboriginal children were taken into foster care and eventually adopted into non-Aboriginal families (Kirmayer et al., 2003).

and Berkes (1997) also cite the residential school experience as a reason for damaged knowledge transfer traditions, as well as changing values and lifestyles that result in less time being spent in the bush.

There is a strong suggestion in the literature that loss of traditional culture is detrimental to the social wellbeing of Cree communities. Niezen (1993) explored the social consequences of hydroelectric development in the 1970s on the eastern (Quebec) side of James Bay, particularly on the Cree community of Chisasibi, which was relocated as part of the hydroelectric project. He suggests that high rates of suicide, alcohol and drug abuse, family violence, and youth crime, which have emerged since the relocation, are the result of rapid transformation from the traditional land-based lifestyle to a more sedentary lifestyle with various obstacles to the transmission of cultural values and knowledge.

Niezen (1993) laments that social consequences of lifestyle and cultural change are difficult to quantify and to causally link to the cultural changes in question. However, seven years later, Kirmayer et al (2000) analyzed data from a survey by Santé Québec on the James Bay Cree to determine correlations between indicators of psychological distress, socio-demographic characteristics, alcohol and substance abuse, significant life events, participation in traditional activities, social support, and medical and psychiatric history. Spending more time in the bush was negatively correlated with psychological distress, highlighting the role of cultural continuity and the traditional economy in maintaining mental health. Perhaps more surprisingly, higher levels of education were positively correlated with psychological distress, suggesting that better preparation for

participation in the wage economy does not offset the negative effects of cultural discontinuity.

Youth suicide rates within Canada's Aboriginal population are some five to seven times higher than those of the general Canadian population (Jacono & Jacono, 2008; MacNeil, 2008). Focusing on first nations in British Columbia, Chandler and Lalonde (1998b) found that suicide rates are dramatically lower among those first nations which have taken active steps to preserve and rehabilitate their own cultures. Cultural continuity techniques that were found in the study to negatively predict suicide rate in British Columbian first nations included cultural facilities, land claim efforts, and first nation control of health, education, police and fire services, but by far the strongest negative predictor of suicide rate was having some measure of self-government. First nations exhibiting all the characteristics of cultural continuity effort evaluated by the study experienced no youth suicide during the 5-year study period. While Chandler and Lalonde (1998b) themselves point out that their analysis in and of itself does not prove the relationship between cultural continuity efforts and suicide rates to be causal, they also offer a psychological explanation of the link between cultural continuity and the question of suicide: that individuals – particularly young individuals – whose identity is undermined by radical personal and cultural change lose the sense of future commitments that leads to appropriate care for one's own well-being, and is therefore put at risk of suicide.

Much of the literature reviewed thus far has shared the argument that Aboriginal cultural transmission has been disrupted by government interventions, and that the cultural discontinuity resulting from these disruptions has been much to the detriment of

social wellbeing in Aboriginal communities. Recent literature has also suggested remedies for this problem based on cultural re-articulation. In Chisasibi, the same eastern James Bay Cree community where Niezen (1993) described tragic social consequences of hydroelectric development and relocation, a program now exists whereby youth who have engaged in criminal or self-destructive behaviour are sent to spend time with elders living in the bush (Rou  , 2006). This program, administered by the Cree Trappers' Association and the Cree Health Board, gives these youth an opportunity to learn practical, spiritual, and ethical elements of Cree culture, and adopt a sense of self-reliance and responsibility. The idea that elders are in a position to help address social problems by transferring cultural knowledge to generations without it is not unique to the James Bay Cree context, but widespread among Aboriginal communities in Canada, even urban Aboriginal communities (Stiegelbauer, 1996). Kirmayer et al (2003) urge Canadian health promoters and policy makers to support collaborative, community-based approaches in the Aboriginal context that focus on the transfer of knowledge and skills.

2.3.3 Legal Issues

The history of relations between Aboriginal Canadian and European-Canadian society has been described as having passed through four stages (McGregor, 2002; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996):

- Separate worlds, during which time Aboriginal and European societies developed with little or no interaction or influence on one another. Early European colonists in North America did not regard Aboriginal peoples as having a legitimate claim to the territory they inhabited, because to European eyes they seemed to lack political organization and a legal framework for property rights.

- Contact and cooperation, beginning in the late 15th century, during which time Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadian societies often interacted with each other on a nation-to-nation basis for purposes of trade, mutual assistance, and military cooperation. This stage was characterized by a mixture of friendly and hostile relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal nations.
- Displacement and assimilation, beginning in the late 18th century, when non-Aboriginal people became the demographically and socially dominant society in Canada. Changes to the colonial economic base made non-Aboriginal Canadians less interested in trading with Aboriginal people for fur, and more interested in acquiring and converting their land for agriculture and forestry. This was often done unilaterally, as Canadian attitudes came to view Aboriginal interests as irrelevant. Canadian policy tended towards assimilation and discrimination.
- Negotiation and renewal, beginning in the late 1960s or early 1970s, when Aboriginal groups began to organize to advance the recognition of their territorial and other rights through a number of civic, legislative and legal frameworks. This stage saw a series of court decisions, government reports, and civil confrontations change the place of Aboriginal peoples in Canadian society.

The *Constitution Act, 1982* recognizes and affirms Aboriginal and treaty rights, effectively giving these rights constitutional protection. These two categories of rights that entitle Aboriginal peoples to continued use of lands, by virtue of custom in the case of Aboriginal rights and by virtue of treaties or land claim resolutions in the case of treaty rights.

A series of court cases in the 1990s and since then have clarified the meaning of Aboriginal rights and the government's responsibilities in protecting these rights. The *Van Der Peet* decision (Supreme Court of Canada, 1996) determined that practices, customs and traditions that were integral elements of Aboriginal culture prior to European contact are protected as Aboriginal rights. One type of Aboriginal right described in the *Delgamuukw* decision (Supreme Court of Canada, 1997) is Aboriginal title, which "encompasses the right to exclusive use and occupation of the land held pursuant to that title ... [however] those protected uses must not be irreconcilable with the nature of the group's attachment to the land" (para. 117). The Supreme Court of Canada (1997) explained that Aboriginal title is held communally and cannot be surrendered to anyone but the Crown, but that like other Aboriginal rights it can be infringed upon by government actions where justifiable.

The earlier *Sparrow* decision (Supreme Court of Canada, 1990) established a test to determine whether a government action that infringes upon an Aboriginal right is justifiable: the court must determine, if the infringement is to be justified based on conservation objectives, whether priority was returned to Aboriginal resource users after the measures were taken; if an expropriation of land is involved, whether there is fair compensation provided; and in all cases, whether the affected Aboriginal communities were engaged in consultation before the infringement (Natcher, 2001a).

The question of what degree of consultation is required under what circumstances is in itself the subject of much jurisprudence. The *Delgamuukw* decision established the principle of the Crown's duty to consult and accommodate, noting that

"The nature and scope of the duty of consultation will vary with the circumstances. In occasional cases, when the

breach is less serious or relatively minor, it will be no more than a duty to discuss important decisions that will be taken with respect to lands held pursuant to aboriginal title. Of course, even in these rare cases when the minimum acceptable standard is consultation, this consultation must be in good faith, and with the intention of substantially addressing the concerns of the aboriginal peoples whose lands are at issue. In most cases, it will be significantly deeper than mere consultation. Some cases may even require the full consent of an aboriginal nation, particularly when provinces enact hunting and fishing regulations in relation to aboriginal lands” (Supreme Court of Canada, 1997: para. 168).

The *Haida* decision (Supreme Court of Canada, 2004) further developed the concept of duty to consult. It established that this duty rests with the Crown, and not with private parties; that it “arises where the Crown has knowledge ... of the potential existence of an Aboriginal right or title and contemplates conduct that might adversely affect it” (para. 35); and that the duty to consult becomes a duty to accommodate when the consultation reveals a change of course to be necessary to protect Aboriginal interests:

“When the consultation process suggests amendment of Crown policy, we arrive at the stage of accommodation. Thus the effect of good faith consultation may be to reveal a duty to accommodate. Where a strong *prima facie* case exists for the claim, and the consequences of the government’s proposed decision may adversely affect it in a significant way, addressing the Aboriginal concerns may require taking steps to avoid irreparable harm or to minimize the effects of infringement, pending final resolution of the underlying claim” (Supreme Court of Canada, 2004: para. 47).

Although the Supreme Court emphasized in *Haida* that the duty to consult and accommodate rests solely with the Crown, it also acknowledged that the procedural aspects of consultation may be delegated by the Crown to third parties (Bergner, 2005). For example, consultation with Aboriginal groups whose interests are affected by

development proposals is delegated to proponents through environmental assessment legislation (Natcher, 2001a).

Many of the early legal cases centered around the duty to consult and accommodate, including those cited above, come from areas of Canada where Aboriginal land was never acquired by the Crown through treaties and land claims often remain unresolved. The FAFN is a signatory to Treaty 9, which cedes the lands of many Aboriginal groups in northern Ontario to the Crown in exchange for certain benefits and land use rights. The FAFN therefore has explicit treaty right to continued traditional use of unoccupied lands in the treaty area. In the *Misikew Cree* decision, the Supreme Court of Canada (2005) ruled that the duty to consult and accommodate applies even where treaties have long been in place, because a treaty does not by itself constitute accommodation of the Aboriginal interest. As the Court put it, “what occurred at Fort Chipewyan in 1899 [that is, the signing of a treaty] was not the complete discharge of the duty arising from the honor of the Crown, but a rededication of it” (Supreme Court of Canada, 2005: para. 54).

The interests of Aboriginal peoples in the Hudson Bay drainage basin are also protected by the Rupert’s Land Order of 1870, by which the British government transferred that territory (previously Rupert’s Land) to Canadian control in exchange for a commitment from the Canadian government to protect the interests and wellbeing of Aboriginal peoples in the affected area. The Mushkegowuk Council is currently challenging a number of statutes in court, many of them provincial resource management acts, as contravening the principles enshrined in the Rupert’s Land Order (Mushkegowuk Council).

2.4 Planning for First Nations

This section will explore the literature on, and concrete examples of, planning work that has been done by, with, and for first nations in Canada. It will focus on Aboriginal communities with a similar setting as that of the FAFN – northern or remote communities whose traditional territory has resource development potential, and which have an interest in managing or protecting that territory.

2.4.1 Principles, Issues and Techniques

First nations and other Aboriginal entities in Canada have participated in land use planning in a broad range of capacities, from stakeholders to planning authorities. Duerden et al (1996) reviewed six land planning processes completed in the early 1990s in Yukon that involved Aboriginal entities, such as first nations and tribal councils, to various degrees. The various roles of the Aboriginal organizations in these planning processes ranged from simple comment to being the instigator of the plan. Duerden et al's (1996) general critique of all of these experiences is that planning was almost consistently a process initiated from outside the North for the accommodation of outside interests in the first nations' traditional territories, and that the conventional planning processes that were used in the Yukon, themselves introduced from outside, reduce the status of first nations to mere stakeholders instead of legitimate decision-makers. Duerden et al (1996) go so far as to argue that it would be impossible for conventional planning models to properly serve first nation interests, "the latter always being modified to meet the constraints of the former" (122).

After the notion of collaborative planning was advanced in the late 1990s by critical planning theorists such as Healey (1997; 1998a; 1998b), Nilsen (2005) took the

view that planning and policy development in northern Canada is reconcilable with the principle of Aboriginal self-determination, if it takes a communicative and inclusive approach. The approach Nilsen (2005) envisions would rely on interactive dialogue at the grassroots level to understand multiple social constructs of places, and would recognize this dialogue as the driving force in an organic process of decision-making. Nilsen (2005) indicates that these principles are both characteristic of northern Aboriginal decision-making culture and consistent with the direction that critical theorists have been promoting for the planning discipline. He argues, therefore, that northern and Aboriginal planning in Canada presents an opportunity to put critical planning theory into practice.

To address the need for community-based and community-controlled planning, a recent trend among first nations is comprehensive community planning, comprehensive in that it considers the integration and interrelationship of the cultural, social, spiritual, economic, governance, infrastructure, health, educational, environmental and resource aspects of the community (Cook, 2008). This trend is supported by INAC, which sees comprehensive community planning among first nations as serving three functions: enhancing the community's social capital and social learning; contributing to self-governance by producing plans that help guide decision-making by the community as a whole; and increasing INAC's and other external actors' understanding of the community's goals and interests (Boothroyd et al., 2007; Cook, 2008).

The planning process carried out by the Bonaparte Indian Band in the British Columbia interior is one recent example of a plan made by a first nation according to community-based deliberative principles, and used to guide the chief and council in their consultations with industry and government. The planning process itself was preceded by

a two-year preparatory phase during which a cultural heritage inventory was created through interviews with elders and other community knowledge holders, and stored as GIS data. This cultural heritage inventory was used as baseline information to inform the planning process proper, which took just over one year and consisted largely of a series of community meetings. While the Band originally set up an advisory group of elders and knowledge holders to work separately from the community meetings, these two organs naturally merged as the full membership became engaged through the community meetings (Berris et al., 2008).

Gathering and processing spatial data on values within a traditional territory is a common component of Aboriginal planning processes, as well as land claim efforts and treaty negotiations, and is itself the subject of some investigation (Fat, 2004; Manson & Rabbitskin, 2007; Natcher & Hickey, 2000). Natcher (2001a) explains that the “map biography” method pioneered by Freeman (1976) has become the accepted model for land use studies. In this method,

“...respondents are asked to locate and map harvesting or related land use activities during their adult lives (i.e., hunting, fishing, gathering). Community land use patterns are then aggregated by map categories with outer areas representing boundaries and high density areas representing the spatial intensity of community land use. Additional areas of coverage include burial sites, travel routes, historical sites, and spiritual locations” (Natcher, 2001a: 116).

This model is preferred over earlier approaches that undertook a more detailed and quantitative examination of harvesting activity over a particular period of time, as such an approach does not account for the long-term cyclical variation in distribution and

intensity that is inherent to some land uses for reasons of ecological dynamics (Natcher, 2001a).

Several examples exist in Canada of land use plans produced by first nations for their traditional territories with varying degrees of government involvement. The following subsections will describe three examples of such plans. The three examples selected for review are recent, have a comparable context to that of the FAFN, and each come from a different region of Canada. The three are the Whitefeather Forest land use strategy by the Pikangikum First Nation in northwestern Ontario, the Lil'wat Land Use Plan by the Lil'wat Nation in the southern British Columbia interior, and the Dehcho Land Use Plan by the Dehcho First Nations in the southern Northwest Territories.

2.4.2 Whitefeather Forest Land Use Strategy (Pikangikum First Nation)

The Pikangikum First Nation is an Anishinaabe community located in northwestern Ontario. *Keeping the Land: A Land Use Strategy for the Whitefeather Forest and Adjacent Areas* (Pikangikum First Nation, 2006) was completed in 2006 by the Pikangikum First Nation in collaboration with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR). The Whitefeather Forest Initiative, whereby the Pikangikum First Nation created this plan, was conceived as a way for the first nation to have a stake in commercial forestry within its traditional territory. As former Chief Paddy Peters, later Land Use Planning Coordinator for the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation, explains,

“One day [then Economic Development Officer] Peter Quill and I were travelling to Red Lake ... and I was talking to Peter about what happened to our people in the past. We were approached by forestry companies that wanted to work with our people. Our people said no.

There were others who came to our community and our people always said no. I said to Peter, see all this clear cutting, it is near our community and we have to do something about this. Our people cannot just continue to say no. If we continue to say no we are going to be left out. We are going to be left out from the benefits. ... At that time, as leader of our community, I was in a position to support any kind of plan, or idea or Initiative that would begin the process of us beginning to look at where Pikangikum would fit into all the development that was going to take place in the future. ... This is the birth of the Whitefeather Forest Initiative” (Pikangikum First Nation, 2006: 4).

The Strategy is based on a vision of continuing the Pikangikum people’s customary stewardship of the land while participating in both commercial forestry and traditional activities.

The planning process consisted of four phases. Phase I consisted of the development of a terms of reference and the preparation of background information. Phase II consisted of preparation of information on existing uses and capabilities of the land, and on resources to support new uses and special features. Objectives for new and existing uses were also described during Phase II. Phase III consisted of the drafting of the Strategy and making land use and stewardship direction recommendations. Phase IV consisted of endorsement of the Strategy by the Pikangikum First Nation and the OMNR after consideration of public input. Public input was solicited during each of the first three phases through meetings, open houses, Environmental Bill of Rights Registry posting, and mail-outs. The open houses were held on reserve in the Pikangikum First Nation and in Red Lake, Ontario in June of 2003 for Phase I, June of 2004 for Phase II, and November of 2005 for Phase III.

The outcome of the planning process was a series of land use zones covering the Whitefeather Forest planning area. Land use designations included:

- One General Use Area, covering 29.4% of the planning area, within which all land use activities are supported including community-led commercial forestry.
- Six Enhanced Management Areas, covering a total of 34.9% of the planning area, within which various levels of access and harvesting activities are supported in keeping with a particular interest or value. These include remote access, recreation, fish and wildlife, and cultural heritage.
- Six Dedicated Protected Areas, covering a total of 35.7% of the planning area, within which no commercial resource extraction is permitted.

In addition to these area designations, certain waterways with special significance to the Pikangikum people were designated as Cultural Landscape Waterways and afforded protection, usually as a Dedicated Protected Area surrounded by an Enhanced Management Area.

The OMNR was a partner throughout the planning process and participated in community engagement efforts, for example assisting in the development of the open houses (Pikangikum First Nation, 2006). The OMNR took part in this planning process as part of the Northern Boreal Initiative, an initiative of the OMNR to incorporate first nation participation into a large-scale forestry plan for the area immediately north of the previously existing limit of commercial forestry in Ontario (Northern Boreal Initiative, 2002). The planning area adopted for the process comprises with the registered traplines of Pikangikum First Nation members (Pikangikum First Nation, 2006).

2.4.3 Lil'wat Land Use Plan

The Lil'wat Nation is a St'át'imc first nation located at Mount Currie, British Columbia, with a history of confrontations over developments in its traditional territory

(Ray & Harper, 2008). The *Lil'wat Land Use Plan* (Lil'wat Nation, 2006) was completed in 2006. The creation of the land use plan was the first step in a five-year strategic plan for the Lil'wat Nation that was approved in 2005 by its chief and council. The Lil'wat Nation's decision to undertake this strategic plan was influenced by the fact that the British Columbia government was at the time preparing venues for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games within the Lil'wat traditional territory, and undergoing the Sea-to-Sky Land and Resource Management Plan, which covered much of the traditional territory (Ray & Harper, 2008). The Lil'wat Nation defined their traditional territory through historical research on the boundaries of the area used exclusively by the Lil'wat, who have historically been a distinct people with a discrete territory (Lil'wat Nation, 2006). The vision expressed in the Lil'wat Land Use Plan is one of protecting the Lil'wat people's lands, resources, livelihood and culture, and allowing them to make decisions as a nation concerning the land and its resources .

The planning process centered on a series of sessions over the course of two months with a working group, convened by the project team as a representative cross-section of the community. The working group took part in map-based sessions, at which members were encouraged to add their own knowledge to maps showing environmental, economic and cultural values in the territory. The working group also discussed management alternatives in light of members' traditional and contemporary knowledge, and decided upon strategies to guide the drafting of the plan. Planning consultants were retained to participate in this process and draft the plan. The draft of the plan was subjected to several months of scrutiny by the full community before being adopted by the chief and council of the Lil'wat Nation (Ray & Harper, 2008).

In the final draft of the Lil'wat Land Use Plan, a detailed set of management strategies for the whole territory was articulated. Management guidelines for 17 ecological, cultural and economic values were organized under three categories, namely Sustaining Our Traditional Territory, Living Our Culture, and Expanding Our Economy. In addition to management guidelines for the whole territory, six zone-based land use designations were proposed:

- Nt'ákmen (Our Way) Areas, in which the natural landscape is given maximum protection in order to ensure the continued availability of the land for cultural pursuits such as subsistence harvesting and spiritual activities. Industrial resource development, water-based power projects, intensive tourism and recreation, agriculture, and commercial land development would be excluded uses in these zones, although low-impact tourism and recreation would be permitted.
- Collaborative Management Areas, designated wherever provincial parks overlap with the Lil'wat traditional territory. The Lil'wat Nation hopes to enter into an arrangement with the Province of British Columbia whereby the two entities would share decision-making power regarding provincial parks, and provision would be made for low-impact activities by the Lil'wat people to be permitted within the parks.
- A Cultural Education Area, intended for community education on Lil'wat culture. A cultural education centre would be constructed and sites of cultural importance preserved. Commercial botanical forest harvesting and low-impact tourism and recreation would be permitted in this zone, while intensive tourism and recreation, industrial resource development, and water-based power projects would be permitted

only where they do not impact educational, cultural, aesthetic or environmental values.

- Stewardship Areas, intended for the protection of key environmental resources. Within these zones, only those economic activities that do not impact ecological integrity would be permitted.
- Conditional Economic Development Areas, within which small-scale sustainable economic and resource development activities that do not degrade tourism potential would be permitted.
- Managed Resource Use Areas, within which a broad range of resource development activities would be permitted, so long as they are managed sustainably and provide economic opportunity to the Lil'wat Nation. These zones tend to be located where resource development is already occurring.

Watershed boundaries are used as a basis for zone boundaries in the Lil'wat Land Use Plan (Lil'wat Nation, 2006). The mountainous terrain of the area creates a patchwork of drainage basins amenable to this use.

The British Columbia Government was not involved in the development of the Lil'wat Land Use Plan. However, the completed Plan was used by the Lil'wat Nation to guide their negotiations with the provincial government, which led to a land use agreement in 2008 that was incorporated into the Sea-to-Sky Land and Resource Management Plan (British Columbia Ministry of Agriculture and Lands & Lil'wat Nation, 2008). Ray and Harper (2008) observed that the planning process encouraged information sharing and inter-generational knowledge transfer within the community, and that the experience had created a lasting renewal of interest in culture within the

community. They also observed that the planning process provided a forum for discussion between pro- and anti-development factions within the community.

2.4.4 Dehcho Land Use Plan

The Dehcho (sometimes spelled Deh Cho) First Nations represents a group of Dene communities in the southern Northwest Territories. Released in 2006, *Respect For the Land: The Dehcho Land Use Plan* (Dehcho Land Use Planning Committee, 2006) was produced pursuant to the Deh Cho First Nations Interim Measures Agreement (Deh Cho First Nations et al., 2001), which arose from the land claims settlements related to the Mackenzie Valley pipeline negotiations. The vision articulated in the plan was one of sustainable economic development and continued practice of Dene culture and subsistence activity.

The four-phase process for the development of the plan was negotiated in the Interim Measures Agreement, which designated the Dehcho First Nations and the governments of Canada and the Northwest Territories as parties to the plan. In Phase I, a planning committee was to be created consisting of two Dehcho First Nations appointments, one appointment from each of the government parties, and one chair agreed upon by all three parties. In Phase II, the Dehcho First Nations was to gather ecological and cultural data for the production of “sensitivity maps”, which were to be provided to the planning committee. The raw data were to remain property of the Dehcho First Nations and were to be shared with the planning committee on an as-needed, viewing-only basis. The committee was to use this information to map development opportunities and social and ecological constraints, and to develop a series of land use options. In Phase III, Dehcho communities, parties to the plan and other

stakeholders were to review the options and provide feedback to the committee, who were to revise the options until parties' and stakeholders' concerns were met. The planning committee was then to produce a draft plan, subject to the same stakeholder scrutiny and revision, and submit it for approval to the three parties. In Phase IV, the planning committee was to be responsible for monitoring conformity to the plan.

The Dehcho Land Use Plan includes five zone types. Although each zone type is characterized by a particular purpose and land use strategy, specific permitted and excluded uses vary somewhat between individual zones of the same type. The only land uses that are controlled through this zoning are oil and gas development, mining, forestry, tourism, and agriculture. The zone types are as follows:

- Conservation Zones, covering 38.1% of the planning area, protecting areas of great cultural or ecological importance. Tourism is permitted in most Conservation Zones, but the other four controlled land uses are excluded.
- The Protected Area Strategy Zone, covering 12% of the planning area, covering an area identified as a candidate for protected area status. This is a zone that in the interim is being given the same level of protection as the Conservation Zones, but in the future will be established as a protected area with its own management plan.
- Special Management Zones, covering 24.4% of the planning area, in areas with significant potential for both conservation and resource development. Forestry and tourism are permitted in most Special Management Zones, while the other controlled land uses are permitted or excluded on a zone-by-zone basis.
- General Use Zones, covering 25.5% of the planning area. In these zones, all controlled land uses are permitted.

- Special Infrastructure Corridors, covering 0.77% of the study area, corresponding to study corridors for proposed pipeline projects. These corridors overlay other land use zones. Within Special Infrastructure Corridors, the construction and operation of a pipeline and associated infrastructure is permitted notwithstanding the land use regulations applying to the rest of the zone.

These land use zones constitute only one of a series of conformance requirements that make up the regulatory component of the Dehcho Land Use Plan. Other conformance requirements in the Plan govern land uses wherever they are permitted. These additional conformance requirements pertain to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, the use and recognition of traditional and cultural knowledge, the protection of significant traditional land use and occupancy sites, protection of plant gathering areas, community involvement, and the authorization and permitting of a broad range of resource operations.

2.4.5 Lessons From First Nation Planning Processes

Table 1 summarizes and compares some characteristics of the three land use planning processes described above.

	Whitefeather Forest Land Use Strategy	Lil'wat Land Use Plan	Dehcho Land Use Plan
First nation	Pikangikum First Nation	Lil'wat Nation	Dehcho First Nations
Location	Northwestern Ontario	Southwestern British Columbia	Southern Northwest Territories
Role of government	Provincial government collaborated through OMNR; held dialogue towards mutual endorsement of plan	None	Territorial and federal governments parties to the plan; represented on planning committee together with first nation
Planning area	Traplines registered to first nation members	Lil'wat traditional territory, defined through research on area historically used by the Lil'wat Nation exclusively	Dehcho land claim area
Planning body	Steering group formed by first nation	Project team formed by first nation, representative working group formed by project team	Planning committee appointed by Dehcho First Nations, Northwest Territories and Government of Canada
Background research	Existing uses, resources, and capabilities of the land	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional territory boundaries • Values mapping 	Ecological and cultural data
Community involvement	Meetings and open houses during preparation of background information, setting of objectives, and drafting of the strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mapping and deliberation by working group • Discussion of drafts by full community 	Review of options presented by the planning committee
Plan content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three land use designations allowing various levels of resource development • Cultural Landscape Waterway designation for certain waterways 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Six land use designations corresponding to different management objectives • Detailed management guidelines for the whole territory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Five zone types corresponding to various land use strategies, and permitting various combinations of controlled land uses • Conformance requirements regulating controlled land uses, use of TEK, protection of culturally significant areas, community involvement, permitting of resource operations
Implementation	Plan was endorsed by OMNR and incorporated into provincial policy	Plan was used as a basis for negotiations with the Government of British Columbia, which led to a land use agreement that was incorporated into provincial policy	Plan was both created and implemented pursuant to the Interim Measures Agreement between the first nation, territorial and federal governments

Table 1. Comparison of some characteristics of the Whitefeather Forest Land Use Strategy, the Lil'wat Land Use Plan, and the Dehcho Land Use Plan.

From these three examples, and from the research reviewed in 2.4.1, general principles can be drawn for land use planning in the First Nations traditional territory context.

- Dialogue between different groups and demographics within the community is an essential component of first nation land use planning. This principle was posited by Nilsen (2005) and reflected by the Pikangikum First Nation, which held community meetings at each phase of its planning process, and the Lil'wat Nation, which convened a representative sample of the community to make preliminary decisions and held extensive community-wide discussions before adopting the plan.
- Identification of sensitive ecological features is as much a cultural exercise as a scientific one, given the cultural importance of the landscape and its uses to many First Nations communities. Traditional knowledge should be sought out as a source for locating ecological and cultural values, as was done in the three land use planning processes described above. As explained by Natcher (2001a), the map biography method is an effective way to do this.
- Higher levels of collaboration with government can limit first nation control of the process and pose issues such as ownership of traditional knowledge, while at the same time providing a reliable avenue for implementation through incorporation into policy. However, plans made by first nations without government collaboration can guide negotiations with governments towards implementation, as was the case with the Lil'wat Land Use Plan.
- Such planning processes should be led by working groups formed by the first nation government, as was done successfully in the Pikangikum First Nation and Lil'wat

Nation cases. These working groups would be responsible for facilitating the process and liaising between the community and any planning consultant retained for the project.

- As in the cases explored above, land use zoning designations should be based on management objectives that correspond to both ongoing uses and economic potential of specific areas. In addition to zoning, the land use plans should include guidelines for development and consultation throughout the planning area.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

The literature reviewed above provides the substance of a working hypothesis as to how a land use planning process might unfold in the context of the FAFN. This working hypothesis addresses the relationship between the community and planning practice in the development of the plan, the principles that will guide the plan-making process, and the form the plan itself will take.

The working relationship between the FAFN community and any planning practitioner involved in the development of the land use plan would be similar to that described in Wilson's (1996) model of empowerment planning: the role of the practitioner would be that of facilitator, organizing and enriching the knowledge of the community rather than providing external answers. Those involved in the planning process would essentially be playing the role of advocate, in that they would be advancing a plan created outside the formal planning agency for the benefit of a traditionally excluded population. However, it would differ from Davidoff's (1965) original advocacy model of the planner-advocate writing a plan on behalf of an

essentially passive community, and embody the more contemporary construct of advocacy through building capacity and promoting inclusion.

Social learning would be a major component of the plan-making process. Social learning is an important component of empowerment planning theory (Amdam, 1997; Friedmann, 1992; Wilson, 1996), and is particularly useful when ongoing resource management by a community is needed (Pahl-Wostl et al., 2007; Schusler et al., 2003). It is even more appropriate in a context wherein traditional knowledge must contribute to plan-making. The process would likely be structured according to the inclusive, grassroots-based principles that Nilsen (2005) suggests resonate with northern Aboriginal decision-making values. As such, there would be a strong communicative element to the planning process.

The land use plan will likely be designed around the goal of ensuring continued use of the land by FAFN members for subsistence activities and other important cultural pursuits. The literature suggests that such activities are important to the physical and social health of the first nations that practice them, and that the subsistence economy is still important, if potentially declining, in the Mushkegowuk territory. The role of a land use plan in addressing this goal would likely be to manage industrial and infrastructure development to prevent the environmental degradation and territorial alienation that Natcher (2001b) describes as often forcing an end to traditional land-based activities. As with other land use plans for northern first nations in areas with resource development potential, this management might take the form of zoning for permitted and excluded uses.

In summary, this conceptual framework envisions land use planning in the FAFN as an exercise in community empowerment, with the planning practitioner making a contribution as advocate-facilitator. A planning process based on social learning and communicative action from the grassroots level would be used to achieve a system of land use zones that would protect traditional land-based activities, in order to ensure sustainability and cultural continuity.

The empirical research to be described in the following chapters will test this conceptual framework and conclude with a revised and applied vision for the FAFN land use planning process.

CHAPTER 3 METHODS

3.1 Study Approach

The purpose of the empirical component of this thesis research was to identify the values, concerns, and ideas held by the FAFN community that should shape their land use planning process. A qualitative approach was clearly the appropriate choice for this objective, given that I was interested in discovering and exploring these social phenomena rather than quantifying their prevalence. Another factor informing the selection of a qualitative approach was that the nature of my contact with the community, as described in 3.2, gave me access to only a small number of participants. At the same time, it allowed me to engage deeply and openly with these participants. While these conditions offer a participant sample too small for quantitative analysis and generalizability, they make available a wealth of insight, opinion, and cultural understanding that lends itself well to qualitative methods. The purpose of qualitative as opposed to quantitative methods of inquiry is to identify cultural phenomena through in-depth interaction with a smaller number of participants, rather than to determine the prevalence or distribution of cultural phenomena that have already been described (McCracken, 1988). The primary research methods used in this thesis were semi-structured long interviews and unobtrusive direct observation.

My process of inquiry was guided by the principles of participatory action research. Participatory action research has been defined as research in which

“some of the people in the organization or community under study participate actively with the professional

researcher throughout the research process from the initial design to the final presentation of results and discussion of their action implications ... [and in which] some of the members of the organization we study are actively engaged in the quest for information and ideas to guide their future actions” (Whyte et al., 1989: 514).

It is contrasted with the “expert research” model, in which

“all authority and execution of research is controlled by the expert researcher. In participatory action research, authority over and execution of the research is a highly collaborative process between expert researchers and members of the organization under study” (Greenwood et al., 1993: 176).

In this case, the FAFN was part of the decision to carry out the research, in order to enable them to carry out land use planning (see 1.2.2). Members of the FAFN were involved in the process leading up to and including the collection of data, and Mushkegowuk Council staff provided feedback on an initial draft of the interview guide. Following the collection and analysis of data, and before the completion of this thesis, preliminary results and recommendations were presented to the chief of the FAFN and Mushkegowuk Council staff for feedback, which influenced the final conclusions of the thesis. Additional review of these conclusions by members and leaders of the FAFN will take place before any further dissemination or publication of the results of this research.

3.2 Access to the Community

My access as a researcher to the FAFN was facilitated by a research group including Professor Len Tsuji, Professor Graham Whitelaw, and Dr. Dan McCarthy. Len Tsuji has a long history of professional and academic work in the FAFN and other communities in the region, and had been working recently with Graham Whitelaw and Dan McCarthy on participatory action research in the FAFN aimed at building local

capacity for participation in EA processes. This research infrastructure provided me with co-investigators who were able both to bring me into contact with community members and to advise me on matters of cultural sensitivity. These well-established contacts are of particular importance in the First Nations setting, where researchers lacking a prior relationship with the community are often impeded in accessing participants by issues of trust and understanding (Kowalsky et al., 1996).

3.3 The Long Interview Technique

The tool used to gather much of the data used in this thesis was a series of semi-structured interviews. The method for carrying out these interviews, analyzing the data they provided and drawing conclusions was adapted from the long interview technique described by McCracken (1988). This technique consists of four steps: the literature review, the review of cultural categories, the interview procedure, and the interview analysis.

3.3.1 Literature Review

The purpose of the literature review in Chapter 2 is both to produce a conceptual framework to be tested against the data collected in the interviews, and to point out the past scholarship and planning work that will inform the discussion of these data.

McCracken (1988) calls the literature review a “review of analytic categories”, and focuses on their role in helping the researcher to notice counterexpectational data from his or her interviews. To fulfill this role, a literature review should create preconceptions that the researcher can compare to his or her interview data; in other words, it should

create distance between the researcher and the interview data in order to highlight discrepancies between the interview results and the previous understanding.

My literature review differed somewhat from McCracken's (1988) model in its iterative nature – that is, in that it was carried out partly before and partly after the completion of the interviews. The reason for this iterative approach was that the analytic categories to be reviewed in the literature were, in many cases, informed by the interviews themselves. Rather than initiating the research process with a question pertaining to a topic or set of topics on which to collect literature, my research question centered on what thematic categories would form the basis of the land use planning framework. Therefore, some topics for review and analysis were only identified during the interviews.

3.3.2 Review of Cultural Categories

The review of cultural categories is a step McCracken (1988) describes as that in which the investigator begins to prepare him- or herself as an instrument of inquiry. To be prepared for the task of qualitative analysis, a researcher must have a “detailed and systematic appreciation of his or her personal experience with the topic of interest” (McCracken, 1988: 32). One must carefully consider the ways in which personal experience and background knowledge affect their pre-existing views on the subject of research, both in order to select questions for participants, and to critically identify personal assumptions that will need to be challenged in order to properly carry out analysis. In other words, the purpose of this step is “familiarization and defamiliarization” (McCracken, 1988: 33).

In this case, my status as an outsider in the community and in the culture presented unique challenges. For example, I was vulnerable to misunderstanding of the culturally-specific meanings attached to certain discourses. The cultural review, which sought to address this, took the form of discussions with my research group regarding the social setting of the FAFN community and its experiences with land use issues. I also read broadly on Cree culture, both as part of and separately from the formal literature review, and participated in community activities such as barbeques while in the FAFN. This allowed me both to increase my own understanding of local issues so as to better inform my interview guide, and to identify our collective preconceptions and intellectual baggage as a research group. I was able to gain further insight into the matters pertaining to the FAFN by discussing them with a staff member of the Mushkegowuk Council before entering the FAFN.

3.3.3 Interview Procedure

Qualitative interview procedure, as opposed to quantitative interview procedure, can be characterized in at least seven ways: it takes a less structured approach, looking for participants' general perspectives rather than comparable answers to a standard set of questions; there is more interest in the participant's point of view than in the investigator's questions; it is desirable for participants to go off on tangents, as this gives insight into what they see as relevant; the investigator feels free to depart from any preset questions in order to explore issues that emerge in the course of an interview; the investigator is interested in rich, detailed answers, rather than easily codeable answers; and individual participants may be interviewed more than once (Bryman, 2004). My interviews embodied all of these characteristics with the exception of participants having

multiple interviews, although two participants were involved in discussions of preliminary results (see 3.5).

Qualitative interviews can be semi-structured or unstructured (Bryman, 2004).

These interviews were semi-structured, meaning that

“the researcher has a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered, often referred to as an *interview guide*, but the interviewee has a great deal of leeway on how to reply. Questions may not follow on exactly in the way outlined on the schedule. Questions that are not included in the guide may be asked as the interviewer picks up on things said by interviewees. But, by and large, all of the questions will be asked and a similar wording will be used from interviewee to interviewee” (Bryman, 2004: 321).

The interview guide used for FAFN members consisted of a short list of general questions intended at opening discussion. These questions focused on the components and uses of the landscape that are important to the participant and the community, the participant’s concerns related to resource development, the historical and current ways in which the community makes decisions about land use, ways of getting community members involved in decision-making, and the question of involving other communities. A separate interview guide used for Mushkegowuk Council staff focused more on precedent cases of relevant processes within and outside the Mushkegowuk territory, the procedural values in Mushkegowuk communities, and the ways in which a community-based land use plan would fit into the Mushkegowuk policy framework. In addition to being interviewed, one Mushkegowuk staff member was asked for input on the interview guide to be used for FAFN members. This took place before the first FAFN interview. The final interview guide used in the FAFN is included in the Appendix.

Interviews were conducted in the FAFN with 12 members of the first nation, and in Timmins, Ontario with two staff of the Mushkegowuk Council's Lands and Resources Program. Of these 14 participants, five took part in individual interviews, and the remainder in groups of two to four. In one group interview, translation from Cree was provided for a non-English speaking participant by fellow participants. Interviews ranged in length from 22 minutes to one hour eight minutes. I conducted the interviews with nine of the participants in December 2007, while Dan McCarthy, returning to the FAFN in February 2008, interviewed the remaining five using my interview guide. During the interviews I conducted, other members of the research team named in 3.2 were present and provided supplementary questions. Therefore, Dr. McCarthy had gained familiarity with my use of the interview guide before using it himself in the second round of interviews. All interviews were recorded on a digital voice recorder. Sound files of the February interviews were forwarded to me. I produced verbatim transcripts of all interviews, which are necessary for proper analysis in the long interview method (McCracken, 1988).

3.3.4 Interview Analysis

The interview analysis is a step referred to by McCracken (1988) as the discovery of analytic categories. This step consists of first making observations based on individual utterances in the transcripts, then developing these observations according to evidence elsewhere in the transcripts and in the literature and cultural reviews, then examining the interconnectedness of these observations, and finally analyzing the themes and patterns identified by this examination (McCracken, 1988). In order to accomplish these tasks, I listed the topics that participants discussed, and from these identified thematic categories.

Utterances, that is to say passages from the transcripts, that pertained to each thematic category were copied into a file for that category. In some cases, individual utterances were filed under more than one thematic category. When this organization of data was complete, thematic categories containing minimal data were omitted or merged with related categories. The content of each thematic category, including the main areas of consensus and difference between participants, is described in Chapter 4, frequently using quotes from the transcripts to illustrate participants' sentiments most vividly. The examination of these thematic categories with reference to each other and to the literature review is presented in Chapter 5.

3.4 Direct Observation

A second tool used to gather additional data was observation of EA training sessions conducted with FAFN members by the other members of my research group. These training sessions were held as part of a separate but related project on EA capacity building by Tsuji et al (in progress), as mentioned in 1.1.2. The sessions were aimed at providing participants with an understanding of the Canadian and Ontario EA processes, the ways communities can participate in the process, and the ways in which an EA process might be strengthened or weakened.

This was not participant observation in the common sense of a long, intensive ethnographic study, but an observation of discussions within the context of these training sessions. My observation was overt in that participants were aware of my role in taking a record of the proceedings of the session, yet unobtrusive in that I was not directly involved in the session in any way. Graham Whitelaw, Dan McCarthy and Len Tsuji led the training sessions and elicited discussion of the EA process, and led an exercise in

which groups of participants were asked to list their VECs. I took note of the questions and comments put forward by participants during the body of the training sessions, and of the VECs they identified.

Three such training sessions were held in the FAFN in December 2007 with me present, although one of them did not elicit sufficient participant discourse as to contribute to my findings. In addition to these, Dan McCarthy led an exercise in February 2008 with the FAFN's grade 8 class in which groups of students were asked to list their VECs in much the same manner as were EA training session participants. Dr. McCarthy recorded this exercise with a digital voice recorder and forwarded the sound file to me. I took note of the VECs listed by each group of students. The questions, comments and VECs provided by training session and class exercise participants were used to support, or provide contrast with, the interview data.

3.5 Participant Validation

Participant validation, also known variously as respondent validation or member validation, is

“a process whereby a researcher provides the people on whom he or she has conducted research with an account of his or her findings ... to seek corroboration or otherwise of the account that the researcher has arrived at” and “to seek confirmation that the researcher's findings are congruent with the views of those on whom the research was conducted” (Bryman, 2004: 274).

Participant validation is particularly important in research on Aboriginal communities, as cultural differences in transfer and interpretation of knowledge can obscure analysis and lead to community mistrust of research findings (Castellano, 2004). In general, validation can take the form of reporting back to each participant on the data they

provided; holding discussions with individual or organizational participants on the researcher's interpretation of the data, and sharing draft conclusions, in order to receive feedback; or presenting participants with resulting papers once they are drafted and asking for comments (Bryman, 2004). I took the second approach, in order to give the most opportunity for participant feedback to contribute to the structure of the recommendations. However, the third approach will also be taken before any further publication of this research.

It is important to note that the results of the participant validation exercise do not necessarily supersede the conclusions drawn from the original data. The contributions made by participants during the validation phase are valuable in ensuring correct interpretation key themes, but should be used critically and not seen as having veto power over the researcher's findings.

I met with the chief of the FAFN and a participant from the Mushkegowuk Council Lands and Resources Program in July 2008. At these meetings, I presented a summary of the results and preliminary recommendations that came from my research, and the two participants were asked for feedback. The purpose of these meetings was both to verify that the results as I articulated them made sense from the local cultural perspective, and to seek input on the recommendations I had put forward. These meetings had an impact on the final recommendations included in Chapter 6. They also added to the discussion in Chapter 5 by highlighting certain points as centrally important.

3.6 Participants

Interview participants can be categorized into three groups: staff of the Mushkegowuk Council Lands and Resources Program; elected officials of the FAFN, ie.

chief and council members; and management and teaching staff of the Mundo Peetabeck Education Authority, which is responsible for primary through secondary education in the FAFN. Recruitment of participants, particularly within the FAFN, was dependent on the contacts that were available to the research group. At the same time, it represents a group of participants with insight into the social realities facing the community.

To provide context while preserving confidentiality, the presentation of results in Chapter 4 refers to individual participants by reference number. Mushkegowuk Council staff are numbered MC1 through MC2; FAFN chief and council members are numbered CC1 through CC7; and Mundo Peetabeck Education Authority staff are numbered PE1 through PE5.

Of the two EA training sessions from which observational data were gathered, one was with some members of the FAFN Council and the other was with staff of Peetabeck Health Services. The class exercise was with the grade 8 class of Peetabeck Academy. Participants from these sessions are not individually referenced in Chapter 4.

3.7 Limitations

Because participant recruitment for this study was carried out through existing avenues of communication between the research group and the FAFN, only certain groups within the community could be accessed for research purposes. This may have limited the range of perspectives to which I was exposed. Therefore, while some diversity of opinion was expressed in the interviews, it is unknown whether this represents the range of opinion present within the FAFN, nor what participant recruitment strategy would be necessary to fill any gaps. Surely, spending more time in the community would have allowed an opportunity for more participant recruitment and

gaining a better understanding of the first nation's dynamics, but my visits to the FAFN were limited by the practical and financial constraints of travel in Ontario's far north. I tried to address this limitation by maximizing my own time in the FAFN given these constraints, and by having a fellow group member carry out additional recruitment and interviews in February 2008 on my behalf.

Another limitation of this work is that the analysis is based on my own understanding of the discourse offered by participants. To some degree, there was a cultural and in some cases linguistic barrier to my understanding of this discourse. The follow-up procedure described in 3.5 were a way of partly addressing this limitation, as a representative of the FAFN and one of the Mushkegowuk Council could confirm that at a general level, the conclusions I had drawn matched the perception of these communities.

A more specific limitation of this research was that it was largely coordinated through contact between the research group and the leadership (chief and council) of the FAFN, but included no thorough investigation of the political dynamics between the leadership and the general membership of the community. To safeguard against exclusively analyzing the leadership's perspective, I ensured that interviews were held with community members who were not elected leaders, and critically examined the interview transcripts for any general differences in perspective between the community's leadership and general membership.

3.8 Research Ethics

My research protocol was subjected to review and granted approval by the Queen's University General Research Ethics Board. Interview participants were given full disclosure of the nature and objectives of the research project, both verbally and in

writing, and each gave explicit free and informed consent to both the interview and the digital recording. Each participant was given a consent form by which to indicate his or her consent on both counts. For reasons of cultural sensitivity, however, each participant was given the option of either signing the form or indicating consent orally. Oral consent is recognized as a culturally appropriate alternative to written consent in the Aboriginal context (Canadian Institute of Health Research, 2007). Participants variously consented in written and oral form.

CHAPTER 4 RESULTS

Interviews with members of the FAFN and with Mushkegowuk Council staff largely pertained to two broad themes, namely, substantive values and procedural values and issues. Substantive values refers in this context to elements of the FAFN's natural and human environment that interview participants deem important to the community's wellbeing and/or lifestyle, and that a land use plan should focus on protecting, enhancing, or managing. Substantive values also include environmental elements that are undesired by interview participants, those that are desired by some participants and undesired by others, and those that have both desirable and undesirable forms. In many cases, discussion during the interviews of substantive values considered important to the community also touched upon the threats to those values associated with resource development and other changing realities.

Procedural values and issues refers in this context to ideas pertinent to the planning process itself, such as methods, scope, and objectives. In some cases, descriptions of procedural values and issues in the community were not expressly given as input towards the planning framework, but nonetheless provide illumination as to how the planning framework can serve those values. Procedural values and issues discussed within the community include questions of decision-making, territorial delineation, and knowledge transfer.

The following sections give an overview of the interview data pertaining to the thematic categories within each broad theme. Within each of the two broad thematic sections, thematic categories are ordered approximately by their prevalence in the

interview data. Participant observation data dealing with these same thematic categories are presented alongside the interview data. The results of the participant validation discussions are presented at the end of this chapter.

4.1 Substantive Values

The substantive values identified in the data are food resources, travel routes, water resources, economic development and revenue, fur and traplines, forest and timber resources, and recreation.

4.1.1 Food Resources

The land as a source of food and food security was a theme strongly illuminated by the interview participants. In several interviews, participants referred to the land metaphorically as “our grocery store” (CC5, PE1) or “our garden” (CC2), vividly illustrating the role of the land in nourishing the community. Food gathering activities described as current practices included hunting, fishing, berry picking, and gathering of Labrador tea.

4.1.1.1 Types of Land-Based Food

Participants highlighted the collection of meat by means of hunting, fishing, and to a lesser degree snaring more than the collection of plant-based food. Some responses suggest that this discrepancy is at least partially caused by the economic cost of importing commercially produced meat to Fort Albany, making it an unaffordable or unavailable alternative to wild game (CC1, CC7, PE1, PE2). One elder of the FAFN explained how the unavailability of commercial meat contributes to the continuance of the hunting tradition:

“...You know, we hardly have fresh meat in the store, so we eat almost [all] wildlife stuff. That’s what can happen with our generation, they gonna be doing the same thing what the people do in the past, catching wildlife...” (CC1)

Several other FAFN community members made reference to the high cost, as opposed to outright unavailability, of commercial meat as a reason for the importance of wildlife to food security. As one participant put it,

“People go up the river to go moose hunting, get their moose for the whole year. It’s a matter of saving money because meat is so expensive. That’s our grocery site there.” (PE1)

These two quotations represent a commonly-expressed idea in the interviews about the economic importance of wild meat, framing hunting as a key matter of food security. This is not to say, however, that meat economics is the only reason for the social importance of land-based food harvesting. Some participants noted the social and health benefits of wild food (CC2, CC7). Some participants saw wild food as a matter of long-term food security regardless of the current cost and availability of commercially-produced meat:

“They want to take care of the land for the young generation, come the future, some day there’s gonna be no store. They’re not gonna buy food from the store. So they wanna care for the land. For the younger generation.” (CC2)

During the VEC identification exercise that was part of the EA training session with members of the Peetabeck Health Authority, one of the two groups began their VEC list with traditional foods. Another participant commented that “traditional foods are important because the food that comes in from the south is moldy and brown”.

Not all participants who brought up the food security issue did so with reference to the option of commercially-produced food, another indication that the land is seen as the primary source of sustenance:

“I think the gathering of food is very important, the gathering of food and... because we have to protect that. By all means, that kind of activity, like the trapping and hunting, is a very important part of our survival, eh? And that has to be protected.” (CC4)

Of the plants and animals named by participants in the context of wild food items, the most commonly mentioned were moose, and fish in general. Geese were the next most common food item to come up, followed by berries, which were at one point specified as blueberries and cranberries (PE1, PE2). Food items mentioned by one or two participants included Labrador tea, caribou, migratory birds in general, ducks or waterfowl in particular, rabbits, whitefish, and pike.

During the Peetabeck Academy Grade 8 class VEC identification exercise, all four groups listed land-based food items or the collection thereof among their VECs. One group included “fish, goose, and a lot of animals” in their list, and a group explained their choices by saying that we need these things to eat. Another group listed “animals” among their VECs. Another group put “hunting on swamplands” and “flight patterns of birds” at the top of their VEC list. The final group highlighted “moose to eat and to collect antlers from”, and geese and fish (both listed specifically as “to eat”). This group also listed trees “for the animals to have and to warm the houses”, illustrating the importance to the participants of wildlife habitat as a forest use.

4.1.1.2 Threats

Threats to the community's food resources discussed by the participants pertained most commonly to mining and damming. Both were seen as a threat to fish and wildlife availability through the destruction of habitat. Fears about the effects of mining were summarized by one elder:

“[I] went to the Northwest Territories and the chief was telling stories about what happened. They did the same thing over there. They had a mine – a diamond mine I think? – [I don't] know which kind. And it was the same thing. The mine was running ten years, and all that land by the mine was destroyed, no fish, no wildlife, all gone. And they given to watch our land so it won't happen like that [here]. And they can't get anything to eat.” (CC2)

During the EA training session with first nation councillors, one participant brought up the concern that water pumped into the river from the Victor Mine site could affect wildlife and result in contaminated meat. During the EA training session with the Peetabeck Health Authority, participants asked whether animals could be tagged as part of an EA monitoring framework, and whether there is a means for early detection of contamination in fish.

Damming of rivers was seen as a threat both to wildlife habitat, which it might flood, and access to wildlife resources, which it might disrupt by blocking the river (see also 4.1.2):

“If we had dams, what are we gonna do? We can't even go over. And they gonna kill lots of land if they have lots of water on top of the dams. Where's our moose? Where are we gonna get our moose? Where are we gonna get our fish?” (CC3)

One participant pointed out that even small dams that do not result in large-scale flooding alter fish habitat through hydrological change:

“I’ve gone fishing on the Mattagami River which is in Timmins, I know for a fact that there’s a dam there upriver from where I was fishing, and that there was another downstream. And I went and looked at the water, their waters, when you look at the bottom or whatever, there’s a silt that’s blanketing the bottom of the river. And what that is is basically stagnant water. That is my uneducated opinion of what a dam upriver and downstream does. And the fishing – that’s another thing, the fish is basically trapped in this lake. Because ultimately it does become a lake when you block a river. (CC6)

Besides mining and damming for hydroelectric or other purposes, forestry was the only other resource development activity to be mentioned as a threat to wildlife habitat and availability (CC4).

After habitat loss through land conversion, contamination was the most often-mentioned threat to food resources. Participants mentioned water contamination several times as a threat to the health and abundance of fish (CC1, CC3, CC7, PE4, PE5), and, more rarely, mentioned terrestrial contamination as a threat to wildlife (CC1). Some participants associated contamination of fish stocks with damming activity. As one example,

“Me personally... I dunno, if there’s any dams built I think my life is gonna change. I won’t be able to get on the boat and go a hundred miles upriver, I won’t be able to go fishing and catch a healthy fish. I’m afraid to get sick, cause people have gotten sick in other areas due to mercury poisoning, so I just want to be me.” (PE5)

Responses pertaining to water-borne contamination are discussed in greater detail in

4.1.3.

4.1.2 Travel Routes

Many participants discussed the importance of rivers as travel routes, and the threats to their use associated with resource development. The Albany River in particular was often described as the community's "highway" (CC3, CC7, PE3, PE5), giving the community access by boat to inland resources. Conversely, discussions regarding the development of man-made transportation infrastructure such as ice roads and all-season roads revealed this topic to be the subject of mixed feelings within the community, with respondents variously seeing such infrastructure as a concern or as a welcome idea.

4.1.2.1 Use of River Travel Routes

The most commonly cited purpose for river travel was moose hunting (CC3, CC7, PE1). This likely reflects the nature of moose as a broadly dispersed, inland resource. Other purposes included trapping, (CC2, PE2), fishing (CC7, PE2), commerce with other communities (CC1, CC3), visiting other communities (CC7), recreation (PE2) and outside tourism (CC1). Besides the Albany River, rivers named as travel routes included the Pagwa River (CC1) and the Attihamek River (CC2). Communities named as destinations of river travel included Constance Lake (CC3), Ogoki (CC1) and Hearst (CC1).

4.1.2.2 Threats

Participants expressed a high degree of concern about loss of navigable river routes through damming, particularly on the Albany River. A couple of typical quotes from the interviews encapsulate the general attitude of participants:

"This river, that's our highway, we call it. We go to Constance Lake from here to get something, up the river

and moose hunting. We don't want any dams, like me, I don't want any dams on the river myself. It's gonna be hard for the people too if we have dams on the river. That's where we brought our meat from, on the river, when you kill moose." (CC3)

"They want to continue fishing, they want to continue hunting, they want to continue going up the river, you know. They don't want the – basically, they don't want – well, here in Albany, we don't want our main highway dammed." (PE5)

Dams were feared as threatening river travel in two ways in particular, namely, by serving as physical barriers preventing passage upriver by boat (CC1, CC3) and by reducing stream volume downstream to the point of making the river difficult to navigate (CC7, PE1).

4.1.2.3 Transportation Infrastructure

Some participants discussed the potential for all-weather roads to be built connecting the Fort Albany town-site to other James Bay communities and/or to the south. Transportation infrastructure development was seen as a possible outcome of resource development in the area, given the need of resource companies to transport equipment and product. Already, the ice road linking the James Bay communities has been enhanced for large vehicles and has received increased traffic. Some respondents felt that increased industrial traffic on the ice road creates a safety hazard, and that improvements to transportation infrastructure are therefore warranted, as the following two quotes illustrate:

"The ice [road] is busy, yeah. I dunno how many times we met a truck over the weekend, this weekend. And every time I meet a truck I feel so... I dunno... they carry diesel fuel. And the road is slimy, and you're stuck in that little puddle there..." (PE1)

“How come they don’t know how to do something about the road, if they’re gonna use equipment like that? At least make it more safer, if it’s slanted...” (PE3)

There was also a sentiment expressed that a permanent road link, if available for general use, would be a benefit afforded to the community by the development initiatives:

“Something permanent, like... if we could benefit from it, I think that would be beneficial for the community, because cost would go down, having food, material for our housing, we can’t rely on the barge anymore because the river’s low.” (PE1)

At the same time, there were those among the respondents who saw transportation infrastructure development as a way in which resource development might contribute to social problems within the community. As one respondent explains,

“If you’re gonna build a highway here, or you’re gonna build hydro dams, or you’re gonna build electricity, of course, the government or the companies are gonna want to make highways to access – to have access in the communities, and when communities see that access to go to Moose [Factory and Moosonee], or you know social issues – alcohol, drugs – there’s gonna be an impact. And instead of having a negative impact, the leadership has to do something to prepare for that impact. If there’s no preparedness for that impact, then the community’s gonna go down the drains or something like that. You have to prepare.” (PE5)

Another respondent echoes the importance of preparing the community for the social challenges associated with road development:

“Instead of having it [an all-season road] sooner I’d rather have it later. Cause there’s so much that – there’s so much homework to be done. So much homework. That needs to be passed on.” (CC4)

No respondents opposed the idea of an all-season road as absolutely as many opposed that of a dam on the Albany River, but the above quotes express the extreme caution with

which some respondents believe infrastructure planning should be carried out and the community issues, such as alcohol and substance abuse, that would need to be addressed before implementation.

4.1.3 Water Resources

Water was highlighted as an important substantive value associated with the land. The drinkable water provided by the Albany River was seen as important to the community, and as potentially threatened by contamination resulting from both hypothetical and existing developments.

4.1.3.1 Importance of Surface Water

Several respondents spoke of the Albany River and its tributaries as a source of high-quality drinking water, and described the importance of that source to the community (CC1, CC3, CC7). For example,

“We still drink our water flowing on the river. We don’t have to boil it. The water flows on the river, we just drink it like that. We just go down the river, grab some, put it in a cup, and drink it.” (CC1)

Some expressed a preference for river water over water from other sources:

“You know, the water, it’s good water up the river, instead of the water bottle. There’s no air in the water bottle, and the water that floats, that’s good water. ... You know what I mean? The water bottle’s no good. The water’s got fresh air and everything.” (CC3)

During the EA training session with first nation councillors, one participant put water quality first among the VECs he listed. During the Peetabeck Academy Grade 8 class VEC identification exercise, all groups listed water among their VECs. Two of the four groups specifically named drinking as a water use.

Aside from discussion of surface water as a drinking water source, several participants mentioned high-quality surface water as a necessary component of a healthy ecosystem supporting other values such as food resources (CC1, CC3, CC7).

4.1.3.2 Threats

Participants generally expressed concerns about the effects of development on water quality, rather than quantity, except when speaking in the context of water as a mode of transportation (see 4.1.2). The main threat to water resources discussed by participants was contamination caused by resource development activities (CC1, CC3, CC4, CC7, PE2, PE5). Specific activities seen as posing a contamination threat included hydroelectric development (CC3, CC4, PE2, PE5) and mining (CC1, CC4). Many participants did not name specific contaminants, but several mentioned mercury (CC4, PE2, PE5). Some participants brought up precedent cases of contamination resulting from resource development elsewhere, particularly from hydroelectric development in the James Bay region of Quebec (CC4, PE5). For example,

“I guess to answer your question, I don’t want the Albany River dammed, okay. Cause it had an effect in eastern James Bay, and it probably has an effect in other river systems. Due to mercury, or whatever, poison.” (PE5)

Concerns related to water contamination were related both to the safety of the community’s drinking water and to the health of the plant and wildlife resources that the watershed supports. During the EA training session with first nation councillors, one participant expressed concern about water from the Victor Mine being pumped into the Attawapiskat river, and this was phrased more in terms of fish contamination than of drinking water contamination (see 4.1.1). During the EA training session with the

Peetabeck Health Authority, one participant asked whether there could be early detection of contamination in rivers.

It was pointed out that water contamination can have effects between watersheds, since tidal action on James Bay carries water between the river outlets on which different communities are located:

“That water, if they contaminate it, like DeBeers we were saying at this point, [CC2] was saying at this point, that water’s flowing down eh, and when the tide comes again that water’s coming back inland to the river.” (CC1)

One participant specifically focused her concern on the effect water contamination might have on the economics of water supply:

“For drinking... the quality of the water is pretty perfect. And if that is, like, polluted, it would take a lot of money to treat it, so it can be drinkable for people, and I think they have a lot of money to treat it and all that and it will become a commodity.” (CC7)

Although many participants discussed water contamination as a concern associated with future resource development in the watershed, there were concerns expressed regarding water contamination from existing land use within the community. One participant expressed concern about sewage from the hospital entering one of the stream channels in the community (PE4). Another was concerned about contamination from airplane fuel and runway maintenance chemicals at the airport:

“Yes, you have to be sure these things come too, like we can talk about this airport, the planes taking off towards our drinking water, and no one’s doing anything about it. In summertime the planes taking off, all that fuel, it’s where we drink our water and nobody’s doing anything about it, and when we point something they don’t do anything. ... They used oil sprayed on the runway to cut the dust down.” (CC1)

During the Peetabeck Academy Grade 8 class VEC identification exercise, one group noted that increasing landfill on reserves will affect the water.

4.1.4 Economic Development and Revenue

Many interview participants discussed the monetary income that should or might accrue to the community as result of resource development, and the risks and benefits it would entail. Economic development and revenue differs from the other substantive values dealt with in this section in that the discussion focused on the potential benefits associated with development, and how they should be maximized and managed, rather than with current elements of the community's environment and how they should be protected.

4.1.4.1 Types of Economic Benefit

The types of economic benefit interview participants mentioned expecting from resource development on their traditional lands included economic development (CC4, CC6, MC1, MC2), contracts (CC5), job guarantees and training (CC5), and direct compensation (CC3). Economic development was discussed in terms of building the commercial economy of the community through the employment that could be created by resource development. There was some feeling expressed that resource development decisions are a tradeoff between economic development and preservation of traditional activities, and that such a tradeoff is a matter of mixed feelings within the community:

“Some of the people I’ve been talking to say ‘well, we’re not using the river as much, you know, why not? I mean look at our economy, very poor state, you know, how many people are on welfare? Maybe we should, you know, start accepting development at the cost of altering our river, you know’. Those kind of things. Some people will say that.

Now whether it's the majority I don't know, at this point, but..." (CC6)

Participants from the Mushkegowuk Council staff (MC1, MC2) took the position that economic development should be envisioned by the community itself, as part of the planning process.

There was no consensus among participants that significant economic benefit would necessarily accrue to the community from resource development. One participant asked, "what's in it for us?" (PE1), pointing out that much of processing of mine product takes place elsewhere. Contracts awarded to the first nation for support services such as winter road maintenance and trucking were described as an arrangement that was made part of the Victor Mine agreement, but in vague terms that led to questionable benefits (CC5). Guarantees of preferential employment for first nation members were another element of the Victor Mine agreement, but one participant expressed that training was not available to make community members qualified for the jobs in question, and that community members were therefore not receiving the jobs (CC5). Direct compensation to the first nation was mentioned as a means by which to offset the costs to the community associated with resource development (CC3), and indeed there were cash payouts to individual communities as part of the Victor Mine agreement (CC5).

4.1.4.2 Fears Associated with Monetary Revenue

Several interview participants brought up negative impacts associated with monetary revenue, both observed and potential. There were fears expressed that sudden monetary income for individuals in the community can contribute to social problems by making drugs and alcohol more financially accessible. One participant described the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement payments as an example of this:

“Even right now you see and you hear about this compensation from the residential money. People don’t know – the First Nations don’t know what to do with it. Some people are – they know what to do with it, but the rest, they just go on a bootlegger. I know one person, he got – I dunno how much money he got. But he went on a drinking binge. And now he has no money ... this is what’s gonna happen if we don’t talk about this, like strategizing. We’re gonna be so rich, what are we gonna do with our money?” (CC5)

Some participants were adamant that any influx of money to the community should be carefully planned for, in order to promote good management of the money by individuals or by the first nation (CC5, PE5).

There was also a feeling that financial compensation is having an impact on the way people view territory (CC6, CC7). It was argued that financial compensation for development impacts on one’s traditional territory creates an incentive for families and communities to declare as large as possible a region to be theirs, when traditionally the boundaries between areas of land use might be vague or nonexistent. As one participant explained,

“The thing about Attawapiskat and their impact-benefit agreement is the system makes you do things like this, I find. It asks you, well where’s your traditional areas, right? Cause if you have more land base that would mean more money, right? So it’s money that dictates where your traditional spot is. The thing about Attawapiskat is they did have a large land base, but at the same time one thing that wasn’t taken into consideration was that there’s also communities around them that that’s their land base as well.” (CC6)

This comment refers to the impact-benefit agreement negotiated between De Beers Canada and the Attawapiskat First Nation with respect to the Victor Mine.

4.1.5 Fur and Traplines

Trapping was highlighted in the interviews both as an ongoing traditional form of resource harvest, and as a land use unique in its use of territorial delineations. While trapping is a comparatively easy land use to locate spatially, it appears to be the subject of a historical tension between changing concepts of land occupancy.

4.1.5.1 Trapline Harvest

The animals mentioned more than once in the interviews as being part of the trapping harvest were beaver, otter, muskrat and marten. It was explained that martens were previously absent in the Fort Albany area, and that the marten harvest only began in the mid-1990s (CC1). Animals mentioned once in the trapping context included mink, lynx, and rabbit. While there was some mention of trapping as a food harvest (CC7), trapping was more often framed as a fur harvest. In the Grade 8 class VEC exercise, one group included “beavers for the fur” among its VECs. Often, discussion of trapping was not specific as to the use of the harvested animals.

One of the participants in the EA training session with first nation councillors mentioned traplines as a VEC. The same participant expressed a concern that younger generations don’t know where their grandparents’ traplines are, framing family trapline familiarity as a powerful indicator of cultural continuity.

4.1.5.2 Traplines as Territorial Divisions

It was noted that traplines form an almost unbroken patchwork over the entirety of the FAFN traditional territory (CC1). Trapping was the only traditional land use that was described as taking place within territories with rigid boundaries to which individual

families had exclusive rights, and this unique protocol was frequently discussed in the interviews (CC1, CC3, CC4, CC6, CC7). As one participant explained,

“People, when they had their trapline, if somebody else goes there, you can’t trap, only the guy that would trap who owns the trapline, you can’t go over his trapline. If you do, they’ll take your trap out, or hang it up. They take the fur if you got the fur from their trapline.

...

Not long ago, about three years ago, they used to have beaver houses where I was hunting. And one guy traps there. Not very long ago, about four or five years ago. And somebody was trapping over there on somebody else’s trapline. And they took the trap and put it on top of the ice, because they didn’t want him to trap here basically.” (CC1)

As the setting of this anecdote implies, the principle of exclusive trapping rights to particular traplines is not understood as to exclude other uses by other people within an individual’s trapline, such as hunting. That is to say, hunters are welcome to hunt and set up hunting camps within someone else’s trapline area, as long as they do not engage in trapping there (CC1).

Several participants stated that the principle of individual exclusive trapping rights within trapline areas is a relatively modern idea and did not apply in earlier times (CC3, CC4, CC6). Some of these participants suggested that such attitudes of territoriality were the result of the registered trapline system imposed by the OMNR (CC4, CC6). As one participant put it,

“The struggles over whose land it is is not really – I think it was only imposed on the people by the designation of trapping lines and hunting areas imposed on them by [O]MNR. So, it started to be – people started to be more possessive of the area they were assigned at that time ... But anyway, that’s not the way my father told me. He said ‘if they’re there, just tell em that you’re there cause you’re

visiting a kin ... but tell em that they can stay. But to move a little bit off to the side, there's lots of space over there for our family.' ” (CC4)

Furs from trapping were the only resource from the land that participants mentioned trading commercially (CC7), which could also be an explanation for the territorial nature of the activity. Data pertaining to the question of collective versus individual land title are examined in greater depth in 4.2.3.

4.1.5.3 Threats

There was no discussion of threats specific to traplines or fur resources. However, many of the threats to healthy wildlife populations and to human access to wildlife that were iterated in 4.1.1 are applicable to fur resources as well as to food resources.

4.1.6 Forest and Timber Resources

The health of the forests in the FAFN traditional territory, and of timber resources available to the community, was noted as a matter of concern to interview respondents. Forests are valued by the community both for the ecological services they offer and for the wood they provide.

4.1.6.1 Forest Values

Use of timber, and stewardship of the resource, were identified as traditional practices within the community, as two participants in particular emphasized:

“We use everything. Like wood – firewood, poles, tent frames...” (CC3)

“Long time ago, if you're using a trapline, like where you're trapping, and long time ago on that area where you

stay you don't cut the trees, eh? So there are spots where your cabin is, you go try to save the trees, and that why the people really look after their land.” (CC2)

One participant expressed that the wasting of timber through land clearing without salvage is contrary to community values:

“For me what I observe, is the trees are cut down [to clear the power line right-of-way] and left there. Like they're not even being used for anything anymore. Like you need wood, it would be more acceptable to the community members. Even the people go and help yourself, but I don't hear that. They're just left there.” (PE1)

In addition to timber, trees are valued in the community for their role in supporting wildlife and in maintaining air quality (CC4).

Three of the four groups in the Grade 8 class VEC identification exercise listed trees as VECs, two of the groups beginning their lists with trees. One group specified that trees were “for the animals to have and to warm the houses” and “to live on”, highlighting the importance of forests as both timber resources and wildlife habitat.

4.1.6.2 Threats

Forests were seen as threatened by commercial exploitation and by other resource development activities. Commercial forestry operations in nearby parts of Quebec and in southern Canada were noted as having diminished forests in ways that would occur locally if commercial forestry came to western James Bay (CC2). Hydroelectric development was also brought up as having the potential to destroy forests, again based on the experience in adjacent jurisdictions:

“Chisasibi. In Quebec. Where they dammed the river. LG – the La Grande project. LG1 and LG2 and all this. But they flooded the lands, eh? They flooded whole tracts of land, and they just left the trees there. You could just see

treetops in what seems like a big lake or a big bay. And we know, we hear now too, what it does to the water, you know the mercury or whatever. ... And I think it's very important that we protect those trees.” (CC4)

There was also some concern about damage to forests done by clearing for electrical infrastructure (PE2).

4.1.7 Recreation

There was some discussion by participants of recreational use of the land. The recreational activity most commonly mentioned was camping (CC1, CC7, PE2), or as some participants called it, going to the bush (CC2, PE2). One participant mentioned nature walks as a recreational activity (PE3).

Recreational camping was described by some participants as a family activity (CC2, CC7), although there was also talk of individual camping and outdoor recreation (PE2). Camping was said to take place along the rivers and sometimes on the James Bay coast (CC1), and to happen throughout the year, with wintertime offering the most access to sites (CC7). One participant described the custom of family camping trips and cookouts:

“Camping. ... We go there, we go up the river for family outings. We do that a lot. We see people doing that a lot. ... Just going out with their family. ... For the weekend, or for a day. ... Like we do that on maybe Mother's Day or Father's Day, take the whole family camping, geese there, roast over the fire ... Yeah, we still go for spring camp, in a tent, and we also act on our own out there, on the weekend or whatever.” (CC7)

Another participant explains the popularity of such activities:

“Everybody's happy to go in the bush with their family, and they get – when they go out there they get fresh air, and you think good too when you go in the bush. It's reliable,

it's comfortable. ... Even the small kids are very happy to go to the bush." (CC2)

In addition, there was some talk of the spiritual or personal dimension to outdoor recreation. As one participant put it,

"I would say like once a guy needs time for himself they go in the bush, it's quite spiritual. Cause you're lost, where you gonna go? When you're in the bush, you're not lost."
(CC2)

4.2 Procedural Values and Issues

The procedural values and procedural issues identified in the data are decision-making and engagement, knowledge transfer and tradition, land title, inclusion of other communities, scoping of the area of interest, and stewardship and environmental protection.

4.2.1 Decision-making and Engagement

Interview participants spoke extensively about historical and current mechanisms for decision-making and involvement of the community. Specific topics in this area included meeting types, meeting procedure, communication tools, and planning mechanisms.

4.2.1.1 Existing Process

Participants related that the primary vehicles for decision-making within the first nation are the general meeting (CC1, CC3, CC7, PE3) and the chief and council meeting (CC3, CC6, CC7). Some expressed the concern that general meetings happen less often (CC3) and attract less attendance (CC1) than they once did. It was also expressed that the chief and council meets rarely, or not enough, with other arms of the first nation

government (CC1, PE5). In addition to meetings of official governing bodies of the first nation, there was some talk of meetings organized by community groups for the discussion of particular issues. The example used was the Albany River Coalition, a group within the community concerned about damming on the Albany River (CC3).

Consensus was emphasized by some participants as the accepted and appropriate process at meetings in the community (CC5, CC6). Participants related that meetings of the first nation council and other governing bodies operate by an informal consensus and a spirit of openness. For example,

“Well, if we’re going to ask the community, then we have to take in all opinions, and that’s what’s required, you know, you have to look at all the opinions. And just the way we do in our council meetings and stuff like that, we look at the consensus, you know, and that’s how this situation [decisions about hydroelectric development] would be ultimately decided, I would say. That’s the collective whole. Everybody’s in somewhat of an agreement.” (CC6)

Some participants described grassroots-based decision-making as a value associated with their culture. However, there was a concern that this idea is not being properly realized in the FAFN:

“It’s supposed to be a grassroots – you know, you gotta ask the people first and that’s what I’m finding. The chiefs are not meeting with the people, the chiefs are not asking my opinion before they go to the meetings, and that’s missing. That’s the missing link there. You’re supposed to ask the youth, you’re supposed to ask the members, you’re supposed to ask the elders. And then you take that information and it’s up to the chief or chiefs to gather that information and tell that to the government or whatever. But it’s not happening.” (PE5)

One participant pointed out that the tradition of grassroots decision-making conflicts directly with the more top-down model of planning applied by government:

“It’s a discussion we had for hours at the NAN land use planning table because the MNR came to the table, and that was their vision. Start from the top, do vision, goals, set some policy statements, set some strategies, and then do community planning. And people respond with, ‘What are you talking about?’ Because within the First Nations, power comes from the people and starts at the community level, with the families and people in the community, and moves up, and is delegated from the bottom. And so planning has to be based that way. It needs to start at that level, at the grassroots level, and out of that will develop strategies and regional goals.” (MC1)

4.2.1.2 Historical Process

Participants were asked about historical practices of decision-making regarding use of the land. It was explained that land use decision-making was traditionally a family-based task, with the okimaw³, or family elder, holding responsibility for management decisions affecting his family’s harvesting area. It was also the role of the okimaw to meet with his counterparts from other families to come to collective decisions about matters affecting the land on a larger scale (PE5). One participant spoke of gatherings of the membership on the shore of the bay during their parents’ generation (PE4).

4.2.1.3 Ideas for the Planning Process

Participants were asked how a culturally appropriate decision-making process could be applied to the land use planning process in the FAFN, and how the community could best be engaged. Interview participants from within the FAFN generally suggested that small groups (CC5, PE1) or family meetings (CC7) were the preferred way to engage

³ Okimaw, pronounced and transliterated variously according to regional dialect, is a Cree term sometimes translated as “steward” or “boss”. In traditional Cree society, the okimaw was the elder with responsibility for decision-making pertaining to the use of his family’s hunting area.

the community in the planning process, with general meetings seen more as a means of providing information to the community (PE3). As one participant explained,

“The best way I have is – large groups don’t work, so it’s gotta be a small group. The groups have to know each other. They’re gonna have to be comfortable with each other. Because people who sit there who don’t know each other are gonna be too shy to ask questions.” (CC5)

It was suggested that these small groups should be facilitated by an expert:

“Who should be leading it? ... we need someone that’s well-trained, and understands this, somebody who has background and expertise in this. If you don’t have the expertise and the background in this you don’t know what you’re solving or you don’t know if they buy into what you’re solving.” (CC5)

This suggestion was along similar lines as one from a participant group in the EA training session with the Peetabeck Health Authority, which felt that there should be a coordinator in the community to help deal with EA and planning issues. Other engagement techniques suggested by interview participants included radio call-ins (CC7), surveys and questionnaires (CC7, PE2), and referenda on particular questions (PE2).

A couple of participants talked about the shabotawin, or teaching lodge (CC4, PE5). The shabotawin was historically a lodge used for the passing on of teachings in a group setting, and is further discussed in 4.2.2. However, participants suggested that the reintroduction of the shabatowin tradition, an objective already espoused by some in the Mushkegowuk territory, could provide a venue for discussion of land use issues (PE5).

In addition to participatory processes for the development of the plan, participants discussed the need for communication and information dissemination between the first nation administration and the membership. There were sentiments that information is difficult to obtain from the first nation administration (PE2), and that historically,

agreements were often made without sufficient communication of information to the community:

“When they started in past agreements, negotiating, they were not part of it, the community people did not know what was negotiated. When you tried to ask, there was talk of confidentiality and you know, so... we’re not like that eh, trying to hide stuff from our own people ... to benefit us, we need to have a say in it.” (PE1)

Ideas for transfer of information included general meetings (PE3), newsletters (CC7), and dedicated communication staff (PE1).

One participant from the Mushkegowuk Council staff explained the basic characteristics a planning process would need to conform to Mushkego values:

“It has to be rooted in the community, and people have to feel ownership of it, and it has to involve the different components of the community. So it has to involve different family groups, it has to involve different age groups, across the cross-section of the community, from elders right down to youth. And it has to incorporate, and be based on, the ties to the land, the unique ties that the Mushkegowuk people have to the land.” (MC1)

In addition to different age groups, this participant added that different bodies within the community, such as chief and council, agencies of the first nation, corporate entities, and elders groups, should be engaged individually because of the unique perspectives they each bring to the land use question.

4.2.2 Knowledge Transfer and Tradition

Interview participants stressed intergenerational transfer of traditional knowledge and customs as both a substantive value and a procedural value. It is being dealt with here as a procedural value to highlight the feelings held by participants that this should be both a component and a goal of the land use planning exercise.

4.2.2.1 The Need for Knowledge Transfer

Many participants spoke of the importance of rebuilding traditional knowledge within the younger generations (CC1, CC4, CC5, PE5) and increasing community understanding of current challenges (CC5, CC6, PE1). To some, rebuilding traditional knowledge is a matter of regaining what was lost through disruptions of tradition caused by the residential school experience (CC4, PE5):

“Me, along with most community members, were ... a product of the residential schools system. ... I got schooled down south. You know, I graduated from university. But while I was down south, I lost how to hunt and trap. But when came back home, luckily my dad, my in-laws, were able to teach me back those – how to hunt, how to trap. But what was I trying to say – but most parents, you know, they’re living through alcoholism, or they stay out late at night gambling, they’re unable – it’s not that they don’t want to, they’re unable to [teach] their children how to snare rabbits, or how to go spring hunting. And we have to bring that back. It’s all part of planning. We have to keep that alive.” (PE5)

Another stated reason for the importance of traditional knowledge was making the community more aware of, and able to defend, its claim to the land:

“And what I’m hoping with the land use planning is that they’ll want to go back, go backwards and learn about where they came from. You know, ‘this is where my parents trapped, this is where my grandparents trapped, and this is important to us. Cause I have a connection there.’ ... I encourage anybody right now to just go, go build a tent frame, just build it! Just to show that there is a connection to us in that area, on that land where you’re putting it. Cause right now, somebody is walking in through without our knowledge, and these are people who are staking [mining] claims, you know, they’re just staking it left and right.” (CC5)

Additionally, it was felt by some respondents that maintaining traditional knowledge and values is necessary for sustainable and equitable use of the community’s

resources. One interview participant spoke of two elders, one recently deceased, who were known to return from hunting trips and leave their boat docked at the riverbank full of moose meat, of which community members could take as much as they needed; these elders were spoken of as exemplars of a culture of sharing and mutual help (CC4). The same participant went on to explain why traditional knowledge and values are necessary for good resource stewardship:

“I guess to remind ourselves of what we have left behind. Like there’s so much that we have lost, but it’s a natural part of us, that shouldn’t be too hard to pick up I would think. Like people have the capability to understand, even naturally, where they come from or what they should be more responsible for. Like they know they don’t have to shoot 10 moose, everybody knows that. It’s just a matter of emphasizing that they’re not to do that.” (CC4)

It was suggested that culturally disruptive experiences broke a sense of unity that previously characterized the local culture (PE5).

In addition to the imperative of traditional knowledge transfer and cultural revitalization, participants spoke of the need for collective education with respect to current issues and challenges. It was expressed that community members need to deepen their understanding of the implications and tradeoffs associated with resource development (CC5). One participant said specifically that the community should have a session on how to deal with current problems of drug and alcohol abuse (PE1).

4.2.2.2 Knowledge Transfer in the Planning Process

An interview participant from the Mushkegowuk Council staff first explained the hope for the land use planning process as an exercise in rebuilding traditional knowledge. This participant said of the land use planning process that

“I think it would reinforce and strengthen people’s connection back to the land again. As people have been moved onto reserves and residential schools and through different policies that the government has, people have been isolated from the land more and more, and I think planning is one way that people can get back into that and re-engage and take responsibility for what’s happening on the landscape.” (MC1)

When discussing the rebuilding and transfer of traditional knowledge and values as part of the planning process, some participants specifically described such an effort as beginning with the elders (CC1, CC4). One participant explained how traditional learning processes might capture knowledge and values from the elders to benefit resource management in the community:

“I think first of all we’ll have to get those teachings passed on from our elders that are still alive, and also go through the recorded history, how things are done. And how we can probably do that is form our own way of doing it, in our community. That’s very important, I know that because there are things happening now like with the abundance of moose that we had last fall. People were shooting moose like crazy.” (CC4)

With respect to the ways in which traditional knowledge transfer could be carried out, a couple of participants described the shabotawin, translated as teaching lodge (CC4) or learning house (PE5). The shabotawin was described as a lodge used traditionally for learning and teaching, passing on values and knowledge between generations, and holding gatherings and feasts. Participants related that the shabotawin is a historical element of Cree culture not currently practiced in the community, but some elders have spoken of reviving the tradition, and there was a shabotawin recently set up in another Mushkegowuk community. As mentioned in 4.2.1.3, the shabotawin was seen as having a role in the planning process.

4.2.2.3 Other Venues for Traditional Learning

Participants from the education authority spoke of the ways in which the first nation's school system incorporates traditional knowledge and culturally relevant material into its curriculum. It was explained that the school teaches Cree language from kindergarten to grade 8 (PE1), and that groups of grade 8 students are sometimes sent upriver with community members to be taught survival skills (PE2). At the same time, one participant spoke of a need for more integration of Cree culture with the school curriculum:

“Well, most of our teachers are non-Native so they're unable to comprehend what I try to pass down at school, you know. See we're so engrained in following the Ministry of Education curriculum, you know. We need to get away from that, you know. We need to get away, and we need to develop our own First Nations courses. To work along with the curriculum but to develop our own First Nations values so we don't lose them. And that way high school students can get their credits as long as the Ministry grants them, that type of thing. We're not there yet...” (PE5)

4.2.3 Land Title

The question of individual and collective traditional title to land is an important matter of cultural context in a planning process, and was discussed in the interviews. Discourse on matters of land title illustrated that notions of land title in Mushkego culture are a changing and somewhat unresolved concept.

4.2.3.1 Principles of Land Title

As explained in 4.1.5, the protocol among harvesters is that hunting may take place at any location by any person, but one's trapping activities are confined to their own trapline (CC1, CC3, CC4, CC6, CC7). Some participants felt that this restriction of trapping to one's own trapline is a specifically modern element of Cree protocol, that

perhaps only came into existence after the trapline system was imposed by the OMNR (CC3, CC4, CC6). Participants also expressed that the traditional system of land title was based on general understandings and expectations rather than set rules (CC6, CC7). As one participant summarized these principles,

“It’s just a simple fact, for me anyway, the simple fact is I am aware that this is their area, I am also aware that I am kind of a guest, but I also know that they don’t necessarily own the place, it’s more of a borrowed thing. There’s a shared... they could easily, I suppose, say “this is our traditional area, get the hell out of here”, and I’d probably respect that too, but there’s this unwritten rule it would appear, where it’s just an understanding. I may have a place as well where this is my spot, and they will come in and harvest that particular spot. It’s just an understanding that we all have here in this territory. So when you place boundaries on certain things, or when you start to put names on stuff, in regards to lands or what’s yours or what’s not yours, these are things that you can’t really possess, it’s not things that are your property...” (CC6)

Comments from participants illustrated the fact that rigid territorial boundaries, whether between areas of land title or areas of jurisdiction, are alien to Cree culture. For example,

“There’s no such thing as a – as boundaries ... when they were here too [talking] about the designation of boundaries, there’s no such thing. Like Ontario boundary, Quebec boundary, anything like that. And there’s no such thing as survey lines and all that stuff, eh.” (CC4)

“I guess what I’m saying is it’s really hard to draw a line without invoking some powerful emotions. By simply putting borders and stuff like that is... well ultimately it’s putting borders and stuff like that where we close off from each other ... It’s just like, there’s openness and then there’s closing off.” (CC6)

4.2.3.2 Tensions of Land Title

There was feeling among some participants that changing social realities within the community have led to tensions between traditional principles of collective land use and more individualistic, or rules-based, models. Some participants expressed that the tradition of respect for others' traditional areas is being lost (CC2), possibly because of the commercial market (CC7) or southern cultural influence (CC6). The issue of collective versus individual land title was one specific tension highlighted in the interviews:

“But this is where conflict begins to arise again. I talked about a guy who saw himself as a landowner, in the case of the [windmill project]. That's just a scenario that hasn't been confirmed, where somebody thinks that something belongs to them, and yet the first nation believes that it belongs to the collective whole, right? Same thing with lots, right? We have lots that people stake to build their homes, either occupied or unoccupied lots. People will assert their ownership of a particular lot in the community, without considering the decisions made by the first nation, like collectively. So it's a problem.” (CC6)

As mentioned in 4.1.4.2, there was also a feeling among some participants that the opportunity for compensation for use of one's traditional territory leads both individuals and communities to exaggerate the extent and exclusivity of their own traditional territory (CC6, CC7). One participant explained why it would be better for the planning process to avoid imposing rigid boundaries on the traditionally fluid landscape:

“I would say it's almost better to have kind of a grey area, where just it's kind of an understanding, rather than having something solid where now you're forever defining something. There's another thing that would have happened with the old ways, which is that family groups would often mingle, you know, you'd cross over to the other family and stuff like that. So if you solidify lines and stuff like that then how do you adjust that situation where

somebody's gone over to the other side, you know what I mean?" (CC6)

The same participant also expressed the fear that the emerging sense of individualistic territorial boundaries might make it impossible for harvesters to follow traditional cycles of hunting and trapping different areas at different times to allow for regeneration, and that this would ultimately harm wildlife populations (CC6).

4.2.4 Scoping: Inclusion of Other Communities

Interview participants were asked whether communities other than the FAFN should be engaged in the planning process. Many of the participants gave opinions as to how far, if at all, the process should reach beyond the FAFN. There was also discussion regarding the ways in which other communities might be brought into the process.

4.2.4.1 Breadth of Participation

Many participants felt that the involvement of other first nations would be necessary, immediately or eventually, because of overlap between the communities' traditional territories and because of migration between communities. Overlap between traditional territories was largely seen as a reason to involve the closest communities in the process, since these have the most overlap with the FAFN. Several participants felt that involving the Kashechewan First Nation would be necessary (CC3), because due to history of Fort Albany and Kashechewan as a single community, the two first nations have entirely the same traditional territory (CC7, PE5). The Attawapiskat First Nation was also identified as a community whose traditional territory overlaps that of the FAFN, with members of both communities using the Kapiskau River system (PE5).

Some participants suggested still a broader scope of participation. Migration between communities was one reason to involve first nations throughout the Mushkegowuk Territory, because people living in and holding membership in one first nation may have family history in and traditional lands near a different community (CC5, PE2). One participant suggested that the process include every community on the James Bay and Hudson Bay coast from Moosonee to Fort Severn and 200 miles inland, as well as the Mushkegowuk Council (CC1). Others simply spoke of including the other Mushkegowuk communities (CC4, PE5).

Another reason some participants felt the broader scope of participation would be appropriate was that other communities could be affected by land use in the FAFN's traditional territory. For example, it was suggested that non-Mushkegowuk communities located inland up the Albany river system, such as the Constance Lake First Nation near Calstock and the Marten Falls First Nation at Ogoki, should be included because they would be affected by any impacts on the river system (PE1, PE2).

In contrast to the majority of participants, one participant felt the planning process ought to be carried out by the FAFN alone, in order to keep it a community-level plan rather than a regional plan (CC7).

4.2.4.2 Vehicles for Inter-Community Participation

Some participants discussed how different communities could be incorporated into the FAFN's land use planning process while maintaining the process's community-based nature. Among participants from within the FAFN, there was feeling that the Mushkegowuk Council as it currently exists is an imperfect vehicle for administering an inter-community land use planning process. One participant suggested that the

framework for planning integration between communities could be initiated by the Mushkegowuk Council, but would ultimately need to take on its own independent structure that was more directly linked to the community grassroots (CC4). Another participant argued that the Mushkegowuk Council would need to adopt a different structure before it could fill this role, as the current structure is based on the corporate model, with the chiefs of constituent first nations as the board of directors (CC5).

There was some discussion among participants of the role of the chief in linking activities between communities. The chief's role was described as that of a liaison between communities, responsible for communicating with other chiefs on behalf of the first nation membership (CC5). However, there was some feeling that unity between communities is being harmed by a lack of sufficient communication between chiefs and their communities, and that this spirit of communication and unity needs to be rebuilt (PE5).

A participant from the Mushkegowuk Council explained that NAN processes are intended to be driven at the community level rather than the central level, and that a community-based, regionally-integrated planning process could be achieved by tying together separate planning activities in different communities (MC1). The same participant suggested that political decision-making could become more integrated between communities in the future, as part of a nation-building exercise by the Mushkego Cree.

4.2.5 Scoping: Area of Interest

The area considered the traditional territory of the FAFN for purposes of the land use planning exercise is difficult to define. Some comments made in the interviews shed

light on the extent of the FAFN's area of traditional use, and others touched on how this area could be properly determined.

4.2.5.1 Locations of Use by the FAFN

As mentioned in 4.1.2.1, participants indicated that community members travel by boat to Constance Lake, Ogoki, and Pagwa River (CC1, CC3). It is beyond the scope of this thesis, and certainly of these interviews, to determine the extent of the FAFN's traditional land use; however, references such as these provide some idea of the spatial scale of the area of interest. As the crow flies, Ogoki is roughly 280 km from the FAFN; Pagwa River roughly 320 km; and Constance Lake over 400 km.

It was mentioned that the members of the FAFN and other Mushkegowuk communities have traditions of land use in areas outside of Ontario, which may ultimately necessitate engagement of the federal government and other provincial, territorial and Aboriginal governments in the implementation of the land use plan. Specifically, Akimiski Island off the western James Bay shore is an important part of the Attawapiskat First Nation's traditional territory, and people from the Mushkegowuk region traveled to the islands on the eastern side of James Bay (MC1). All islands in James Bay are part of Nunavut Territory. If use by the Mushkego Cree extends onto the mainland of the eastern James Bay shore, it would overlap with the Province of Quebec.

4.2.5.2 Techniques for Determining Area of Interest

Several participants spoke of a mapping exercise that had been carried out by the Mushkegowuk Council or its predecessor, the Grand Council Treaty 9 (CC3, CC4, MC1). These participants related that in this study, extensive interviews took place with

Mushkego harvesters, and overlay maps were created to illustrate the locations of harvesting activities. Unfortunately, the documents produced from this study have since been destroyed.

One participant from the Mushkegowuk Council related that the Moose Cree First Nation has used a similar mapping exercise in a current process as part of the Northern Boreal Initiative:

“Well in terms of Mushkegowuk right now, Moose Cree is going through a land use planning process that they’ve been negotiating with the Province. The Province had set up the Northern Boreal Initiative a few years ago and Moose Cree was included in that. And so they’d done a lot of work on mapping values and looking at their family homelands.” (MC1)

This participant explained that the Mushkegowuk Council is building its GIS capacity in order to coordinate values mapping between communities.

4.2.6 Stewardship and Environmental Protection

Participants highlighted the importance of historical and contemporary values of environmental stewardship. There was some discussion of the ways in which the planning framework can be oriented towards this objective.

4.2.6.1 Stewardship as a Cultural Value

Several participants described the traditional principles of care for natural resources and the environment (CC2, CC4, CC6). This applies both to resources that one is directly involved in harvesting, for example the principle that moose hunters should never shoot calves or nursing cows (CC4), and to other elements of the environment, for example the principle that trappers should protect the trees around their cabins (CC2).

Part of the value of stewardship is a traditional reverence for, and meticulous use of, harvested resources such as animals:

“They would always be careful on the amount of food that they gathered. You never over-kill. They always made use of everything, every part of the animal, whether it be moose or goose, they’d use the feathers for blankets, they’d use the whole. Even the wings, they’d boil them. The marrow. There was never food wasted. And they always had a ceremony to... how to get rid of their leftovers. To respect the animal and thank the Creator. They put an offering.”
(CC4)

Several interview participants stated explicitly that protection of the natural environment was what they wanted to see come out of the planning process (CC2, CC7, PE2). One of the participant groups in the EA training session with the Peetabeck Health Authority listed environmental protection as one of their VECs, and specified that by environmental protection they meant “protecting what the Creator gave us for our sustenance and cultural pursuits”.

Some participants saw good stewardship of the natural environment and resources as being threatened by changing social realities. For example, it was feared that sustainable harvest in the area would become more difficult with population growth (CC6).

4.2.6.2 Structuring the Planning Process for Environmental Protection

The participant observation data suggest a sentiment that the land use planning framework could best serve the purpose of environmental protection and resource stewardship through a rules-based approach, setting out permitted and excluded land uses, and through monitoring programs. During the EA training session with first nation councillors, one participant expressed very early in the discussion that he is interested in

setting land use bylaws and following them up with monitoring. During the EA training session with members of the Peetabeck Health Authority, one of the first questions from a participant was whether the EA process includes any opportunity for setting policy. One participant in that session asked if creating a protected area such as a national park would be a viable option for the protection of the territory, and said that they were not concerned with the total preclusion of development that this would entail, so long as traditional harvesting remained permitted. Other questions were asked about monitoring, such as whether it would be part of the EA process, whether it was happening in relation to the Victor Mine, what is the spatial scope of an EA monitoring program, and whether animal tagging could be part of monitoring.

The comments about land use bylaws and policies are particularly telling, since they took place in a session about EA, not on the topic of land use planning. Clearly, some participants feel adamantly that setting rules establishing permitted and excluded uses of the land is a stronger approach than solely evaluating each resource development project on a case-by-case basis through the EA process.

4.3 Participant Validation

4.3.1 The Chief of the FAFN

The chief of the FAFN expressed general agreement with the conclusions drawn from interview data and with a summary of draft recommendations. He strongly emphasized the importance of cultural preservation as an objective of the planning process. The chief felt that the process, and in particular the community meetings component (see 6.2), should have a role as a “wake up call” for the community to relearn

its traditions, values and identity. He envisioned a planning process that would move gradually from this relearning and examination of culture to a dialogue on how to protect this culture through the land use plan.

The chief did not envision the planning process as merely an exercise in cultural continuity under the auspices of land use planning. He also stressed the necessity of a system of permitted and excluded uses in order to provide protection for the natural and cultural landscape elements deemed important. This was emphasized as an especially important element of the plan to be produced.

Another issue the chief addressed was the role that should be sought for the provincial government in the development and implementation of the land use plan. The OMNR has the power to make land use policy for crown land, and has recently been undertaking strategic land use planning for northern Ontario, however there was little clarity in the interview data as to how the OMNR should be incorporated into the planning process. The chief expressed the opinion that the OMNR should be kept informed of the process and encouraged to adopt the final plan as policy, but should not be asked to participate in the process from its early stages, and neither should the planning process be expressly structured within the OMNR's northern Ontario land use planning framework. He argued that to carry out the plan under the auspices of the OMNR, or with its direct participation, would undermine the community's autonomous role in structuring and undergoing the land use planning process.

4.3.2 The Mushkegowuk Council Lands and Resources Coordinator

The coordinator of lands and resources for Mushkegowuk Council also generally agreed with the conclusions drawn from interview data and with a summary of draft

recommendations. He expressed that in addition to set permitted and excluded uses to manage industrial resource development, the FAFN should have a management plan for their traditional resources. The coordinator argued that changing geographies of transportation infrastructure have concentrated harvesting activities other than trapping in the most accessible areas, reducing the use of traditional family harvesting areas. He believed that the changing geographies of the subsistence harvest create a potential for localized resource depletion, and therefore warrant a management framework, which could be formed as part of the land use planning process. However, the coordinator felt that rather than consisting of rigid zones and permitted use rules like the ones to which industrial resource development might be subjected, the community's resource management plan should be fluid and dynamic, in keeping with Cree traditions of resource stewardship.

Another comment made by the coordinator was that contrary to the belief of some interview participants that community land use mapping data produced in past decades had been completely and permanently lost, some of this data still exist, albeit unaccounted for and scattered within Mushkegowuk and NAN archives. He related that work is ongoing to locate and assemble these documents. The documents, therefore, could form a starting point for historical and current land use research towards background studies for the land use plan.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

This chapter will interpret the findings reported in Chapter 4, synthesizing them with the relevant literature and noting their implications for the land use planning framework. The purpose of this discussion is to distill, from the thematic data and the literature review, concrete recommendations for the structure of the land use planning process in the FAFN. These recommendations will be stated in Chapter 6.

5.1 Substantive Values

The purpose of analyzing data on substantive values is to build an understanding of what is to be protected, enhanced or managed by the land use plan. This understanding is an essential part of the plan's objectives, around which its structure must be developed.

Of the seven substantive values categorized in the results, six represented resources used according to traditional custom – five for subsistence use, and one, fur and traplines, for both subsistence and commercial use. Clearly, traditional subsistence activities are of great value to the people of the FAFN for stated economic, health, and social reasons. Participants made clear that most of the community's meat, some of its plant-based foods and likely all of its water come from sources in the surrounding natural environment; that river travel is an important mode of access to the land and its resources; that timber, while not harvested commercially in the area, is valued as fuel and to some extent as a building material; and that recreational engagement in land-based activities has strong social value.

Some attempt has been made in the past to quantify the value of the subsistence harvest in Fort Albany and other communities. A study by Berkes et al (1994) produced the estimate that harvesters in the FAFN produced 21 856 kg of edible meat in 1990, or roughly 35 kg of meat per resident based on the 1990 population. The study estimated the replacement value of the meat harvested in that year to be \$243 033 in 1990 dollars, or \$357 530 in 2008 dollars. This would put the per-capita value of the wild meat harvest in 1990 at \$388.85 in 1990 dollars or \$572.05 in 2008 dollars. Other subsistence resources were not quantified at the community level by Berkes et al (1994), but at the regional level – that is, Mushkegowuk plus the Fort Severn First Nation – the per-household replacement values of fuelwood and berries harvested in 1990 was estimated at, respectively, \$856.63 (\$1 260.20 in 2008 dollars) and \$51.08 (\$75.14 in 2008 dollars). The market value of furs trapped at the regional level was estimated at \$90.12 per capita (\$132.58 in 2008 dollars) or \$482.08 per household (\$709.20 in 2008 dollars). It must be noted that the Berkes et al (1994) study looked at the harvest for 1990 only, and does not address whether this was a typical or anomalous year, nor what the general trends were at the time in traditional harvest participation.

In addition to the need for food, water, fuelwood and other resources, to which participants pointed by way of explanation of the importance of harvesting activities, participants also touched upon the health benefits of the traditional harvest. Benefits were described to both physical and mental or health, and were ascribed both to consumption of local resources, such as wild food instead of store-bought food, and to the act of participation in land-based activities. Samson and Pretty (2006) focused on the relationship between the traditional harvest and physical health in the case of the Innu of

northern Labrador. This study found that wild meat has significantly fewer calories, less fat, more protein, more iron, and more vitamin C than meats found in stores. In addition to the nutritional superiority of wild meat over store-bought meat, the study pointed out that the subsistence harvest and associated land-based activities involve a great deal of physical activity, resulting in far greater energy expenditure than the sedentary, market-based lifestyle. The study found that for these reasons, sedentarization and reductions in the consumption of wild food have created health problems for the Innu of northern Labrador. The authors recommended a regional food policy that promotes wild food.

Research by Kirmayer et al (2000) found that among the James Bay Cree of northwestern Quebec, spending time in the bush was negatively correlated with indicators of psychological distress. This supports the notion espoused by some interview respondents that land-based activities are mentally or spiritually beneficial.

There was some acknowledgement by participants that not all members of the community participate in subsistence activities, particularly of the younger generation, and data from Berkes et al (1994) suggested a lower rate of participation in the FAFN than in other Mushkegowuk communities. While it remains unclear from the research exactly what level of contribution the traditional harvest makes to the FAFN economy and the lifestyle of all of its members, and to what degree community members have moved away from subsistence activities, participants were unequivocal that a land use plan should protect traditional resources and subsistence activities. Research by Natcher (2001b) stressed that trends away from subsistence activity within first nations can often be caused by reduced availability of land due to resource development projects, and by reduced wild food quality associated with environmental degradation, rather than simply

by voluntary social change on the part of the first nation. This finding not only lends support to the perceptions participants voiced of development-related risks to their substantive values, but also illustrates a very strong link between land use decisions and the future of the traditional harvest.

Effects of resource development that were discussed as substantive values in and of themselves included economic revenue and transportation infrastructure. There was no clear consensus as to whether either of these things are desired or undesired, and most participants took a nuanced position on the question. Both economic revenue and transportation infrastructure were seen as carrying both opportunities and risks for the community, with the main risk being creation or exacerbation of social problems such as substance abuse. The general feeling was that the FAFN can mitigate these risks if it can exercise control over the timing and nature of such developments, and builds capacity to manage their effects and address social problems. The planning framework, therefore, should have a focus on empowering the community to do this.

The substantive values identified in the data are central to the scoping of the plan. They will form a basis for the land use restrictions to be considered, and for the background studies to be completed in advance of the planning process.

5.2 Procedural Values and Issues

The procedural values and issues identified by respondents perhaps warrant more individually focused discussion than the substantive values, both because they represent divergent issues and are difficult to speak of collectively, and because discussion of procedural values and issues is indeed discussion of the requisites and subtleties of the

planning process itself. This section of the discussion therefore will address each subsection of section 4.2 systematically.

5.2.1 Decision-making and Engagement

A central theme in participants' ideas about cultural decision-making values was that process should be fully inclusive and led by the community grassroots, in order to give the entire community a sense of ownership of the process. This idea is very much in keeping with the empowerment and communicative planning traditions, and is probably illustrative of Aboriginal decision-making values in general. Nilsen (2005) argues that "the decision-making cultures of remote Northern and Aboriginal communities display some of the characteristics that critics of traditional rational planning suggest need to be injected into contemporary practice" (28). Nilsen (2005) goes on to argue that northern Aboriginal communities provide an opportunity for planning practitioners to apply these principles within a cultural context with which they are a good fit.

In terms of mechanics, there seemed to be a general consensus among participants that small groups, either families or groups of people who know each other well, would be an appropriate forum for discussion of the decisions to be made as part of the land use plan. This model appears to reflect the historical practices related by some participants, whereby decisions about the land were made individually by the families that used it, or by groups of elders from neighbouring families. A notable difference between the suggested model and the accounts of historical decision-making practice was that in the modern context, participants did not place elders in an elevated position of decision-making authority above that of the rest of the community, but rather viewed elders as one of several important constituent groups within the process.

The suggestion that an expert be brought in to facilitate the grassroots-based approach presents an important comment on the role of the planning practitioner within the FAFN land use planning process. Old controversies within planning theory have examined whether Davidoff's (1965) advocacy planning model offers professional planners as true champions of their client communities, or whether this model fails to empower communities to plan their own futures, leaving the plan-making in the hands of professionals (Checkoway et al., 1994; Forester, 1989). The model being suggested here is one in which the professional would lend expertise in planning and facilitation, while leading the creation by the community of a plan based on local ideas and culturally appropriate techniques. This role is in keeping with some of the more recent literature in the critical collaborative tradition (Nilsen, 2005; Porter, 2006; Wilson, 1996).

5.2.2 Knowledge Transfer and Tradition

Participants alluded to social learning both as an important component of the land use planning process and as an exercise that could yield much-needed benefits to the community that go beyond the land use plan. As a component of a planning process, social learning is the subject of a rich theoretical tradition. Wilson (1996) points to an extensive body of literature that presents social learning as an essential part of empowerment planning. Bagheri and Hjorth (2007) see social learning in the planning context as a tool for perceiving and adapting to change, clearly a valuable asset in the FAFN land use planning context. Equally pertinent to the FAFN's project is the role of social learning in fostering co-management by iterating values and strengthening relationships between participants (Schusler et al., 2003). Recent work by Glover et al (2008) examined a model of social learning in the land use planning context whereby

community members use narrative to define the social meaning of places within their planning area. Given the strong element of narrative and historical recollection that was present in the interviews, this is probably a principle that ought to be applied in the FAFN setting.

Besides its important role in the planning process, interview data suggest that the strengthening and passing on of tradition is in and of itself an important objective for the community, parallel to the generation of the land use plan. Some participants spoke of existing and potential social problems in the community such as drug and alcohol abuse, and there was mention of a possible role for social learning mechanisms under the auspices of the planning process in addressing these problems. There is literature to suggest that rebuilding disrupted Aboriginal cultural traditions is a key ingredient to addressing social problems such as substance abuse and depression (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998; Gone, 2007; Kirmayer et al., 2003). However, social problems of this sort constituted only one part of the need felt by community members for cultural reclamation and strengthening of tradition. Re-strengthening the community's connection to its traditional territory and activities was seen as needed in order to maintain sustainable use of resources, enable self-determination, and enjoy the health benefits of the land-based lifestyle. Indeed, research by Tsuji and Nieboer (1999) found that FAFN community members were keenly aware of declining practice of customary harvesting ethics, and that revival of these ethical norms may be necessary to maintain the sustainability of the harvest.

Elders were seen as having a special role in the social learning and cultural transfer process, with participants describing the process as one that should begin with

the elders. Stiegelbauer (1996) argues that the role of elders as an educational resource and as a link to traditional culture is becoming increasingly more important in Aboriginal communities throughout North America, and that contact with elders is sometimes an effective step towards resolution of substance abuse problems. Roué (2006) offers a clear example of this in the Chisasibi context. In terms of mechanics, the suggestion by some participants that the shabotawin model be applied to the planning process provides a setting for the social learning exercise that is appropriate to the cultural context it intends on strengthening, and at the same time in keeping with the deliberative structure seen as successful in social learning experiments (Pahl-Wostl et al., 2007; Schusler et al., 2003).

5.2.3 Land Title

In legal terms there is no individual ownership by FAFN members of land within the area of interest, as all the lands in question are crown land (including reserves). The general feeling among participants was that Mushkego cultural values view land as a common resource for shared use, while at the same time, traditions of activity by particular families in particular areas warrant respect. This duality of land title principles is complicated in modern times by the creation of trapline boundaries by the OMNR, and more recently by the incentive created by impact benefit agreements for individuals and first nations to declare themselves the sole user of particular locations and areas. The social learning aspect of the planning process should therefore have, as one objective, the building of a community consensus as to the nature of land sharing, historically and into the future, within the community and between communities.

Trapping is the one activity that participants related was carried out according to rigid territorial boundaries, although some participants suggested that this anomaly is

only as old as the OMNR trapline system. In the case of the Whitefeather Forest land use strategy (Pikangikum First Nation, 2006), the Pikangikum First Nation felt comfortable using trapline boundaries to define their planning area, seeing traplines as the units of territory within which members of the community have customary custodial responsibility. However, among participants in the FAFN there was no indication that registered trapline boundaries are recognized as territorial divisions for purposes other than trapping, and there was suggestion made that creating rigid jurisdictional boundaries within the traditional territory of the FAFN would be a matter of discomfort and controversy for the community.

5.2.4 Scoping: Inclusion of Other Communities

Participants were generally in agreement that the territory used for harvesting activities by the FAFN overlaps with that used by other Mushkegowuk communities. This is in agreement with findings from Berkes et al (1995), which showed the FAFN's harvest area as overlapping those of Moosonee, Moose Cree First Nation (Moose Factory), and Attawapiskat First Nation, and largely coinciding with that of the Kashechewan First Nation. Overlap between harvesting areas was in fact shown to continue all the way up the coast, with Attawapiskat's harvesting area overlapping with that of the Weenusk First Nation (Peawanuck), and that with Fort Severn.

Issues of some variation in opinion among participants included how broadly communities should be involved in the planning process, and what the role of the Mushkegowuk Council ought to be in the planning process. Since most participants saw reason to include other communities within the Mushkegowuk Territory in some way, and since the Mushkegowuk Council has some capacity for land use planning, it would

certainly be appropriate for the Mushkegowuk Council to have a role in coordinating planning activities between communities and ensuring availability of planning resources. However, it was made clear by participants that the process must be led at the community level. It would be appropriate, therefore, for the Mushkegowuk Council to lend resources for land use planning processes undertaken on community initiative, and to assist in coordination between land use planning processes in different communities. This is certainly not to say that the FAFN or any other community need wait for a Mushkegowuk-wide structure to be put in place before initiating planning activities, nor that the leadership of individual first nations should not make their own efforts to liaise with each other on planning initiatives. In fact, stronger coordination and solidarity between chiefs was identified as a need by some participants. The role of the Mushkegowuk Council should be one of support for community-level initiatives. Coordinated planning processes among Mushkegowuk communities may be an opportunity to restructure the relationship between the first nations, as per the sentiments of several participants.

In terms of which communities to involve in the process, there was a range of ideas expressed by participants. It is likely not viable to limit the process to the FAFN, given that land use decisions need to be made for areas used by multiple communities. Participation of the other first nations within the Mushkegowuk territory, as was suggested by some, could be coordinated under the auspices of the Mushkegowuk Council, as described above. Some participants suggested the inclusion of all communities along the Ontario coast of James Bay and Hudson Bay, including the Fort Severn First Nation to the extreme northwest, which is not a part of Mushkegowuk. The

Fort Severn First Nation does not likely have interest in territory overlapping with that of interest to the FAFN, but does have overlapping territory of interest with the Weenusk First Nation at Peawanuck. The idea that the process should include all communities from Moose Factory to Fort Severn and 200 km inland corresponds with the area described as the traditional territory of the Omushkego Cree in Berkes et al (1995). Additionally, some participants suggested that the Anishenaabe community of Marten Falls First Nation and the Oji-Cree community of Constance Lake First Nation should be involved because they are affected by the same river system used by the FAFN.

Of the non-Mushkegowuk communities identified as appropriate for involvement in the process, the question of involving the Marten Falls and Constance Lake First Nations are of more immediate pertinence, because their area of interest may overlap directly with that of the FAFN. When the FAFN determines the geographic and policy scope of its land use plan, consultation with these communities should take place to investigate whether there is interest on their parts for a joint effort in planning for the area of common interest. If the Weenusk First Nation becomes involved in land use planning for their own traditional territory, a similar arrangement will need to be set up with the Fort Severn First Nation.

5.2.5 Scoping: Area of Interest

Interview participants did not go into detail about the area used by the FAFN. The locations mentioned as overland or river travel destinations such as Constance Lake First Nation, Ogoki, and Pagwa River are likely outer extremes of the area used, or even anomalously distant places, based on distances given by other participants and by Honigman (cited in Berkes et al., 1995) as the extent of the area of interest to the FAFN.

Berkes et al (1995) documented harvesting by FAFN members as far as approximately 100 km north and south and over 200 km up the Albany River from the Fort Albany reserve. Like the data in Berkes et al (1994), however, these data represents only the 1990 harvest, and is based on interviews with only a sample of harvesters.

It is important to note that the area of interest does not end at the shore of the sea. James Bay was described by participants as habitat for valuable fish and geese, as a travel route, and as a potential conduit of contamination between watersheds. The planning area, therefore, should include waters off the James Bay coast.

In order to properly determine the area of interest, a community-wide mapping exercise would need to take place, along the lines of the ones said to have been carried out in the past and currently among the Moose Cree First Nation. According to Natcher (2001a), Aboriginal land use mapping is an increasingly well-accepted tool in land use planning for resource management in areas of importance to First Nations people, but has several possible pitfalls to be avoided:

- Research using detailed but short-term land use records does not take into account longer-term trends and cycles in the locations and abundance of resources or the level of their use by harvesters. Most contemporary Aboriginal land use studies address this issue with the “map biography” approach, which asks harvesters to identify locations of use from throughout their adult lives.
- Aboriginal land use mapping projects have often excluded certain perspectives within the community, for example the female perspective, which would tend to highlight different resources than would the male perspective. This problem must be guarded against by ensuring that all users of the area of interest speak for themselves, rather

than relying on representation by heads of household or any other class of community member.

- Land use mapping tends to focus solely on the distribution of physical features within the landscape, while Aboriginal culture places value on the land itself. With this in mind, the mapping exercise must take place according to a broad understanding of land-based values, and not be limited simply to harvesting locations.

5.2.6 Stewardship and Environmental Protection

The cultural principles of stewardship and sustainable resource use described by participants accord with those associated in the literature both with Mushkego Cree culture and with Aboriginal culture generally (Berkes et al., 2005; Borrows, 1997; Kuhn & Duerden, 1996; Tsuji & Nieboer, 1999). In the land use strategy developed for the Whitefeather Forest (Pikangikum First Nation, 2006), stewardship and environmental protection was stated as one of the central values motivating the entire process. The interest in monitoring among participants in the EA training sessions points to a desire within the community for on-the-ground verification of the environmental impacts of development, and a framework for such monitoring should be included in a land use plan. Monitoring is an important component of, in particular, land use plans with environmental protection as a central objective (Randolf, 2003).

The desire expressed by EA training session participants for binding rules to govern use of the land by resource developers demonstrates both the community's interest in land use planning as a tool for the protection of their environment and resources, and their preference for a model of land use planning that explicitly sets

permitted and excluded uses for land rather than simply prescribing guidelines for development.

5.3 Implications for Theory and Practice

This discussion of the data has implications for the trends in planning theory reviewed in 2.2, as well as for the practical principles of planning for first nations examined in 2.4. Advocacy planning as originally envisioned by Davidoff (1965) called for groups with interests at stake to propose plans independently of the planning authority, so that a pluralism of proposed plans representing a pluralism of divergent interests might compete for acceptance. This element of advocacy planning theory, while central to the classical model, has largely faded from later, more reformist interpretations of advocacy (Harwood, 2003; Marris, 1994). These findings, however, suggest a role in First Nations planning for a modified version of the classical advocacy idea of pluralism in planning. In this model, the first nation would produce a plan independently of the government planning agency, not to propose one of many alternatives from different stakeholders but to assert itself as a land use decision-making entity. The purpose of the plan would not be to compete for public acceptance with other plans, but to guide negotiations with the government towards its implementation.

As a model of advocacy planning, this framework addresses the criticism that classical advocacy planning leaves client communities dependent on professional planners and powerless to speak for themselves (Checkoway et al., 1994). In the framework drawn from this data, the community itself would lead in the articulation of its interests and the formation of the plan, with outside experts serving in a facilitating role. This arrangement is consistent with other recent examples of planning by first nations.

From an empowerment and alternative development perspective, the FAFN case fits well with existing theory. Aboriginal communities living in areas viewed by dominant society largely in terms of their resource potential constitute a disempowered class as described by Friedmann (1992), in need of an alternative model of economic development. The centrality of the family unit in both economic activity and decision-making as described in the data supports Friedmann's model, as does the emphasis on social learning and development of cultural relationships. The facilitator role of the external professional suggested by participants is similar to that proposed by Wilson (1996).

From a collaborative planning perspective, the framework being suggested is an example that suggests a limited scope of collaboration. It fits well with existing collaborative planning theory in the sense that there is interest in an inclusive approach that would bring together community members with various interests to deliberate towards consensus, using a wide breadth of local knowledge, building local capacity and operating outside the auspices of the institutionalized planning authority. Indeed, the idea of consensus, an important if controversial element of collaborative planning theory, was described by participants as a central procedural value in the community. At the same time, the feelings in the FAFN that the planning process should take place without direct involvement from the provincial government in order to ensure community-level control of the process support a collaborative model limited to within the FAFN and other participating First Nations communities. This example suggests that in the Aboriginal planning context, discrepancies in political power and/or professional capacity between first nations and government can necessitate a limited scope of participation in

collaborative planning in order to achieve empowerment, or to ultimately allow for bilateral negotiation towards implementation.

From a practical perspective, these findings largely support and build upon the principles proposed in 2.4.5. The idea of dialogue between different segments of the community as a method of plan-making was central to the procedural values articulated by participants. The social importance of ecological values was emphasized in the data, supporting the idea of ecological feature identification as a cultural exercise as well as a scientific one. On the issue of level of collaboration with government, these findings support the side of forming the plan independently of government and negotiating with government towards implementation. The data shows support for zone-based land use designations as a central component of the plan.

Monitoring is an additional element of the planning and implementation process that was emphasized by participants, and should be included in the framework. Another important principle brought forward by participants is the idea of household- or small group-level deliberations to be held alongside larger, community-level meetings. Finally, the notion of using discussion of the community's cultural identity to begin the planning process was a significant contribution from the data.

5.4 Summary and Conclusions

The results of the interviews and participant observation sessions paint a clear picture of the community's general objectives in planning for their traditional land. The resources offered by the natural environment in its pristine state are of the utmost importance to the FAFN, and a primary purpose for the plan will be to restrict land uses that would degrade the quality, abundance and accessibility of these resources.

Extractive resource development in the area may bring with it certain benefits and opportunities for the FAFN, including revenue, infrastructure and economic development, but these must be carefully planned for in order to manage social risks that they carry with them. Preservation and re-strengthening of cultural identity is an objective that goes hand in hand with environmental and resource protection, because the two are interdependent. The planning process will need to facilitate one in order to facilitate the other.

From a theoretical perspective, this thesis demonstrates the applicability of advocacy, empowerment and collaborative planning principles to the context of an Aboriginal community seeking self-determination through management of its traditional territory. It also adds to the field of first nations land use planning, providing a set of principles generated through work with the FAFN that will be tested by the undertaking of the planning process. These principles and the lessons to be learned during the process will build upon planning work done with Aboriginal communities elsewhere in Canada, and provide precedent for first nations interested in taking a proactive approach to setting a vision for their traditional territories.

Within the Mushkegowuk territory, this framework may be adapted for use by other first nations. Ideally, it will lead to an integrated land use planning effort throughout the various Mushkegowuk communities, in order to eventually effect a coherent plan or set of plans covering the whole region. This would enhance cooperation between Mushkegowuk communities, clarify the Aboriginal vision for the area, and strengthen the Mushkegowuk Council's position in fighting for greater first nation control of natural resources in their traditional territories.

There are policy implications to the results of this research. The government of Ontario is proceeding with planning for northern land use and resource management in ways that incorporate community-level planning by affected first nations into a provincial strategic planning framework. Findings in this thesis suggest that the FAFN is interested in undertaking its planning process independently of any provincial framework. Once completed, the FAFN's plan and the question of its adoption into policy by the provincial government will set an important precedent for community-instigated land use planning by first nations in northern Ontario and elsewhere.

The FAFN and the research group of which I am a part began collaborating over a year ago to explore the idea of a land use planning framework for the community's traditional territory. The participatory action research carried out towards this thesis has demonstrated that a land use planning framework that empowers the community, addresses concerns related to industrial development and other changing realities, and follows culturally appropriate procedural guidelines is a practical endeavor. It has also brought to our attention the imperative of cultural preservation and reclamation, and exposed how a planning process can be part of this effort. This thesis presents a suggested framework for a planning process that would address all of these goals and criteria, and that has the support of FAFN leadership. The specifics of this framework are outlined in Chapter 6.

Perhaps most importantly, as demonstrated by the participant validation meetings, this thesis and the participatory action research process behind it have left the FAFN ready to adopt this framework and prepare to undertake the land use planning process it describes. The strong working relationship between the FAFN leadership and this

research group can be expected to continue as we prepare to carry out the planning process. In the immediate term, the next step will be to familiarize a larger component of the FAFN membership with the recommended process, both in order to seek additional input and to strengthen community-wide interest in the project. The seeking of funding for background studies and the plan-making process itself should also begin at the earliest opportunity.

This research process has linked the goal of cultural preservation, so well understood to be essential for social wellbeing and sustainable living in Aboriginal communities, with land use planning. Under the framework envisioned here, the collective reclamation of cultural identity and knowledge by the community will be an integral part of the land use planning process. While the land use plan itself will empower the FAFN by setting its vision for the use of its traditional territory, the process by which the plan is developed will strengthen and rebuild the sense of community identity necessary for proper stewardship of the land. It is in both these ways that the FAFN will move towards self-determination through its land use planning endeavor.

CHAPTER 6 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following list of recommendations forms a suggested model for the FAFN land use planning process. In spite of its level of detail, this set of recommendations is not intended as a prescriptive mandate for how the process ought to proceed. Rather, it provides merely one example of how a planning process could be structured in accordance with the results presented in this thesis. Cultural, practical and jurisdictional issues beyond those explored in this thesis may make an alternate structure preferable.

6.1 Background Research

1. A community mapping exercise should be carried out within the FAFN, according to the map biography method, in order to identify the area that should be included in the FAFN land use plan.
2. As a goal, the mapping study should aim to receive input from every individual FAFN member and resident who self-identifies as a participant in traditional or subsistence activities. It should seek to identify all locations of importance to the FAFN, including but not limited to harvesting locations, travel routes, sites of ecological and cultural significance, and other places for which FAFN members feel a custodial responsibility.
3. If possible, an appropriate partner, for example Mushkegowuk Council, should provide training for a member or members of the FAFN to lead the community mapping process. Appropriate consultants or academics should be sought to carry out the other background reports recommended below.

4. Mushkegowuk Council should provide GIS technicians to assist in the electronic processing of data gained from the community mapping exercise, and any data they have access to from past community land use studies.
5. A historical study should be undertaken to determine patterns of land use and occupation over time by the community and its neighbours.
6. A TEK study and a biological study should be undertaken to locate ecological values and identify ecological needs within the FAFN traditional territory.
7. A baseline condition study should be carried out to identify the current state of the environment and locations of development within the FAFN traditional territory.
8. A study should be carried out on development pressure, identifying the locations of mineral claims, hydroelectric potential, and other sources of resource development potential.
9. GIS data from all of these background studies should be stored by both the FAFN and Mushkegowuk Council in order to ensure safekeeping of the data through redundancy, allow for easy access to and ownership of the data for the FAFN, and facilitate the coordination of land use data from different communities by Mushkegowuk Council.
10. The FAFN should determine the extent of the planning area based largely on the community mapping exercise and the historical land use study, in consultation with other communities who may have overlapping traditional territories.

6.2 Plan-making

11. The planning process itself should be led by a working group formed internally by the FAFN, working together with a professional planner or someone qualified to

serve as a planning consultant, who will be retained for the project. The planner selected should have expertise in community engagement, and to the extent possible, should have personal or professional background in the region or in similar cultural contexts elsewhere.

12. The FAFN should use the various media at its disposal to maximize awareness within the community of the planning process and of the opportunities for involvement.
13. The planner should facilitate a series of small meetings with individual families, organizations, and/or small informal groups of community members with common interests. The purpose of these meetings would be to discuss in detail the ecosystem components that are important to each group, and the controls that they would like to see put into the plan. The planner should also be responsible for compiling these perspectives for the FAFN.
14. The FAFN should ensure that every community member is given an opportunity to participate in one of the small group meetings.
15. The FAFN should hold a series of large meetings for all interested community members to attend. At the very least, there should be one community meeting near the beginning of the process to seek consensus on the community's land use vision and values, and one near the end of the process – that is, once the small meetings have been completed – to seek consensus on land use policies to be written into the plan.
16. The FAFN working group should consider the possibility of incorporating the shabatowin tradition into the structure of the community meetings.

17. The community meeting series should begin as a conference on cultural continuity and FAFN self-identity, and continue as less formal discussions of land use issues.
18. The community meetings should be structured primarily as an opportunity for social learning, traditional knowledge sharing and for different elements of the community to hear each other's perspectives, and secondarily as a decision-making venue. However, if consensus is possible, decisions should be made on vision at an early community meeting and on land use policy at the final community meeting.
19. The planner should report to the community meetings on what sentiments and issues of contention were identified in the small group meetings.
20. The planner should draft the plan according to the opinions expressed at the small group meetings, the consensus articulated at the community meetings, and the background studies, and present the plan for adoption at an FAFN general meeting.
21. The adopted plan should be published in Cree and English, with the Cree version serving as the authoritative version.
22. Funding for the planning process should be sought from a variety of sources, including government agencies, private foundations and academic granting bodies.

6.3 Plan Content

23. The plan should identify zones based on the uses and sensitivities ascribed to the various components of the landscape, particularly those identified as substantive

values or VECs. The community's management objectives for each zone should be articulated in the plan.

24. The plan should state permitted and excluded uses for each zone that are compatible with the community's management objectives for that zone.
25. The area included in the zoning should comprise not only the terrestrial land base of the FAFN traditional territory, but the waters of James Bay that the community uses and that affect the integrity of the community's substantive values.
26. The plan should make explicit the FAFN's expectations for the community development benefits that are to accrue from various types of resource development activity.
27. The plan should include a detailed, community-based mechanism for amending the original plan through periodic review.
28. The plan should include a framework for monitoring both compliance with the plan, and the achievement of its management objectives.
29. If adequately discussed by the community during the planning process, the plan should include, or be coupled with, a fluid, community-based framework for management of subsistence resources by the FAFN.

6.4 Involvement of Other Communities

30. The FAFN chief and council, with support from the Mushkegowuk Council, should be responsible for liaising with other communities about participation in the planning process.
31. Because of their common history and traditional land base, the Kashechewan First Nation should be involved in the planning process as much as possible. If

sufficient interest exists in Kashechewan, the entire process should be run jointly between the two communities, and all other recommendations in this framework should be understood to include the Kashechewan First Nation together with the FAFN wherever the latter is mentioned. At a minimum, the Kashechewan First Nation should be kept informed of the process throughout its undertaking, and consulted before the plan is finalized by the FAFN. The Kashechewan First Nation could then either endorse the plan made with their input, or ensure that the plan does not prejudice their own ability to undergo a comparable planning process in the future.

32. When the planning area has been determined, other first nations in the Mushkegowuk territory and neighbouring regions should be consulted to determine any overlap with their traditional territories. In cases of overlap, consultations with the first nation in question should take place to determine how to plan jointly for the overlapping area.
33. Any first nation in the Mushkegowuk territory or neighbouring regions that is interested in undertaking a similar land use planning process should be invited to have their planning activities streamlined with those of the FAFN, and both or all first nations should ensure compatibility or undertake joint authorship of the final plan documents.
34. Participation in the FAFN planning process should be extended to individuals in other first nations who identify as using or having customary responsibility for lands within the FAFN's planning area. The FAFN should make every

reasonable effort to inform such individuals of their opportunity to participate in the planning process.

35. Any meetings at which participation can be expected from individuals living outside of the FAFN should take place while the community is accessible by ice.

6.5 Implementation

36. The FAFN or Mushkegowuk Council should keep the OMNR informed throughout the planning process.
37. Following adoption of the final plan, the FAFN chief and council or the Mushkegowuk Council should enter negotiations with the government of Ontario implement a land use policy and adaptive management strategy for the region that is consistent with the plan.
38. Following the negotiations with the government of Ontario, similar negotiations should take place with any other governments that have jurisdiction over geographic or policy areas affected by the plan.
39. Regardless of the status of negotiations with government, the completed plan should guide the FAFN in all negotiations and consultations regarding from resource development proposals in the FAFN traditional territory. The FAFN should support or oppose such proposals based on their conformity with the plan.
40. The FAFN, in collaboration with any other first nations involved in the land use planning process, should administer an ongoing process of monitoring, consistent with the monitoring framework outlined in the plan.
41. Monitoring data should inform the periodic review and amendment process outlined in the plan.

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APPENDIX: INTERVIEW GUIDE

The following interview guide was used to direct the semi-structured interviews conducted in the Fort Albany First Nation.

- Let's talk about the VECs/the most important things to be protected or enhanced by a land use plan.
- What are the most important uses of the land for the Fort Albany community?
 - including the Bay
 - is this changing? how?
- What are the main concerns within the community regarding mining, hydroelectric dams, and other development within the Mushkegowuk Territory?
- How do does this community make decisions about land?
 - currently?
 - traditionally?
 - at the family/group/community level?
 - *[identify and confirm key principles]*
 - informally? formally?
- Let's talk about how we could use the same kind of decision-making to make a plan for the whole land.
- What's the best way to get people involved in that kind of thing?
- Would it have to involve people in other communities, like Attawapiskat or Moose?