Seeing the Homeland *and* the Trees?

First Nations/Environmentalist Relations
in *N'Daki Menan*/Temagami 1986-1994

A Thesis Submitted to the Committee on Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Masters of Arts Degree in the Faculty of Arts and Science

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ABSTRACT

Seeing the Homeland *and* the Trees?
First Nations/Environmentalist Relations in *N'Daki Menan*/Temagami 1986-1994

Alexandra M. Thomson

This thesis seeks to examine the strengths and tensions of the relationship between a First Nation and a group of environmentalists. By looking at the Temagami area in northeastern Ontario, this thesis considers the interactions between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai (TAA) and environmentalists involved in the logging and land rights issues from 1986-1994. The author used a grounded theory approach to analyze data from 24 interviews with people directly and indirectly involved in these issues. This work examines each group's stewardship philosophies and history as well as the political differences related to varying strategies and tactics. Personal relationships were sources of strength in the relationships, which were able to reconcile the differences in the political and philosophic arenas. The research also demonstrated that the relationships improved over time, through learning, growth and transformation, findings that are congruent with the literature. This thesis illustrates that conscientious attention to First Nations/environmentalists relationships is important for each group's success when asserting their positions on land rights and logging issues.

Key words: Temagami, Temagami First Nation, Teme-Augama Anishnabai, Environmentalists, Relationships, Logging, Land Rights, Blockades, Stewardship, Wendaban, Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal Relationships, First Nations/Environmentalist Relationships, conflict transformation

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by Alexandra M. Thomson

Table of Contents

Abstract ii
Acknowledgements iii
Table of Contents v

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

Research Question 4
My Trajectory 5
Ethical Concerns 7
Research Methods 13
Scope of Study 17
Definitions 19
Map 24
Outline of Thesis 25

Chapter 2: Literature Review 29

Introduction 29

Theoretical Harmonies
- Ethical Space 30
- Worldview Skills 35
- Summary 39

The North American literature
- Case Studies Analysis: Wisconsin 40
- Case Studies Analysis: British Columbia 44
- Case Studies Analysis: Ontario 47

Temagami literature
- Discourse Analysis 50
- Spatial Analysis 55
- Lived Experience 60

Chapter 3: Historical Context 68

Temagami Historical Context 68
5,000 years ago-1850 69
1850-1970 75

1970s and beyond: Logging and Land Rights Emerge as Leading Issues
Lead-up 83
Red Squirrel Road Extension 89
The Blockades 94
The MOU, the Supreme Court of Canada and the Aftermath 100

Chapter 4: Stewardship Philosophies and Histories 108

Introduction 108

Indigenous, Anishnabai & Teme-Augama Anishnabai Stewardship Philosophies and Relationships to the Land 110

Colonization, Eurocentrism and Aboriginal Rights 124

Euro-North American, Canadian, Ontarian Stewardship Histories and Philosophies 134
Temagami Wilderness Society Relationships to the Land 138
Temagami Wilderness Society Stewardship Philosophy 142

The Histories and philosophies of the relationships between Aboriginal peoples and mainstream environmental organizations
Environmental Destruction, Colonialism, Racism and Eurocentrism 147
History of the Relationship 150
Wilderness 153
The impact of the idea of "wilderness" in the Temagami area 158
"Ecocentrism" in the Broader Environmental Movement 160
Views of Wildlife and Harvesting 162

Final Thoughts 165

Chapter 5: Political Strengths and Tensions 167

Introduction 167

Strengths 168

Tensions: 175

Actions of the Temagami Wilderness Society and Other Environmentalists

"We felt that we were being used" 176

Putting Land over People 178

-A Matter of Priority 178

-Human Rights 179

-Authority over the Land 181

Environmentalists' Responses to these Tensions 182

Initial Approaches 184

A Call for a National Park? 186

Possible Sources of Behaviours

Relationships as a Negotiation of Aboriginal/Settler Power Relations 189

Recognizing Aboriginal Title as a Legitimate Source of Authority on the Land 196

Environmentalists Reponses to these Tensions 203

Actions of the TAA and the TFN 205

Pro-development Interests 206

Not Collaborating or Providing Guidance 208

Accepting Help Without Acknowledgement 210

Possible Sources of Behaviours 210

Internal tensions 212

Chapter 6: "A lot of it is based on personal relationships" 220

Introduction 220

Tensions 222

Strengths 225

Wendaban Stewardship Authority 231

Other Strengths 239

In Summary 245

Chapter 7: Conclusions 248

Pattern #1: Political and Philosophic Tensions Were Reconciled Through Personal Relationships 249
Advice #1: Develop Awareness of the Other Group 250
Advice #2: Develop Awareness About Your Own Group 251
Advice #3: Be Aware of the Similarities 253
Advice #4: Be Conscious of Each Groups' Intentions 253
Advice #5: Be Aware of Each Groups' Goals 254

Pattern #2: The Relationships Improved Over Time Through Learning, Growth and Transformation 256
Advice #6: Recognize The Deficit Of Teachings About Aboriginal Culture In The Euro-Canadian Education System 258
Advice #7: There is a Need for Reforms in the Euro-Canadian Education System 259
Advice #8: Environmentalists Need to "Do Their Homework" to Make up for the Learning Deficit 260
Advice #9:Environmentalists Must Learn to Understand the Importance of Hunting, Trapping and Fishing to First Nations Culture 262
Advice #10: Environmentalists Need to Consider the Importance of Economic Development to First Nations Communities 263
Advice #11: First Nations People Should Be Patient with Environmentalists as They Learn 264

Pattern #3: Conscientious Attention to These Relationships are Important for Success 266
Advice #12:Relationship-building is important and takes time 268
Advice #13:Learn From Past Examples 271
Advice #14: These Relationships Need to be Articulated into Policy 272
Advice #15:Both Sides Have a Responsibility for Respectful Relationship 273

Final Thoughts 276

Appendices 279

Appendix A: Informed Consent Form 279
Appendix B: Sample Interview Questions 281

Works Cited 282-297

List of Figures

Map of the Temagami Area 24

Chapter 1: Introduction

> "The whole Temagami issue...it's deteriorated into an environmental issue, masking the true and real issue of human dignity and worth—of basic human rights."
> (Douglas Drdul, *Arthur*, Trent student newspaper, November, 1989)

> "As an environmentally-concerned Native, I feel I must respond to Doug Drdul's letter. Perhaps Mr. Drdul will discount this letter as schizophrenic, as he seems to have trouble reconciling both Native and environmental concerns—if so call me Sybil... *you have been seduced by the media into believing there is a gulf between two sides* who are striving for the same goal."
> (Rodney Bobiwash, *Arthur*, December, 1989, my emphasis)

> "There is often *a great divide* between the actions, mindsets and cultures of environmentalists and Aboriginal people...[and the] reluctance to deal with that conflict on the part of the environmental movement creates even greater conflict...whether it's been at Lyell Island or Temagami, or at Barrier Lake...
> (Rodney Bobiwash, 2000, Aboriginal Rights Toolkit, 2.75, my emphasis)

In 1989, the late Rodney Bobiwash[1] was heavily involved in the Teme-Augama Anishnabai's blockade against the construction of a logging road north of Lake Temagami, in northern Ontario. In this first letter, he seems vehement in his defense of the common interest of both the Aboriginal rights and the environmental movement, particularly in the Temagami area. Eleven years later, his opinion had drastically altered. The previous quotes generate the foundational questions of my thesis: What happened in those eleven years that left Bobiwash disillusioned with environmentalists? Do other First Nations people have these sentiments? How do

[1] Bobiwash was a contract faculty member at Trent at the time.

non-Aboriginal environmentalists feel about the relationship? How has the relationship in the Temagami area changed over time? What "actions, mindsets and cultures" to which Bobiwash makes reference, have caused what he calls a "great divide"? And, most importantly, what can be done to improve this relationship?

By "the whole Temagami issue" Mr. Drdul is referring to the ongoing Teme-Augama Anishnabai land rights and logging issues that have been affecting the Temagami region for many decades. The land rights issue is part of a 100 plus year struggle for justice by the Teme-Augama Anishnabai (TAA) to have their Aboriginal Rights to their Homeland, *n'Daki Menan*, honoured by the Canadian state. This land rights issue became part of a court battle when the Attorney General of Ontario filed a statement of claim in Ontario's courts, beginning in 1978. The main issue in the court case was whether the TAA was party to the Robinson-Huron Treaty of 1850, which would have "extinguished" their Aboriginal title to the area. In the time leading up to Mr. Drdul's letter, the Ontario Court of Appeal had ruled against the TAA, claiming that they did not hold Aboriginal title to the land. The TAA responded by appealing to the Supreme Court of Canada, and had begun a legal blockade of a logging road that was penetrating their territory (starting June 1988).

Environmental issues had been more formalized in the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan* since the early 1970s. Several local committees[2] had been formed to stop a large-scale development plan, to have certain areas turned into provincial parks, and to monitor the water and air quality of the region. In 1986, the Temagami Wilderness Society (TWS) formed out of members of these various groups, with both local and

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[2] These included the Save Maple Mountain Committee (SMMC), and the Alliance for the Lady Evelyn Wilderness (ALEW).

southern Ontario-based people. In 1987, the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources announced plans to build a logging road deep into and through the Temagami interior, an area known for its old pine forests and its supportive habitat for wildlife and other species. These forests were studied and became known as *old growth*, highlighting their ecological importance. At the time of Mr. Drdul's letter, the TWS had lost a lawsuit against the province that wished to build this logging road without a proper environmental assessment.

In order to stop the logging road from being built, the Temagami Wilderness Society (TWS) organized a massive road blockade beginning in September 1989. One hundred and ten people were arrested on the blockade. It lasted for two months, until the TAA asked them to remove the blockade. Days later the Teme-Augama Anishnabai (TAA) mounted a blockade on November 11th, 1989, which lasted one month. Two hundred and twenty-seven people were arrested on this blockade.

The TWS blockade was taken down because the TAA had sent eviction notices to all parties involved: the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR), the Carman construction company, as well as the Temagami Wilderness Society (TWS). The TWS was the only party to listen to the TAA's requests. These two very public gestures: the eviction notice and the removal of the blockades were some of the only clues for outsiders about the relationship between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and the Temagami Wilderness Society and more generally between First Nations people and environmentalists in the area. However, we can tell from Bobiwash's comments from page 1, that this was just the tip of the iceberg. Below the surface, Teme-

Augama Anishnabai people and environmentalists were interacting over many different terrains and issues.

Research Question

This thesis is an attempt to map the relationship between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai people and environmentalists in the area. It seeks to examine the factors that caused strength in the relationships and those that caused tension. Sutherland (2005) suggests that the way to begin a conflict transformation process is by assessing and mapping a conflict, rather than with negotiations and settlement. So this thesis focuses on understanding this conflict, and concludes with suggestions for how to improve the relationship.

This thesis will explore the question: What are the strengths and tensions between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists in the Temagami area/n'Daki Menan during 1986-1994? It will do so by using the words of members of both groups. These words have been accessed through twenty-four in-depth, semi-structured interviews with Teme-Augama Anishnabai and non-Aboriginal environmentalist participants. This process included twelve interviews with Teme-Augama Anishnabai members two Anishnabai people who don't identify with the term TAA, five with self-identified environmentalists, and four with people involved with conservationism or environmentalism who don't identify with the term environmentalist. This project also used primary documents found in the archives of the environmental group Earthroots, and the Temagami First Nation/Teme-Augama Anishnabai's Negotiation Office. Finally, this thesis draws upon a select body of

literature. The works consulted range from articles published by Teme-Augama Anishnabai leaders, locally involved Euro-Canadians, and academic articles written about similar Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relationships.

While there is not presently any impetus for a conflict resolution process between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists, there is still a desire on both sides to understand the other. There is certainly a need for an examination of how this relationship progressed, and how it could be improved. Further, an examination of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai/environmentalist relationship can give clues about the nature of First Nations/environmentalists relations in Canada in general. In fact, an interest in this broader relationship is how I came upon this thesis topic.

My Trajectory

My relationship to this question is a life-long process. I was born in Toronto to parents of northern Ontario origin. Both Euro-Canadian, my father grew up in Sudbury and my mother in New Liskeard. On my mother's side, my grandfather was a Liberal MPP for the Temiskaming region in the 1960s. His family settled in the New Liskeard area in 1901. The family owned and operated a wholesale mining, farming, building and logging supply company for decades called George Taylor Hardware Company, which serviced northeastern Ontario and northwestern Quebec. I grew up learning about the Temagami area. My mom attended Camp Metagami, and led canoe trips for youth in the Temagami area when she was young. She told me stories about the area when I was growing up.

On the Sudbury family side, my great-grandfather operated a lumber company north of Sudbury during the 1920s and 1930s, White and Plaunt (and later W.B. Plaunt and Son, in 1938). My family currently has a series of cabins at the site where an old logging camp used to be. I spent summers at this camp, as well as working at a YMCA camp west of Sudbury when I was older. I grew up with a strong attachment to the land and waters of the Pogamising area, which are very similar to the Temagami area. On this side of my family, my great uncle owned shares in Milne Lumber, the logging company at the heart of the 1988 and 1989 Temagami protests.

I became interested in the relationship between First Nations and environmentalists while at McGill University for my undergraduate degree. Having done some environmental organizing in high school, I was interested in studying at McGill's School of the Environment (MSE). I also spent time at the campus' First Peoples' House (FPH), as I had friends who worked there. I began to notice a disjuncture between the rich knowledge traditions that I was learning about through FPH, and the scant and misinformed teachings about Aboriginal people I was being exposed to in MSE courses.

While at McGill, an experience gave me some stronger indications of the tensions in the relationship. An Indigenous friend from British Columbia expressed dissatisfaction at some of the tactics and language of the Western Canada Wilderness Committee. This led me to realize that there was a lack of knowledge within certain environmental communities about how to respectfully engage with First Nations people and cultures. These experiences fueled a desire to better understand these

relationships. After reading a book[3] about the Temagami area, having led two canoe trips on Temagami rivers myself, and being attracted to its beauty and its history, I decided to choose this area as the site for my study.

Ethical Concerns

Historically, there has also been a lack of knowledge in academic communities about how to respectfully engage with First Nations communities and individuals. Because of this, the ethics of research involving Aboriginal people and communities are of utmost concern for this researcher. Research has been a "negative experience for many of the world's Indigenous Peoples" (Ermine et al., 2004). This is because the body of Western[4] knowledge "presents itself as all encompassing and impartial" and has grown to privilege itself as the only proper way of knowing. Ermine et al. call this process "Eurocentrism[5]". Further, the tendency of certain strains of Western knowledge to claim to be able to understand the world, and all cultures through its lens, is called "universalism".

Eurocentrism means that Indigenous knowledge and traditions are marginalized in the academy, and were once only represented by non-Indigenous "experts". These experts alone had the position of being able to produce knowledge

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[3] The book was Bill Plumstead's Loon, (1992) a novel about an anthropologist who gets involved in a First Nations community's land claim. While the novel doesn't use the same place names as the Temagami area/n'Daki Menan, there is an obvious acknowledgement that this area was the book's inspiration.

[4] Ermine et al. define "Western" as a mind-set and worldview that is "the product of the development of European culture and diffused into other nations like North America." (2004, 5)

[5] Ermine et al. suggest that "Eurocentrism" is the notion that European civilization has "some special quality of mind, race, culture, environment, or historical advantage which gives this human community a permanent superiority over all other communities" (2004, 5). It is not just a matter of values and prejudices, but is incorporated into science, scholarship and informed and expert opinion (Blaut in Ermine et al. 2004, 5)

about Indigenous peoples. Further, many researchers used unethical practices and/or performed research that had no benefit for the Indigenous communities being studied. While ethical standards are being enforced more uniformly now, the residual effect of this painful history means that relationships between Indigenous communities and academics need a lot of healing work.

According to Davis, "despite researchers' often good intentions, there is no doubt that research relationships have mirrored and *continue to reflect* the historical power relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples" (my emphasis, Davis 2004, 4). As such, all researchers must acknowledge that they are a part of a system, which is hierarchical and privileges non-Indigenous researchers and European worldviews and approaches. This dynamic can be recognized and attempts can be made to mitigate unequal power relations by a) using a framework of decolonization, b) by following appropriate ethical protocols and c) by using participatory research methods. These three practices will be examined in the context of this research project.

According to Linda Tuhiwai Smith, a decolonizing framework involves two processes. First, it involves a presentation of the history of colonization and a deconstruction of the problems with Eurocentrism (1999, 7). Secondly, it involves an affirmation of the Indigenous practices and traditions, which promote Indigenous autonomy. I would add that a third important component of decolonization is for outsider researchers[6] to acknowledge their own assumptions, understandings and biases (Davis 2004).

[6] Davis (2004) points out that an "outsider" does not necessarily mean a rigid category that all non-Indigenous people fit into. Rather, it is an ever-changing, relative term, determined by a variety of

This project has sought to work through a decolonizing framework by addressing the above issues. In Chapter 4, I look at the history of colonization and the impact of Eurocentrism in *n'Daki Menan* and in the area known as Canada. Further, this project seeks to affirm Teme-Augama Anishnabai knowledge, by examining the Anishnabai stewardship philosophies and land governance principles, which have guided their sustainable use of their homeland for thousands of years. Chapter 4 begins with an examination of this knowledge. Finally, I hope to present in the next paragraph my assumptions, my positionality and my worldview with the hopes of making my biases more explicit.

My personal history involves both of my families being upper middle class because of their involvement in logging and wholesale hardware businesses in northern Ontario. Through one of my family's, I have also benefited from the inheritance of money accumulated indirectly from land grants given for military service in the Red River Expedition. My other family's sustainable resource extraction took place mostly on land that was ceded by the Robinson-Huron Treaty. In this treaty the true market value of this land was not paid by colonial authorities (Johnson in Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Vol. 1 1996; see Chapter 3). Therefore, the Anishnabai people were not adequately compensated for the wealth that has been extracted on my behalf. I feel obliged to learn about the history of the treaty that allows me to call northern Ontario home. Further, I feel a responsibility to work towards fulfilling the Euro-Canadian side of the treaty, which involved a promise of Indigenous self-government, autonomy, land rights and other rights.

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different relationships. Further, when a researcher is negotiating a relationship with a community, the ownership of the research and its intended audience affects the researcher's positioning. Sometimes Indigenous researchers find themselves as an outsider in a community that is not their own.

Having grown up in a Euro-Canadian family that appreciated nature[7], my worldview is quite similar to many of the Euro-Canadian environmentalists interviewed in this project. I attended a school with the Ontario curriculum, which never acknowledged Indigenous people, unless referring to the distant past. Further, my education privileged Euro-Canadian history and epistemology over all others. While I have in the last few years made attempts to learn about Indigenous knowledge and worldview, and to understand my own values in relation to Indigenous values, I remain steeped in a Eurocentric frame of operating. I therefore make no claim to represent the worldview of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai accurately. My efforts are rather humbly, the best of my ability.

Growing up middle-class meant that I had access to many opportunities that those still suffering from the effects of colonization, did not. I have further benefited from white skin privilege that allows me to operate with many benefits to which Indigenous people and people of colour do not have access (McIntosh 1990). These factors, having land, a dominant worldview and skin colour as well as financial stability, have allowed me privileges that lead to unequal power relations with many of my Indigenous peers in the academy. Further, this means that I may hold a position of social power over some of the interview participants. This fact was considered during the course of this project. Further, I have made attempts to engage in reciprocal relationships, by offering *samaa,* tobacco before interviews with Teme-Augama Anishnabai individuals.

A second principle in addressing unequal power dynamics in research is following appropriate ethical principles in methodology. Willie Ermine (2007, 2000)

[7] As well as one with a strong sense of the importance of family.

and Ermine et al. (2004) outline a framework called *ethical space*[8]. This idea points to the space between two entities or worldviews. Two distinct thought-worlds, the Western and the Indigenous, come together in an effort to create balanced power relations between them. In order to do so, each must recognize the others' reality of their "histories, knowledge traditions, values, interests, and social, economic and political imperatives" (2004, 20). This common ground of dialogue allows "substantial, sustained and ethical/moral understanding between cultures" (2004, 20).

This thesis attempts to work towards creating ethical space, by allowing the words of Teme-Augama Anishnabai and non-Aboriginal environmentalists to respond to each other through the pages of the written report. Further, it is hoped that by presenting each of the parties' stewardship philosophy, dialogue about the importance of worldviews can be stimulated. Ethical space is a "process, that unfolds…from dialogue to dissemination" (2004, 21). Therefore, the researcher has also attempted to create an ethical space by using best practices to maintain high ethical standards.

Ermine et al. (2004) have offered several recommendations for the Interagency Panel on Research Ethics (PRE) of ethical procedures. These include:

-"In recognition of Indigenous jurisdiction, research agreements need to be negotiated and formalized with authorities of various jurisdictions before any research is conducted with their people" (2004, 8).

-"Empowerment and benefits must become central features of any research" (2004, 8)

-"Indigenous Peoples must also exercise control over all research conducted within their territories, or which uses their peoples as subjects of study" (2004, 8).

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[8] Ermine borrows the concept of ethical space of Roger Poole in Towards Deep Subjectivity (1972).

-"...the role of education in the process of knowledge and cultural transmission, is a vital necessity in coming to terms with research involving Indigenous Peoples" (2004, 47).

I have followed the above guidelines in this study. Permission was sought before the research began. When the First Nation was contacted, they were asked if they wanted to consult in the direction of the research. However, when they were not interested in this, the issue was not pushed further. The Joint Teme-Augama Anishnabai/Temagami First Nation Council[9] already had an established research protocol. Therefore after an initial visit, an agreement was drafted by the Joint Council and signed by the researcher and both Chiefs. Within the First Nation, the Teme-Augama Anishnabai's Negotiations office was appointed as the contact point for the research. While living on Bear Island, I volunteered in the Negotiations office for fifteen hours a week, in order to give some community benefit in exchange for the interviews to which I was getting access, with their permission.

Under the agreement, the Joint Councils were given access to the thesis before it was submitted for review by the external examiner. After some TAA and TFN representatives read the near-to-final draft, I made changes according to their suggestions. I have also accepted suggestions from a reader who is an environmentalist. Finally, an educational workshop was developed on the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan's* stewardship history. It was presented to the grade 6-8 class at the Temagami First Nation's Laura McKenzie Learning Centre, as well as to the

[9] In 2000, the Temagami First Nations and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai signed a memorandum of agreement. They agreed to work co-operatively, and to divide responsibilities up so there were no conflicts of jurisdiction. However, in 2008, this agreement was suspended, and has just been re-instated in early 2010.

grade 7-8 class at Temagami Public School. On the final day, the two classes joined together to share what they had learned, to play games together and to share a potluck lunch. This project was an attempt to have the research benefit the communities involved in the research, and to acknowledge the importance of education in the principles of ethical research.

Further, in terms of ethical practices with individual interview participants, the Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans guidelines was followed (1998). This meant that participants were given the option of participating and that they gave free and informed consent through a detailed Informed Consent Form. Participants' privacy and confidentiality were respected through careful data storage and the right to choose anonymity. Further, participants were asked permission before any quotes of theirs were used in the final draft of the thesis. A few participants chose to review their entire transcript and suggest corrections. The researcher maintained contact with participants throughout the process and is committed to maintaining relationships with the interview participants and community members. Participants will be given a summary of the thesis for reading.

Research Methods

Davis (2004) and Ermine et al. (2004) both suggest that participatory research methods serve to de-stabilize existing power relations in the academy. Participatory action research "gives a voice to the oppressed and marginalized, and the methods and processes promote empowerment, inclusivity, and respect" (Ermine et al. 2004,

13). Participatory research follows current ethical guidelines articulated by Ermine et al., and is developed in collaboration and partnership with Indigenous peoples.

With the methodology of this thesis, I took every effort to use participatory methods. However, when the Bear Island Negotiations Office chose not to be involved in the direction of the research, this official partnership was not possible. Nonetheless, I find myself in some respects, in partnership with each and every research participant. This is because I am using their words for most of the analysis of the thesis. Further, I have maintained some contact with all and have kept up more involved contact with a few. I have given participants the opportunity to revise their transcripts and quotes. I lived on Bear Island for two months to immerse myself in the community. I volunteered at the Band Office as well as in the kitchen at community meetings, and a funeral, on a school camping trip, and in the school as "costume judge" at Hallowe'en and with the workshops I have given. I also spent a week at the Earthroots[10] office, for the purpose of acquiring files from their archives, and for better understanding their organization.

Participatory research methods serve to "deconstruct the Western positivist[11] research paradigm, that is, and has always been, antithetical to Indigenous ways of coming to knowledge on many levels: theoretically, cognitively, practically and

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[10] In 1991, the Temagami Wilderness Society shut down. The same year, Earthroots emerged, a similar organization though with a much broader mandate. Its mission is: A grassroots environmental organization dedicated to protecting Ontario's wilderness, wildlife and watersheds through research, education and action (earthroots.org).

[11] Charmaz describes positivism as a method, which "assume(s) an unbiased and passive observer who collected facts but did not participate in creating them, the separation of facts from values, the existence of an external world separate from scientific observers and their methods, and the accumulation of generalizable knowledge about this world. Positivism [leads] to a quest for valid instruments, technical procedures, replicable research designs, and verifiable quantitative knowledge." (2006, 5)

spiritually" (Ermine et al., 13). I have used grounded theory as a methodology in this thesis, as a way of being rigorous, while remaining close to the data and to the individual's personal experiences. While positivism seeks to quantify information, grounded theory seeks deep, qualitative knowledge. The use of grounded theory is much more in line with my own personal forms of knowledge acquisition, which is through orality, through relationships, and through others' and my own personal experiences. It is also closer to Indigenous methods of knowledge acquisition.

Grounded theory offers a method of using "systemic strategies for qualitative research practice" (Charmaz 2006, 5). It is a way of analyzing data, in order to produce theory that emerges from the data itself. Rather than being imposed by the researcher, the theory is drawn from the researcher's perspective on the important themes and narratives in the data. Grounded theory uses "analytic codes and categories from data," (2006, 5). Sections of text are "coded" by software, and text in codes are grouped together to create reports. In grounded theory, analysis, data collection and theory development happen simultaneously. Further, the literature review is conducted after analysis is developed from at least a small sample of data. In grounded theory, interview participants are selected because of their relationship to the topic, not through random sampling.

The above guidelines, outlined by Charmaz (2006) were used to navigate through this project's methodology. For instance, literature on the history of the Temagami area was examined before interviews, but most of the academic literature on First Nations/environmentalists relations was reviewed after some analysis was done. Atlas TI software was used to analyze almost every interview that was tape-

recorded[12] and transcribed. Codes were created from the analysis of these 23 interviews. Reports of each code were printed and organized. The theoretical harmonies were not incorporated until after the data had been analyzed.

For the most important code, "Teme-Augama Anishnabai/ environmentalist relations," an independent report was created of all of the text, which was flagged as being associated with this theme. Then, this independent report was coded itself, so that a more detailed analysis could be made. For instance, this second analysis meant that I was able to make a count of the number of quotes considered to be a "strength," (57) and those considered to be a "tension" (60). This second, more in-depth analysis of the most important themes helped to allow the key ideas, such as "philosophy," "personal relations," "efforts at collaboration," and "parks" to emerge. Once the data was analyzed, comparisons to the literature were made, and key themes became chapters or main ideas in chapters.

Participants were recruited for this study by snowball sampling and the personal connections of the Thesis Supervisor. Bruce Hodgins[13] knows many of the people involved in the Temagami blockades, from both groups (Teme-Augama Anishnabai and Temagami Wilderness Society). His endorsement and personal connections were an indispensable contribution to the contacting of research participants. Spending time at the Earthroots office and on Bear Island allowed me to make personal connections. Many people I met in these places gave me suggestions

[12] One interview was not tape-recorded, and a few of the last (2009) interviews were not transcribed word-for-word, but notes were kept on a word-processor while on the telephone with the participant.
[13] Bruce Hodgins, the Supervisor of this thesis, is an Euro-Canadian who has been involved in the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan* for almost his entire life. He was Director of Camp Wanapitei for many years, at Sandy Inlet in the northern end of Lake Temagami. He and his wife Carol were key allies for the Teme-Augama Anishnabai during the blockades and land claims issues.

of potential interview participants. In keeping with grounded theory, interviewing, reading literature and data analysis all occurred at various stages. Up until the last week of full-time writing, these methods were still being used.

Finally, a phenomenological approach was also used. Phenomenology "is the study of the lifeworld—the world as we immediately experience it, pre-reflectively, rather than as we conceptualize, categorize, or reflect on it." (Husserl in Van Manen 1990, 9) Also called "lived experience methodology," it hopes to gain a better understanding of "the nature and meaning of our everyday experiences" (Van Manen 1990, 9). Therefore, in interacting with many Teme-Augama Anishnabai and non-Aboriginal environmentalists, I have used a lived experience methodology to pick up on what cannot be found in books or interview transcripts. My own experiences with Indigenous peoples, with environmentalists and in the spaces where their ideas and worldviews interact, have all contributed to a more holistic understanding of the relationship.

Scope of Study

I now turn to a clarification of the ways that I have limited the study in order to work with a manageable size of data. To begin with, I have decided to focus more extensively on the years 1986-1994. Historical documents were found primarily from this time period. Further, interview participants were recruited based on their knowledge of the land rights and logging issues during these years. However, some participants did not have as much knowledge about this time, and therefore the analysis was inclusive of years before and beyond this focus.

1986 was the year that the Temagami Wilderness Society was founded, and the year that the Red Squirrel Road's environmental assessment was released. Further, the Temagami area logging issue began to reach national and international audiences when the World Conservation Union (IUCN) listed the Temagami area on its Threatened Areas Register. Therefore, the year 1986 is an appropriate year to begin a more in-depth historical analysis. The most intense forms of political action, the blockades happened in 1988 and 1989.

The year 1994 also represented a shift away from the earlier focus on land rights issues and logging. It was the year that the Wendaban Stewardship Authority released its land management report. Soon after, its provincial government funding was cut. 1994 was the year after the Temagami First Nation had rejected the Draft Agreement[14] that had been negotiated between the TAA/TFN and the Ontario government. Further, 1994 was the last full year that the Ontario New Democrat Party was in power. The Harris Conservatives took power in the fall of 1995. In many respects, the year 1994 represented the end of an eight-year era. For these reasons, I have focused on this period.

A limitation of this study was the focus on only two parties: Teme-Augama Anishnabai people and environmentalists. The conflict in the Temagami area over land rights issues and logging issues had many human parties. These included the two mentioned, as well as the Ontario government/Ministry of Natural Resources, the logging companies and loggers, and municipal politicians who were distinctly pro-logging and anti-land rights as well as local loggers and citizens. I chose to limit the

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[14] See Chapter 2.

parties studied in this thesis in order to maintain a manageable data size. Even adding one more party to the study would have increased the number of relationships being studied from *one* to *three*.

Definitions

For the purposes of clarity, several definitions will be outlined here. In this thesis, I use the words Indigenous, First Nations, Aboriginal and less frequently, Native interchangeably. This is modeled after the way that Ermine et al. (2004) use these words as synonyms. This unfortunately blurs over the differences between the various meanings of these words. However, these details are beyond the scope of this paper. The word "Indian" has been used infrequently, in reference to the way that a specific author has used the word.

It is important to outline the various names that are used to describe the Aboriginal people in the Temagami area. Teme-Augama Anishnabai is the historical name of the Deep Water by the Shore People of *n'Daki Menan* (our land). The Temagami First Nation (TFN) is a Band registered under the Indian Act, and was once called the Temagami Indian Band. The TFN represents only status Indians, who reside in *n'Daki Menan*. In 1978, a new political organization, with the traditional name (Teme-Augama Anishnabai) was created. According to Doug McKenzie, the emergence of this new body was part of a process of decolonization. He states: "as people became aware that they were more than Indians, [they realized that] they had a history relating back to the traditional people whom Donald McKenzie referred to as

the "Teme-Augama Anishnabai[15]" (2009). The Teme-Augama Anishnabai elected a Chief and Council, which are separate from the Temagami First Nation.

This new organization, the Teme-Augama Anishnabai, was also a way for the First Nation to assume control of its membership. The creation of a new group with the traditional name challenged the narrow, exclusionary definitions set out by the Indian Act. The 1978 Teme-Augama Anishnabai was inclusive of non-status as well as status TFN members. It also included non-residents of *n'Daki Menan*, who are descendants of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai. In 2000, the Teme-Augama Anishnabai (TAA) and the Temagami First Nation (TFN) signed a memorandum of agreement between them. The agreement held that the TAA would focus on issues of the entire territory, *n'Daki Menan,* while the TFN would focus on issues in the Bear Island community. This agreement was suspended in 2008 after the election of Gary Potts as Chief again. It has just recently been re-instated in early 2010.

In the context of this paper, I use the term Teme-Augama Anishnabai in the historical, political and larger group contexts. Further, when referring to the political units that represent the Deep Water by the Shore People, I use the appropriate term, either Temagami First Nation or Teme-Augama Anishnabai. In many cases, I use "TAA/TFN" to refer to the Joint Council, or to both Councils. When referring to individuals, I most commonly use the term "Teme-Augama Anishnabai member". A few interview participants reject the use of the term Teme-Augama Anishnabai. I therefore use the term "Temagami Anishnabai" to refer to them. This is not an

[15] However, some interview participants felt that this name is not accurate.

official term, and is more of a joining of two different names. However, it is a better term for these individuals.

The Teme-Augama Anishnabai are a part of a large cultural/linguistic group, the Anishinabek people. They are a mixture of Ojibway, Algonquin and Cree families, although many TAA people suggest that the TAA are more Algonquin than Ojibway. There are many spellings for the word Anishnabai, and the TAA use a unique spelling. Throughout this paper, the word will be spelled differently depending on the people or author I am making reference to.

Similarly, the word "environmentalist" is contested terrain. A few participants, Anishnabai and non-Aboriginal, did not like my use of this term. They felt that the word carried a stigma to it. Having heard the term used in a derogatory way, they held negative associations with my use of the word. They preferred the term "conservationist" but no word really encompassed how they identified. One participant said, "everyone is an environmentalist" in that each one of us wants clear air to breathe and healthy food to eat. Another participant said: "to me some of the bad connotations of environmentalists have to do with disrespect for people who live in the area. Or downtown Toronto people who want a playground."

It is true that the term "environmentalist" obscures the various strains of conservationism/preservationism, as outlined in Chapter 4. However, I cannot think of a more appropriate word to describe those who are politically engaged with protecting the ecosystems from processes that make it unhealthy for its inhabitants. And so, its usage remains.

Further, in this thesis, I use the term Euro-Canadian to describe a Canadian of European ancestry. This term obscures from where in Europe the person traces their heritage and it makes a boundary within which mixed blood people must exist. However, again, this term is the most accurate term that I have considered.

This thesis examines two distinct groups, the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and non-Aboriginal environmentalists. However, I do not claim that these groups are mutually exclusive or exhaustive. There are many Teme-Augama Anishnabai who identify as environmentalists. However, Indigenous environmentalists are not the explicit subject of this thesis. Rather, I look at all Teme-Augama Anishnabai, whether they subscribe to the label "environmentalist" or not. There were some non-Aboriginal environmentalists involved in the Temagami area that were not of European descent. Minnie Jean Brown Trickey, a member of the Little Rock Nine[16], was homesteading in a nearby town and was quite involved in the anti-logging protests of 1989. However, because the majority of environmentalists were European, I refer to the dominant strains within them as Euro-Canadian.

I have chosen to use the term "land rights issue" as opposed to "land claim". This choice is based upon advice given to me by Doug McKenzie, a TFN councillour who reviewed my draft thesis in Nov./Dec. 2009. Doug explains that the term "land claims" is used to "take away from the human rights issue. Aboriginal rights are not claims, they are recognized in the constitution." (2009) He clarifies that in the Temagami area, it was the Ontario government that made a "land claim" as they filed

[16] The Little Rock Nine were the first African American students to attend the previously segregated Little Rock Central High School in 1957.

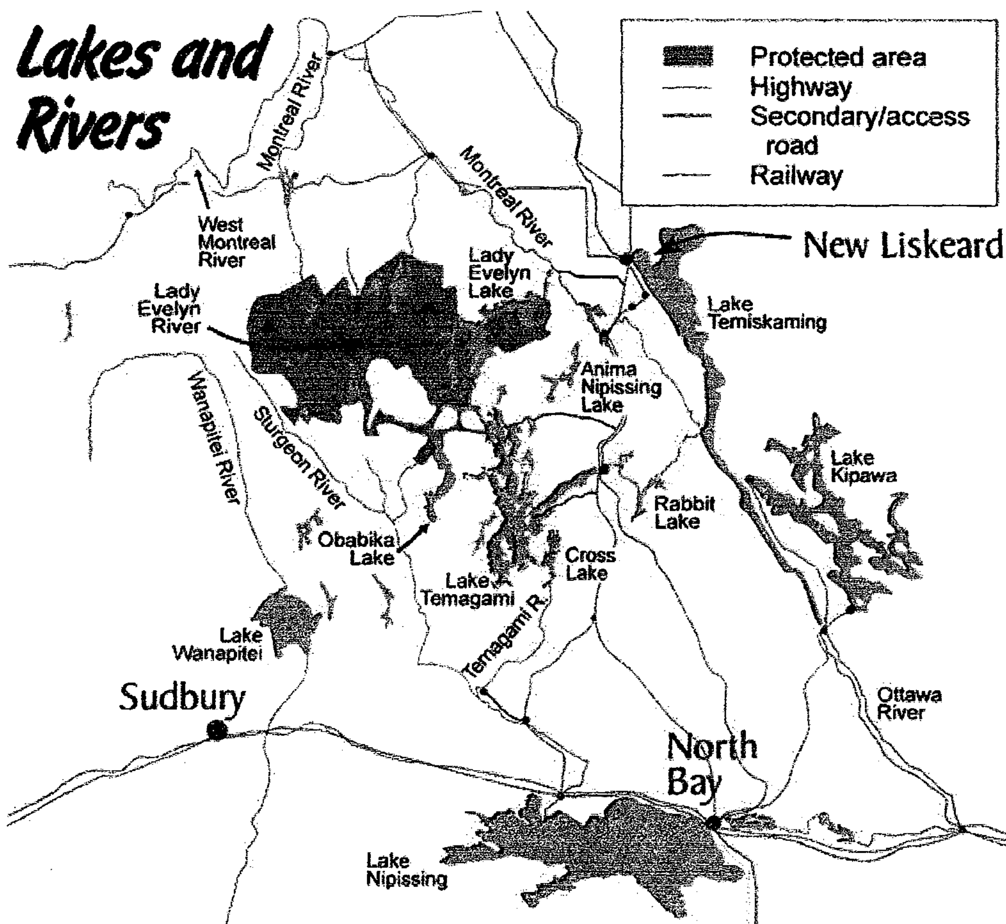
a statement of claim stating that the government "had a better rights over the land" then the Teme-Augama Anishnabai (D. McKenzie 2009).

Another word that raised some questions was my use of the word "leader" as in "Temagami First Nation leader" or "environmental leader". I use the word to describe a person who played a leadership role in their groups' efforts. This includes elected councillours of the TAA or TFN and board members of the Temagami Wilderness Society. I also use the term to describe people who might have held informal or supportive roles, but were heavily involved nonetheless in the land rights and logging issues of 1986-1994.

When I use the term "The Temagami Area," I am referring to an area north of North Bay, just west of the Ontario/Quebec border. The area is southwest of the Tri-Town area of New Liskeard, Haileybury and Cobalt. There are several different ways that the "Temagami Area" is bounded. Some consider *n'Daki Menan,* the Teme-Augama Anishnabai homeland as the boundary. Others look at the former Temagami Forest Reserve for delineation. The Temagami Canoe Area, as defined by Brian Back's ottertooth.com is also a way that the area is conceptually bounded. The boundaries that I use to define the area are a mixture of all three borders.

For the purpose of this thesis, "the Temagami area" is delineated to the north by the Montreal River and the town of Matachewan. The Montreal River also bounds the area in the northeast. In the east, the area includes the area just east of Highway 11, and not much further. In the south, the area extends down to the confluence of the Temagami and Sturgeon Rivers, near the town of River Valley. In the west, *n'Daki Menan*, the Teme-Augama Anishnabai homeland is bordered by the Sturgeon River,

while the Temagami Canoe area is bounded by the upper Wanapitei River. Either boundary fits for use in this thesis. In the northwest, the boundary follows the path of the West Montreal River. The Temagami area is significant ecologically because it is headwaters country for three different great watersheds. Its waters flow to the Ottawa River (*Gitchi Sibi*) and the Lake Nipissing(*N'bissing*)/French River watershed flowing to Georgian Bay. Just north of the Temagami area (by my designation) is the headwaters of the Metagami/Grassy/Moose River system, which flows into James Bay.



Map of the Temagami area courtesy of Brian Back/Ottertooth.com

Outline of Thesis

Using archival work, grounded theory analysis and lived experience methodology, I have attempted to understand the relationship between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists, in regards to the land rights and logging issues of the 1980s and 1990s. This thesis proceeds by given preliminary information in the first two chapters, followed by three main "body" chapters, and concludes with recommendations for improving these relationships, as given by the interview participants.

Chapter 2 is a review of the existing literature. It begins by a description of two theories that compliment the analysis of much of the thesis: ethical space and worldview skills. It then looks at several North American case studies that examine First Nations-environmentalist relationships and Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relationships in social justice movements. This section takes a regional perspective, looking at cases in Wisconsin, British Columbia and Ontario.

Chapter 2 also contains a thorough analysis of the literature written about the Temagami area. It includes articles that consider the issues in Temagami using a discourse analysis and a spatial analysis. Finally, those who have written about the Temagami issues from their perspective of lived experience contribute a lot to an understanding of the reasons for the blockades. This includes Teme-Augama Anishnabai individuals such as Vicky Grant, Mary Laronde and Gary Potts, environmentalists such as Kay Chornook and Brian Back, and of course Bruce Hodgins's analysis of the issues surrounding the events.

Chapter 3 describes the historical narrative of the Temagami area. This chapter draws heavily from Bruce Hodgins and Jamie Benidickson's *The Temagami Experience* (1989). It begins with the Teme-Augama Anishnabai's historical tenureship over the area. Following European contact, the chapter includes key events in the pre-20th century history, such as the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the Robinson-Huron treaty of 1850. The history of logging, land rights and recreation in the 20th century gives us a context for the interest groups that developed in the area.

The 1970s saw heightened passions about land use decisions in the area. Positions became more intense until they bubbled over onto the national and international arena in 1986, setting the stage for the next eight years. The blockades of 1988 and 1989 are considered thoroughly, given their importance in the memories of all research participants who lived through them. This chapter concludes with a consideration of the aftermath of the blockades, including committee work, coalitions and co-management. The implications of these events on the last fifteen years is considered briefly at the end of this chapter.

As the interview data was analyzed, three key themes began to emerge: philosophic differences, political issues and the importance of personal contact in the Teme-Augama Anishnabai/environmentalist relationship. As such, these three themes became the subject of each of the three "body" chapters.

Chapter 4 considers how each group's stewardship philosophy is a source of strength for them. It considers how each group develops environmental knowledge and their relationship to the land of the Temagami area. This chapter also examines how colonization, Eurocentrism and environmental degradation have interfered with

the expression of these philosophies in local governance. This chapter also suggests that tensions have developed over the history of Aboriginal dislocation from protected areas. Further, philosophic differences about notions of "wilderness" and wildlife are considered.

Political issues are examined in Chapter 5. This chapter examines different actions in which each group was engaged. Some of these actions caused tension in the relationship; others were a source of strength. This chapter examines resource mobilization theory, initial approaches, human rights, and the call for protected places in the area. Interview participants have contributed an analysis of these actions in terms of their underlying sources.

Chapter 6 is a more intimate examination of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai/environmentalist relationship. Several stories of the impact of personal relationships give a better sense of just what these relationships between individuals look like. This chapter examines how personal relationships are a source of strength and of tensions between First Nations and environmentalists. The chapter ends with a consideration of what it means to be an ally, in the context of colonization.

Chapter 7 looks as patterns that have emerged in this study and compares them to findings in the literature. It also presents advice from interview participants about how to improve the relationship between First Nations and environmentalists. It sums up what can be learned from my research about the relationships between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists.

During the duration of this project, I have learned about the complexity of the relationships between First Nations and environmentalists. The political work in the

Temagami area is no exception. In the research process, I came across a lot of information that is sensitive, and might cause emotional reactions for those involved. However, it is my hope that by presenting this material in a balanced and accurate way, that this project might contribute to a better understanding of the learning, dynamics and benefits of entering into these types of relationships. I begin with an examination of the literature on this topic.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In an introduction to their edited volume about environmental justice in Canada, Haluza-DeLay, O'Riley, Cole and Agyeman state that: "there has long been an ambiguous relationship between environmentalists and Aboriginal people" (2009, 16). The relationship between First Nations and environmentalists is illustrative of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations in Canada more generally. This relationship is characterized by Willie Ermine, as one of "socio-political entanglement," "transcultural confusion" and characterized by an "irritable bond" (2007, 197). This is because:

> We no longer know what informs each of our identities and what should guide the association with each other... So we continue stumbling about, trying to create clarity of the transcultural issues that confront us without any thought given to what the rules of engagement might be between these two human communities. (2007, 197)

Ermine argues that what is needed is to "create clarity and ethical certainty to the rules of engagement" between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people (Ermine 2007, 196). This thesis doesn't pretend to be able to do so. Rather, it is the hope of the researcher that, by presenting the Teme-Augama Anishnabai/environmentalist relationship from both perspectives, that a better understanding of these interactions will result. From this appreciation, dialogue between both parties, in relationship with each other, might be able to produce clarity and ethical certainty.

This chapter examines several cases of First Nations/environmentalist relationships, and Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal alliances in social justice movements. Divided by geographic region, this chapter examines cases in Wisconsin, British

Columbia and Ontario. Following this, I look at literature specifically about the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan*. The issues that have surfaced in this area have been examined with a spatial perspective, as well as with a discourse analysis. Those who have lived experience in the land rights and logging issues of the late 1980s and early 1990s have done a considerable amount of writing about these politics. The work of several authors, including Teme-Augama Anishnabai people, environmentalists, and others are highlighted in conclusion of this chapter. But first, an examination of two supporting theoretical ideas, ethical space and worldview skills will be considered.

Theoretical Harmony[17]: Ethical Space

As mentioned, this thesis employs Willie Ermine's "ethical space" in its ethical/methodological considerations (Chapter 1). However, this idea is also a complimentary theory in which to consider the relationship between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists. According to Ermine, ethical space[18] is a framework, which can guide the interactions between two parties who have disparate worldviews (2007). He states, when "each claim[s] their own distinct and autonomous view of the world, a theoretical space between them is opened." (2007, 194).

Ethical space is: "a venue to step out of our allegiances, to detach from the cages of our mental worlds and assume a position where human-to-human dialogue

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[17] The word "harmony" is used here in the sense of what is created when one harmonizes, or provides the harmony for a piece of music. A harmony is the combining of a certain note progression with another, in order to produce a "tuneful," "pleasing" melody (Pearsall, 1999). This theory is complementary to the interview analysis, but this data still stands well on its own. Harmony is used instead of "framework" because a building cannot stand on its own without a framework. This analysis does not need these theories, they just allow the data to have more resonance.

[18] Ermine borrows the concept of ethical space of Roger Poole in Towards Deep Subjectivity (1972).

can occur" (2007, 202). However, this dialogue must be extensive, as it must consider the uniqueness of each group. This is done by careful consideration of all facets of a worldview, including: "language, distinct histories, knowledge traditions, values, interests, and social, economic and political realities and how these influence an agreement to interact." (2007, 202) I suggest that differences in land stewardship philosophy and current and historic land access are also important topics to consider in this dialogue.

While addressing each of the above issues listed by Ermine is beyond the scope of this thesis, I hope to address the issues that are most relevant to the Teme-Augama Anishnabai/environmentalist relationship. In the following four chapters, you will see how distinct histories and values as well as social, territorial and political realities influence this relationship. This is in the hope that Ermine is accurate in stating that in order to "reconcile these two solitudes[19]" (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal); what is required is a shift in "perspectives, to recognize that the Indigenous-West encounter is about thought worlds".

Ermine considers how an understanding of "thought-worlds" (worldviews) must be grounded in learning about deep culture: what Peggy McIntosh calls the "colossal unseen" (McIntosh in Ermine 2007, 198). According to Jessie Sutherland, "being aware of one's culture is a little like being a fish in water. Although culture is "all pervasive," we are seldom aware of its presence." (2005, 34) The more visible

[19] I believe that Ermine has chosen this word deliberately. "The two solitudes" has frequently been used to refer to Francophone and Anglophone cultures in Canada. By using this world, Ermine helps us to re-orient our thinking to realize that Canada's bi-culturality is actually a reflection of many diverse Aboriginal Nations and a few diverse European nations coming together. I would add that the culture of people from Africa and Asia have also always been a part of the Canadian mosaic, since Mathieu Da Costa traveled in Canada in the early 1600s. Mathieu Da Costa was an interpreter for Samuel de Champlain and is the first namable African person to enter the territory now known as Canada.

aspects of culture: dress, food, art, etc. represent only a small part of the whole culture. The other aspects: "concepts of justice, gender roles, ideals of childrearing, notions about logic validity, power, leadership and morality reside" lie under the surface (Sutherland 2005, 35).

Oscar Nudler states: "worldviews fulfill the most general set of pre-understanding one has about reality" (Nudler in Sutherland 2005, 37). They "are rooted in our most fundamental human need for meaning and are actually critical for survival" (Sutherland paraphrasing Nudler 2005, 37). A worldview is difficult to be conscious of from within the culture. Parties react to conflict situations from within their worldview, and might have a hard time understanding the worldview of other parties, especially if they come from different cultures.

Our cultures have a deeply embedded, invisible impact on our behaviour and our "thought world". Rupert Ross believes that this is because our values are reflected in the way our language is structured (1996). He suggests that the language that we speak structures the way we think. The way we think impacts the way we act and the systems and institutions we create. Ross thinks that our behaviour and the systems and institutions we create in turn influence our language and our values.

Rupert Ross explains how certain values are encoded into the English language. In this case, judgmental nouns such as the word "offender" serve to turn an individual into something "bad". He states:

> And that's one of the reasons I shudder when I see headlines screaming, "Get Tougher on Those Offenders!" I don't know how to lock up and torture only the ugly "offender-parts" of people, while comforting the hurt parts, teaching the curious parts, nourishing the starved parts, unearthing the hidden parts, emboldening the cautious parts and inspiring the dreaming parts. I worry that whatever I do to the

> offender-part will make it harder still to touch and encourage all the others, much less restore balances between them. (1996, 109)

The way that the English language is often spoken serves to direct our thought patterns towards a negative thought or emotion when we hear the word "offender". However, Ross notices that when people in an Aboriginal culture use English, they rarely use these judgmental words such as "disgusting," "inspiring," "tedious" or "offender" (1996). An ethical space must consider how "hidden values and intentions" are reflected by language, which in turn structures the way people think (Ermine 2007, 202).

Ermine says that in ethical space, attention must be "given to understanding how thought functions in governing our behaviours." (2007, 202) In order to understand the embeddedness of our culture, we must also consider that the way we think dictates how we act and the systems we create. An example of this is the difference between the Anglo-colonial[20] and Anishnabai land governing systems. The Anglo-colonial system divided land using the square townships method, which makes reference to the global directions, and is made of straight, orderly lines, created by surveyors dragging chains through the bush with a compass. It is further delineated by square parcels owned by specific individuals, or the government. It makes reference to what it considers universal truths: that local areas exist as squares that form a broad, precise system of cardinality; and that property ownership is the optimum way for land to be governed.

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[20] It is important to distinguish between the Anglo-colonial system, with square townships, and the French-colonial system with long, thin seigneuries. In the French system, each property has access to a waterway at a small waterfront part of their property. One of the causes of the 1870 Red River Rebellion was the Métis people's desire for land to be divided using the French-colonial, as opposed to Anglo-colonial system.

In the Teme-Augama Anishnabai land governance system, which will be discussed in Chapter 4, boundaries are dictated by rivers and lakes, by the human, animal and plant community-members, and by portages and winter trails, called *nastawgan*. This system is based on a different truth: local areas are part of a broader system of waterways, communities, the routes taken in between them, the four directions and the notion that family territories are best maintained when their stewards are also their inhabitants[21] (Lawson 1998). Both truths can exist at the same time, except that one truth pretends to be universal, and therefore better than the other. This European claim of universality will be examined soon. In both systems, that which is important in each culture forms the basis for organizing space. This is just one example of how behaviours (land organizing systems) are influenced by hidden values and interests.

Willie Ermine suggests that "with our ethical standards in mind, we have to think about the transgression of those standards by others and how our actions may also infringe or violate the spaces of others" (2007, 195). However, it is difficult to know the boundaries of others[22]. We might violate someone else's boundaries without knowing it. Oftentimes, we assume that others' boundaries are the same as ours. Or, sometimes we dehumanize other cultures, which makes it okay for us to cross their boundaries[23]. This makes it imperative that a dialogue about these

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[21] Just as in the above paragraph I have simplified the Anglo-colonial system, the TAA conception of land governance is painted here only in broad brush strokes.

[22] And, sometimes, I believe, it is difficult to know our own boundaries until they have been crossed.

[23] This is how European cultures maintained the image of themselves as "civilized" while European Nations were initiating wars (Sherman 2007), causing the displacement of First Nations communities and, with residential schools, disrupting Aboriginal families (Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, 1996, Vol. 1).

boundaries, and the values and worldviews that are at their source, be created. Ermine suggests that this dialogue can best happen in an ethical space.

Theoretical Harmony: Worldview Skills

Jessie Sutherland uses the concept of worldview skills to suggest what is needed in transcultural relationships, in order to create an ethical space. Worldview skills are one's ability to "understand [one's] own cultural lens, [and] become aware of different ways of seeing and being in the world." (Sutherland 2005, 98) One who has a *flexible worldview* is able to "maintain their own worldview and learn about the [another group's] cosmology with ease and curiosity" (Sutherland 2005, 97). A community or an individual with a *rigid worldview* will dismiss another culture "as inferior or even wrong and proceed to impose their worldview through every means possible" (Sutherland 2005, 97).

Jessie Sutherland illustrates what worldview skills look like in practice, when she writes about an experience she had facilitating a cultural exchange between Cree and Francophone youth (2005). As the Francophone group's leader, she tried to prepare these Euro-Canadian youth by teaching them intercultural skills. Regardless, there were still conflicts and hard feelings between the participants.

Sutherland "realized that rudimentary intercultural training was not enough. Worldviewing skills can only be developed in relationship." (2005, 96) Despite the fact that there are no well known, clear rules for engagement between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, individuals from both groups are interacting with each other

every day in different ways. Rules of engagement, or even informal codes of behaviour cannot be developed by those not involved in these relationships.

In Sutherland's youth exchange, Francophone participants became very emotional when they felt that their sense of friendliness, personal space, work ethics, sharing and ownership were being challenged by the Cree youth. They felt that their boundaries were being transgressed. However, Sutherland was able to counsel the youth in being able to see that these deep feelings of indignation could be teachers. The youth learned how to realize that their emotional reactions were able to illustrate to them what some of their own cultural priorities were. For instance, a Francophone youth who was upset at a Cree youth for sleeping on her bed was able to realize that "her culture values individually owned property whereas perhaps the Cree [youth] saw objects as something to be shared" (2005, 101).

Sutherland advises that when beginning to analyze a conflicted relationship, both parties' worldview skills must be assessed:

> Given that culture is closely linked to our identity and how we make meaning in the world it is essential to assess the cultural fluency of the parties involved. Is there a dominant cultural lens that is used to name, frame and tame the conflict? Is this a part of a larger history of colonial or imperial domination? If so, how can we develop more sophisticated worldviewing skills on all sides so that we can engage in culturally relevant dispute handling processes? Moreover, how can we regenerate cultures that have been eroded or distorted in this context?
> (Sutherland 2005, 70)

In the context of the Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relationship in Canada, Willie Ermine helps us to answer some of Sutherland's questions about dominant cultural lens and colonial histories:

> Indigenous peoples [have] experienced a forced reengagement into mainstream Canadian culture... among

> the challenges of Indigenous scholars is to understand and confront the hidden interests, attitudes and bedrocks assumptions that animate Western dealings with Indigenous peoples. (2007, 197)

Ermine answers Sutherland's question, by explaining that the dominant cultural lens in Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations is a Western framework. Therefore, any attempt to understand the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people must consider them within a context of ongoing and historical colonization of Indigenous lands, governance systems, and worldviews. Colonization and Eurocentrism are so pervasive that most of these individual and group encounters are steeped in a social power dynamic that leaves Indigenous people less powerful. These power dynamics also affect many facets of a person's identity: their culture, gender, race, economic status/class, dis/ability, sexuality, etc. Ermine and Sutherland believe that unequal power relations must be addressed in the context of transcultural relationships. As we will see in Chapters 4 and 5, some interview participants also felt this need.

It is not my intention to favour one group over the other in this thesis. Rather, I seek to acknowledge that colonization is an ongoing process with considerable impact on the relationship between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists. Colonization has served to displace the Teme-Augama Anishnabai from their homeland, clear-cut much of their territories, infiltrate their knowledge and governance systems, and privilege European ways of operating. These factors have meant that the dominant "cultural lens" that "name[s], frame[s] and tame[s]" the relationship between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists is a Eurocentric framework (Sutherland 2005, 70). Because of

this, Indigenous positions and ways of knowing must be given the respect they deserve, if relationships between both groups are to be improved.

I do not claim that Euro-Canadian worldviews have not produced ways of operating that benefit the land and waters of the Temagami area. What it means is that this dominant worldview must be acknowledged and addressed in full awareness of its hegemony. If First Nations people and environmentalists are to move forward towards creating "rules of engagement," then the existing power relations must be well understood in order to create conditions where more egalitarian power dynamics can be realized.

I suggest that it is impossible not to be biased. The perspective that claims to be objective stems from European institutions of justice and science. What appears to be objective is actually a biased position emerging from within the Western system. Because it is so hard to be aware of culture, a claim of objectivity is the way certain strains of European thought erroneously pretend that the whole world is knowable by just one cultural system. The claim to objectivity asserts the dominance of their so-called "universal" knowledge system. Ermine states that

> ...This belief...lack[s] the frameworks by which the experiences and reality of other cultures can be justly named, described and understood because the same terms of reference for understanding Eurocentric life are not applicable to the great majority of people, including Indigenous people. (2007, 198)

Rupert Ross, a Euro-Canadian who writes about Aboriginal and European perspective on justice, states: "as long as it is believed that there is a single, objective reality out there, [and] that it is discoverable... learning will be impeded." Therefore,

though my attempt is not to favour either group, I fully admit that like everyone else, my approach will have some biases.

Summary

In this thesis, I seek to integrate Sutherland and Ermine's ideas as an accompaniment to the lessons and teachings that can be learned from the experiences of the interview participants. Ermine and Sutherland illustrate that the development of worldview skills are necessary to create an ethical space. Worldview flexibility means having a genuine and confident curiosity in other cultures. They articulate that these skills can only be developed by using our experiences and relationships as teachers.

According to Ermine, the goal in an ethical space is to create egalitarian[24] power dynamics. In order to do this he argues, we must acknowledge that our thoughts and actions are unknowingly governed by the culture to which we belong. In order to create an ethical space, we must have dialogue about these hidden influences, about unequal power dynamics, and about how our boundaries are crossed and how we cross the boundaries of others. The interview participants in this study did so through the words that they spoke in face-to-face interviews, and over the phone. While they were speaking directly to me, they knew that others would read or hear their words.

The Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists have been working towards creating an ethical space, and developing their worldview skills for decades.

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[24] I use the word egalitarian as a way of expressing that if we seek "equal" power relations, we will always be measuring who has more power. "Egalitarian" connotes a move away from hierarchical relations (Ross 1996).

I hope that this research project contributes to these already-existing processes. I bring an inexperienced, and I hope, humble perspective to this research. I believe that those participants intimately involved in this relationship and I have something refreshing to add to the dialogue about First Nations/environmentalists relationships, and perhaps Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations in Canada.

I aspire to contribute to the ethical space already created in this relationship. It is my hope that this thesis and the broader research process itself will inspire a dialogue within groups, between groups and between students, parents, children, aunts and uncles, cousins, grandparents, friends and acquaintances. I aim to contribute to the creation of a space that illustrates where change is necessary, and where, according to Willie Ermine: "new currents of thought that flow in different directions overrun the [status quo] way of thinking" (2007, 203). The following section examines other First Nations/environ-mentalist relationships, as they have been studied at different locations in North America.

The North American literature

Case Studies Analysis: Wisconsin

During the 1960s and 1970s, particularly in the United States of America, environmentalists and Native groups were "frequently at odds with each other" (Gedicks 1993, 189) over natural resource use. However, the 1980s and 1990s saw growing alliances and coalitions forming in opposition to multinational resource extraction companies. It was when alliances and coalitions used tactics and elements of both cultures, that these coalescences reached their strongest potential.

An example of this was *Anishinaabe Niijii* (Friends of the Chippewa) a group initiated by the Lac Court Oreilles Chippewa and their allies to oppose Kennecott corporation's (Rio Tinto Zinc) proposed Ladysmith mine in northern Wisconsin (Gedicks 1993). The group used techniques borrowed from other non-Native environmental groups such as intensive civil disobedience campaigns. They used legal and legislative approaches, which were based on treaty rights and endangered species laws. They also held Ojibwe talking circles and "Survival Gatherings" for egalitarian group mobilization and used Ojibwe ceremonies and teachings as inspiration, giving the movement a sense of "historical legitimacy".

Gedicks points to several tensions that emerge in these relationships (1993). According to him, covert, anti-"Indian" racism and potentially competing agendas (perspectives on development which differ within Native communities) can interfere with collaboration. Similarly, distrust (especially directed towards non-Indians) leads to the fragility of these alliances. *Anishinaabe Niijii* was able to overcome these challenges. The group's resiliency was due to their ability to mobilize both Wisconsin Native communities and non-Native environmental communities. The group's initiatives were successful at keeping the issue in the public eye, which caused the Sierra Club to pay attention and give legal and financial resources. This forced the large environmental NGO that once thought fighting mining was a "lost cause" (Gedicks 1993, pg. 4) to pay attention to environmental justice issues.

Zoltán Grossman (2001) suggests that these alliances, such as the ones in northern Wisconsin follow a pattern. They each began when a Native American tribe asserted its treaty rights and/or autonomy. There was then a backlash by rural whites,

which led to racial conflict regarding land use issues, such as fishing. Finally, a new threat (mining companies) emerged from outside which decreased ethnic conflict and led to the groups beginning to collaborate to protect their shared land (pg. 146). Grossman suggests that the earlier conflict helped to articulate Chippewa and non-Native identity, which made later alliance between the two groups stronger.

Sharing certain commonalities is important for collaboration (Grossman 2001). In Wisconsin, an outside threat ("a common purpose") served to stimulate co-operation between Native Americans and non-Natives (2001 pgs. 155-156). Geography also determined the success of the alliance, as a mutual love of the area (" a common place") was the key to the alliances that maintained their momentum, (pgs. 154-155) an argument echoed by Larsen (2003) and Lawson (1998). As time went on, educating non-Natives about Ojibwe culture ("a common understanding") was a key for successful collaboration (Grossman 2001, pg. 157). Treaty rights were originally viewed by local white ranchers, farmers and fishermen/women as obstacles blocking their resource interests. As alliances strengthened, they began to be seen as "powerful weapons," (Davis, O'Donnell and Shpuniarsky 2007, 97; Whaley and Bresette 1994) in the fight against environmental destruction.

Grossman also asserts that interethnic alliances tend to fail without a recognition of racial/ethnic differences (Grossman 2002). This finding comes from a study of environmentalists and the Ho Chunk (formerly Winnebago) Nation in Wisconsin in a conflict over military low-level flying and a bombing range. Grossman points to the tendency towards "universalism" where environmentalists seek racial unity without acknowledging difference. He says:

> ...Downplaying race does not eliminate racism as a force within universalist movements, but merely sweeps it under the rug. *Directly addressing and defusing racism* helps to level the playing field, creating lasting shifts in consciousness.
> (Grossman 2002, 5, my emphasis)

In this case, the Wisconsin National Guard met the demands of the white farmers but not of the Ho Chunk Nation, thus pitting Native interests against white farmers. This tactic is called "divide and conquer" and is used by governments to discourage organized dissent. A group of local non-Natives celebrated when they achieved a victory, despite the fact that the Ho Chunk had lost their fight. Grossman considers this disregard for their Aboriginal neighbours as an example of white racial advantage, or white privilege. Poor or not, whites are often given advantages meant to maintain barriers between Natives and non-Natives. This often leads to neither party reaching their goals. Environmental "unity" is not possible without "environmental justice" for Native communities

Whaley and Bresette (1994) also highlight how important it is to consider racism when struggling for environmental issues. They tell the story of Chippewa spear-fishermen and women partnering with mostly white, mostly urban witnesses. The witnesses helped to tame the racism of hostile local whites that were opposed to Chippewa spearfishing. Euro-Americans involved in the activism were "victims of educational institutions that left them socially and historically illiterate" (Whaley and Bresette 1994, 88) about Aboriginal issues. What LaDuke (1999) finds the most disturbing barrier is the lack of knowledge of traditional native tenure systems among non-Natives (pg. 131). Successful First Nations/environmentalist relationships involve non-Aboriginals learning how to show respect for Native culture and history.

Patterns of racism often stemming from ignorance must therefore be examined in these alliances.

An ally is someone who is not usually experiencing the direct form of marginalization or oppression themselves[25]. They choose to support those who are, through friendship, through learning and teaching about the oppression and/or through political action. Differences between allies and those experiencing marginalization must be named and discussed. This is not to come to any "resolution" but for a well-developed understanding of differences among partnering groups (Whaley and Bresette 1994). Whaley and Bresette's holistic perspective of social/environmental activism suggests that it is not about "winning" but about political and spiritual renewal. The interactions between Chippewa and allies was a cultural exchange where both parties benefited tactically, but also through friendships, community-building and sharing.

Case Studies Analysis: British Columbia

Areas of commonality can rally mutual support and collaboration (Larsen 2003). For example, a sense of powerlessness, shared by the Cheslatta T'en and their non-Native neighbours, triggered by a forced relocation in 1950, encouraged their joint collaboration. Working together led to positive results for both groups. As a result, when a second hydroelectric project was proposed in 1980, the Cheslatta hired non-Natives to work in their Band Office, further strengthening the bond. The local alliance began working with Greenpeace. This move garnered them publicity,

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[25] This is not to say, however, that people who are facing the more general effects of oppression are not allies. For instance, in the *n'Daki Menan*/Temagami blockades, there were many allies supporting Teme-Augama Anishnabai from different First Nations communities.

support and a lawyer who began working on their behalf to stop the proposed project (Larsen 2003, 80).

The alliance helped the Cheslatta T'en to increase their self-determination. After the proposed project was cancelled in 1995 by the provincial government, the two groups changed their focus to developing local sustainable initiatives. They built up their region's capacity for tourism, created a regional health centre and joined forces to build a sawmill that used beetle-infested wood. In addition, the First Nation formed partnerships with local forestry companies, and used new government legislation to create a community-managed forest. Because of the inter-ethnic alliances, the Cheslatta now "occupy a powerful position in the management of their homeland" (Larsen 2003, 82).

Lynne Davis's (2009) work also demonstrates how alliances with outside environmental groups can increase the political, territorial and economic autonomy of First Nations groups. However, as she points out, there is a risk involved. For the members of Coastal First Nations on B.C.'s West Coast, what was at stake in an alliance was the self-determination of their communities. Davis outlines four stages of the relationship as it evolved over the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s. They are: confrontation, relationship building, becoming allies, and shifting terrains. At each stage, different strengths and tensions emerge.

Confrontation was sparked because most environmental groups did not consult with the communities before engaging in direct action campaigns against logging in the early 1990s. They often ignored local protocols and First Nations power structures. First Nations leaders felt that environmentalists attempted to

"speak for" the First Nations people, and that they used "images of our people for their purposes," without consent (Davis 2009, 7). This had consequences for other environmentalists seeking to build relationships with the First Nations as they carried the negative label of "environmentalist" with them.

In the *relationship-building* phase, trust was built and with this came learning and transformation. Environmentalists learned of the imperative of economic development in the First Nations communities, and initiatives were developed to fund local community initiatives partly funded by government. However, with this money came tensions as well. Some First Nations leaders felt that the environmental groups were "using" the First Nations for grants, which gave the environmental groups access to funding as well. On the other hand, certain environmental groups worried that they were just seen "as money sources" (Davis 2009, 14).

In the *becoming allies* phase, the relationship was a source of learning and growth for both sides. The environmentalists learned how to follow cultural protocols, and both groups learned to navigate "cross-cultural tension" (Davis 2009, 9). They also learned the value of the role of allies. The environmentalists were able to provide technical expertise, and access to resources, media and international networks. For instance, the inaugural meeting of the Coastal First Nations in 2000 was organized in co-operation with the David Suzuki Foundation. While the initiative is now independent, the ENGO was able to contribute to the groups' initial formation.

The final stage is that of *shifting terrains*. The relationship must be re-defined as power dynamics change. As a result of the Coastal First Nations' mobilization, the

B.C. provincial government has paid much more attention to their collective voice in land management decisions. The Coastal First Nations have increased their control over their own territory, and have agreements with the logging industry and government, which has solidified this authority (Davis 2009). In addition, the economies of the Coastal First Nations have been stimulated through local and provincial initiatives as well as through research. For example, a collaborative initiative, the Coast Opportunities Fund, has been established with contributions from environmental groups, the provincial government and the federal government. This effort has led to the establishment of sustainable, diversified community economies on the West Coast. Despite certain tensions, by working together, both groups have seen their capacities and influence grow significantly. In this case, Davis concludes that the benfits of the alliances outweighed the risk (2009).

Case Studies Analysis: Ontario

A number of Ontario case studies provide some helpful insight into the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. Davis, O'Donnell, Shpuniarsky (2007) studied the Coalition for a Public Inquiry into Ipperwash. The Coalition's goal was to gain a public inquiry into the shooting of a First Nations man, Dudley George. George was killed while protesting because his traditional territory in southern Ontario had not been returned to his people by the government. Davis, O'Donnell, Shpuniarsky found that relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people need to be understood within a historical context of colonization (2007).

For the relationship to develop, both parties had to be aware of this context. Like Whaley and Bresette (1994), they found that the state of the education system meant that non-Aboriginals have a lot to learn about Aboriginal people and culture. Participants described their experiences of coalition as a site of learning and transformation, a site of pain, and as a negotiation of Aboriginal/settler power relationships[26] (Davis O'Donnell & Shpuniarsky 2007). The end result was a powerful lesson for both groups, on the role of being an "ally".

The participant's learning experience were spiritual, personal and cultural. The non-Aboriginal people in the coalition learned that being in coalition with Aboriginal people meant being open to transformation, developing a deeper knowledge of personal decolonization practices and risking being hurt (Davis, O'Donnell, Shpuniarsky 2007, 110). One participant stated: "I just really learned to be more sensitive...just to listen deeper" (2007, 107). Aboriginal people in the coalition recognized this teaching role "[The Elder] told us that we have to help those people because those people want to help us Native people, but they don't know what to do, so we have to help them." (pg. 107) Aboriginal participants also expressed learning from the relationship about strategies and tactics such as lobbying at local and international levels.

Being in coalition was sometimes painful. Because of the broader power imbalances between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginals, tensions can exist within inter-personal relationships. One of their respondents, Robin Buyers, explains:

> As a white person it's important to enter into alliances with Native people fully aware that you are the direct representative of a colonial history that has damaged or

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[26] These two findings have become headings for sections within my own thesis.

> destroyed whole communities and that the rage of people whose communities have been so damaged and destroyed may very readily become directed at you. (Davis, O'Donnell, Shpuniarsky 2007, 108)

These tensions also affect decisions that the group makes. As a group, the Coalition for a Public Inquiry into Ipperwash struggled to maintain the balance between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal input.

This study illustrates the tensions and benefits of becoming an ally. For non-Aboriginals to become allies, they need to become "culturally literate," and to "let go of paternalism in all its manifestations" (Davis, O'Donnell, Shpuniarsky 2007, 114). They need to become aware of the treaty, which "makes it possible for them to occupy the community they call "home"" (2007, 97). The authors stress that this form of relationship building is risky, that there are sure to be mistakes and pain, but there can also be learning, trust and friendship. In the case of the Coalition, the alliance was able to capitalize on the strength of both groups, and through a lot of hard work, was able to contribute a significant victory.

Temagami literature

As a local case study, the relationship between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and non-Native environmentalists has received considerable attention. Hodgins and Bordo (1992) and Jocelyn Thorpe (2008), use discourse analysis to examine how cultural factors affect the First Nations/environmentalist relationship, with an emphasis on Temagami/*n'Daki Menan.* Jamie Lawson(1998, 2003) and Shute and McKnight (1995) use spatial analysis to better understand how Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists related to each other in the late 1980s and early

1990s. Others, both TAA and non-TAA, use lived experience to tell of their perspectives of the relationship.

Discourse Analysis

Hodgins and Bordo present a nuanced view of First Nations/environmentalist relations (1992). They compare the Teme-Augama Anishnabai's issue with the fight for traditional hunting and fishing rights of the Golden Lake Algonquins. The Algonquin First Nation were being opposed by environmentalists, who considered Aboriginal hunting and trapping practices to be just as harmful as modern forestry practices. By this logic, any form of land use is a breach of the pristine wilderness. This cultural understanding has led to a "wilderness premise," leading to environmentalists developing an ethic of "leaving no trace" and desiring wilderness locations where no other human trace is visible (1992, 69).

Hodgins and Bordo (1992) claim that this approach reveals the ethnocentrism of Euro-Canadians, who make up the majority of environmentalists. This ethnocentrism is the result of Euro-Canadians imagining the land as "empty," void of its vital Aboriginal presence. Art by the Group of Seven and Tom Thomson illustrate this Euro-Canadian idea. Aboriginal people are rarely portrayed in their paintings, and if they are, only as if they are a part of the landscape themselves, never changing (Hodgins and Bordo, 71). This ethnocentrism has driven a wedge between Aboriginal people and non-Native environmentalists. If there was any debate about whether "wilderness" is a European concept, several authors have pointed out that there is no word for "wilderness" in many Aboriginal languages (Weaver 1997, 19;

McCormack 1998, 28). Hodgins and Bordo argue that this ethnocentrism is a source of the conflict between environmentalists and the TAA in Temagami/*n'Daki Menan*. In order to remedy this divide, they suggest that environmentalists must accept the TAA's right to self-determination.

Patricia McCormack (1998) has contrasted the Euro-Canadian environmentalist notion of "wilderness" with Aboriginal understandings of "homeland". She suggests that they are two different paradigms, which can co-exist, as long as the wilderness paradigm is "de-centered," an acknowledgement that it is not the only way to look at rural and remote places. While wilderness still holds strength in popular culture and has political and economic implications, the concept has been re-defined by post-modernists and other Euro-North Americans (William Cronon 1995, Hodgins and Bordo 1992). This project is inspired by McCormack's framing of these paradigms, and it is for this reason, that the title of this project asks the question: "Seeing the Homeland *and* the Trees?"

People can be "trained into" new paradigms, or into understanding both homeland and wilderness at the same time. This is akin to developing one's worldview skills. To do this, both concepts must be *deconstructed,* which means recognized as being socially constructed (McCormack, 1998). Just as Europeans altered the land with plows and axes, forest reserves and fire-suppression, Aboriginal people manipulated the land with fire, gardening, farming and plant and animal harvesting. To understand both paradigms at once, one must have respect and appreciation for the deep meaning that each represents.

The solution to reconciling these competing paradigms is for Euro-Canadians to develop humility, and to come to understand and accept Aboriginal spirituality and approaches to the land (Hodgins and Bordo 1992). They must recognize the right to Aboriginal self-determination and to the use and co-management of their ancestral lands. Should these issues be addressed respectfully, Hodgins and Bordo see the potential for a fusion of "cultural energies" and the developing of what they called a new "wildlands ethic." In light of the above contributions, I have asked some participants in this study about the notion of "wilderness" and attempted to better understand, through interviews, some of the cultural context of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai/environmentalist relationship. This is examined in Chapter 4.

Jocelyn Thorpe (2008) demonstrates that spaces, such as Temagami/*N'Daki Menan* are socially constructed by different groups, and come to take on the meanings assigned by the dominant group. I have only been able to access parts of her dissertation as it was written so recently. According to her, colonization is/was not just physical and material, but also a social and intellectual process by which: "Indian land came to be imagined and treated as public land in spite of the continued assertions by First Nations peoples that "THIS IS INDIAN LAND"". (pg. 2) She uses discourse analysis to examine the language used by various parties to create meaning about "the Temagami area". Governments, logging companies and environmentalists have used their positions of power to influence how "Temagami" is understood, and how understandings about it are created. Her argument is framed by an acknowledgement of historic and ongoing colonization.

Thorpe's work is useful for understanding how "Temagami" was popularly understood in the 1980s and 1990s (2008). She traces how in the mid-1980s, the logging issues were represented in the media as a conflict between "environmentalists and loggers". This popular imagining of the conflict completely ignored the TAA's long-term struggle over their homeland. She argues that this perception hid the Ontario government's role in provoking the issue in 1986. This stance also hides the fact that working loggers sometimes had different positions from their bosses-the managers and shareholders of the logging companies operating in the region.

June 1, 1988, marked the beginning of the first Teme-Augama Anishnabai (TAA) blockade and was a turning point in the media. As soon at the TAA set up their blockades, Chief Potts and the TAA's voices began to be found on the pages of major newspapers. While this event shifted the "loggers vs. environmentalists" story, Thorpe suggests that it didn't mean that the TAA's position was well articulated by the media, or understood at all (2008). In fact, she shows how the TAA's long standing land rights issue in the area was obscured as a fight solely against logging, and that the TAA were represented as working in close collaboration with the Temagami Wilderness Society.

Thorpe suggests that environmentalists working in the Temagami area had positioned Temagami as a "Canadian" "wilderness" and "in need of saving" (2008). She suggests that this notion of "wilderness" only allows the land to be visited, not lived in. Their "wilderness" is a place that is "outside of culture, history, power and politics" (21). The idea presents "nature" as separate from human "culture" perpetuating a Culture/Nature binary. She believes that this idea is dangerous

because it allows the TAA's land rights issue as well as their present-day existence, to be ignored. It also obscures how the land has been altered to fit the likes of certain people: tourists, cottagers, logging companies and governments. This idea of "wilderness" implies that to "use nature is to destroy it, to save nature is to be apart from it" (pg. 23). She traces how the reference to the area as "*national* nature" allows Temagami to be thought of as *Canadian* land, and not *N'Daki Menan*, the homeland of Teme-Augama Anishnabai (24).

Thorpe's argument about the discourse that environmentalists used in relation to Temagami, is based largely on newspaper articles, in particular the Toronto Star. She uses several quotes from Margaret Atwood, who was one of the better known of Temagami's advocates. However, Thorpe uses only one source from the literature of an environmental group in arguing her point. She quotes the group Earthroots, who existed only after 1991. She uses no sources from the Temagami Wilderness Society from 1988-1989, nor from the Association of Youth Camps of Temagami Lakes, Northwatch, the Federation of Ontario Naturalists, the Ontario Wildlands League, EarthFirst!, or the Save Temagami Committee, all secondary but important players in the environmentalists' efforts. It is therefore, quite a stretch to suppose that Margaret Attwood and journalists from major Canadian newspapers have the authority to speak for the environmentalists involved in Temagami.

Thorpe, quoting Catriona Sandilands, suggests that the fight for wilderness:

> is not so much about freeing the resident ecological and social communities to negotiate multiple possible futures and identities as it is about imposing a particular view of the landscape on precisely these communities. (Sandilands in Thorpe 2008, 23)

While Thorpe offers us a very important tool for critically examining the position of environmentalists on the Temagami logging issues, does she take her argument too far? She seems to be simplifying the environmentalists' position to one of solely trying to tell others how to look at the land. In doing so, she suggests that the work of environmentalists on the Temagami issue had no benefit for the Teme-Augama Anishnabai or the land and waters of *n'Daki Menan*/the Temagami area. Her argument also seems to exclude any variation that might exist *within* the environmental groups.

My work hopes to make visible the diverse positions of Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists in regard to "the Temagami wilderness". I have been able to recover a small amount of the environmental literature from the time period. I have also gained access to the oral narratives of environmentalists and Teme-Augama Anishnabai persons, involved in 1986-1994, by interviewing them over the last three years (2007-2009). While this study isn't able to determine how environmentalists and the TAA conceived of their relationship in late 1980s and 1990s, it is able to determine how they *now* understand what happened *then*.

Spatial Analysis

Jamie Lawson's (1998, 2003) work is a significant contribution to the literature about the First Nations/environmentalist relationship in the Temagami area. He suggests that solidarity by non-Aboriginal people helped the TAA to gain recognition for *n'Daki Menan*, and that TAA involvement aided environmentalists in their position as well (1998). However, he also notes that these two groups

"repeatedly altered the level of trust and solidarity they had in one another" (2003, 179) which led to them being "unable to maintain a stable alliance during the blockades of 1988-1989" (2003, 178). He writes however, that common ground between the two did exist. He suggests that the potential for alliance between the TAA and environmentalists, depended "in part on shared social and spatial interactions with the land" (1998).

In 2003, Lawson examined several different spatial patterns produced by various types of resource-related/social/cultural interactions with land, as articulated by Deleuze and Guattari (1987). In essence, he seeks to understand how each group's underlying worldviews are influenced by the spatial patterns in which they operate. In the Temagami area in the 1980s, an urban- and state- based pattern which Lawson calls "striated space", represented by the logging company and provincial government, came in conflict with other spatial patterns (2003). These include what he calls the "holey space" of northern resource communities, based on artisanal and prospecting types of interactions with land; the "primitive" social formations of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai who know the land through "nastawgan space" and patterns of land-use that rely on combinations of the three (especially practiced by environmentalists).

"Nastawgan" is a Teme-Augama Anishnabai word which Lawson takes to mean as the "set networks of seasonal paths, portages and canoe routes intersecting with the seasonal pathways of other species" (2003, 174). "Nastawgan space" is Lawson's social pattern, which reflects Deleuze and Guattari's "primitive space" as well as the Algonquian traditional hunting territory system. Lawson writes that

recreationists (and environmentalists) in the Temagami area share an appreciation for nastawgan space, and that they may experience the area through nastawgan space by canoe tripping, fishing, hiking, etc. (2003). Lawson explains that it is this shared pattern of spatial understanding, which led to both the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and the Temagami Wilderness Society blockading the extension of the Red Squirrel Road at almost the same time (Fall 1989).

However, recreationists are still "socialized into quite distinct spaces and social structures" from the Teme-Augama Anishnabai. Because of this, they understand the Temagami area "on their own cultural terms" (1998, 198). Lawson considers the cultural/social/spatial differences between the TAA and the Temagami Wilderness Society as the reasons why there was "no stable alliance" between the two (2003). Lawson suggests that Bear Islanders are socialized into "state-preventative" approaches, that is solutions to land-use conflicts that are not based on legislation, putting up boundaries (parks) or more rigorous enforcement. Instead he suggests that people raised on Bear Island would be more inclined to favour methods that treat the land holistically, by transforming the existing practices throughout the entire landscape (2010).

Non-Aboriginal environmentalists however, are socialized into quite different spatial patterns. He states that:

> during the crisis period, the two sides of the civilization divide repeatedly baffled and angered one another, often over what each considered fundamental or self-evident about the way Temagami ought to be. (2003, 180)

Lawson makes a distinction between "northern" (Ontario) environmentalism, and "southern" environmentalism. He uses quotations to signify that someone from

southern Ontario, might be engaging in "northern" environmentalism, that it is a state of mind and approach rather than strictly where someone lives in the winter.

"Southern" environmentalism rests on state structures, and on using highly-zoned areas to manage land-use conflicts. Earthroots' blockade at Owain Lake in 1996 is an example of this. Lawson also suggests that the TWS's Wildlands Reserve Proposal was "southern" Ontario environmentalism[27]. "Northern" environmentalism has connections to *n'Daki Menan* and relies on "holey" or "artisanal" spatial patterns. It also shares some sensibilities with non-Aboriginal resource interests. North Bay-based Northwatch's approach to land-use conflict, that is, adding input to forestry management plans, is what Lawson calls "northern" environmentalism.

Lawson uses these distinctions to show not only how tensions might have arisen *between* environmentalists and the TAA, but also how tensions might have emerged *within* environmental groups and the TAA, as well. Lawson's work is instrumental in realizing that philosophic or ideological understandings are crucial for examining political and internal differences. It is for this reason that Chapter 4, which examines underlying philosophies is considered first, before Chapter 5, which considers intra- and inter-group political tensions.

Shute and Knight (1995) used qualitative research to understand the differences between how Teme-Augama Anishnabai and locally involved Euro-Canadians come to know and experience the land and water of the area. The authors

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[27] In communication with Lawson, I pointed out that all of the Temagami Wilderness Society's board was either from, or living in northern Ontario at the time of the blockades. Lawson responded to this comment by stating that he finds it "more important that the TWS considered the reserve temporary and relatively porous to Indigenous uses" rather than the place of residence of the members. In this he means that their spatial tactic might have been more "northern" environmentalism than he originally suggests.

interviewed all of the members of the Wendaban Stewardship Authority in order to determine the features that distinguish TAA members' mental mapping from those WSA members appointed by Ontario. The two found that TAA members had a far better understanding of the area, and knew details of food sources, fluctuating animal populations and clearcuts, than the majority of non-TAA members[28].

Further, Shute and Knight found that the TAA members had very different *sources* of knowledge of the land and waters. Where non-TAA members most commonly learned about the area through meetings, books and businesses (Shute and Knight 1995, 110). TAA members developed their knowledge from old people in their community, stories from Elders and parents, and from travels on the land (1995, 110). However, several northern non-TAA members of the WSA did have long-term experiences traveling the Temagami area/n'Daki Menan.

Jocelyn Thorpe (2008) used historical travel writing to show how recreationists and TAA canoe guides have historically experienced the region in dissimilar ways. Shute and Knight's work gives evidence that backs up Thorpe's claim that differences exist between Euro-Canadian and Teme-Augama Anishnabai "ways of knowing". Jamie Lawson also discusses these distinct forms of knowledge. He writes:

> Working from what is known about the Algonquian First Nations, I also suggest that this social formation [nastawgan space] developed and used a knowledge of wide, immensely complex ecological relationships...This knowledge was transmitted predominantly by oral traditions, example, and experience. (2003, 175)

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[28] However, there were certain non-Aboriginal WSA members who were exceptions to these findings, who knew the Wakimika Triangle area very well. In fact, Bruce Hodgins suggests that he and Cocky Ingwersen knew the area as well as the six Teme-Augama Anishnabai members on the Wendaban Stewardship Authority.

So, there appears to be a consensus in the literature that understanding Anishnabai epistemology is crucial for understanding Teme-Augama Anishnabai relationships to the land. This will be considered further in Chapter 4: Stewardship Philosophies and Histories.

Lived Experience

Several authors use personal lived experience to relate and analyze some of the issues in Temagami/*n'Daki Menan*. Most make only a few short comments about the Teme-Augama Anishnabai/environmentalist relationship. This includes written sources from Temagami Wilderness Society board members Brian Back (1990) and Kay Chornook (1992) who both support the Teme-Augama Anishnabai in their writing. Back states the TWS proposal for a "wilderness reserve," was a land trust "to be held for the Teme-Augama Anishnabai" and not a park (1990, 141). Both acknowledge that in their political efforts, they operated on TAA land and tried to be respectful of this.

Chornook describes learning from the relationship with the Teme-Augama Anishnabai during the blockades, "we were forced to recognize our differing perspectives and learn to demonstrate respect for their judgments" (1992, 122). She describes at length the gender dynamics within the TWS blockade, a theme that will emerge later from the interviews:

> there were certain male personalities who came to the camp and could throw everyone into absolute emotional turmoil within an hour. You could almost see them coming, waving a flag of male domination and testosterone. (1992, 124)

Other men integrated well into the camp, many learning how to keep in check sexist language and actions. Generally, the women learned to approach these situations with patience and humour. Trusting and respectful friendships between men and women were developed on the blockades and they endure to the present day (1992,125).

Chornook also links the TWS blockade to a fight by northerners (about 1/3 of participants) for the future of their children (1992,119). She believes that the blockades empowered the northern communities in the area to fight against Toronto's plans to ship its garbage north years later at the old Adams mine site. This perspective of northern environmentalists was often overlooked by the media, who painted all environmentalists as if they were from southern Ontario, like Lawson (2003) does.

Vicky Grant (1992) gives a personal understanding of what it means to "see both sides from the middle". She grew up as a Teme-Augama Anishnabai and spent much of her childhood outdoors. She married a non-Native man associated with Temagami/ *n'Daki Menan* through working at a youth camp for years. She now lives in a mostly non-Native community. She has spent time as a wilderness lobbyist, and feels torn between many sides of the logging and land rights issues. To reconcile these different sides of herself, she suggests that "Natives have something to teach us" (172). She advocates understanding that hunting, fishing and trapping are integral to Native identity. As are having an experiential relationship to natural forces and believing in the notion that everything is interconnected. These are key to avoiding the "collision course" of environmental destruction that industrial activity is leading

us towards. Temagami is a special place she says, as it "teaches us about these important lessons" (172).

Gary Potts, the TAA/TFN Chief during the blockades, cuts straight to the chase in his article *The Land is the Boss: How Stewardship Can Bring Us Together* (1992). He describes the relationships between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and the environmentalists who initiated the first blockade as a "conflict" (1992, 35). While logging companies wanted to "create a desert out of our motherland," environmentalists wanted to turn it into a "zoo" (1992, 35). His message to environmentalists is "you can't freeze land. You can't fence it off and say "This is the way it's going to be forever."" (36) These remarks might be in reference to the creation of Lady Evelyn-Smoothwater Provincial Park and perhaps the 1987 TWS call for a protected area.

Potts suggests that the Ministry of Natural Resources gave environmentalists and logging companies the authority to decide what happens on the land (1992, 36). David McNab (2003) also writes about the role of the MNR in the relationship between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists. As an insider, he was aware in early 1989 that the senior government officials' greatest fear was that the two would join together (McNab 2003, 41-21). However, in truth the Liberal provincial government had no idea of the state of the relationship. McNab presents two opinions on the relationship. First he states: "the issue was made worse (for the MNR) when the environmental groups joined with the TAA in support of the land rights issue." (McNab 2003, 35) He also claims: "there was no alliance…the TAA

had always refused to let the white environmentalists take part in their issue." (2003, 42)

Mary Laronde (1997), a Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader during the blockades, gives another reason that there is tension in this relationship. The TAA worried that their land rights would be lost if they allied with environmentalists. She states "the environmental issue has given the government a diversionary tactic in dealing with the issue of Aboriginal title." (1997, 91-92) In the "media war" it has been difficult for the TAA to maintain interest in their issue, which has been forgotten by the public. McNab re-iterates this idea, stating that the TAA refused to ally with environmentalists "and thus, perhaps, be co-opted or lost in the "environmental" issues" (McNab, 2003, 42).

Mary Laronde, in 1998 writes that "environmentalists and industrialists are two sides of the same coin" (1). She states: "each side lines up their scientists and goes tit-for-tat on the ecological merits and demerits of diverse issues such as clearcutting or old growth forests" (1). This is because they are: "stuck in a frontier mentality, separated from the Earth mother, and ignorant about the Anishnabek" (1). Both groups look at the forest as something "out there". She says that a solution is to "remember and protect those fortunate people who live "in there". She links historical colonization with contemporary government policies, and presents the interconnected relationship between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and Mother Earth.

In 1998, Gary Potts adds some complexity to Teme-Augama Anishnabai relations with non-Natives, by including recreationists[29] as well as environmentalists in his analysis. He describes his early experiences with racism, which caused him to develop a deep anger at white people. He saw his friends taking out this rage by breaking into cottages on the lake. At age 22 he read *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* and gained strength from learning how to understand colonization. He then relates how healing and empowering it was for himself and the community when they placed cautions over the 10,000 square kilometers of *n'Daki Menan* in 1973. However, he felt this led to a "power trip," where they lost touch with the old people and felt superior to others (1998, 7).

Over the years, the Teme-Augama Anishnabai developed good relations with their neighbours. The blockades in 1989 helped to solidify some of these friendships. Potts describes the relationship between himself, the TAA and Bruce and Carol Hodgins and Camp Wanapitei as "wonderful" (1998). The TAA's fundamental principles of stewardship and co-existence were being met together. The experience became a "learning process," (Potts 1998, 2) and helped him to reconcile the previous anger he held towards white people. This reconciliation must happen because "the boss is the land and not any particular group…of people" (Potts 1998, 2).

The Supreme Court of Canada decision in 1991 was devastating to his community and many people still feel outrage about it. However, the TAA's efforts over the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, were not all in vain. They have helped the First

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[29] "Recreationists" is the broad title for canoeists, cottagers and those involved in youth camping and tourist lodges.

Nation gain credibility in other people's minds. They have been successful at gaining respect, and getting a place at the negotiating table. He points to the role of women as future leaders as important to "the birth of a new way of thinking" (Potts 1998, 4). According to him, men don't let other people share in their ideas, an attitude he links to conquest. The biggest task ahead for the TAA, according to Potts, is to overcome the attitude of colonialism.

Potts' is very frustrated by the internal division that resulted within his community from the 1994 rejection of the draft settlement agreement by the Temagami First Nation and blames the Supreme Court decision on his people's anger (1998). He looked to the Wendaban Stewardship Authority (WSA) for hope that the TAA and non-Native people can all work together (see Chapter 6). They share a common interest, the future well being of the land. New words that are attached to the land like *wendaban*, the "coming of the light" (1998, 10) and a refiguring of the word "wilderness" can help build a better future. Potts' relationship with Carol and Bruce Hodgins, John Milloy and John Wadland paves the way for co-existence and an approaching attitudinal shift.

In *Refiguring Wilderness: A Personal Odyssey,* Hodgins (1998) builds on his article with Bordo, by tracing his personal conception of the word "wilderness" and how it has changed over his life. From the biblical, threatening wasteland idea of his youth emerged the positive, but pristine image, a place far from urban "civilization" where only the least careless travelers could exist. The blockades in Temagami caused a shift for Hodgins, allowing him to reconfigure wilderness into a place that includes a "vital and permanent aboriginal presence" (1998, 1). Indeed, we see in his

transformation an example of the attitude shift that Potts declares is imperative for forward motion, "together".

Hodgins saw his role in 1988-1989, in regards to the relationship as:

> ...trying both to keep intact a shaky TWS/TAA entente which was always far apart on their objectives and also to forge a real alliance and understanding between the Native people and the environmentalists who included the canoeists. I helped succeed with the former but I failed miserably with the environmentalists. (1998, 13; 2003b, 26).

He invited both Gary Potts and Brian Back to Trent to speak in several classes in 1989. While both were getting along during the visit, a few days later, they returned to criticizing each other in the media[30]. Brian challenged Gary for putting the land rights issue ahead of the old-growth pines. Gary Potts' made comments in the media directed towards Brian that he and his people would "not be put or kept in zoos" (2003, 27). This project hopes to better understand the tensions articulated by this story, and what results came from Hodgins' and others' peacemaking efforts.

Hodgins speaks highly of Gary Potts, and the evidence of their friendship in the literature points to the strong significance of personal relationships that emerges in this study. Potts was awarded an honorary degree by Trent because of the efforts of Hodgins, Wadland and Milloy. Like Potts, Hodgins also points to the Wendaban Stewardship Authority as an example of where the relationship improved (2003b). Because the group worked on consensus, meetings went late, and sometimes ended at the local pub. Friendships were developed and "we made it work!" (28). Friendship will emerge from this project as an important theme.

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[30] Brian Back claims that he did not criticize Gary Potts in the media (2010). I was unable to find proof of this in either the Toronto Star or the Globe and Mail 1988-1989. Bruce Hodgins suggests that while it might not have been in the press, that he does recall hearing Brian raise concerns about Gary's position.

This literature review suggests that the issues are far from simple. However, the written form is limited when discussing human relationships. To reveal the complexities of these issues in more detail, oral narratives are needed. The verbal testimony from 24 people involved in these issues brings forth affirmations, contradictions and details that the literature only begins to cover. It is the intention of this project to be able to use interviews to delve into these issues with more depth, more emotion and a more truthful account of the issues from the perspectives of those intimately involved.

Chapter 3: Historical Context

Willie Ermine suggests that a dialogue that works towards ethical space must involve several dimensions, including "language, distinct histories, knowledge traditions, values, interests…" (2007, 202) This chapter focuses on understanding the histories of the main occupants of the Temagami Area/*n'Daki Menan*. However, rather than write distinct histories, this chapter takes the lead of Hodgins and Benidickson (1989) who write the histories of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai, the resource extraction industries and recreationists as distinct, though entwined threads in a braid of common place.

Temagami historical context: (the distant past until 1970)

While Willie Ermine claims that "we lack clear rules of engagement between human communities," (2007, 197) he also states: "the treaties still stand as agreements to co-exist and they set forth certain conditions of engagement between Indigenous and European nations" (2007, 200). The treaties that were negotiated between Indigenous and Colonial-Federal leaders, and other documents from the pre-Confederation period, set out the terms under which these parties were to engage with each other. This section will consider some of these negotiated agreements as they relate to the Teme-Augama Anishnabai. In addition, it is important to understand how the interplay between the TAA, recreation interests and the resource industry affected the land and water in the area, during the period from 1850-1970. But first, the historical tenureship of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai will be considered.

5,000 years ago-1850

The Teme-Augama Anishnabai have occupied *n'Daki Menan* for four or five thousand years. Evidence of this fact comes from several sources. It is a part of Teme-Augama Anishnabai oral history, and has been spoken and written about by many, including Mary Laronde (1993) and Gary Potts (1990). There are a number of sacred places like *Chee-Bai-Ging,* (Maple Mountain) "where the spirit goes after the body dies," (Laronde 1997, 86; Potts 1997) Conjuring Rock, a place for making contact with spirits, and *Shomis* and *Kokomis* (Grandfather and Grandmother) rocks, which are offering sites (Potts 1990). Many places are also named for the animals that live there; for example, *Majamaygos*-speckled trout stream is the name of the Lady Evelyn River and *Nahmay Zibi* is a literal translation of its English name, the Sturgeon River (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). Despite the evidence of their tenureship, in their court case in the early 1980s, the TAA's legal counsel did not seek many Elders to testify about the existence of their oral history on the land, and Justice Steele was not satisfied with the testimony of Chief Potts and several "well meaning white people" (Ontario Supreme Court 1984, 55).

According to archaeologist Diana Gordon (1990), earliest occupations in the Temagami region may be as much as 10,500 years old, with one site on Lake Temagami dated at 6,400 years old. Archaeologist Thor Conway believes it is quite possible that these early occupants are the relatives of the current Teme-Augama Anishnabai (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). There are village and cabin sites throughout *n'Daki Menan*, burial grounds, and winter and summer trails called *nastawgan* that are thousands of years old. The Teme-Augama Anishnabai have a

very sophisticated system of land stewardship. Each family has a traditional hunting territory, which is maintained carefully so that animal populations are kept at healthy levels (Laronde 1992; Speck 1915b; Potts 1992). In court, Justice Steele found that these territories did exist, but that they suggested a strong case for family rights, not for Band Rights. He didn't understand how each family territory made up a smaller part of a larger, holistic land management system. The stewardship philosophy of Teme-Augama Anishnabai will be examined in much more detail in Chapter 4.

European interest in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence area began with the fur trade and involved competition between colonial powers. After the British defeated the French in the Seven Years War in 1759, most of this territory fell under British "control". The French had been more inclined to have close commercial and political relationships with Indigenous peoples. The French defeat left the British monarch's representatives with the task of winning over the trust and friendship of France's former First Nations allies (Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Vol. 1, 1996).

Around this time, settlers began entering the Great Lakes/St. Lawrence area in greater numbers, especially in the area south of the waterways. In the late 1700s, the size of the non-Aboriginal population was roughly equal to the size of the Aboriginal population (Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Vol. 1 1996) At this time, many First Nations communities were being harassed by these European settlers, especially from the Thirteen American Colonies. In response, Odawa, Seneca and other warriors led by Pontiac, launched an ambush and a rebellion against the British troops on the southern side of the Great Lakes in 1763 (Dickason 1997). Blaming their "land-hungry subjects" for the uprisings, (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989, 22)

the British King issued the Royal Proclamation of 1763 in an attempt to stop widespread war with the First Nations (Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Vol. 1 1996).

It has been established in legal precedent that the Royal Proclamation of 1763 asserted that Crown land was in possession of the "Indian" people who occupied it (King George 1763). It also is considered to have established a protocol that these lands could only be exchanged in formal transactions between Crown representatives and First Nations leaders (Surtees 1994). The area covered by this document was a vast territory from the boundary of Newfoundland, north to the Hudson's Bay territories (Rupert's land), west just past Lake Superior, and south almost to Florida, including the *n'Daki Menan* territory. Some argue that this document affirmed the Aboriginal title and rights to the territory of the First Nations existing in the entire area (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). Because of this, the Royal Proclamation of 1763 was used in court by the Teme-Augama Anishnabai to argue in 1984 that they held Aboriginal title to *n'Daki Menan*

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 is considered to give legal validity to Aboriginal title in Canadian courts. However, it was at the congress at Niagara in 1764 in which British and Indigenous leaders negotiated the important alliance that the Royal Proclamation proposed. At this peace congress two wampum belts were given to the Anishnabai by British representative William Johnson. These belts were the British and Western Great Lakes Covenant Chain Confederacy Nations Belt and the Twenty-Four Nations Belt (Gehl 2009); the latter wampum belt represented the twenty-four nations that attended the congress; the former wampum belt represented

the metaphor of the covenant chain. This symbolized the fact that the relationship between Indigenous and European was one of allies that must be renewed ever so often (just as a silver chain must be polished) in order to maintain the relationship (Gehl 2009).

The notion of the Covenant Chain emerges from the framework of the Two-Row wampum[31] belts that were exchanged between the Haudenosaunee and the Dutch and British. Some writers suggest that the Anishnabeg people gave William Johnson a Two-Row wampum belt at the Treaty of Niagara (Gehl 2009). The Treaty of Niagara set out the terms for the bilateral relationship of equal partners that had been established between the British and Indigenous Nations (Gehl 2009). However, the equality of this relationship did not last for many decades.

A transition occurred between the mid-1700s and the mid-1800s in the area north of the Great Lakes. Huge increases in the European population occurred as Loyalists from the American Revolution and the War of 1812 flooded the British controlled territories. At this point, estimates suggest that in Upper Canada, the ratio of Europeans to Indigenous peoples was 10:1 (Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Vol. 1 1996). The balance of the relationship of equality between European and Indigenous people began to shift in part because of these demographic changes. Other factors also led to an imbalance in the relationship. These factors include the decline of the fur trade, the loss of Aboriginal territorial integrity, the loss of wild game and the ravages of disease. The declining need for Indigenous military alliance, because of the peace after the War of 1812 was another factor that led to this

[31] The Two-Row wampum sets the condition for two Nations to travel alongside each other on independent paths. It suggests that the Indigenous and European people relate to each other in peace, friendship and respect, while never interfering in each other's affairs (Gehl 2009).

imbalance in power (Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Vol. 1 1996). Because of these factors, the government were now capable of imposing a "colonial relationship" (Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Vol. 1 1996, 141) They ushered in new policies and practices, which served to displace or destroy Indigenous Nations. In Upper Canada, land cessions became a major feature of treaties, which became less and less about military alliance and friendship.

Along with these demographic and territorial pressures, the newly formed province of Canada (1841) issued mining and exploration leases to companies to explore in unceeded Ojibwa territories. Resistance began to the incursion of mining on their lands and culminated with the rebellion at Mica Bay, on the northern shore of Lake Superior in 1849. This resistance led to the Province of Canada assigning William Benjamin Robinson to investigate the possibility of land cession treaties with the First Nations living in the territory along the watersheds of northern Lake Huron and Lake Superior (Dickason 1997; Rogers 1994a; Hodgins and Benidickson 1989).

In September of 1850, the Robinson-Huron Treaty was signed under the formal procedures outlined in the Royal Proclamation of 1763 (King George 1763). The treaty was a legal document which allowed land to be "ceded" by the participating First Nations, in exchange for one-time payments, annuities, a reserve for each band, and perpetual hunting and fishing rights over each First Nations' traditional territory (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). A share of revenues from the exploitation of resources in their territories was also included in the treaty, but colonial and later Canadian governments did not reciprocate on this point (Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Vol. 1 1996). Further, the written agreement

contains language such as the words "surrender of territory" which was not agreed upon in the verbal negotiations[32] (Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Vol. 1 1996).

Ermine suggests that many of the treaties, were "an agreement of promised national and parallel existence" (2007, 197). However, the egalitarian notion in the negotiated verbal agreements were lost once written down and the treaty promises have not been honoured. Further, Johnson points out about the southern Ontario treaties that:

> ...if the Mississauga and Chippewas had received market value for their lands, the British treasury would have been obligated to finance the development of Upper Canada while the Aboriginal population would have become the financial elite of the new-world. [Instead] the Mississauga and Chippewa financed the foundation of Upper Canada's prosperity at the expense of their self-sufficiency and economic independence.
> (Johnson in Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Vol. 1 1996)

While Johnson does not discuss those Nations involved in the Robinson Huron Treaty, the same general principle applies. If those First Nations that signed the treaty had received fair market value for their land, there would be a considerable difference in the past and contemporary social and economic status for Aboriginal people in northern Ontario. As the original "rules of engagement", these documents and the verbal agreements they seek to represent, need recognition and respect. They need to become a part of our everyday understanding of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relationships.

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[32] Royal Commission on Aboriginal People reads: "the written treaty describes the agreement as a total surrender of territory, terminology that had not been agreed to in negotiations. It appears that the Ojibwa understood that the treaties involved only a limited use of their land for purposes of exploiting subsurface rights where minerals were discovered." (1996, 158-159)

However, the situation in the Temagami area/n'Daki Menan is a different case. There is no evidence to suggest that the Teme-Augama Anishnabai were invited to the treaty negotiations, nor the signing of 1850. Neither Nebanegwune, the Chief of neither the TAA at the time, nor any other Teme-Augama Anishnabai signed the Treaty (Potts 1990; Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). There is proof that the Indians Affairs department of the federal government admitted in 1885 that the TAA had not signed it. (Hall 1990; McNeil 1990, Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). Further, in 1907 and again in 1938, Indian Affairs continued to state that: "the title of the Temagami Indians to the surrendered tract has not been fully extinguished." (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989, 137 & 213) However, the Supreme Court of Canada's decision negates this and states that the TAA was either party to, or had passively adhered to the Robinson-Huron Treaty (Supreme Court of Canada 1991). This decision will be examined further on in this chapter.

1850-1970

This period marks the beginning of a substantial Euro-Canadian presence in the Temagami area/*N'Daki Menan.* The history of Teme-Augama Anishnabai's relationship with Euro-Canadians has been captured in great detail by Hodgins and Benidickson (1989). As such, it is not necessary to go into these details in this thesis. This section will cover some of the important trends that emerge from this period.

Hodgins and Benidickson (1989) argue that beyond the government, there are three interest groups, which have had the strongest influence on the land and water use of the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan.* They are: the Teme-Augama Anishnabai,

the recreation industry and the logging industry. To understand the history of environmental elements in the Temagami area before they existed under that name, one must understand how the area's recreation interests have influenced land-use decision-making in the area. Not all environmentalists interacted with the Temagami area as *recreationists*-the broad title for canoeists, cottagers and those involved in youth camping and tourist lodges. However, Hodgins and Benidickson (1989) show the strong links that many environmental groups in Temagami had with a recreational experience.

After the 1850 Treaty, a succession of Temagami First Nation Chiefs began contacting the Federal government for land for a reserve. This began in 1877, and continued for nearly one hundred years (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). The reason the province hesitated, was because they believed that the land was too valuable due to the vast timber stands, and they refused to give it up. The provincial government had become the "owner" of Crown lands under the 1867 Constitution, and they fought the federal government's insistence on creating a reserve. Regardless, the Temagami First Nation Chiefs kept up pressure on the two governments for their land. In the 1960s, the TAA were advised that funding for housing could be secured if the Band sought reserve status, prompting the final, successful push for a reserve which was granted in 1971 (Potts 2007; Hodgins and Benidickson 1989).

The recreation industry in Temagami began in earnest after the TN&O Railroad was opened in 1905. There was a station at the settlement on the northeast arm of Lake Temagami, which later became the village of Temagami. The railway was funded by the provincial government, and aimed to increase settlement and

tourism/recreation in northeastern Ontario. The first youth camps attracted children and youth from Ontario and the United States beginning in 1903 (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). Extended canoe tripping was a unique feature of these Temagami-based camps, the earliest of which were Camp Keewaydin and Camp Temagami (Hodgins and Irvine 1992). Around the same time, cottage properties became available for lease and later sale, although only on Lake Temagami's islands. Soon several hotels and many tourist lodges opened on the Lake, as well as several steamboat companies to ferry visitors to their various vacation spots (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). Independent canoe trippers also began visiting the area at this time. Access to the backcountry was through the *nastawgan*, the extensive series of trails between waterways in the interior. In 1926 the "Ferguson Highway" (which became Highway 11) was built, passing through the village of Temagami, increasing the number of visitors to the area. However, the train remained a staple for many travelers, especially visitors from the United States and large groups.

Logging began on the eastern and western reaches of the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan* as early as 1866. However, it wasn't until the turn of the century that the area became regarded as the best pinery in central Ontario. It was named The Temagami Forest Reserve by the province in 1901, with the intention of managing it scientifically through sustained-yield forestry (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). However, no clear forestry regulations or policy existed in Ontario, which meant that decisions were short-range and made on an ad hoc basis (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). In this period, logging happened from fall to spring and transportation was by horse-drawn sleighs. When the ice melted, logs were

transported using waterways. Because of this, and a lack of mechanized technology, the impact on the land was not very damaging.

A series of government actions seriously impeded the lives of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai in the 20th century. Some of these represent the encroachment of recreation values over the TAA's interests over many years, drastically changing the basic pattern of TAA life (Potts 1990).

Fishing and hunting laws enacted by Ontario in 1911, meant that some TAA could not hunt and fish on their own territory, especially on Lake Temagami (Laronde 1993; Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). As a result, some Teme-Augama Anishnabai people were forced to relocate, and forbidden to build small shacks. TAA members were discouraged from even cutting firewood. These regulations were considered a part of "managing" the Temagami Forest Reserve (Laronde 1997; Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). In the early 1930s, Ontario sold licenses to many non-Native trappers, and again some TAA members found they could not trap for food and livelihood (Potts 1990). In 1939 TAA members were told that they had to acquire licenses to trap and hunt, and trapping areas were decreased in size. In 1945, many WWII veterans from the Temagami area such as Walter Becker[33] and Maurice McKenzie returned home to find their trapping lines had been given to a non-Native person (Potts 2007; Becker 2007). Enforcement of licenses began in earnest in 1954; at this time, TAA members held only 14 of 23 local traplines (Laronde 1993).

Several other events caused drastic changes to Teme-Augama Anishnabai life in the 20th century. Flooding for hydroelectric development and for the timber industry to gain control of water levels, happened on several occasions. In 1912, the

[33] Becker is of the Whitebear family from Whitebear Lake.

Whitebear family settlement (Cassels/Whitebear Lake) was flooded and in 1921 Cross Lake was flooded, causing loss and hardship for the Nebanegwune family (Laronde 1993). In 1929 and the 1930s, the province went so far as to charge several Teme-Augama Anishnabai people rent for the land they were living on at Bear Island (Laronde 1993; Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). In 1948 another dam caused flooding at Diamond Lake, which destroyed the Katt (Wendaban) family settlement (Laronde 1993).

Wildlife populations in the 1920s declined because of over-hunting by non-Aboriginal people. Aboriginal trapping and hunting were no longer able to provide for families' needs. Employment could be found for TAA members in the burgeoning tourism industry as cooks, guides, etc.. There was also employment in fire towers and in fire fighting. Many TAA members acted as canoe and fishing guides. Hodgins and Benidickson concluded that while seasonal employment in the tourism industry was helpful for TAA members, it was "modest compensation…for the dislocation they had experienced" (152). Grey Owl (Archie Belaney) wrote that guides were given much respect in the early days, but that as time went on, they were no longer considered companions but "lackeys" (Belaney in Hodgins and Benidickson, 151). Class and racial differences marked the clear distinction between guide and client, and negatively affected Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relationships in the area.

Other venues, which encouraged positive social relations, formed on the Lake. Many TAA people worked in youth camping and the tourist lodges which also led to a number of inter-racial friendships and families in the area (Hodgins 2007). In the

1930s, several more youth camps opened in Temagami, including Camp Wabun, Camp Wanapitei and Camp Northwoods, which are still operating today (Hodgins and Irvine 1992). The steamboat which transported Teme-Augama Anishnabai people, lake residents, cottagers, visitors and youth campers and staff, helped to build a sense of community. Bear Island square dances and the bar at Manitou Lodge were also meeting places. While the summer camps still persist in supporting these relationships, many opportunities have passed with time. The steamboat company ceased operating in the 1960s (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989).

Throughout the early 20th century, Temagami became increasingly known in recreation and tourism literature as an ideal travel destination. It began to be depicted as the ultimate Canadian wilderness and recreationists and tourists visiting the area increased (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). After youth camps, lodges, cottages and homes had been established in Temagami, an informal agreement developed with the timber industry during the 1930s. It was agreed that cutting would not happen along the shoreline of Lake Temagami, up to the nearest height of land. This is called the Skyline Reserve. Later on, a similar agreement called the Shoreline Reserve, was included because of pressure from canoeists and youth canoe camps. This agreement established that cutting would not happen up to 100 or 200 feet from the shore of lakes in the interior. Both of these agreements have since been formalized into Forest Management Plans (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). These reserves protected the visual and aesthetic experience for visitors and residents, but have ignored the human rights issue as they pertain to the Teme-Augama Anishnabai personal use (D. McKenzie 2007)

Recreation in the area increased drastically in the period after the Second World War for two reasons: a) the publicly owned Ontario Northland took over the steamboat lines, heavily promoting tourism to the area and b) the Ferguson Highway (Highway 11) was paved and upgraded just as car ownership in the province was increasing. This also led to an increase in the influence of the recreation interests on land-management decisions in the area. They fought for environmental regulations to control water siltation as well as interference and inconvenience by log floats (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). Flooding and fluctuating water levels also became issues with recreationists because of the dams built by the timber industry. Tensions began to develop between centre-lake recreationists-those who cottaged or stayed in lodges near the centre of the Lake and peripheral cottager and canoeists –those who spent time on the remote parts of Lake Temagami and in the lakes and rivers in the interior. These tensions about where development should happen, remain to this day (Hodgins 2007).

The 1950s was the height of sawlog lumbering in the Temagami forest. By the 1960s, chainsaws, mechanized harvesters and permanent logging roads increased the pace of cutting dramatically (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). Tree planting did not happen at a pace that was quick enough to replace lost stands (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). Hodgins (1990) argues that since the 1960s, the Ministry of Natural Resources and its precursor, the Department of Lands and Forests, have failed in their timber management objectives. They caved in to pressure by the lobby of the logging industry and short-term economic trends, and allowed more cutting than the

area could withstand. Many of the logging roads being built to support this extraction were paid for by the Ministry of Natural Resources.

In the late 1960s logging roads were penetrating deeper into the roadless areas to reach pine that had never been logged (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). The Johns-Manville company began operating in the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan*, and drastically changed cutting practices. They introduced summer cutting, the use of heavy equipment, clear-cutting and using permanent access roads to transport logs. In 1964 they extended their logging road (then called the Johns-Manville road) north and west through a remote area near the north end of Lake Temagami. This road created a controversy with recreationists and environmentalists about the impact of the increased access to isolated lakes, because of its permanent quality (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). In 1976 the MNR upgraded the road and it became the responsibility of William Milne and Sons Lumber Company. It became known as the Red Squirrel Road, as it passed through Red Squirrel Lake before running nearby to Sandy Inlet[34], one of the northern bays of Lake Temagami (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). Whereas Johns-Manville had been cutting poplar and jack pine, Milne was using the road to cut white pine, the most treasured tree for both the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and canoeists and youth campers. In the 1960s, recreation-based groups had begun to protest the pace of the cutting and road building.

At the same time, these roads were allowing non-Aboriginal hunters access to Teme-Augama Anishnabai lands and cabins. Many were ransacked or robbed. TAA

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[34] Sandy Inlet is the site of Camp Wanapitei. Bruce Hodgins is the Director of the Camp's Board and a former Camp Director.

trapping licenses were being given away to non-Aboriginal trappers[35] and they had to fight to retain access to their trapping grounds (Potts 2007). A management plan, called the Lake Temagami Plan (1973) was established, which set out to manage the diverging interests in the area. However, it did not do anything to temper the logging road building or clear-cutting that began to seriously alarm Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists. By 1988 when the Red Squirrel Road controversy began, there was little red and white pine left to cut in the Temagami area/n'Daki Menan (Hodgins 1990; 2008).

While conflict among resource users and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai had occurred on a small-scale leading up to the early 1970s, this would soon change. The TAA and environmentalists began to develop a stronger, louder and more determined voice that led them into the events that became nationally known in the 1970s and 1980s.

The 1970s and beyond: Logging and Land Rights Emerge as Leading Issues

Lead-up

In the 1970s, both the Temagami First Nation and non-Aboriginal environmentalists began to be major political players in the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan*. The issue that prompted this emergence was a proposal to build a major resort on *Chi-Bai-Gin*/Maple Mountain in 1972 (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989).

[35] This happened because there was an overlap of the service areas between the North Bay and the Temagami Department of Lands and Forests offices. When this overlap led to two licenses being issued to different people for the same area, Teme-Augama Anishnabai persons often lost their licenses. This happened to Chief Gary Potts' late brother Brian Potts (Potts 2007).

The Temagami Lakes Association's (TLA) general meeting saw its members from both the cottaging and the youth camp communities gathering in 1973 to discuss the resort proposal. Conservative MPP Ed Havrot spoke to the TLA about the issue. Many in attendance, called "new environmentalists" by Hodgins and Benidickson (1989), criticized the project as being a violation of a recently released planning document, and as causing environmental destruction to the area. Havrot challenged the cottagers, saying that they were merely "absentee southerners intent on telling northerners how to run their own affairs" (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989, 254). Hodgins and Benidickson continue:

> Havrot had not recognized in his audience Gary Potts, the newly elected chief of the Temagami band, who rose to reply. Potts calmly informed Havrot that he had no doubt about his own status as a northerner, that he vehemently opposed the resort project, and that he would work unceasingly to have it stopped. Furthermore, he reminded his listeners, as so many of his predecessors had done before, that the Temagami Indians had never surrendered their aboriginal title to the land.
> (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989, 254)

The reason for including this lengthy quote in this section, is that it is a moment which represents a shift in the history of *n'Daki Menan*/the Temagami area and is a foreshadow of events to come. In 1971, Bear Island had finally been designated as a reserve, after one hundred years of insistence from the Temagami First Nation. The reserve was about 1% of the originally designated reserve, surveyed in 1884[36] (Hodgins 2007; Laronde 1993). In 1972, Gary Potts, in his early twenties, had just been elected Chief. Havrot had not recognized Potts, but soon he

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[36] The originally surveyed reserve was approximately 100 square miles, at Austin Bay, in the south end of Lake Temagami. This included the water and about 80 islands of the South Arm, Portage Bay, Cross Bay, High Rock Island and the Denedus Islands at the mouth of Shiningwood Bay (Potts 2009). The Bear Island Reserve, in a separate location, was created in 1971 and is 1 square mile.

would get used to this emerging leader's presence in politics and the media. Potts would follow through on his words, and dedicate his career to seeking justice for the Teme-Augama Anishnabai (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). During this period, the Temagami First Nation secured federal funding for local improvements (1972), assumed the responsibility of the Indian Agent (1974), adopted a new constitution, and created a new organization with their original name, the Teme-Augama Anishnabai (1978). In 1971 the Hudson's Bay post also closed and was soon taken over by Band members as a basic food store (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989).

In 1971, several young, environmentally-minded individuals were elected into key positions in The Temagami Lakes Association (TLA). They began to work on new projects such as acid rain, road access and air pollution[37] (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). Members of the TLA as well as leaders from several youth camps[38], formed a spin-off group, The Save Maple Mountain Committee (SMMC), which lobbied politicians, ran an advertising campaign, mobilized mainstream media and actively opposed the building of roads (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989).

However, it was the efforts of the Temagami First Nation, which stopped the proposal. Chief Potts and lawyer Bruce Clark had land cautions[39] put on the 10,000 square kilometers of land that represented their claim to *n'Daki Menan.* This was a unique claim which prevented any new commercial development, the sale of Crown

[37] Though environmentalism in the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan* began with the Lake Temagami cottagers through the TLA, the backcountry canoeist and youth camps lobbyists later developed into the more significant environmental players (Hodgins 2009). They also tended to have good relations with the TAA/TFN.

[38] People associated with Camp Wanapitei, Camp Wabikon, Camp Wabun, Camp Keewaydin and some former Camp Temagami staff were involved with SMMC.

[39] Jamie Lawson (1998) explains the purpose of land cautions: "Land cautions normally notify registered owners and potential buyers that land-registry entries are in dispute. Only after filing a land caution does a cautioner have to justify the claim. Until that is legally resolved, the cautioner retains a state-enforced veto over land transfers." (pg. 193)

land, or new mining from occurring on the caution area, though it did not prevent logging (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). The Maple Mountain resort proposal was suspended by these cautions.

In 1978, the Attorney General of Ontario launched legal proceedings against the Teme-Augama Anishnabai in an attempt to have the land cautions removed. The Teme-Augama Anishnabai began preparing historical and anthropological evidence to support their position in court. Funding from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DIAND) would not support negotiations and court at the same time. So, when negotiations started in 1980s with the provincial and federal governments, the court case was suspended (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). These negotiations broke down on "bad faith" when two non-Status Teme-Augama Anishnabai were charged with fishing with a gill net (Laronde 2007; D. McKenzie 2007). When negotiations broke off, the court case resumed in 1982.

The court case was one of the most exhaustive, lengthy and expensive of any Aboriginal title cases in Canada (Dickason 1997). The TAA claimed that they had Aboriginal title to the land, under the terms of the Royal Proclamation of 1763. They argued that they had been a distinct community for thousands of years, especially before the Royal Proclamation of 1763. The Crown, on the other hand, claimed that the Teme-Augama Anishnabai were a "post-band" that had emerged around the Hudson's Bay company post, only after 1850. Justice Steele ruled in 1984 that the TAA's Aboriginal rights were temporary, not proprietary (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). This meant that they could use the land for hunting, fishing, gathering, etc. but not for any uses that did not exist before 1763, nor could they use the land for mining,

or use the trees for building homes (Laronde 1997). Further, he argued that Aboriginal rights "can be extinguished by treaty, legislation or administrative acts" at the pleasure of the Crown (Ontario Supreme Court 1984, 63). The decision was a blow to the Teme-Augama Anishnabai.

They appealed the decision four days later. After a provincial government change in May 1985, David Peterson's Liberals assumed control of Queen's Park. Attorney General and Minister responsible for the Ontario Native Affairs Directorate, Ian Scott prepared an out-of-court offer for the Teme-Augama Anishnabai. Scott's offer included $30 million in land, capital and other assets, and was presented in September 1986. This proposal led to new negotiations. These negotiations failed in February, 1987 and preparations for the Court of Appeal resumed (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989).

In 1978, the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR) had begun considering the possibility of a provincial park in the area surrounding *Chi-Bai-Gin*/Maple Mountain. The Save Maple Mountain Committee changed its name to the Alliance for the Lady Evelyn Wilderness (ALEW). The ALEW released a study about the ecological sensitivity and significance of the area and announced its support of the MNR's proposal (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). The Lady Evelyn Wild River Park had been created in 1973, but covered only a small strip of land on either side of the river (Ottertooth.com 2009). The area of the proposed new park would be almost 300 square miles (only 1/4 of the originally proposed area) and would be "wilderness class", which means no logging would be allowed in the park's

boundaries. It would incorporate the smaller Wild River Park into its larger size. The park was formally announced in June1982 by the Minster of Natural Resources.

When the Lady Evelyn-Smoothwater Provincial Park was created, "wilderness and the aboriginal presence were now inextricably linked" (Hodgins 1998, 11; Hodgins 2003, 25). The park was created in response to environmentalists' requests to create spaces to canoe in for the increasing visitor population in Temagami. In 1985, the much smaller Makobe Grays River provincial park was created, along the river, which runs north into Elk Lake (Ottertooth.com 2009). It is important to note that the Teme-Augama Anishnabai were not consulted about the creation of the Lady Evelyn Smoothwater park. This is an early case of the political powers of "environmentalism," interfering with TAA territorial integrity Mary Laronde writes that in 1983:

> Ontario escalate(d) its administrative and legislative actions on the Teme-Augama Anishnabai lands. It create[d] the Temagami Planning Area and the Lady Evelyn-Smoothwater Provincial park. (1993, 104)

In an interview, Teme-Augama Anishnabai member Peter McMillen suggested that it was not the park itself that Teme-Augama Anishnabai people were opposed to, but the fact that the decision was made by the government, without their consultation (McMillen 2009). In fact, in his opinion, any form of protection was better than nothing, so he calls the 1982 decision, "a good thing, as bad things go." (McMillen 2009)

Red Squirrel Road Extension

In November of 1986, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) listed Temagami's Lady Evelyn Smoothwater Provincial Park on its list of threatened areas, an action that led to the larger Temagami area becoming a national news item (Thorpe 2008). Famous Canadians including Margaret Atwood, Robert Bateman and Timothy Findley lent their support to the logging protests, increasing the issue's publicity even more. The Temagami issue began to appear in national newspapers. The Temagami Wilderness Society formed in 1986[40] and began to take action against the logging. The Teme-Augama Anishnabai's land rights issues began to be heard by the media. Thus the stage was set for the dramatic events of the next three years, which were witnessed by the entire country. This section outlines these happenings in detail.

William Milne and Sons was a lumber company that had been operating in the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan* since the beginning of the 20th century. They operated a sawmill north of the (then) village of Temagami, which employed 150 people in 1988 (Future 1988). They held a license to log an area of old growth forest called the Wakimika Triangle, one of the few remaining old growth stands in *n'Daki Menan*/the Temagami area. In order to access this section, the Red Squirrel Road needed to be extended, so it would link up to other roads. The road extension ran westward from Sharp Rock Inlet into the interior of the Diamond Lake/Obabika Lake area. The Ontario MNR took on this responsibility, as is usually done for this type of project. In 1984, the path of the road was cleared (Ottertooth.com 2009). The 1987

[40] Members of the Save Maple Mountain Committee (SMMC) and the Alliance for the Lady Evelyn Wilderness (ALEW) were key founding members.

environmental assessment of the road considered only the effects of the road right-of-way, and not of the logging that it was enabling (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). In fact, the agency which wrote the environmental assessment, refused to attach their name to the report because they claim that the MNR altered the report (Buck 1989; TWS 1989d). Environmentalists in the area and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai were vehemently opposed to the building of the road.

In 1987, the Ontario government began the first of a series of unsuccessful efforts to resolve this issue calmly. They appointed Laurentian University president John Daniel to lead a citizen's committee, called the Temagami Area Working Group. The group consisted of industry representatives, anglers and hunters, municipal leaders, cottagers and conservationists, but included no Teme-Augama Anishnabai representatives. The group was to report to the Minister of Natural Resources about land-use issues, such as the TWS wildlands reserve proposal and the road extension proposals[41]. There was little agreement among the member's interests and the committee could not agree. When John Daniel wrote his own report on the matter in 1988, many did not sign it (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989).

In the spring of 1988, Jim Bradley, the Ontario Minister of the Environment, signed an order under the environmental assessment act, which allowed the MNR to begin the construction of the Red Squirrel Road (RSR) extension[42] (McNab 2003). McNab suggests that this decision was a major political blunder, attributing it to Bradley's inexperience, and his being swayed by the MNR and the agency's

[41] Another logging road, coming from River Valley from the south, was also being proposed. It was named the Goulard Rd., after the logging company hoping to use it.

[42] He also announced the creation of three more provincial parks, on the Obabika River, the Sturgeon River, and Solace Provincial Park, which is attached to the southwestern tip of Lady Evelyn-Smoothwater park (Ottertooth.com 2009).

institutional racism. McNab also suggests that it was intended as a backstabbing gesture towards Ian Scott, the Attorney General and Minister responsible for Native Affairs, who was out-of-town when the order passed through Cabinet (2003). However Brian Back, who had a source within Cabinet's management committee explained that in reality, Bradley[43] was compelled by David Petersen to sign the order. Back says that Petersen was swayed by Rene Fontaine the only northerner within Cabinet, who was very pro-logging (2010). Regardless of the internal politics of the signing of the order, both the First Nation and environmentalists were spurred into action by this decision.

The Teme-Augama Anishnabai decided in a Tribal Council to blockade the road right-of-way, beginning June 1st, 1988 (Potts 2007). This blockade lasted six months. Media coverage meant that the TAA's land rights issue began to be included in reports about the logging issue (Thorpe 2008). Many TAA memebrs participated in the 1988 blockade and no one was arrested. The road had not yet been built, so what they were doing was not illegal (McNab 2003). The blockade ended when Ian Scott pushed for an injunction, which came through on December 1st, 1988. The injunction also stopped construction of the road until the TAA's land rights issue was heard by the Ontario Court of Appeal (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989).

Frustrated by the impact of construction delays, forestry workers and local municipal councillors organized a blockade of another road, the Temagami Access Road on the first weekend of September, 1988. Called "the mine road," this publicly owned road is the main access point for Bear Islanders, cottagers and Lake Temagami residents and is especially busy on the Labour Day weekend (Hodgins and

[43] Back suggests that Bradley was in fact allied with Scott.

Benidickson 1989). Their employment fears were warranted, as William Milne and Sons was forced into receivership when their loans from Scotia Bank were called in on December 1st, 1988 (Future 1988; Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). Though many locals attribute this closure to the protests, others suggest that only a few more years of cutting were left before the whole area would have been logged of its red and white pine (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). Brian Back suggests that the closure had another reason. According to Back, Milne had "become heavily indebted by the poorly timed and badly managed construction of its small-log mill in the 1970s. Its financial situation was always tentative." (2010)

On February 27th, 1989, the Ontario Court of Appeal rejected the TAA's position in court. It is important to note that the decision did not address Aboriginal title, as Steele had in 1984. The Court assumed that the Teme-Augama Anishnabai held rights over at least some part of the TAA's homeland (*N'Daki Menan).* The Court of Appeal found the following grounds for their decision: a) the TAA were party to the treaty, their land having been signed over by Chief Tagawinini, leader of a small band 60 km southwest of Bear Island, on Lake Wanapitei, b) if not, that they had adhered to the treaty by accepting treaty monies and benefits, such as the reserve on Bear Island, c) if not, then the Crown had unilateral power that extinguished the TAA's title rights because they lived in the area covered by The Robinson-Huron Treaty (McNeil 1990).

Following the Ontario Court of Appeal decision, Ian Scott and the Ontario Native Affairs Directorate (ONAD) presented the Teme-Augama Anishnabai with a settlement offer. According to David McNab, who prepared the offer, it was "much

richer, at least double, the 1986 offer" (McNab 2003, 40). Once again, the TAA rejected the offer, as they had plans to appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada. McNab believes that these rejections were very powerful gestures, which allowed the TAA to "(hold) the government captive" (McNab 2003, 40). On March 28th, the TAA held a one-day blockade on a private logging road, named for the Goulard mill "to serve notice to the Ontario government that the status quo and the devastation of the land by clear-cut logging will not be tolerated." (Laronde 1993)

On their part, the Temagami Wilderness Society in 1989 launched a lawsuit against the Ontario government for an improper environmental assessment (TWS 1989d). They held back from acting until their day in court. In March 1989, the TWS received a temporary Court Order, preventing the MNR from building the RSR extension (TWS 1989a). The TWS lost their ongoing court challenge of the RSR extension in April. While they waited for their appeal to be considered, they blockaded the Goulard logging road on June 5-7th, and eleven people were arrested. The Goulard brothers decided to shut down their construction crews, and let the provincial government call the shots. This diffused the situation, and the blockade was removed.

In February 1989, the Temagami Wilderness Society released its study of old growth pine forests, called the Tall Pines Project. The study found that the Temagami old growth was one of the last stands in North America and had unique ecological importance. The TWS appeal was denied by the court in July, and they began preparations for a "Red Squirrel Camp-In" in September, although they had no idea if they would receive many supporters (TWS 1989b; Chornook 1992; 2008). They

announced that a blockade would be mounted the day after the camp-in, if construction continued. Throughout the summer of 1989, they held large demonstrations and benefit concerts in Toronto.

The Blockades

Construction on the Red Squirrel Road extension resumed, and on September 18th, the TWS launched their blockade. They were camped in a roadless area, at nearby Lake Wakimika, and each day those willing to be arrested hiked to the blockade. The protest happened on the right-of-way of the RSR extension, where construction was happening between Diamond and Wakimika Lakes, about 10 km west of Lake Temagami (TWS 1989b). Their campsite was a day's canoe trip from the road. Two hundred people had attended their camp-in, and new people arrived every day. The blockaders used creative tactics such as locking themselves to bulldozers and one woman spent 13 days living in a tree. Two leaders, Brian Back and Cocky Ingwersen were buried up to their heads in the ground, in the way of construction machines. The blockaders were a diverse group, and one hundred and ten people were arrested, including several from northern Ontario and then NDP opposition leader Bob Rae (TWS 1990a). Most of those arrested were from southern Ontario. Many were given $500 fines or the option of 20 days in jail, as well as a criminal record (TWS 1990b).

On November 1st, 1989, the TAA sent eviction notices to the RSR extension construction company (Carman Construction), the Ministry of Natural Resources and

the Temagami Wilderness Society (Henton 1989). The TWS stopped their blockade on November 10th. They were the only group that heeded the TAA's notice.

On November 11th, 1989, the Teme-Augama Anishnabai set up a blockade on a completed section of the Red Squirrel Road, inland from Sandy Inlet. The blockade happened at this time because the TAA had been granted an appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada in October. This meant that they wouldn't be forced into negotiations, and could defend their homeland without repercussions. The blockade would also garner media attention and give them power if and when negotiations began. The Teme-Augama Anishnabai sought an injunction against the MNR to stop the construction of the RSR extension. When these efforts failed, they held a community meeting and decided to go out on a blockade (Potts 2007).

The blockade was highly publicized and prevented construction each morning as people sat on the road and then were arrested. Two hundred and twenty-seven people were arrested in all. None were charged or faced fines unless they were arrested twice (McNab 2003). Many people credit the leadership of Gary Potts as crucial for the success of the blockade. One Anishnabai woman states: "you have to give Gary Potts credit for the way that he conducted the blockade." Bruce Hodgins also compliments Potts for leading a "carefully orchestrated" blockade and while strategically very sound, he also maintained "excellent relations" with the Ontario Provincial Police (Hodgins 2003a). Although violence had been considered by the TAA Council, many women objected to these tactics, and the leadership followed their direction (Potts 2007). Participants spoke of the incredibly peaceful and respectful nature that the blockade was able to maintain.

The TAA blockade ended on December 10th, when Ontario received an Injunction, which would have led to serious criminal charges for anyone arrested. According to an environmentalist, the MNR distinctly told the TAA on Dec. 10th that the road had been completed. This was one of the reasons that the TAA agreed to take down their blockade. However, it was not complete and the MNR had been working for most of December on getting an amendment to the terms and conditions of the road construction. The amendment was granted, and construction resumed for a few days in the spring. Several months later, an environmentalist found out about this lie that had been told to the TAA. . When she confronted the MNR about this deception, a representative, called John Kendrick responded: "You didn't want them to be out over Christmas did you?"

These two blockades, because of their length and the number of arrestees, are a large component of the collective memories of all participants. Both blockades helped to develop a sense of communal power[44], a sense of community, and a sense of family for many of the long-term participants. Members from both groups spoke of the incredible feeling of empowerment that emerged as people offered themselves up to the team effort. The contributions were not just physical, as in food and supplies, but emotional and spiritual.

Kay Chornook is a non-Aboriginal environmentalist who was on the Temagami Wilderness Society board during the blockades. She writes that the feeling of community on the TWS blockade was hard-earned, developed through

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[44] Communal power is the strength, which emerges from group collaboration and shared goals. It is contrasted by "power-over" which means the authority to tell someone what to do. It is similar to the "power-within" to access an individual's own creative processes, and influence others by example. See Fitzmaurice 2005; Starhawk 2004.

people donating boats, tents, food and by sharing "chores as well as our feelings" (1992, 120). Hap and Trudy Wilson donated the use of their lodge, Smoothwater, as the blockade's communication centre, resources and supplies. While some people stayed at the blockade for a short while, others gave up jobs, relationships and other commitments to show their dedication to stopping the logging in the old growth forest (Chornook 1992). Chornook states that the blockade was a "life-changing experience" and "went beyond what any of us (the TWS Board) had envisioned" (1992, 118-120). Participants developed strong friendships, learned insights and developed their personal courage. Chornook states: "life had never been so real. We had laughed and sung and danced and talked and dreamt and argued and walked; we had shared victory and mourned defeat." (1992, 126)

Chornook also describes the TWS blockaders' increasing awareness of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai. She writes:

> we were also trying to come to terms with our relationship with the Teme-Augama Anishnabai, the Deep Water People, on whose land we were squatting. In our desire to support them in their struggle for justice, we were forced to recognize our differing perspectives and learn to demonstrate respect for their judgments. (1992, 122)

During the TWS blockade, there was some communication between the organizers of the blockade and the TAA. Kay Chornook discusses a phone conversation she had with Chief Gary Potts during their blockade, which ended with Gary deciding to take a chance and trust her (Chornook 2008). There were some TAA members who attended the TWS camp-in and blockade. A few TAA members were arrested in this blockade. Likewise, there were many non-Aboriginals and non-Aboriginal environmentalists involved in the TAA blockade. Many Trent students and faculty

and Camp Wanapitei staff, including Carol and Bruce Hodgins, were arrested on the TAA blockade. In fact, because of the invitation of the Hodgins' and Peter McMillen[45], the TAA's blockade headquarters was at Camp Wanapitei, which was near the blockade. The TWS showed their respect for Teme-Augama Anishnabai by taking down their blockade when they were asked.

A sense of community and a sense of family developed on both blockades, as everybody helped out as they could. On the Teme-Augama Anishnabai blockade, Mary Laronde worked at the Band office, co-ordinating communication and contacting media (Laronde 2007). Alex Paul (who much later became Chief) remembers helping out on the blockade as a youth. He fished for the group's food and shot some nearby bears that might have posed a problem (Paul 2007). Supporters came from Big Trout Lake First Nation, the Native Women's Association of Canada, the University of Guelph and Trent University. Those who didn't get arrested helped out in other ways. George Mathias, the owner of a contracting company based on Bear Island bought everybody Kentucky Fried Chicken while people were waiting to be processed after being arrested (Twain 2007). June Twain writes:

> This joy was shared by all the people from our community who were involved with the blockade...This was something major that would affect our lives and our future generations. I saw...caring, commitment, determination, unity, and putting aside our differences in feelings. Spiritually we were very strong, joining hands together, praying, and sharing sweet grass ceremonies and tobacco offering which showed that we were as a nation of people. (Twain 2003, 17)

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[45] Peter McMillen is a Teme-Augama Anishnabai member who grew up in the United States, and spend many years working in Temagami at Camp Keewaydin and Camp Wanapitei. He was a TFN councillour at one point and a member of the Wendaban Stewardship Authority, appointed by Gary Potts.

As Twain says, the TAA blockade was a very emotional, collective experience. Prior to the blockade, Doug McKenzie, who was the Second Chief of the Temagami First Nation in the 1990s, understood that the action was a "public relations thing." But, he states, "somewhere between the meeting hall and getting out on the land, sleeping out in the bush a couple of days, it starts to become no longer a public relations thing, it becomes a fight for the land." (D. McKenzie 2007) One Teme-Augama Anishnabai member explains their purpose was "for a common goal to ensure that our children have a landbase and that our children and all children will have fresh water and be able to experience old growth forest". Indeed, some TAA teenagers felt strongly about the cause and were arrested with their parents, such as Michelle Twain (Twain 2007).

Others speak to the cultural and spiritual element of the blockade that Twain writes about. Communication over the radio often happened in Anishnabemowin between Alex Paul's' father and a woman from the Nipissing reserve (Paul 2007). One Teme-Augama Anishnabai member speaks about interventions on the part of the spirit world, which served to scare the road construction workers. The workers saw a large creature crossing the road one day, and many reported their equipment was falling apart, though not from sabotage (Anonymous 2007).

By April 1990, the RSR extension had been completed. However, the political efforts of these blockaders were not in vain. McNab argues that the political blundering of this issue, and its high profile in the media, had such an impact that it led, in part, to the defeat of the Liberals in the fall of 1990 (2003). Meanwhile,

several parts of the road extension were washed out in the spring rains and it was unfit for use. It has never been used.

The MOU, the Supreme Court of Canada and the Aftermath

The TAA mounted a day-long blockade on the completed Red Squirrel Road extension on April 7th, 1990. Because the road was complete, their actions were considered illegal, and those who were arrested were charged (McNab 2003). This prompted the call for a one month moratorium on logging, with which the MNR obliged. Chief Potts and Ian Scott had a meeting and an agreement was fleshed out. On April 23rd, 1990 the TAA and Ontario's Liberal government signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU). Six months later, the Liberal government was replaced by the NDP government and Premier Bob Rae.

The MOU set forth that the two agreed to negotiate towards a Treaty of Co-Existence, and held provisions for the creation of a stewardship council for the four geographic townships that contained much of the old-growth area—the Wakimika Triangle. The agreement also set forth a bilateral process, designed to allow the TAA to examine and make recommendations on existing MNR timber management plans until Treaty negotiations were complete (Laronde 1993). These measures seemed promising at first, and had some momentum from politicians. Over the years, however, the Supreme Court of Canada decision, the MNR bureaucracy, and TAA/TFN internal conflicts all seriously interfered with the ability of these initiatives to make serious changes in how the land was managed.

The bilateral foresty process between the TAA and the government had a lifespan of three years, and the TAA were able to create guidelines for the protection of cultural sites, trails and other significant places, as well as for wetlands. They were able to ask the MNR pointed questions about the disjuncture between policy and practice, and about the MNR's outdated information (Laronde 1993). The TAA were able to follow through with the process by monitoring timber cuts; however, their efforts towards implementing wetlands and cultural heritage guidelines were soon ignored by the MNR because of fear of "backlash" from the logging industry (Laronde 1997, 99).

On August 15th, 1991 the Supreme Court of Canada released its judgment on the Teme-Augama Anishnabai's claim to *n'Daki Menan.* The Supreme Court upheld the Court of Appeal's decision, claiming that the TAA had passively adhered to the Robinson-Huron Treaty. However, the Court accepted most of the TAA's version of their history, and claimed that they did hold Aboriginal title prior to the Robinson-Huron Treaty of 1850 (Supreme Court of Canada 1991). In this sense they disagreed with Steele's judgment, which found that the TAA did not hold Aboriginal title. The Supreme Court found that they had exchanged their Aboriginal title for treaty rights (Supreme Court of Canada 1991). They also ruled that the Ontario and Canadian governments had failed in their fiduciary obligations to provide lands and resources in accordance with the treaty (Hodgins 2003). These would be worked out through a negotiation process. To the TAA, this was seen as a major defeat. Their goal of one day controlling their whole homeland seemed lost.

A year later, in early 1992, the TAA announced its goals for the negotiation process, which they called their "Vision of Co-Existence". Under this plan, some lands would be under the sole stewardship of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai, while others would be under shared stewardship. These shared stewardship lands would be governed by the Ontario government, other public authorities, and neighbouring communities (Benidickson 1996). Six months later, the government responded, accepting the concepts of shared and sole stewardship and adding some provisions of their own. An agreement was worked out by August 1993. The TAA were to receive 115 square miles of land for their exclusive use, including financial compensation and economic development measures. The TAA would co-manage all of the wilderness and waterway parks in the region as well as about 500 square miles centered on Lake Temagami. They would be informed about Crown land decisions, and would be given some participation in these (Benidickson 1996).

In the November 1993 ratification vote, the agreement was approved by the majority of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai voters, but was rejected by the Temagami First Nation electorate. This caused a rift to deepen between the TAA and the TFN. The TAA had split from the TFN in 1990, and had moved their offices to an island near the Temagami Access Road, in the building of the old Manitou lodge. Doug McKenzie suspects that this ratification vote meant that Bear Islanders felt that they were losing control of their political voice. They did not want people living off of the island to control their political issues. After the failed ratification vote, Gary Potts remained the Chief of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai, but a new Chief took over the Temagami First Nation. Eventually a new Chief took over leadership of the TAA as

well, and Gary seemed to have retired. However, he re-emerged for a brief stint as Chief from June 2008 to July 2009.

In terms of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai/environmentalist relationship, the shared stewardship council that was outlined in the MOU was the most significant initiative. The group became known as the Wendaban Stewardship Authority (WSA), and consisted of six TAA representatives of diverse interests and six members appointed by Ontario to represent the different local stakeholders. The group's terms-of-reference were based on the TAA's principles of stewardship, sustained life, co-existence and sustainable development (Laronde 2007). There were representatives on the council from environmental groups, such as the Temagami Wilderness Society and the Association for the Youth Camps on Lake Temagami (AYCTL). Bruce Hodgins was a key member from the Ontario government appointees. There was also a representative from logging, from mining and from the Temagami municipal government. TAA members, TFN members and those with a variety of experience with the land represented the diversity amongst the Aboriginal members.

The WSA produced a report, which outlined a multiple-use strategy. This meant that road and boat access, resource extraction, fish and wildlife harvesting, cottaging, recreation and other uses happened in specific zones. Cutting licenses would be given out, with Teme-Augama Anishnabai members getting preference (Benidickson 1996). Many participants felt that the Ministry of Natural Resources did not accept the decisions in the WSA's 1994 report, and the WSA's funding was cut in 1995. Due to its use of consensus-based decision-making, the WSA allowed for strong relationships to develop between many sides of the issues. While the

impact of the council on land management decisions in the area is debated, it seems that the council had a positive influence on developing Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relationships in the area (Hodgins 2003). This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6: Personal Relationships.

The Temagami Wilderness Society reacted to the TAA-Ontario Memorandum of Understanding with the following headline: "Temagami has not been saved!" (TWS 1990c, 1) They argue that while the agreement with the TAA might appear to have solved the forestry issues in the area, that it had in fact made it worse. Under the agreement, the provincial government purchased the assets of William Milne and Sons, and the mill was closed. However, the Roger Fryer corporate group[46] was given a 20,000-hectare license and 9 other timber licenses were given in the area. Milne employees were not given much of a severance package, while shareholders were bought out of debt for a total of $5 million (TWS 1990c). However, once the NDP government was elected, the Temagami Wilderness Society's reason for being dried up. During the NDP's four years in power, no new timber cutting rights or road permits were issued.

In 1991, the TWS disbanded. This was in accordance with a TWS promise to the TAA that they would dissolve because "as we were not the land managers of the future" (Back 2010). At the same time, a new organization called Earthroots emerged. There was some membership overlap between the two groups. Earthroots began work on wilderness issues throughout Ontario and Quebec, and was more

[46] A company based out of Field, Ontario, a small town south of Lake Temagami on the Sturgeon River.

firmly based in Toronto. In the 1990s, Earthroots focused on the southeastern part of the Temagami area, including the White Bear old growth forest. They held a blockade in 1996 at Owain Lake. Earthroots has also been involved with lawsuits against the Ministry of Natural Resources for illegally issuing logging permits, and has sought environmental assessments for the area's forest management plans (Ottertooth.com 2009).

Other environmental groups have been active in the area. Throughout the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, Northwatch, based out of North Bay and the Ontario Wildlands League based out of Toronto were important, though less vocal players in the Temagami issues. The local Friends of Temagami have run a number of initiatives in the area since they started in 1995. They have built trails throughout the area, including through the old growth forest, to encourage visitors and awareness (Ottertooth.com 2009).

In July 1995, the conservative Harris government came into power, and announced that Temagami was "open for business." The local MNR office was closed and a new, timber-industry friendly regime took over the Ministry, under Ernie Eves. This government was able to have the TAA's twenty-year-old land cautions lifted in court a few months after taking power. Most of the WSA's recommendations were subsumed under the broader Temagami Comprehensive Planning Council (CPC). The TAA were offered one seat on this council, but soon boycotted the process because of a lack of influence, and "because we do not recognize Ontario's jurisdiction on our lands" (Laronde 1997, 92). The CPC went on without the TAA.

The Comprehensive Planning Council announced its plan in 1996, called the Temagami Land Use Plan (TLUP). Nine more conservation reserves in the area were announced, but new timber cutting permits for the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan* were also issued (Ottertooth.com 2009). Mineral staking was opened in the area in 1996. Under the Lands for Life process, the Temagami River Provincial Park was announced, and the Sturgeon River Provincial Park was extended (Ottertooth.com 2009).

The TLUP continues to be revisited often, and a Local Citizen's Committee gives input to the area's Forest Management Plan. In 2004, the Temagami Integrated Planning process began to better integrate the management of the five provincial parks, the eight conservation reserves, and the crown land in the area. The heated battles of the 1980s that were fought on blockades and in the media have changed into lively debates around board tables, resulting in collaboration and concessions among various resource users.

In 1993, 149 square miles on the eastern shore of Lake Temagami was set aside, intended to become Teme-Augama Anishnabai land once negotiations were completed. However, when the agreement was not ratified by the TFN in 1993, momentum for negotiations died. It took until 2000 for negotiations to begin again. Under the new negotiations the TAA would gain a new community site at Shiningwood Bay, 127 square miles of land, a $4-million economic development package and $20 million in compensation (Ottertooth.com 2009). For the next eight years, negotiations continued very slowly. Several community votes challenged the negotiations, but they were always approved to continue. In June 2008, Gary Potts

was elected Chief in a tight race, and since then the Joint Council has dissolved, thus halting negotiations. The Joint Council has been re-instated in early 2010.

It is well past the time when Temagami/*n'Daki Menan* was at the centre of the national media. Those involved in resource and land use planning in the area continue to work towards reaching locally created land-use solutions. For many, the blockades, the crowds and the attention are a distant memory. For others it is the most important part of their lives that they wish to pass on to their children. Tensions are not as intense between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists. Friendships and relationships have resulted and hostilities between the two groups have subsided. However, it is clear that the histories of the TAA and the environmentalists' efforts have often overlapped, at times contradicted and often sparked important debate. It is for this reason that this project seeks to examine these tensions, find the sources of these strengths, and try to better understand how First Nations-environmentalist relationships can be improved in the future.

Chapter Four: Stewardship Philosophies and Histories

The World Wildlife Fund Canada in their Canadian Wilderness Charter, suggest that they share common "aims and objectives" (Morrison 1997, 270) with Aboriginal people. Many conservation groups echo these sentiments. However, according to James Morrison[47], this is a "façade" (1997, 271). While the two groups have some common interests, the differences between the two are often glossed over. These differences have to do with each group's deep-seeded cultural influences. The "subsurface interests, and attitudes that continually influence communication and behaviours between individuals, organizations and nations" go unacknowledged by these groups (Ermine 2007, 198).

This difference stifles the potential for the relationship to improve. In order to understand current tensions, one must understand the "fundamental differences between [I]ndigenous and non-[I]ndigenous conceptions of nature" (Morrison 1997, 273). One way to examine these differences is to consider the history of how national and provincial parks have dispossessed Aboriginal people of land they used for occupancy or for plant and animal harvesting. Another source of this disagreement is contrasting views of wildlife and wilderness (Morrison 1997). Therefore, this chapter seeks to understand what is distinct about Teme-Augama Anishnabai people's and non-Aboriginal environmentalists' histories and stewardship philosophies.

Stewardship means the act of being responsible for and caring for the land, air and water and all that live on it. It is a word used explicitly by Teme-Augama

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[47] A Euro-Canadian, Jim Morrison was the second and longest chair of the Wendaban Stewardship Authority. At the time of his selection, he was friends with many people involved in all sides of the blockades, logging and land claim issues in *n'Daki Menan*/the Temagami area. This article is a version of a report created for the World Wildlife Fund in 1993.

Anishnabai to express their environmental philosophy. It is specifically chosen over "environmental," because of its implication that humans are in a relationship of responsibility and reciprocity towards the earth (Laronde 2007). "Stewardship philosophy" then, is the way that a group's relationship with the earth is expressed.

Understanding where these stewardship philosophies converge and diverge is important for understanding the relationships between Teme-Augama Anishnabai and locally involved environmentalists. The stewardship philosophies of both groups have an influence on the tensions and potential strength of the relationship. It is important to know each group's philosophy, as each group's behaviour was/is influenced by their understanding of the natural environment and the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan*. Further, each group's stewardship philosophy serves to illustrate the underlying worldviews that inform how they communicate, feel, and act and especially how they think.

Understanding each group's philosophy illustrates their relationship with the other, highly underrepresented parties in this thesis; the non-human world. I have no training in spiritual ecology and in discerning the land, plants, animals and spirit world's relationship with the two parties. As such, these beings remains silenced in this project[48]. Examining each groups stewardship philosophy allows at least some description and token examination of the land's role in these issues.

For both Temagami environmentalists and Teme-Augama Anishnabai, an understanding of their stewardship philosophies is complemented by examining the philosophies of the broader movements of which they are a part. As such, the

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[48] Deborah McGregor states that: "to restrict our discussion of environmental justice to relations among people results in a limited discourse." (2009, 39)

histories and philosophies of each group will be examined first from a continental, then a national (and in one case a provincial) scale, before the local group is considered, in the bulk of this chapter.

In order to understand the context from which Aboriginal advocacy and environmentalism emerge, brief histories of colonization, Eurocentrism and environmental destruction in North America, (especially Canada) will also be considered. These processes are linked in very material ways. However, there are also conceptual, cultural mechanisms in which colonialism, Eurocentrism and environmental destruction are linked. The final section of this chapter will look at how the histories and philosophies of Aboriginal peoples and environmentalists have interacted at a national scale as well as in *n'Daki Menan*/the Temagami area.

Indigenous, Anishnabai & Teme-Augama Anishnabai Stewardship Philosophies and Relationships to the Land

Indigenous stewardship philosophies are directly related to Indigenous epistemology. What a community or First Nation believes about the environment is contingent on their knowledge systems and on their worldview. Further, the methods of knowledge acquisition and transmission have an impact on one's relationship to the knowledge. *How* one knows is just as important as *what* one knows. Deborah McGregor suggests that Indigenous Knowledge can be characterized as "a process" (2009, 33). The oral tradition and time on the land are two of the most important ways

that Indigenous Knowledge[49] is transmitted. Gregory Cajete gives examples of some of the many other processes involved in acquiring and transmitting this knowledge, including: observation and experiment, meaning and understanding, models and metaphors, spirit and ceremony, dreams and visions (2000, 66-71). Deborah McGregor explains that stories and teachings are obtained from animals, plants, the moon, the stars, water, wind, the spirit world, the Creator, and from "our relationships with our ancestors" (2009, 33). Basil Johnston says that "the earth is our book" (Johnston in McGregor 2009, 33).

Teme-Augama Anishnabai people discussed in their interviews the many ways that they have come to know the land. Stories and oral tradition are ways that knowledge of the land is passed on to young people. Time spent on the land is a crucial method of transmission, as is nurturing the spiritual element of being on the land. Articulating one's relationship to the land and waters of an area through metaphor also helps to explain a community's stewardship philosophy. Indigenous worldviews influence stewardship principles, and give clues about the principles that guide human interactions with plants, animals, the earth and the skyworld. These guidelines influence land tenureship ethics, which in turn determine how these stewardship principles get articulated into colonial languages, in this case, English. This section will examine these various sources of Indigenous Knowledge, with a particular look at Anishnabai and specifically Teme-Augama Anishnabai stewardship philosophies.

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[49] Knowledge about the environment has been taken up by academia under many names: Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) (Berkes 1999), Native science (Cajete 2000) and Indigenous Knowledge (Batiste and Henderson 2000; Simpson 2004).

In Indigenous cultures, places are understood by the stories and songs about them. Examples are: "the place where the giant sleeps," or "the place where the young people ascended into the sky from the great horned butte" (LaDuke 1993, 138; Little Bear 1998, 17). These stories about the land are understood through oral history, and are passed on and kept alive through ceremony. Linda Hogan suggests that for immigrants or settlers, "it's possible to have the connectedness to the land, but it's not the land all your stories took place on, the land that all the myths come from, your ancestors." (Hogan, 2002, 138)

N'Daki Menan is the land area the Teme-Augama Anishnabai have called home for thousands of years (Potts 1998; Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). As mentioned in Chapter 2, the area is full of place names explaining the oral history of the TAA. The Teme-Augama Anishnabai are surrounded by sacred places like *Chee-Bai-Ging* (Maple Mountain), Conjuring Rock, and *Shomis* and *Kokomis* (Grandfather and Grandmother) rocks, which are offering sites (Potts 1990). Stories are passed on such as "when the shaman saw the missing people returning" (Craig McDonald[50], 2007).

A Teme-Augama Anishnabai project in the 1980s collected the oral history of many of the area's Elders, and involved visits with Elders to the places where they had lived, spiritual sites, etc. Genealogical charts were also prepared. Mary Laronde explains: "you start learning how people lived, and you start going out on the land with the Elders who actually lived (there) and can tell you so much about it,

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[50] Craig McDonald is a Euro-Canadian historian who interviewed many dozens of Teme-Augama Anishnabai Elders over several decades. He created a large, detailed map of the area (pre-flooding) that identifies the *nastawgan*, the waterways, routes and trails of the area, using the Anishnabemowin place names.

everything about it, even though they hadn't been there for 30 years." (2007) The project was able to find more than 150 cultural/heritage sites on *n'Daki Menan*, and document them with computer mapping software. Protection of these sites has been incorporated into the area's Forest Management Plans, in consultation with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (Gladu et al. 2003).

There is a tendency among adversarial non-Aboriginal people to dismiss First Nations' claim to a spiritual connection to land. They might suggest that where Aboriginal people's ancestors might have had a strong connection to land, contemporary First Nations do not have this connection, and hence their rights to land are less valid. These accusations are inaccurate because they are a blanket statement about so many diverse peoples, all with varying relationships to the traditional elements of their cultures. The project involving Elders organized by Mary Laronde and Jane Becker also disproves these accusations. Laronde explains:

> [many] First Nations people...[have] lost the connection to the land. We got it back, because we worked with those Elders and we went there with them. And we got the results of these studies. And it came alive again, this great connection to the land....It was beautiful. It was a wonderful experience. (Laronde 2007)

This project was a way to ensure that the connection to the land and to Anishnabai culture was passed down through the generations.

Teme-Augama Anishnabai environmental knowledge comes from the land. This is because the land knows what it needs to sustain itself. Gary Potts says: "the land is the boss" (1992, 36). The land teaches Teme-Augama Anishnabai what it needs, as the land is "our institution" (Potts 2007). Jeremy Shute's M.A. study found that in general, the TAA members of the Wendaban Stewardship Authority had a

more detailed knowledge of the Authority's land base, than non-Aboriginal members of the WSA[51]. Many Teme-Augama Anishnabai individuals, particularly the Elders and older members knew the waterways well and understood how fluctuating animal populations were affected by clear-cutting. The TAA representatives on the WSA learned about the land through Elders, stories, traveling through the land, hunting, trapping and fishing on it (Shute 1993). One participant in the current study explained: "So the land would be like the map or the book to tell that story. Because our traditions aren't written down. But in a way they are. They are through the land, through the stories, within the land." (Anonymous 2007)

Almost all of Teme-Augama Anishnabai people interviewed for the current thesis project, have spent some time living on the land, away from Bear Island or urban areas. Some grew up in cabins on islands in Lake Temagami, or the interior without indoor plumbing, electricity, etc. Those older participants who grew up on Bear Island lived without these conveniences, and spent most of their time outside (Grant 1992). Most of Teme-Augama Anishnabai people interviewed had spent some time in their adult life living on the land. Some go out for a few weeks each year, others have spent months in the winter living in cabins, trapping, hunting and fishing. Many have gone on canoe trips or winter camping, often with the youth camps around the lake. Some have spent one or two years living in cabins in the bush at some point in their life.

In a survey conducted with more than 85 TAA members, traditional activities were engaged in, at least "occasionally," by adult respondents in the following

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[51] However, there were certain non-Aboriginal WSA members who were exceptions to these findings, who knew the Wakimika Triangle area very well. In fact, Bruce Hodgins suggests that he and Cocky Ingwersen knew the area as well as many of Teme-Augama Anishnabai members.

percentages: fishing 74%, hunting 47%, trapping 20% and harvesting of plants and medicines 53% (Pridham 2001). Alex Mathias has been living in a cabin on his traditional family territory, on Obabika Lake for 16 years now, hunting and trapping, and visiting the city every once in a while for supplies. He hosts gatherings and teaches others about Anishnabai traditions and life on the land. He also has been on several speaking tours to southern Ontario universities and colleges. He says: "I don't need this kind of stuff (fasting ceremony) because I'm touching Mother Earth everyday I walk."

Some find it difficult to balance developing a career in the Euro-Canadian economy with time spent on the land. One Teme-Augama Anishnabai interview participant wished he had spent more time on the land, saying "I feel...like I'm not living up to what I should be doing, I should be out there living on my land and exploring it more and appreciating it more" (Joe Katt 2007). Another participant didn't have a chance to spend much time on the land as her father passed away when she was young (Anonymous 2007). She learned how to set beaver snares and rabbit snares with her brother and pick things up along the way. Many do spend time on the land and are giving their children and grandchildren the opportunity to do this as well. In a workshop I did in the grade 6-8 class on Bear Island[52], some of the children knew the areas of the interior very well. Short field trips onto the land and language classes at the Laura McKenzie Learning Centre on Bear Island allow this connection and

[52] The first workshop was in the Fall of 2007. The workshop was about making land management decision in n'Daki Menan/the Temagami area. In June 2009, I delivered a series of five workshops for the students on Bear Island, as well as for those in the town of Temagami. The workshops focused on local stewardship history, and looked at land management decision-making.

knowledge to be passed down to the youth. Ceremonies happen on the island regularly as well.

There is a strong spiritual dimension to living on the land. One Teme-Augama Anishnabai member explains:

> I think it's always good for people to go back out on the land....when you're out on the land you can hear your own heartbeat. And that's your heart, and the sense of who you are and your spirit, and your connection. So I believe that it's healthy for our people to go out on the land.

June Twain lived on the land when she was younger, but "it was just a way of life," as she didn't realize the incredible spiritual importance of it (Twain 2007). She states: "I'm more aware of it now...and the importance of it [and of] having our children know about the land, and to be a part of it. To go and have ceremonies out on the land. And to go and pray on the land." (Twain 2007)

The participants used many different metaphors to describe their relationship to the land. A few described the land as their mother. When asked if their relationship to the land was different from non-Aboriginals, two participants said "It's almost like asking you, "do you think anyone else would have the same feelings that you have for your mother?" (Potts 2007; Anonymous 2007). Another Teme-Augama Anishnabai person, Mary Laronde, described the land and the animals as her companions and that "when you lay down on the ground, you know you can feel the energy" (Laronde 2007). For Laronde, who was a leader during the blockades and the early 1990s, the land puts her back in touch with herself and with what's real. One participant described the land as "home". She says: "It feels like home. Like it provides for us. Like we eat our food and our berries, our wood, our medicine. Like the old people would say: "it lets you make a living."" (Anonymous 2007).

"Knowing something about Native worldviews is...crucial if one is to understand Native views of the environment" (Fixico 1997, 30). Winona LaDuke and Deborah McGregor's work highlight some aspects of Anishinaabeg language and culture that demonstrate traditional Anishinaabeg environmental philosophy.

Deborah McGregor points out that "Creation stories are fundamental to understanding the scope of environmental justice from an Anishnaabe point of view" (2009, 33). From these stories we can learn "the key ideas and principles that constitute the foundation for our laws and codes of conduct" (2009, 33). McGregor tells the Anishnaabe Creation and Re-Creation stories in her article *Honouring Our Relations: An Anishnaabe Perspective on Environmental Justice* (2009). These stories teach us about cycles of birth, growth and death; that all of Creation must be respected; that all beings must work together to ensure the continuance of Creation; that people, too must cooperate with all beings of Creation in order to survive (2009).

She states: "Our stories tell us that when balance and harmony are not respected among beings (including the spirit world), injustice will result and sustainability will be threatened" (2009, 33). This explains the concept of "natural law", basically that all beings, human and non-human; living, dead and unborn have a responsibility for justice. John Borrows explains:

> If the Anishnabek do not honour and respect their promises, relations and environments, the eventual consequence is that these resources will disappear. When these resources are gone, no matter what they are, the people will no longer be able to sustain themselves because...while the resources have an existence without us, we have no existence without them. (Borrows in McGregor 2009, 30).

McGregor adds, however, that we must seek justice for all beings of Creation, "not only because threats to their existence threaten ours but because from an Aboriginal perspective justice among beings of Creation is life-affirming" (2009, 27).

Winona LaDuke explains *mino bimaatisiiwin,* which she translates as "the good life" or "continuous rebirth". *Mino bimaatisiiwin* is a code of ethics, and a value system, which guides behaviour towards people, animals, plants and the ecosystem. It is based on principles of reciprocity and cyclical thinking (LaDuke 1993, x). Aspects of the ecosystem are viewed as gifts from the Creator, and life cannot be taken without offering *samaa*, tobacco. McGregor adds that *mino bimaatisiwin* means that "life is thus understood in terms of cycles (of revival, rebirth, renewal) and relationships within and among these cycles" (2009 33). To McGregor, *mino bimaatisiwin,* can only begin to have meaning when it is a principle that is lived by; these "truths must be lived out and become part of the being of a person," (Johnston in McGregor 34).

In Anishnaabe teachings, plants and animals are our "elder brothers and sisters," who came before humans in the order of creation (Nicole Bell 2008; Fixico 1997; LaDuke 1999). That humans are the youngest members of creation, is a powerful lesson prompting deep humility[53]. Plants, animals and other living and non-living things are *nakina gaana*, "all our relations" and teach humans how to live (Bell 2008; McGregor 2009; LaDuke 1999). If anything, according to Fixico (1997), humans are inferior to nature. According to McGregor, true environmental justice "considers relationships not only among people, but also among *all our relations*

[53] Because humans are younger siblings, they are not necessary for the existence of the plants and animals. This concept re-enforces the already mentioned natural law, namely that but humans can't live without the Earth (Bell 2008, Weaver 1997).

(including all living things and our ancestors)." (2009, 28) McGregor explains that Anishnaabeg have to routinely ask themselves "What is our relationship with our ancestors? Are we honouring our relationships with our ancestors? Are we doing justice to our ancestors and to those yet to come?" (2009, 30)

LaDuke discusses Anishinaabeg concepts of land tenureship, explaining *akiing*, the Anishinabemowin word for land. The concept suggests that, "we belong to the land (more) than the land belongs to us" (LaDuke 2002, 138; Akiwenzie-Damm 1996, 1). Land use is defined by family use rights, not property deeds (LaDuke 2002, 139).

Not surprisingly, the Teme-Augama Anishnabai land tenureship system echoes LaDuke's descriptions. The Teme-Augama Anishnabai have traditionally organized *n'Daki Menan* into family hunting territories[54]. Each family looked after and harvested an area that was 200 to 300 square miles (Potts 1992). The areas reflected natural watershed divisions, not straight lines (Laronde 1992; Speck 1915b). Animal populations are better managed this way, as fish, beavers and other animals live primarily in specific watersheds. Chief Aleck Paul, in a speech to anthropologist Frank Speck in 1913, described these hunting territories as having existed "since the beginning of time" (1915b, 63). Three hundred plant species were also harvested sustainably in these areas, including sugar maple sap, birch for canoe-building, basswood for gill-nets and ironwood for sleigh runners (Potts 1990; Hodgins and Benidickson 1989).

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[54] I imagine that this hunting territory system has probably changed considerably since 1913. However, I have no information to tell me how this system has changed. Because the information is dated, I use the past tense to describe it. This may or may not be accurate.

The TAA have always held themselves back from overusing the land, in order to maintain it in perpetuity (Potts, 1992). Hunting districts were divided into quarters. A different quarter was hunted each year, with a tract at the centre left alone except for drastic situations (Speck 1915b). Animal populations were maintained because only the increase in the population is consumed, "preserving the stock for his supply." (Chief Aleck Paul in Speck 1915b, 62) Both Chief Paul and Speck compared this wildlife management to farming.

Chief Paul describes this land use as "ownership" (in Speck 1915b, 62-63). "If another Indian hunted on our territory we, the owners, could shoot him." (Paul in Speck 1915b, 63). Permission was sometimes granted for strangers to hunt on certain tracts. Family hunting territories, called *nda'ki'im* "my land" (Speck 1915b, 66) were parceled out to sons. The TAA clan system existed "side by side" (pg. 66) with the hunting territory. While no taboos were traced through totems, hunters had individual rituals, derived from experiences and dreams. Practices showing respect for animals included antlers being placed on a tree stump and placing beaver skulls in tree branches (Speck 1915a). Each individual also had a unique animal that represented him or her, called a *wisana*. Everyone knew everyone else's *wisana*[55] (Potts 1990).

The responsibility of humans is to act as protectors of the earth. Many Indigenous people, across Turtle Island[56], have taken this role to be their life's work.

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[55] I see the parallel between everyone knowing each community member's *wisana*, and a European marker of community, knowing and celebrating everyone else's birthday. A comparison between these two shows each culture's method of having each individual connected with an aspect of creation. For Europeans, time is a very important marker. (Tinker 1997) One's birthday is a way of connecting to an important system, which defines the natural world, the calendar. In Indigenous cultures, place and relationship to other creatures is very significant (Tinker 1997). Hence, the importance of knowing each other's *wisana* for connecting them to the significant animal world. (Tinker 1997)

[56] A common English term used by Indigenous people (particularly Haudenosaunee) to refer to North America.

Different Nations have defended their land against polluting mining companies, (Sherman 2008) against toxic chemicals in breast milk (LaDuke 1999) and against nuclear testing and dumping (Thorpe 1997; LaDuke 1999). These roles often sustain Indigenous people. However, some Indigenous leaders have chosen to enter into agreements that allow resource extraction companies to enter their territories, and in some cases to destroy many of their communities' traditional hunting and trapping territories (Alfred 2005; Sherman 2007). In 1988 and 1989 Teme-Augama Anishnabai defended their land with their bodies, by volunteering to be arrested. Gary Potts explains: "the descendents of such people have a role and responsibility in how the land is used." (1998, 2)

Teme-Augama Anishnabai stewardship philosophy represents this responsibility towards the Earth. The TAA were able to articulate this philosophy into English as three core principles: forest stewardship, sustained life and sustainable development. These principles were expressed in the early 1990s as a way to guide decision-making on the land[57]. *Forest stewardship* means that "human beings must respect forest life and integrate human uses...in a manner compatible with the continuity of forest life" (Potts 1990, 208). "Stewardship" is a word used commonly by the TAA, and is purposely chosen over the economically-driven word "forest management". Teme-Augama Anishnabai and other humans must put work into

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[57] I don't suggest that all Teme-Augama Anishnabai follow these philosophies, or that every decision made by TAA or TFN Chief and Council is informed by these principles. They are goals that they set in the 1990s and that individual council-members will respect to varying degrees. Individual Teme-Augama Anishnabai stewardship philosophies differ widely. Some members own businesses in forestry, construction or retail and would like recreation/tourist traffic to maintain or increase in the area for their economic growth. Others live off of the land and would prefer less tourists, cottagers and recreationists. Some have a traditionalist philosophy and live according to the spiritual traditions of their ancestors. Others are not as focused on their spiritual connection to the land. However, these principles outlined in 1990 represent the stewardship goals of the elected council at the time—and those that supported them, which was the majority.

maintaining reciprocal, interdependent relationships with the species of the forest, in order to ensure the survival of both. However, under *forest stewardship,* the continuity of forest life is seen as the bar to which human land use must be measured. Indeed, the only way to ensure the continuation of human life is the maintenance of the forest. This principle is an echo of Teme-Augama Anishnabai's traditional land tenure system and is in harmony with scientific principles of ecosystem management.

According to the Teme-Augama Anishnabai, *Sustained life* means

> Protecting and maintaining the life of the earth, air and water that gives life to the forest which protects and replenishes the earth, air and water, as well as creating an interdependent home for all biological life-forms within it. (Potts 1990, 208).

A key to this definition is that it is self-perpetuating: the earth, air and water must be protected so that the forest can in return protect them. Under the *sustained life* principle, decisions must be made with this principle being paramount. Forest areas must be allowed to die, decay and regenerate, in order for the cycle of life to continue. Teme-Augama Anishnabai and other humans have a responsibility to protect these processes so that they are maintained for the benefit of their people. Clear-cutting stops this life cycle from continuing.

Sustainable development is defined in 1990 by Gary Potts as a multi-faceted term, encompassing a participatory politics and citizens' involvement. It is an economic system of using only surpluses and involves an education program that teaches reciprocity towards ecosystems. It is a flexible system that is solution-based and ever-changing. It is a true reflection of the philosophies of traditional Anishnabai society (Benton-Banai 1989). However, in 1992, Mary Laronde writes of being disillusioned with the idea of sustainable development. When government and

logging companies use these words, they've meant "we'll continue logging" (1992, 106).

Teme-Augama Anishnabai also advocate for their principle of *co-existence*. This involves acknowledging the relationship that local non-Aboriginal people, recreationists, youth campers, visitors and environmentalists have to this land. Mary Laronde writes: "We know that others have come to love our land." (1993, 93). In a similar vein, June Twain states: "The idea of sharing our land is ours. We want to share our land but the decisions have to come from us about the way the land is to be used. This is our responsibility that was given to us at the beginning of time. It is an awesome duty." (1998, 18) This highlights the importance of Teme-Augama Anishnabai self-determination over large areas of land, in order for co-existence to work over other parts of *n'Daki Menan.*

This principle of co-existence is articulated in the idea of *shared stewardship.* Shared stewardship means that local people would have decision-making power over lands. Laronde explains:

> For us, [shared stewardship] is a way to fulfill our sacred obligation to protect the land for future generations, yet respond to the modern world, where we as the [I]ndigenous people of our territory can be Canadian yet not have to surrender what we see as basic human rights. (Laronde 1993, 93)

Shared stewardship would involve decisions being made by people who live on the land or who know it intimately. It would involve the power given to government bureaucracies like the MNR being re-distributed to people who can constantly monitor the land, who know it well and who care about how large-scale decisions affect it.

Teme-Augama Anishnabai writings from the early 1990s suggest that the Wendaban Stewardship Authority presented a microcosm example of how land use decisions could be made under shared stewardship. And, when the WSA was created, the principles of *sustained life, sustainable development* and *stewardship* were written into the Authority's Terms-of-Reference. As we will see further in Chapter 6, "Personal Relationships", the WSA represented a strong concerted effort to model *co-existence* and *shared stewardship* and create harmony amongst different user groups in the area. It also represented a shift towards allowing local Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people to have more say in land use decisions on their land.

Taken together, Teme-Augama Anishnabai stewardship philosophy represents a strong tradition of sustainable practices, a contemporary effort to preserve the land, and a guiding vision for the future. An environmentalist said:

> …their whole way of describing the treaty of Co-Existence and their Stewardship Principles, they were all remarkable, that was almost twenty years ago, and it's still remarkable, it's still some of the best work around, of that form. In the whole Natural Resource, Environmental Management, Community Development, in that whole realm, theirs is some of the best work that I've come across.

There is, however, a force that has drastically damaged Teme-Augama Anishnabai's efforts to fulfill their stewardship principles. It began with the arrival of the settlers. This is the subject of the next section.

Colonization, Eurocentrism and Aboriginal Rights

Colonization began after Europeans first arrived on Turtle Island. According to Anne McClintock, colonization "involves direct territorial appropriating of another geopolitical entity, combined with forthright exploitation of its resources and labor,

and systematic interference in the capacity of the appropriate culture (itself not necessarily a homogeneous entity) to organize its dispensations of power." (1994, 295) This means taking control of a culture's land, incorporating the colonized people's labour into the colonizer's economy, and taking away the colonized culture's source of power. This latter, intellectual and cultural form of colonization is called Eurocentrism (Ermine et al. 2004). Despite their intentions, European governments were not able to exercise colonization in the area now known as Canada until several hundred years after initially making contact.

Olive Dickason suggests that early meetings between Indigenous people and Europeans were a mixture of "contacts," "collisions," and "relationships". *Contacts* were early meetings between explorers, traders or missionaries, and Indigenous peoples who had never met, or had just heard of these mostly light-skinned men who traveled the continent. *Collisions* involved the transmission of diseases and armed conflict as Europeans attempted to take control from Indigenous Nations, or from other colonial powers. These measures consisted of the early, visible manifestations of colonization and decimated the Indigenous populations of Turtle Island.

Relationships involved the fur trade, evangelization and military alliances (Dickason 1997). Indigenous Nations were able to maintain their political and economic integrity for much of this early period. These early relationships, based upon the fur trade and political strategy, often led to mutual trust and respect, especially between allies such as the French and the Wendat (Huron). Treaties of this time were about friendship and military alliance. While the fur trade allowed Indigenous peoples to receive European goods, which made life easier,

Christianization served to erode Indigenous identity in some communities (Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Vol. 1, 1996).

In the 18th and early 19th century, there were several wars between the various colonial powers, involving Indigenous nations as allies. However, when the War of 1812-1815 ended, thousands of Europeans settlers began entering Upper Canada (Miller 1989). Because of the end of this war, Indigenous Nations were no longer as necessary as military allies for the British. Later, with the decline of the fur trade, and other factors outlined in Chapter 3, the strength of Indigenous Nations was compromised. These events changed the nature of the relationships between Aboriginal people and Europeans to one of "displacement and annihilation" (RCAP 1996). This was the most vigorous phase of colonization.

In the 19th century, treaties and land cessions were signed between Indigenous leaders and British, and then after 1867 by federal representatives. These treaties were a negotiation of land transfers in exchange for reserves, hunting and fishing rights and other provisions (Dickason 1997; see Chapter 2 about the spirit of agreements). While the Royal Proclamation of 1763 had given validity to Aboriginal title, the St. Catharine's Milling Company case (1885-9) concerning northwestern Ontario found that the federal and provincial governments had the right to extinguish Aboriginal title (Dickason 1997). Soon, the Province of Canada, and then the Dominion of Canada developed an administrative capacity for attempting to control Indigenous land and Indigenous peoples.

In the newly-formed Canadian dominion in 1867-1871, policy became directed towards the assimilation and isolation of Indigenous peoples from settler

society (Dickason 1997). This relationship was articulated in the Indian Act of 1876. This law was designed to assimilate Indigenous peoples into the Canadian state. The Indian Act was altered over time and became more oppressive. Many facets of Indigenous peoples lives were regulated by the local Indian agent, who was responsible for implementing the Indian Act (Dickason 1997). The reserve system and the pass system restricted the movement of Indigenous people. The band council system meant that leaders were elected and not based on traditional systems of governance (Dickason 1997). Many ceremonies were banned. The residential school system caused tremendous inter-generational trauma as cultural, language and parenting skills were lost because children were stolen from their families by compulsory attendance in residential schools.

Throughout the colonization process, a less visible, sinister form of oppression, Eurocentrism seeped into the human structures and systems in Canada. Eurocentrism (as already mentioned in Chapter 1) is:

> The notion that European civilization, or the "West", has some special quality of mind, race, culture, environment or historical advantage which gives this human community a permanent superiority over all other communities. These qualities would seem to confer on this community the special duty of advancing and modernizing the rest of the world. (Blaut in Ermine et al. 2004).

Ermine (2007) explains that Eurocentrism embeds itself into: "the subconscious of the masses,... recreated from the archives of knowledge and systems, rules and values of colonialism that in turn wills into being the intellectual, political, economic, cultural and social systems and institutions of this country." (198) The supposed superiority of Western culture becomes a matter of "science, and scholarship and informed and expert opinion" (Blaut in Ermine et al., 2004, 5).

My grandmother believes very strongly in the superiority of European culture. As a groups of cultures, European cultures have: divided time and other biologic phenomenon into regimented, classifiable, predictable units; advanced the rights and needs of the individual over the collective; created a vast military machine that has taken over territories around the world; physically joined the people of the world together in an unprecedented fashion; created a sophisticated health system which has expanded lifespans; created methods of communication that allow people from vastly different cultures to communicate with each other; domesticated and then mechanized food and materials production; and have spread the British and western European system of private property to all reaches of the planet.

There remains the problem that Western cultures have created an ethical system where its strengths and accomplishments are judged to be superior to others. Those who value the above achievements often believe that Europeans and their descendents are intellectually and morally superior to other peoples. And they are—if you judge other cultures from a Western bias system of individual rights, modernization, "democracy" and robust economies as the only important elements of a culture. This ethical system, Eurocentrism, allows people to judge other cultures' gifts as not as important. Further, Eurocentrism has allowed people to justify the infringement of the boundaries of other cultures in the name of "civilizing" them. Eurocentrism is a complicated system that allows the land, governance and intellectual traditions of other cultures to be deemed inferior, and it has intellectually justified European colonization. It isn't savagery if the people you are massacring are savages themselves.

Eurocentrism allows Westerners and some colonized people to believe that inequality is normal, or that it is because of certain inherent cultural deficiencies. I believe rather, that Eurocentrism points to the moral deficiencies of dominant elements of the European ethical systems that justified colonialism. These systems continue to justify white people having control over all the territory while Indigenous people don't benefit financially, socially, politically or culturally from the massive amounts of wealth that they choose to share with us[58]. Eurocentrism is insidious and so pervasive that it "becomes largely invisible to itself" (Ermine 2007, 199). It operates in parallel with colonization, and is used by many to justify its effects.

Teme-Augama Anishnabai were subject to a colonization process that was less invasive than some other communities. It also happened much later, mostly in the 20th century. However, it was none-the-less a colonization process, which drastically affected their way of living, with persistent negative consequences. Chapter 3 gives a detailed look at how Teme-Augama Anishnabai were deprived of their land and pushed into the European economic system. Several government actions also attacked the strength of Teme-Augama Anishnabai culture and community: the family. In 1950, Teme-Augama Anishnabai children were forced to go to the school on Bear Island. This meant that families no longer lived on their trap line in the winter. Instead, mothers and grandmothers stayed on Bear Island with their children, and men went into the bush with other men (Potts 1998). Gary Potts suggests that this move led to serious family break down (1998).

[58] My use of the word "us" is not intended to make Indigenous readers or readers of colour feel excluded from my words. It is used to give a sense of responsibility to those white readers who have benefited from the terms of the treaties.

As previously mentioned, the colonization process also affected Teme-Augama Anishnabai land governance systems and their economy. This happened through the flooding of different settlement and hunting territories[59] as well as the banning of fishing, hunting, trapping and collecting firewood in various years at the whims of game wardens and the charging of rent for living on Bear Island before it was a reserve (1971). These many encroachments were all a part of the colonization process. These actions had a drastic effect, changing everyday economic, family, social and political life for the Teme-Augama Anishnabai, which will last a long time. In addition, the imposition of European cultural systems changed the Teme-Augama Anishnabai's cultural and spiritual life dramatically.

Since North American colonization began, Indigenous peoples have been resisting European attempts to take over their land and control their communities. They have been negotiating with European and Canadian governments to reach treaties and agreements which reflect their inherent Aboriginal rights, land rights, and rights to self-determination. Aboriginal people have also resisted cultural assimilation by speaking their language, hiding their children from residential school officials, performing their ceremonies, dances and songs, and by passing on their culture. Further, several armed uprisings, such as the Pontiac uprising against the British in 1762-1763, the Battle of Seven Oaks against the Hudson's Bay Company in the Red River Valley in 1816, the rebellion at Mica Bay against the Quebec and Lake Superior Mining Company on the north shore of Lake Superior (1849), and the two

[59] While some of these details have been mentioned in Chapter 2, it is important to consider how they contributed to a process of colonization in the Temagami area.

Métis resistances led by Louis Riel in 1870[60] and 1885 have seen Aboriginal people to assert their right to a reciprocity of the relationship that was agreed upon in early treaties.

Political leaders of Indigenous Nations have a tradition of skilled diplomacy and strategic negotiating. When the period of allyship ended and the colonial machine was in full swing, a new kind of leadership was needed. This developed when Aboriginal people began modern forms of political organizing against oppressive government legislation, such as the Gradual Enfranchisement Act of 1857 (Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Vol. 1 1996). The need for a nationwide Aboriginal organization was recognized by World War I veteran Fred Loft in 1918. However, the government stifled his efforts to start an organization called the League of Indians, by putting him under police surveillance. Legislation in 1927 made it illegal for First Nations to hire a lawyer, which stifled many First Nations claims to land and political efforts (Government of Canada 2007). Bartering with local non-Aboriginal people became illegal unless they held a special license (Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Vol. 1 1996). These regulations and other sections of the *Indian Act* made it difficult for bands to have financial autonomy. Because of this, they were dependent on the government, and had to follow the government's wishes. Indigenous communities were isolated from their neighbours because they could not do business with them.

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[60] As Aboriginal people lost territory and autonomy during this time period, non-Aboriginal people gained these things. I had a relative who fought for the federal government against the Métis in 1870. My relative was given land in return for his services, which he used to further build his wealth. The land is now the corner of Portage and Main in Winnipeg. Another relative was in the army, but became a Métis "sympathizer" and lost his pension for this act.

Political activism was invigorated by veterans returning from World War II. Demands were made for land rights, control over local government and education. These efforts had some effects on the changes enacted by the 1951 Indian Act (Miller 1989). Bands were given more control over their finances and affairs, and given the right to hire layers for claims (Dickason 1997). The National Indian Council was founded in 1961, and later became the National Indian Brotherhood and then the Assembly of First Nations. This nation-wide organization received funding from the federal government and focused on lobbying around political, legislative and later constitutional issues.

A push towards self-government became the strategy for First Nations, Inuit and Métis in the 1960s. The first battle was against the 1969 White Paper Policy issued by Trudeau's Liberal government. The White Paper basically aimed to assimilate Aboriginal people and make them into "non-Indians" (Miller 1989). It was successfully resisted by Harold Cardinal (the Indian Association of Alberta), the National Indian Brotherhood and many others. Resistance against this proposed policy revitalized Aboriginal political organizing and led to passionate efforts to gain Aboriginal rights in the 1970s. In 1973, the Nisga'a decision by the Supreme Court of Canada established that Aboriginal title existed in law, although the First Nation did not win recognition of Aboriginal rights until much later. In the aftermath of these events, the Indian Claims Commission was created to settle comprehensive (Aboriginal title) and specific (treaty- or sale-based) land claims (Miller 1991; Dickason 1997).

At this time, the struggle for self-government was playing itself out on the land. First Nations, Inuit and Métis people began asserting more forcefully their right to have control over what happened in their traditional territories. This was a response to proposed major resource developments. Key gains by Aboriginal people were made in eastern James Bay and the Mackenzie Valley. The Cree and Inuit of northern Quebec had not signed any treaties with the federal or colonial governments. In 1975, they were successful in negotiating the James Bay-Northern Quebec Agreement, which led to compensation and autonomy in exchange for the creation of a large-scale hydroelectric damming project on their lands. The MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry of 1974-1977 concluded that all land claims in the area must be resolved before development was to begin. A ten-year moratorium on pipeline development was instituted (Miller 1991). Other First Nations, such as the Lubicon Cree of Alberta held protests against resource extraction while they pursued a land claim (Dickason 1997).

Modern day resistance to Eurocentrism has also included a cultural renaissance. Indigenous people are reviving their languages, their cultural traditions, their spiritual ceremonies and songs (Simpson 2008). Some of these revitalization efforts also use some elements of European and other cultures as tools for this resurgence. Others use a fusion of different old and new cultural tools. For instance, poets, visual artists, authors, filmmakers and musicians use English, the publishing industry or Western instruments to spread their culture (Blyth 2009). New forms of knowledge are being generated, and merged with older teachings. Many urban and/or mixed blood people, artists, Elders, youth, language speakers and educators are

leading this movement. Political action, like that of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai also contributes to this momentum. It was in the context of these emerging protests, demands for self-government, new processes for resolving land claims, and a cultural resurgence that the Teme-Augama Anishnabai began to defend their rights to their homelands and to self-government in the 1970s.

Euro-North American, Canadian, Ontarian Stewardship Histories and Philosophies

The exploitation of North America's natural resources began to be seen in earnest in the mid-to late 19th century. Once settlers began to enter North America in much larger numbers than before, resource extraction companies had the labour and markets necessary to start widespread production. Several mining booms led to the development of large-scale mining corporations. A mining boom in Cobalt (just north of the Temagami area) began in 1903-1905, when silver was discovered while building the railway (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). In addition, hunting and trapping, especially by Euro-Canadians[61] led to massive decreases in animal populations, especially buffalo and beaver. Logging also began organized operations in the late 19th century. Logging in the Ottawa valley began in full force the 19th century and much of the area had been logged out by the mid-20th century.

Developing around the same time in the U.S., environmentalism has its origins in the late 19th century. The first U.S. protected area, Yosemite was set-aside

[61] At various times, such as the Great Depression, some Métis and First Nations hunting was having negative effects on animal populations.

in 1862, and became a national[62] park in 1890. The Hetch Hetchy valley in the park was the subject of a heated debate in the early 1900s. The debate saw the emergence of modern environmentalism and cemented its division into two distinct streams (Righter 2005). Gifford Pinchot was a forester who represented conservationists and sustainable-use philosophies. John Muir was a naturalist who represented preservationist philosophies. He saw the intrinsic, spiritual value in nature. The two were friends at first, but after a disagreement they ended their friendship and split the conservation movement into two sides: conservationists and preservationists[63] (Righter 2005). These divisions became apparent when the two debated the merits of damming the Hetch Hetchy valley in order to provide water for the growing city of San Francisco.

It was around the same time that the idea of creating protected areas in Canada began (Killan 1993). In 1885, Rocky Mountains National Park, (now Banff) was created, and Algonquin Provincial Park was formed in 1893 (Sandilands 2000; Killan 1993). The Canadian government was a leader in creating parks, while Ontario lagged behind, with only eight parks created by 1953. Historian George Warecki calls this early era before the 1960s as one of "quiet diplomacy". Similar to the United States, two distinct though overlapping strains of conservationist theory emerged in Canada. Warecki (2000) calls these two strains the "multiple-use" approach, and the "wilderness for its own sake" philosophy. In the 1920s, a debate similar to the

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[62] It is important to note that all public lands in the United States west of the Mississippi are federal lands. In Canada, in most provinces, public land is provincially owned. This was, however, not the case in Alberta and Saskatchewan, until 1936. Public land in Canada's territories is still federally owned. (Hodgins 2009)

[63] There is some ambiguity in these terms, as preservationism is sometimes represented as a form of conservationism, or as a synonym of it. For the sake of this paper, they will be seen as diverging terms.

Hetchy Hetchy debate took place over a proposal to create a hydroelectric project in Banff National Park. This debate led to the creation of the Canadian National Parks Association, and eventually to the 1930 National Parks Act, which banned forestry, mining and hydroelectric development in national parks (Gladu et al. 2003).

In Ontario, under the conservationist "multiple-use" philosophy, the Quetico-Superior Council (founded in 1927) advocated for wilderness protection that accommodated commercial logging, fishing and tourist/recreation development. This utilitarian philosophy led to the creation of the Temagami Forest Reserve in 1901. The purpose of this reserve was to prevent agricultural settlement and fires from encroaching on future timber harvests (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). By the middle of the century, this multiple-use approach became integrated into Ontario's Park's Division and Ministry of Natural Resources as a primary planning and management tool (Warecki 2000).

Representing the second philosophy, the Federation of Ontario Naturalists (FON-founded in 1931, in 2009 now called Ontario Nature) became a catalyst for wilderness preservation because of nature's "intrinsic value" (Warecki 2000). Preservationist sentiments probably inspired many recreationists traveling through Temagami/ *n'Daki Menan* as youth camping and canoe travel in the region became prevalent in the early twentieth century (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). Ontario's most famous early preservationist was Grey Owl, who spent some time in *n'Daki Menan*/the Temagami area, as Archie Belaney and had a wife and child there (although a trapper at the time, he was not yet a preservationist). As Grey Owl, he later wrote several books about conserving wilderness, and pushed for game laws to

protect the declining beaver population in Eastern Canada in the 1930s. By the 1960s, the idea of wilderness preservation for recreational use and intrinsic value had been recognized by the Ontario government as a legitimate (though not its preferred) form of land use. This principle had not yet reached widespread popularity (Warecki 2000).

In the post-World War II era, mechanization meant that resource extraction could take place at a quickened pace and with more environmental destruction. By the 1980s, most of the continents' best forests had been cut down, and most animal habitats had been drastically impacted or destroyed by urbanization, road building, hydroelectric projects, farming, mining effluent and household, toxic or nuclear wastes. In the last few decades of the 20th century, many North American corporations have opened up to trans-national raw material markets and have greatly expanded in size. As a result, they have turned to remote corners of North America and other parts of the world in search of minerals, trees, oil and power sources.

The period after 1960 is called "the environmental era," by Warecki (2000). At this time, widespread changes began occurring in approaches to preservation. Scientific-based ecological concepts began to emerge as a way of illustrating the deterioration of the environment and the need for preservation (Warecki 2000). Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962) brought this into focus, discussing pesticides' harmful effects on wildlife. Ecological writings, by Canadian authors Wayland Drew and Farley Mowat helped bring environmental consciousness to Canada.

Nature reserve advocates from a scientific perspective allied with recreation-based advocates to create a powerful lobby. Protected areas began to be seen as

important for preserving ecosystems and animal habitat. They began to be larger in size to accommodate animals with large habitats and the ecosystems that rely on them (Gladu et al. 2003). The Algonquin Wildlands League (AWL) was created in 1968, and was the first wilderness group in Ontario to use mass media to influence public opinion (Warecki 2000). Intense lobbying by the AWL and their allies from 1968-1974 resulted in increased public consultation on land-use planning, and pressured the Ontario government to set aside more parks and re-classify others (Killan 1990). It was in this period that the idea for the Lady Evelyn-Smoothwater Provincial Park, and the environmental momentum in the Temagami area, emerged.

Temagami Wilderness Society Relationships to the Land

There were many environmental groups that were active on the Temagami area logging issue in the late 1980s and early 1990s. These included Northwatch, Ontario Wildlands League[64], the Federation of Ontario Naturalists (now called Ontario Nature), Greenpeace, Pollution Probe, the Save Temagami Committee and EarthFirst! However, the group that was the most active on the Red Squirrel Road issue was the Temagami Wilderness Society (TWS). This group was the main organizer of the blockades, and its members were the most consistent speakers in the media and at community events across the province. The majority of non-Aboriginal interview participants were heavily involved in the TWS in some way.

The Temagami Wilderness Society (TWS) operated from 1986 until 1991. The TWS was a nonprofit coalition of both citizens' groups (such as the Temagami

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[64] Formerly the Algonquin Wildlands League.

Permanent Residents Association and the Temagami Lakes Association etc.) and other individuals. Board members were elected by voting members, who made decisions about the organization (Back 2009). Every TWS board member was living in northeastern Ontario, or had grown up there. Its general membership was mostly southern Ontarians, but included many "trappers, owners of tourist operations, anglers, hunters, union members and permanent residents" from northern Ontario (TWS 1987a). In a 1987 pamphlet, the organization claimed to "speak for more than 2,500 citizens from all walks of life" (TWS 1987a). Brian Back adds that the group at one time boasted 14,000 members and was the "largest single-issue environmental group in Canada" (Back 2009). The organization's letterhead states that it was: "dedicated to the research, public understanding and conservation of the Temagami region and its heritage" (TWS 1987a).

Members of the Temagami Wilderness Society, and other environmentalists who have lived, worked or traveled in the region have a strong connection to the Temagami area. Although only a few grew up in the area, others spent many summers there at the various youth camps or adult/family lodges. All but one TWS board members were living near the town of Temagami at the time of the blockades, operating businesses, raising children, living off of gardens and root crops or working in the area. Those who were not living very close to Temagami were living or had grown up in North Bay.

No matter how long their time spent in the Temagami area, most of the environmentalists and/or non-Aboriginals interviewed for this project have very strong affections for the area. For some, it is a place to carve out a living from

trapping and/or guiding tourists. For Doug Adams[65], the Temagami area was a place that he found in his 20s and it attracted him because of its "big ice cream cones, nice trees" (2007). Others know the land from canoeing, fishing or swimming in its waters, and feel at home because of its beauty or because "the rocks, the lakes, the pine and spruce forest...were maybe my natural environment" (Kay Chornook 2008). Hap Wilson has spent years canoeing in the area, and has written several books about the Temagami area/n'Daki Menan, including the popular *Temagami Canoe Routes* (1978). He also worked as a park ranger for the Ministry of Natural Resources.

Those who spent their childhood or early adulthood in the area, either during the school year or on extended summer trips, have the strongest feelings for the Temagami area. A participant who grew up year-round in Temagami and spent time camping in the area said "I'm a Temagami girl!" (Anonymous 2008) One participant who grew up at his parents' tourist lodge said "I love the area very dearly. I do not think there's any place like it on the Earth." (Anonymous 2007) Brian Back, who was a staff member at Camp Wabikon for many years a staff member at Camp Keewaydin, stated: "It's in my bones and I am in it. I've traveled almost all of it and it's in my heart" (Back 2008). Brian Back, who was the Executive Director of the Temagami Wilderness Society, has written books about the area and maintains by far the largest and most in-depth website about the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan* and the provincial north generally, on the internet, ottertooth.com.

The board members of the Temagami Wilderness Society, including many people who were interviewed for this study, all had strong connections to the land and

[65] Doug Adams owns a tourist lodge on the east side of the Temagami area/n'Daki Menan on Whitebear Lake.

waters of the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan*. Many of them lived, or had grown up near the area. However, "most of the Toronto- and southern Ontario-based environmentalists did not have that love of the land and waters unless they were ex-campers, ex-staff of the youth canoe camps –or returners from the Trent/Temagami weekend." (Hodgins 2009) This quote pertains especially to those not in key leadership positions within the Temagami Wilderness Society. Many of those who peopled the blockade, however, came from southern Ontario, especially Toronto.

Environmentalists in the area, in particular those on the board of the TWS in 1988-1989, clearly have diverse forms of connection to the land. For some it is a strong and ever-present, grounding place, where they continue to maintain relationships with people and places, many of them lasting their whole life. For others it is a place of fond memories, a place they visit often in the summer, a place they share with their children. Some know the backcountry as if it was their backyard, others have lived off of crops grown in the land, and yet others have had several generations of family in the area.

However, there is a way of coming to know your people through getting to know your homeland that is a unique opportunity for many Aboriginal people in Canada. There is a distinct way of interacting with the land, of living on it when your life depends on it, of having cultural, ecological and locational knowledge, of having oral history and stories being passed down through generations and of having your ancestors buried on parts of it, their spirits roaming the land.

These factors and many more, existing often in combination with each other, explains the unique possibility that Aboriginal people have in developing a relationship with their homeland. As Gary Potts put it:

> The environmentalists never had an opportunity to live on the land[66] and likely never will....So the only way that they can get to understand it if they've lived two or three generations in one particular area of land and seen how different parts of it can be utilized....They never had the opportunity. (2007)

And to add, another Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader contends: "But we had people buried all over the land. And houses that were burned down... We don't come from anywhere else. And that I think is the only difference, really." (2007)

Temagami Wilderness Society Stewardship Philosophy

The Temagami Wilderness Society's stewardship philosophy had a distinctly preservationist focus. As Brian Back states: "we were working to save wilderness in Temagami" (2009). The TWS defines wilderness as "a roadless area" (TWS 1987c; Back 2009). Their main objective was to prevent this roadless wilderness and most of the forest nearby, from being logged. Their philosophy was that the cutting in the Temagami area was happening "fast and somebody needed to" take action (Back 2009). The TWS saw themselves "as part of the big environmental picture," and acted according to the well-known phrase "think global, act local" (Back 2009). The Temagami area was "truly a unique part of our planet" (Back 1989). They gained inspiration from the Haida/environ- mentalist victory at Haida Gwaii in which the

[66] According to Gary Potts, "living" on the land involves all aspects of "living" or, "doing everything on the land" and being "interconnected with it" (2009). This is different from a canoe-tripper, who uses materials and food that are manufactured in the city, and only travels through the land for a short period of time.

creation Gwai Hanas-a national park with Haida participation was able to help preserve the area's old growth forests. A letter to potential TWS supporters in 1989 makes reference to this success, to draw links with a broader citizen's movement (Back, 1989).

The TWS operated a partner group, the Temagami Wilderness Fund, which supported research and education. The group's scientific, ecological philosophy was reflected in their commissioned report, created under The Tall Pines Project (1989) by biologist Peter Quinby. The study found that the Temagami area now contains the largest known stand of old-growth red and white pine in Ontario (Back 1990). This made the Temagami area unique and necessary to protect as a rare ecosystem. Old growth is distinctive because it contains a "broader diversity of flora and fauna, a different composition of organic material on the forest floor," and takes 125 years or more to generate (TWS 1989c). It is not just old trees that make the region exceptional, but the fact that whole ecosystems in the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan* are around 500-700 years old. The study also examined the detrimental effects of clear-cutting and the need for regeneration from fire.

In a pamphlet dated 1988, the Temagami Wilderness Society touted the Temagami area's uniqueness with several other features. These included the area being the primary habitat for animals including the nearly extinct aurora trout and golden eagle as well as nesting sites for great blue herons, ospreys, pine warblers and merlins. They also promoted the area's uniqueness as stemming from it being one of the largest concentrations of archaeological sites on the Canadian Shield, having a largely intact, ancient Aboriginal trail and portage system (*nastawgan*), and being the

homeland of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai Nation. According to the pamphlet, another reason the area needed protection is because it contains "some of the most majestic scenery in Canada" and the highest point in Ontario—Ishpatina Ridge[67] (TWS 1988). The promotion of these features reflects a scientific conservationist, historical/Aboriginal rights and recreation-based stewardship philosophies, respectively.

In another 1988 handout, the TWS promoted the Temagami area's uniqueness because it was "the last major *accessible* wilderness in eastern Canada" (TWS 1988, my emphasis). Temagami is not too far away from Toronto. In the pamphlet, the TWS acts as a strong proponent of what they called "wilderness tourism", which is, according to them, the fastest growing segment of the tourism industry. They were in support of the remote adult lodges and camps, which promote sustainable development through guiding fishing, hunting, hiking and canoeing trips in the backcountry (Back 1990; TWS 1987d). At different instances, the TWS has suggested that "wilderness tourism" (better named recreation-based visits) could create 400 to even 2,800 permanent jobs (Back 1990; TWS 1987d). This employment has failed to materialize in the now somewhat economically depressed town of Temagami. This enthusiasm for the recreation industry also led to criticism that the group was acting in self-interest preservation of their business interests. However, in 1989, only one tourist lodge operator was on the board.

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[67] Bruce Hodgins suggests that in this literature they forgot to add that The Temagami area is significant ecologically because it is headwaters country for three different great watersheds. Its waters flow to the Ottawa River (*Gitchi Sibi*) and the Lake Nipissing/French River watershed flowing to Georgian Bay. Just north of the Temagami area (by my designation) is the headwaters of the Metagami/Grassy/ Moose River system, which flows into James Bay.

The Temagami Wilderness Society was first and foremost against logging and road building in the roadless areas of the region. They were very critical of the MNR's policies, which in theory involved forest regeneration through replanting, but hardly ever did so in practice (Back 1990). Further, the logging that was occurring in the Temagami area would destroy the wilderness character of the area, while giving individual logging companies "a little more than one year of cutting" (Back 1989). Clearcutting was a particularly destructive forestry practice, which was causing rapid destruction, and not only loss of animal habitat but also soil erosion and clogging of streams with silt (Back 1989). Further, the MNR was funding the building of logging roads with tax payers' money. In effect, they were propping up these logging companies.

In 1987, the Temagami Wilderness Society proposed the creation of the Temagami Wildlands Reserve. The designation was a unique creation for the situation in the Temagami area, as it does not exist in either the Provincial Parks Act, or the National Parks Act. About the designation of this unique protected area, the TWS stated:

> This is not a park proposal… It is a temporary land trust to be held for the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and was, and is, intended for one purpose: to stop the continued destruction of the least degraded portion of Temagami while the land claim is unsettled. (TWS 1987b)

The wildlands reserve was to be an interim measure until the land could be returned to the Teme-Augama Anishnabai[68]. The TWS suggested that the proposal was conceived by local groups and was to be 3,500 square kilometers. Logging, road

[68] Bruce Hodgins believes that this represents a great change from the organizations early philosophy (2009).

construction, mining and crown land sales were to be prohibited. Hunting, trapping, fishing, snowmobiling and motorized boat access (in some parts) were to be permitted in the reserve (TWS 1987b; TWS 1987c).

There is some contradiction about this issue among the TWS board members who were interviewed for this project. While it is clear that the group proposed a "wildlands reserve," some people suggest that the TWS also proposed turning the Temagami area into a national park. A national park would have been seen as an offense to Teme-Augama Anishnabai as their land uses would have been further curtailed, and they would likely not be adequately consulted about the issue. Some members state that the group never publicly proposed that the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan* be turned into a national park. Others suggest that this was glibly proposed by a few, and that they were nearly all against it. This issue will be explored further in Chapter 5: Political Strengths and Tensions. However, it is important to know that there was some debate on this issue, reflecting the diverging opinions about the group's support for a national park.

The Temagami Wilderness Society was a very organized and sophisticated group. They used media to their advantage, knew a lot about logging in the area, and fought hard to have the land protected from logging. Many of those involved put their lives on hold in order to fight for the land that they loved. However, the issue was not a clear black-and-white struggle between logging companies and environmentalists. Because of Teme-Augama Anishnabai's traditional occupation of the territory they were fighting for, and the contemporary land rights issue, the Temagami Wilderness Society had a lot more to contend with than simply fighting

for the ecosystems. The next section will examine how the philosophies of the two groups related to each other, both in the past and in the present.

The histories and philosophies of the relationships between Aboriginal peoples and mainstream environmental organizations

Environmental Destruction, Colonialism, Racism and Eurocentrism

Environmentalism and Indigenous rights movements do have some philosophic commonalities. Many Indigenist[69] environmental scholars argue that environmental destruction is a manifestation of European colonialism and industrial capitalism (Simpson 2004; Fixico 1997; Means 1997; LaDuke 1999). Indigenous activism and organizing is often seeking remittance for the effects of colonization and environmental destruction. Most Euro-North American environmentalism is a reaction to this environmental destruction. However, on the whole it has failed to address the colonialist aspects of Western culture. Thus, common environmentalism for the most part, has failed to understand the social and human rights aspects of environmental destruction.

Environmental destruction is encouraged by the conquest-and profit-driven aspects of Western culture (Means 1997; Tinker 1997). Western economic theory's primary goals of "progress" and "economic growth" (LaDuke 1993, xi) consider nature's wealth to be infinite. "Natural resources" are available to humans to exploit as they will. Some Indigenist scholars believe that these actions have been justified among many Euro-Canadians, by the books of Genesis, in which God tells humans to

[69] The word Indigenist has been taken to mean a scholar, whether Indigenous or not, who supports Indigenous self-determination. (Churchill in Simpson 2004)

"dominate" and "subdue" the earth and the animals (Gn 1:28 in Tinker 1997; Weaver 1997, Lovelace[70] 2009). Some scholars have linked "human-centrism" and Eurocentrism (Fixico 1997).

The exploitative actions of many transnational corporations have caused tremendous environmental destruction and demonstrate the European belief in our role as dominators. Destroying these lands interrupts Aboriginal access to traditional territories and to their cultural heritage. Resisting transnational corporations is a potential source of commonality for Aboriginal peoples and environmentalists. However, certain elements of Western culture encourage complicity in these processes of colonization.

Present manifestations of this philosophy of domination over the Earth allow many Westerners to hold a position of cultural superiority over the earth, plants and animals (Merchant 1989; Bobiwash 2003). The Culture/Nature binary[71] exemplifies this separation. Some cultures have "grey scales" which are used to compare opposite ideas on a spectrum. Western culture has many "binary" ideas, containing two categories, which are mutually exclusive and exhaustive. An object or entity is either one or the other, and can't be both at the same time. Therefore, according to the Culture/Nature binary, something can be only either "Nature" or "Culture". Under this binary thinking, humans, especially European descendants are not a part of "Nature," but are a part of the "Culture" realm. Further, the "Culture" side of the binary is given superiority over "Nature". The belief in this superior status by people

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[70] Note from Bob Lovelace: While I am okay with you citing my support of this idea I would suggest that God is probably being misquoted in Genesis by some self serving soul who is now roasting in proverbial Hell. I wouldn't want God to believe that I thought she said that.

[71] This binary is discussed when presenting Jocelyn Thorpe's (2008) work in Chapter 2.

allows corporations to destroy nature and Indigenous lands so easily, without moral repercussions.

Racism and oppression have also been justified through the intellectual/power process of Eurocentrism. Western philosophy and science, developed mainly during the Enlightenment, was used to rationalize the already established Judeo-Christian notions of the superior intellectual status of Europeans (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). The intellectual categories of "Civilized" and "Savage" justified/justifies the oppression of people of colour and Indigenous people. The Civilized/Savage binary is inextricably linked with the Culture/Nature binary. Europeans were "Civilized" and lived in "Cultured" spaces, whereas Indigenous peoples were "Savage" and lived in "Natural" spaces (Blyth 1989). While notions of Indigenous savagery have fallen out of fashion, racism and Eurocentrism are still imbedded in Euro-North American culture under more subtle, insidious forms (Gosine and Teelucksingh 2008).

Racism and Eurocentrism are used to justify historic and ongoing colonization and occupation. Notions of racial superiority are linked to theories of "productivity" and to how different cultures occupy and use their land. Because Europeans farmed and extracted resources (and were Christian and white-skinned), their forms of land use were considered superior to those of Indigenous peoples[72]. This allowed Europeans to frame Turtle Island (North America) as a *terra nullius*[73], when it was "discovered". Because the land was not being used "properly", colonization was and still is intellectually justified (Razack 2004).

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[72] Although some Indigenous nations in the area now known as Canada, such as the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois Confederacy) and Wendat (Hurons) did farm, the majority in the area known as Canada did not.

[73] This literally means "a land or earth that is null or void" (Miller 2006, 21)

This has led to many white North Americans having a sense that not only do they belong to the land, but that "the land was ours before we were the land's" (Robert Frost in White Wolf Fassett 1997, 179). They often do not realize that all of the wealth that makes up Canada was financed by resource extraction on lands exchanged by or taken from, Aboriginal peoples. As mentioned earlier, if Aboriginal people had received market value for their lands, they would be among the wealthiest of Canadian society (Johnson in Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, Vol. 1 1996). Federal funds that go towards Aboriginal people each year is a small, token compensation for the financial benefit that has been gained from the land.

A sense of entitlement over the land exists in many white North Americans. However, these feelings may not be explicit or conscious. Many Euro-Canadian environmentalists also hold this feeling of entitlement without being aware of it. These feelings often manifest at very personal, behavioural levels and can cause pain and conflict within Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal alliances and coalitions (Davis, O'Donnell and Shpuniarsky 2007). These will be examined further in Chapter 5: Political Strengths and Tensions. In Canada, this sense of entitlement of recreationists and wilderness advocates has meant that Aboriginal people have been excluded from certain areas, so that they could become parks.

History of the Relationship

As parks and conservation areas began to be created around the turn of the century, Aboriginal people were removed or their rights were taken away. The creation of Jasper National Park meant that several Métis families had to move out of

the park in 1910 (MacLaren 1999). With the creation of Algonquin Provincial Park in 1893, the Golden Lake First Nation was forbidden from hunting and trapping on their traditional territory (Hodgins and Cannon 1998). When Quetico Provincial Park was created in 1913, the Ojibwa of Sturgeon Lake were forced to relocate when their reserve was made extinct by the federal and provincial governments (Hodgins and Cannon 1998). Riding Mountain National Park, officially created in 1933, led to the Keeseekoowenin Band being evicted and their houses being burned (Morrison 1997). Numerous instances of protected areas being created that removed the rights of First Nations people exist across Ontario and Canada. While some hunting and fishing rights have been restored, often this has happened only after long-term fights on the part of First Nations (Morrison 1997; Lawson 1998).

As this history illustrates, the way that protected areas and forest reserves were managed often meant that Aboriginal rights were taken away. For example many Indigenous groups have lost their rights for individual harvesting of animals, trees and other materials necessary for survival. In addition, Aboriginal people have been historically excluded from the management of protected areas and wildlife populations[74] (Morrison 1997). Resource management staff have made mistakes when Indigenous Knowledge or Aboriginal rights were ignored or discredited. This long history has led many First Nations people to be "deeply skeptical of the goals and motives of both government and the conservation movement" (Morrison 1997, 276).

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[74] In the last fifteen years, Gladu et al. believe that the Federal government has been more willing to include Aboriginal people in protected area management (2003).

This phenomenon is common across the world. "Big Conservation[75]" has become a real threat to the territories and livelihood of many Indigenous peoples. For instance, in the African nation of Chad, 600,000 people became "conservation refugees" when the nation slated 9.1 % of its land into protected areas in the 1990s. Worldwide estimates of this phenomenon are between five million to tens of millions, with 1.6 million conservation refugees in India alone (Dowie 2006). Indigenous Peoples have spoken out in international fora against being displaced and/or over-regulated when their land becomes a protected area. The big conservation groups' public response has been to deny their part in the problem[76]. These groups' new reliance on multinational corporations for funding means that large conservation groups support market-based solutions as opposed to allowing local sustenance economies to resume.

Newer collaborations, initiated by Indigenous peoples, involve shared management of protected areas in Australia, Bolivia and Nepal (Dowie 2006). Mark Dowie believes that conservationists are beginning to move away from seeing Indigenous people as a "threat" and are realizing that rich biodiversity in many areas exists *because* the Indigenous peoples living there deeply understood how to preserve these complex ecosystems (2006).

The Gwaii Haanas National Park/Haida Heritage Site in British Columbia is an example of a protected area with shared management. The Council of the Haida Nation co-manages the area with Parks Canada. Designated in 1987, just two years

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[75] Dowie names Conservation International, The Nature Conservancy, The Worldwide Fund for Nature, The Wildlife Conservations Society and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature as those pushing for conservation areas on Indigenous lands.

[76] Dowie sees some promise among the staff of big conservation groups that he has interviewed, which are at least aware of the problem.

before the TAA/TWS blockades, the creation of this protected area followed several political actions. These included environmental lobbying by young Haidas and non-Haidas in the 1970s, a Haida land claim in 1981, and a 1985 Haida roadblock to stop destructive logging on their homeland (Notzke 1994). With such similar features as in Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan*, this story was no doubt an inspiration for Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists during the 1989 blockades and ensuing negotiations. Although the Haida were reluctant to engage in co-management, they have "agreed to disagree" with the federal government about the question of land ownership. Instead, they have focused on their common goal of protecting the natural and cultural values of their homeland. With this protected area, economies benefit from eco-tourism, and many feel that Indigenous and environmental goals are both being met (McVetty and Deakin 1999).

Jim Morrison[77] (1997) believes that the one of the principles of tension between preservationists and Indigenous people is the reality of the history outlined above. He suggests that philosophic tensions also emerge from contrasting views of wilderness and wildlife. The next section will examine these two issues.

Wilderness

Wilderness[78] is an English term that exists within the Culture/Native binary. It is the opposite of civilization and culture, a place that is remote, far beyond the

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[77] Morrison was involved in the Temagami area/n'Daki Menan as the facilitator for the Wendaban Stewardship Authority. He is also a friend to many people in the area.

[78] This section looks at several different meanings of the word *wilderness*. Therefore, no single definition of the term will be given.

limits of the city. The word has limited usage for Temagami Anishnabai people.

One Elder says:

> But wilderness is just a word that means, out there. There's nothing wilderness about it, but in the eyes of the white man, it is wilderness. Wilderness is not a real great word. It's trying to describe what's out there. To myself I'd soon as use the term of "lakes and forest" "lakes and pine forest;" that's more like it.

Mary Laronde (2007) suggests that the word connotes a particular way of interacting with a wilderness environment.

> Environmentalists...say they want wilderness. But there is no such thing as wilderness. What does wilderness mean?.... It sounds like, hey, that sounds like a nice place to go, let's go there. [But for us] it's home, right? So that was the difference you see between [environmentalists and Teme-Augama Anishnabai].

An anonymous Teme-Augama Anishnabai respondent (2007) explains how these two very different conceptions of *n'Daki Menan*/the Temagami area collide:

> They fly in here from Vancouver or wherever and they're like "oh it's so peaceful here and I don't want to see any neighbours, I don't want to hear any boats." You know, I'm sorry but I have to take my kid to school. I know this is your paradise and it's nice to have a vacation and a rest. But, how do you get your kid to school?

This respondent highlights the way that certain people's[79] definitions of wilderness lead to policies and practices, which interfere with Indigenous ways of living. However, other Teme-Augama Anishnabai people believe in the importance of the idea of wilderness and see it as a way to describe what needs to be preserved. One Teme-Augama Anishnabai participant, when asked about wilderness said: "There's not enough of it" (2009).

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[79] It would seem from this quote that she is talking mostly about cottagers.

Jean Manore (1998) examines three different conceptions of wilderness over Canada's history, and argues that for each there is a corresponding stereotype of Aboriginal people that exists. These views of wilderness overlap with each other, and are all still in existence in certain forms. However, the dominant visions for each era can be delineated. The first, emerged at the time of contact. Wilderness, in the minds of most Europeans, was "a place to be feared, a place where evil lurks" (Manore 1998, 2). At this time, Aboriginal people were considered "wildmen," "savage," and "out there" (1998, 6). While fur traders had considerable contact with Aboriginal people, settlers (in particular farmers) had less reason to have contact[80] with local First Nations people. Those who were unknown made the settlers afraid. Indeed, these ideas solidified the Culture/Nature and Civilized/Savage binaries.

As time passed in North America, wilderness became a "frontier". The steam engine and other technologies permitted increased travel and resource extraction. Wilderness became an economic asset waiting to be exploited (Manore 1998). Where once wilderness was a "feeling," it became a noun or a group of nouns. It became an object waiting to be controlled and manipulated for Euro-North American's gain. Indigenous peoples, consequently were seen as "obstacles to economic development," or having "vanished" (Manore 1998; Hodgins and Bordo 1992). Parks were created as respites for weary city-dwellers, and Indigenous peoples were removed from these areas. The Indian Act, the reserve system and the band council system became political mechanisms for controlling Aboriginal people and their lands (Manore 1998). Residential schools became a way for Euro-Canadians to control Indigenous

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[80] It is important to remember that the Indian Act made it illegal for Aboriginal people to have business dealings with local non-Aboriginal people for the early 20th century.

minds and bodies. These measures were attempts to make the "vanishing Indian" illusion a reality.

In the wake of the Civil Rights and environmental movements and the modern land claims era we have seen the emergence of the view of wilderness as "sanctuary". Wilderness has become a process, a way of being, a spiritual means, to a more peaceful ends (Manore 1998). Aboriginal people are seen in relation to this "sanctuary". Environmentalists can be seen as the most prominent Euro-North Americans to perpetuate this discourse.

This view of wilderness has led to two distorted views of Aboriginal people. One stereotype is that Aboriginal people augment Nature and are a part of it, as they are environmentally "pure". Many recreationists tout how important it is to consider the "heritage" of an area they're traveling on, by acknowledging the Aboriginal ancestors of the area. Frequently no mention is made to the contemporary Aboriginal people, as if they don't currently exist, nor do their claims to their ancestral lands. This has led to some environmentalists romanticizing Aboriginal people as "ecological Indians[81]". Pre-contact societies are seen as "model environmentalists", and modern-day Aboriginal people are not considered any different. In the introduction to their new collection about Environmental Justice in Canada, Haluza-DeLay, O'Riley, Cole & Agyeman state that: "While environmentalists often appropriate Aboriginality as an exemplar of environmental praxis, this stereotypes Aboriginal peoples as well as essentializes them" (2009, 16) –basically suggesting that there are certain "essential" elements that all Aboriginal people posses.

[81] A prime example of this is the "Crying Indian" commercial for the Keep America Beautiful Campaign in 1976. Actor "Iron Eyes" Cody is seen shedding a tear because he is looking at a polluted waste site.

But when Aboriginal people step out of this "environmentally pure" box, by using fishing technology, for instance they become a part of utilitarian society and hence part of the problem (Koenig 2005). If not "pure", Aboriginal people who use technology, who hunt and trap, or who seek local employment in resource industries are seen as a "threat". This has led to lobbying on the part of some environmentalists to prevent Aboriginal people from hunting in national and provincial parks.

These popular conceptions, held by many environmentalists perpetuate the Culture/Nature binary. As "pure", Aboriginal people are on the "Nature" side. They are seen as romanticized objects, which can do no harm. As a "threat," they are a part of "Culture". They are pro-development and greedy. An academic debate between Calvin Martin, Shephard Krech and others also perpetuates these simplistic understandings (Weaver, 1997). They discuss whether Aboriginal people were traditionally intrinsically ecological, or were in a "spiritual war" with animals. These misconceptions lead to an effect where environmentalist do not often support "campaigns for land claims, treaty rights, or economic development, thus undermining cultural and social justice for Aboriginal peoples" (Haluza-DeLay, et al. 2009, 16-17).

The reality is that Aboriginal societies are so varied and complex that their stewardship philosophies and practices, both traditional and contemporary, cannot be easily defined in rigid, simple terms or ideas that only exist in the English language and cosmology. In Indigenous cultures, the Culture/Nature binary does not exist[82], as

[82] Rather, in Anishnabai culture, things are classified based on whether they are "animate" (breathing) or "inanimate" (non-breathing). However, these do not correspond to "living" and "non-living"

plants and animal species and other elements are shown consideration and respect in a similar way to other humans groups. Humans are also an integral part of these "natural" communities (McCormack 1998; Simpson 2008). Many Indigenous cultures have social and spiritual relationship with non-human entities, and are able to communicate with them (Simpson 2008). Leanne Simpson has spoken about how the Anishnabeg have in the past entered into treaty relationship with animal nations, based on mutual recognition, respect, responsibility and reciprocity (2008).

The Impact of the Idea of "Wilderness" in the Temagami area

These different versions of wilderness have affected the way people think about the Temagami area. Consequently, the way the land has been managed has also been affected. For instance, the desire to preserve wilderness as a "sanctuary" has led to measures, such as a ban on snowmobiling in certain areas, policies, which interfere with Anishnabai lifestyle and connection to the land. One Teme-Augama Anishnabai respondent said:

> Skidooing…because that's what people do….That's how you stay connected to the land,… by being on the land. And… people from down south have this idea that…they can get in a car and drive to work on the 400...but they come up here and tell us that you can't drive a boat on a lake, or you can't drive a skidoo here. (2007)

The opinions of cottagers influence a powerful lobby within the Temagami area. Most cottagers do not want to see any more economic development on the land. They are concerned about the sort of housing or cottage development that might happen when Teme-Augama Anishnabai gain control over a large reserve area. One

classifications in English. A certain rock might be animate, and a certain animal might be inanimate. (Nicole Bell, 2008; Liz Ozawamick 2009).

participant involved in the recreation industry, through family ties, explains these concerns:

> I think a lot of the TLA members, many of whom I know personally....They're...a little concerned about what the long-term results of what Teme-Augama Anishnabai are going to achieve with their political ambitions. What are they going to do with those portions of the shoreline that they may wind up having under their own control...And I know that concerns me as well—because it certainly means that the place is not going to be exactly the same as it's been for the last hundred odd years... (2007)

Cottagers want to be able to visit and enjoy Lake Temagami, but many would like it preserved in time. The land caution did preserve the land to a certain extent, but has now been removed. This participant worries about the "Muskoka-fication" of the Lake. He worries that Teme-Augama Anishnabai, in an effort to increase their economic development, will change the character of the area. He states:

> I get a feeling Bear Islanders want carte blanche to do what they want with the land. And I think that's kind of dangerous. I can see them putting tourist traps on the highway.... And shoreline development on the lake, of course that would really do a hatchet job on what the lake has to offer if that was to happen. (2007)

Some cottagers seems to want Teme-Augama Anishnabai to freeze their land-uses in time. For them, wilderness is sanctuary, and Anishnabai people are "threats" to this sanctuary.

This can be seen as Not-In-My-Back-Yard (NIMBY)-ism and is the source of certain tensions within the recreationist community as well. For instance, many influential cottagers from the central part of Lake Temagami want all of the future development to happen in the Lake's peripheral arms. Consequently, cottagers and youth camps in Lake Temagami's periphery want future cottage and lodge development to happen in the Lake's central areas. Further, there is tension between

the youth camps, including the Association for the Youth Camps on Temagami Lakes (AYCTL) and the cottagers, particularly the Temagami Lakes Association (TLA). The youth camps spend a lot of time canoe-tripping in the backcountry. For this reason, they are very concerned about the logging and development in the backcountry. Cottagers are mostly on the central parts of Lake Temagami and the northeast arm, and many (especially the younger generation) have not visited the backcountry. Therefore, many cottagers do not care what happens in the backcountry and want to focus only on preventing development on Lake Temagami (Hodgins 2009).

Some recreationists in Temagami, like the cottagers described above, subscribe to the view of the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan* as "sanctuary". It is a place for them to visit, to escape the stress of city life. Others see wilderness as very practically a "roadless area" (2008); to them the wilderness in Temagami is a very familiar second home.

"Ecocentrism" in the Broader Environmental Movement

Koenig (2005) analyzes the belief system of many environmentalists' view of wilderness as "sanctuary". He calls the strain of preservationist thinking which perpetuates the Culture/Nature binary, "ecocentrism". *Ecocentrism* is an extreme form of preservationism that places the needs of ecosystems and animals above those of the humans living on the land. It is a reaction to "multiple-use", anthropocentric philosophies, which claim to put "humans" first, but are actually putting the Western

capitalist system first. Ecocentrism,[83] however, can be problematic because it can obscure the social and political context in which an issue arises. It focuses only on ecosystems, which are considered starkly separate from humans. Humans are all considered the same, and are all "bad" for the ecosystem. This obscures class, cultural and racial barriers, and makes Indigenous people and poor or working class people living off the land into "enemies" of the land (Kitossa 2000).

From an ecocentrist understanding, humans are "bad" for the environment. Aboriginal people are either on the "Nature" side of the binary –so in tune with the environment that they cannot harm it, and they are not really seen as people; or they are on the "Culture" side, part of "modern" society, and thus dangerous to ecosystems. As stated above, it seems a double standard has emerged where some believe that non-Aboriginal recreationists are allowed to *drive* from the city to the protected area, but Aboriginal people are banned from snowmobiling into the park to ice fish. Further, these principles suggest that Aboriginal people are the cause of drops in wildlife populations, when urbanization and sport hunting cause much more damage to animal species and habitat (Morrison 1997).

Extreme forms of "deep ecology" has been used to justify this ecocentrism. Deep is a Euro-North American environmental philosophy about the intrinsic value of nature. However, extreme adherents of deep ecology are willing to sacrifice people for the greater good of the ecosystem (Koenig 2005). EarthFirst! activist Dave Forman has called Native peoples "a threat to the habitat" and told environmentalists to fight against Native land and water claims (Churchill in Weaver 1997, 5.) Another EarthFirster, George Weurthner, called Aboriginal people "the first environmental

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[83] Tamari Kitossa (2000) uses the name "biocentrism".

pillagers" (Churchill in Weaver 1997, 5). The belief in extreme forms of deep ecology has been used to attack Aboriginal hunting practices, such as Makah whaling and Inuit seal hunting (Kitossa 2000). These practices are denounced by groups like the International Wildlife Commission and the Sea Shepherds Conservation Society as part of a "culture of killing" (Kitossa 2000, 31) These groups ignore the spiritual and relational aspects of Aboriginal hunting practices.

Views of Wildlife and Harvesting

Many non-Aboriginal Canadians do not understand the cultural and spiritual elements of Indigenous hunting, trapping and fishing. Mary Laronde explains the spiritual nature of hunting for Aboriginal people: "Can you imagine how incredibly emotional and spiritual [it] must be to be the person who does that, and the high regard and the esteem that the hunter would have for this beautiful, big animal that they have to take because it's who they are" (Laronde 2007). She explains further:

> There's a real spiritual aspect to holding a little warm body like a partridge in your hand...even if you don't know the ceremonies, there's a tendency to be very, very ceremonial with it. When you kill something yourself, there's a real thought about that animal. And when you're cleaning it [too]. Like a reverence, really.... And when you eat that meat, it's so good... It's like a thanksgiving.

Non-Aboriginal people have a hard time understanding this as many are not brought up with the same amount of reverence and a respect for animals. Further, hunting in non-Aboriginal society is often seen as a sport, and with an emphasis on how big a fish is or the size of a deer or moose's antlers.

Because they see hunting as disrespectful towards animals, many environmentalists have animal rights sympathies and deplore the killing of animals by

anyone. Doug Adams, lodge owner and trapper states: "I'll never get these socks and sandals gang[84] to sit down and have a plate of barbecued beaver with me for lunch." (2007) Mary Laronde thinks that this animal rights/cruelty to animals activism is "misguided, because I've grown up relying on wildlife to survive." (2007) Many animal rights sympathizers can't seem to understand the high degree of respect that is involved with Aboriginal harvesting.

There is also a misperception that hunting, trapping and fishing are not viable economic activities. Anne Doncaster, an animal rights activist (not associated with the Temagami area), commented to the Royal Commission on Seal Hunting: "Is it in the best interest of these children and the culture of Native people to encourage them to trap, or to encourage them to get an education so that they can make their own choices in life?" (cited in Kitossa 2000) Doncaster's complete disregard for the positive effects of being raised in an Aboriginal culture and the harmful effects of assimilation highlight the ignorance that some environmentalists also share. Her view also ignores the fact that hunting is a viable economic activity.

In the Temagami area, some environmentalists feel that trapping shouldn't happen in the area's provincial parks. This belief and subsequent action interferes with Teme-Augama Anishnabai harvesting practices. Mary Laronde has a friend who is a very active environmentalist named Tim Gray who worked for many years for the Wildlands League. She explains how this tension played out between them:

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[84] Note from Doug Adams: the "socks and sandals gang" are the "Toronto yuppies that grew up watching way too much Walt Disney and don't have a clue what real life and wild animals are all about. They come up here believing that the rest of the world should have this same warped view of wildlife that they do". (2009)

> Tim Gray and I had this conversation. He used to stay at my house when he came up here. [I] loved the guy, but, he [said] "you shouldn't be able to trap in a wilderness park". [I said] "why not?" People trapped there before. You're not going to miss a pine marten. You don't even know how many there are anyway...It was just the idea of it.

Non-Aboriginal people often don't acknowledge that hunting, trapping and fishing are long-standing treaty rights. When Aboriginal people use modern technologies, they are flipped to the other "side" of the Nature/Culture dualism, and become bad for the environment. Doug Adams explains his attitude as a white hunter, trapper and lodge owner:

> I don't think anybody can deny that there was an injustice done in years gone by...I sympathize with them in the fact that it should be cleared up, something should be done. But by the same token, get with the 21st century. If you want to pretend to be an Indian then live like an Indian. Home-made bow and arrow, home-made clothes, stuff like that. But if you're gonna go hunting and you're going to throw a 30-odd six in your 4x4 pickup truck, you damn well play by white man's rules. Buy a license and hunt in season. (2007)

Just as gunpowder was borrowed by Europeans from the Chinese, so Aboriginal people's culture is going to evolve with times to include new technologies created by other cultures. This doesn't mean that their rights, which are validated in treaties should be revoked. Adams' more rigid view of Indigenous culture as fixed in pre-contact time does not acknowledge this. Nor does his quote reconcile the solemn promises that Euro-Canadian governments made to First Nations people when negotiating treaties with them, about being able to hunt on their traditional territory as long as the rivers run and the grass grows.

Other First Nations-environmentalist relationships in Canada have been affected by differences in stewardship philosophies. Koenig suggests that if

Indigenous people are only seen in ecocentric terms, the alliance is limited (2005). Both Greenpeace and Federation of Ontario Naturalists (FON) have made attempts to win over the First Nations communities on the Saugeen-Bruce peninsula. However, they are met with a "guarded response," (Koenig 2005, 111). Koenig believes that it is because of their ecocentrism. The FON released a paper called "Putting Nature First[85]" (1993) which suggests that "nature" (meaning not humans) should come before the harvesting rights of Aboriginal people. First Nations groups have no reason to trust these groups, when they make blanket claims about Aboriginal harvesting and rights.

Larsen (2003) shows that this is not always the case. First Nations and environmentalists in British Columbia have been able to create shared environmental philosophies. The Cheslatta T'en saw the power behind environmental discourse, and began to promote themselves as "[I]ndigenous environmentalists who sought the complete ecological restoration of their territory." (Larsen 2003, 80) The spiritual and conservationist aspect of Cheslatta "ethnoecology" (80) appealed to local environmentalists and helped strengthen the alliance.

Final Thoughts

This chapter has shown how each group's stewardship philosophies interact with each other and influence relations in *n'Daki Menan*/the Temagami area. There are two main sources of tension between First Nations and environmentalists outlined in this chapter. The first is the history of Aboriginal people and protected areas, and

[85] Upon contacting Ontario Nature, (the FON's new name) I was told that copies of this report were no longer available (2009). Perhaps this is because their opinion on the issue has changed?

the second is the different definitions of wilderness and wildlife and how they interfere with Indigenous peoples' ways of living. Mary Laronde summarizes this distinction when she states: "First Nations are not [necessarily] environmentalists, they are stewards of the land" (2007).

In *n'Daki Menan*/the Temagami area, having distinct stewardship philosophies is not necessarily only a source of tension. One environmentalist suggests that these can be a source of strength. She describes the approach that she and an Anishnabai woman took to try to promote a merging of the two philosophies. She states: "you're not choosing an either/or, that there is a nesting of First Nation land rights and environmentally responsible resource management." The two worked together to build on the strength of both group's resources and join each other's philosophies. This will be examined further in Chapter 6, "Personal Relationships".

In *n'Daki Menan*/Temagami, the struggle to have these two philosophies seen as co-dependent is not easy. A number of complexities have come into play. Those who see the two philosophies as inter-related have had to work hard to have this mutual framing considered by decision-makers on both sides. What is important in creating an ethical space, is for both groups to understand and acknowledge how important these cultural differences are, so that they can be discussed and addressed appropriately. Indeed, this struggle for mutuality, a merging of environmental and social justice is what frames this entire project.

Chapter 5: Political Strengths and Tensions

In this chapter, I turn to the actions and behaviours that brought strength and tension in the Teme-Augama Anishnabai/environmentalist relationship. These actions are a reflection of the values, interests and thought processes of the political actors involved in the blockades of 1988-1989. This chapter seeks to use participants' analysis to find the underlying cultural sources of these behaviours. According to Ermine, we must collectively observe "how hidden values and intentions can control our behaviour, and how unnoticed cultural differences can clash without our realizing what is occurring." (2007, 202) This chapter looks at actions, and sources of actions, which I consider to be the political issues.

The *political* aspects of Teme-Augama Anishnabai/environmentalist relationship were a source of greater tension than strength. As an outsider, it is difficult to examine the tensions in a relationship. One runs the risk of accentuating the tensions, making them seem bigger than they are. Another risk is increasing the tensions as participants read this work and feel hurt/slighted when they read about how others feel about them. Because of these risks, no names have been used to identify the quotes that were given with respect to tensions.

There are two reasons that this chapter focuses more significantly on tensions. The first, is in order to be honest and true to the data, and to the experiences of those who were interviewed. These tensions did cause frustration and pain. Part of a healing process is feeling that your voice is being heard, and having your experience acknowledged. This thesis represents a humble effort to give voice to these perspectives in a hope that it will contribute to a healing of the relationship.

The second reason is the hope that something can be learned from an examination of the tensions. If those involved, and others in a similar situation, can learn from what went wrong, they may be able to work better at mitigating these problems. This effort is in the hope of improving the First Nations-environmentalist relationship in the Temagami area and elsewhere. Therefore, this chapter seeks to look at the strengths of the relationship, and the tensions – both inter-group and intra-group that affected the political aspects of Teme-Augama Anishnabai/environmentalist relationship.

Strengths

The strengths of the relationship are evident in quotes from certain Teme-Augama Anishnabai people who were interviewed, who called environmentalists "excellent allies" (Laronde 2007) and called the relationship "stable and respectful" (Joe Katt 2007). June Twain said: "I really liked the support they were giving us" (2007). Another said that he has a good relationship because "I can tell they're concerned" (2007).

Davis, O'Donnell and Shpuniarsky (2007) found in studying Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal alliances, that resource mobilization theory was a good fit with the group that they studied (see Chapter 2 for more information):

> …the effectiveness of the coalition lay in the ability of its core organizers to mobilize the resources it needed to accomplish their campaigning objectives. Whether the resources were money, facilities, spokespeople, speakers, professional expertise, or warm bodies to lobby politicians or attend events…

It was certainly the case in the logging and land claims issues of the late 1980s and early 1990s, that mobilizing resources was a key strength of Teme-Augama Anishnabai/ environmentalist relationship. The collaboration was able to add support to each group's cause by providing larger numbers of people, increased media attention, and support for the cause from prominent people. Joint efforts were able to capitalize on these strengths, and create initiatives that were beneficial to both sides.

Many participants suggested that the parallel efforts of Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists helped increase the number of supporters that both causes had. These included people writing letters, lobbying politicians and people attending awareness events in cities and towns. However, most importantly, the combination of two large-scale blockades within the same season (Fall 1989) allowed each group's single efforts to achieve a level of support that they wouldn't have received on their own.

One Temagami Anishnabai member refers to the collaborative potential of the dual blockades:

> Certain people looked at the non-Native people as not right to be protesting...But I couldn't agree with that. Because the more people, the more power you have, no matter what race they are.

His views reflect the differences of opinion within the Anishnabai community about the actions of environmentalists. He responds to this debate by suggesting that the strengths of the alliance (increased numbers) outweighs the question of whether the environmentalists should have the right to be protesting. Joe Katt who is a former TFN Chief, also sees the importance of numbers, stating that:

> If we had to do things like blockade in 1989, [then] I was...agreeable to using the TWS and [other environmental

> groups]. Because government[s] only listen to large numbers of people. (Joe Katt 2007)

This quote emphasizes the main objective of the blockades, which was to influence the government, and specifically the Ministry of Natural Resource's decisions about the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan*.

Increased support from mainstream society, says one Teme-Anishnabai member, results in more awareness among the public. Joe Katt illustrates another reason why the increased numbers are so important. He states that creating a "quasi-alliance" with environmental groups "would help to raise the numbers and put the issue at the forefront of the media" (2007). Mary Laronde suggests that the environmentalists were an important ally because they "really did help bring the Temagami issue to the forefront in the media," and created a "buzz" about the logging issues (2007).

Jocelyn Thorpe points to two events, (apart from the blockades) which allowed the "Temagami" issue to receive considerable media attention. The first happened when the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in 1986, listed the Lady Evelyn Smoothwater Provincial Park as one of twenty-three protected areas in the world, which were threatened with environmental disaster[86] (Killan 1993; Thorpe 2008). This was accomplished because of the work of the Federation of Ontario Naturalists. This announcement prompted "the Temagami issue" to become a "cause celèbre" (Killan 1993, 365). The Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan*

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[86] Brian Back pointed out that two other events brought more media attention than the IUCN's listing. The first was the government's Environmental Assessment of the Red Squirrel Road extension, which was released in 1986. The second was the TWS's release of the Tall Pines Project, which revealed the important old growth ecosystems in the Temagami area, in 1989. (2010)

became internationally recognized for its role in the struggle for sustainable development[87].

The second event, which "grabbed national attention," was an earlier TAA blockade that was set up in June 1988 (Rosemary Speirs in Thorpe 2008). According to Thorpe, this event meant that:

> Journalists began to focus on the TAA struggle for territory, rather than merely mentioning it briefly in articles about the fight between loggers and environmentalists. (2008, 17)

It was, therefore, the work of both environmentalists and Teme-Augama Anishnabai, which led to the high media profile the issue received. All of the blockades received considerable attention, particularly the two in 1989. This ability to mobilize media attention on the part of environmentalists and Teme-Augama Anishnabai is a strength of both groups. Each group was very strategic about using the media to reach their own goals. When combined, the two groups were able to hold considerably focus on the "Temagami" issue for several years.

Because of the IUCN's classification of the Lady Evelyn Smoothwater Provincial Park as threatened, prominent people like Margaret Atwood, Timothy Findley, Robert Bateman, Pierre Berton and David Suzuki joined the cause. They joined the Save Temagami Committee and became patrons of the Temagami Wilderness Society. The celebrities who joined the issue did increase the visibility of the issue. However, these celebrities, with the exception of David Suzuki, did not focus on Teme-Augama Anishnabai's land right issues. Margaret Atwood, for instance was in the Temagami area for a canoe trip in 1987 but was "too tired" at the

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[87] This international recognition led to the United Nation's Commission on Forestry and Sustainable Development visiting the area in 1996.

end of it to have a scheduled meeting with Teme-Augama Anishnabai—and subsequently did not continue to advocate strongly on their behalf (Hodgins 2009).

This celebrity involvement also increased the media attention the issue was receiving. By the time of the 1989 blockades the "Temagami" logging issue had been in the media for three years. Apart from newspaper articles in Canada's biggest papers, the "Temagami" issue was also finding itself on television. In 1990, David Suzuki's *Nature of Things* produced an episode about the logging crisis, called *Temagami: The Last Stand.* Two video documentaries on the topic were produced, including *Frozen Caution* (1987, with Elizabeth Moes) and *Temagami: A Living Title to the Land* (1990 directed by Jamie Cullingham[88] and Gil Cardinal). Word spread quickly across the country with this television coverage. It is not surprising then, that almost three hundred and fifty people were arrested on both blockades.

Media attention puts pressure on governments. David Peterson, the Liberal Premier at the time stated that "the Temagami question" was "the most difficult issue I have ever seen in politics" (Killan 1993, 371). David McNab, who had been working for the Ontario Native Affairs Directorate argues that the government was "held captive" by the Teme-Augama Anishnabai blockades[89]. He states:

> Decision-making was by crisis-management as the province continued to lurch from day to day without any long-term plan for Temagami. Ad hoc decisions ruled the day. (McNab 1998, 43)

The Liberal government felt the pressure in question periods especially, as the NDP barraged them with inquiries about their handling of the situation.

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[88] Trent graduate and student of Bruce Hodgins.

[89] I would add that the actions of the Temagami Wilderness Society also contributed considerably.

The media attention also increased the number of supporters writing letters and lobbying government. For instance, in 1988 the MNR released its review of the Red Squirrel Assessment document. The review found that the Environmental Assessment met the legal standards, even though the assessment had only considered the effects of the Red Squirrel Road extension, and not of the logging that would take place because of it. Further DelCan International Ltd., the consulting company who created the report, refused to have their name attached to it. This was because they claimed that the MNR changed the report after they received it from DelCan, but before it was released to the public. In response, the Ministry received a record number of applications for a formal environmental hearing—170 individual and group appeals (Killan 1993).

Another source of strength was that the two groups shared resources. During the blockades, the Temagami Wilderness Society gave Teme-Augama Anishnabai a number of supplies. When the TWS took down their blockade at the request of the TAA, they gave them a 16-foot outboard boat and motor, several large wall tents and winter stoves for keeping warm. The TWS also encouraged its members to join the TAA blockade. As well, the Temagami Wilderness Society organized a fundraising event for Teme-Augama Anishnabai with singer Bill Crowfoot, and gave all of the proceeds to the First Nation (Back 2009).

Several joint efforts increased collaboration between Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists. They were a strong force in improving the relationship. Mary Laronde (2007) describes speaking engagements that she was

involved in. TAA and TFN leaders spoke at several venues, including OPIRG, Wildlands League, Northwatch and others. Mary Laronde explains:

> Some of my work was to go and speak at these places and let them know basically who we were, what we wanted, what we required, and what they needed to do to respect that….And Brennain [Lloyd of Northwatch], she got it off the hop (got it going). (2007)

In this effort, Brennain Lloyd helped to create opportunities for the Teme-Augama Anishnabai to speak for themselves, to have autonomy and self-representation. Brennain Lloyd and Northwatch also helped the Teme-Augama Anishnabai to create a consultation process for the TAA's shared stewardship policy in their model forest proposal and provided other policy-related assistance (Laronde 2007).

The old growth policy advisory committee, appointed by NDP Minister of Natural Resources Bud Wildman, was another initiative where environmentalists and Teme-Augama Anishnabai worked together. Brennain Lloyd was chair of the committee and Mary Laronde was a committee member (Laronde 2007). Mary Laronde says of this committee: "And it (the tension) was a challenge, that we both worked on. I think we really did try to change forest policy". (2007)

By working in parallel with each other, Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists were both able to benefit from their separate efforts. Sometimes they worked together on joint projects. Other times they worked beside each other, benefiting from each other's gains. They both earned advantages when each had a victory. Each group brought strengths to the relationship, which allowed each to hold a more powerful position in relation to the government. As della Porta and Diani explain about inter-organization social movement networks:

> What counts is not a balanced exchange of resources, but rather the quality of the relationship: in particular, the fact that, in principle, all actors engaged in exchanges recognize each other as suitable and equally respected partners. (1999, 129)

The sources of this collaborative potential in the Temagami area/n'Daki Menan, lies in the strength of social networks. In particular, these networks rely heavily on personal relationships in order to maintain the inter-organization linkages. As such, personal relationships will be discussed in Chapter 6. However, each group also used actions and behaviours which caused tensions, as will be examined in the next section.

<u>Tensions</u>

Actions of the Temagami Wilderness Society and Other Environmentalists

Most Teme-Augama Anishnabai had more positive than negative comments towards the environmentalists with whom they were involved. However, in the spirit of hoping to improve these types of relationships, it is important to understand what the roots of tension were. In many cases, specific *behaviours* served to alienate certain Teme-Augama Anishnabai people. Many participants gave some indications of what the *sources* of these *behaviours* might be. Therefore, this section ultimately seeks to examine the interaction between the *sources* and the *behaviours.*

What is important to consider in this section is that the *impact* of the actions of many environmentalists was sometimes different from the *intention* behind their behaviours. Most environmentalists probably had the *intention* of being respectful. However, in some cases, the *impact* of their behaviours left some Teme-Augama

Anishnabai people feeling hurt or disrespected. In cross-cultural situations, there is a steep learning curve for understanding that the *impact* of one's behaviour will be different when one is working in a different cultural context, than a familiar one.

"We felt that we were being used"

Several Teme-Augama Anishnabai felt that their issue got "lost" in the media and conflated as being the same as the environmentalists' issue. A Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader was confronted with this when she was on a speaking tour at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. She says: "so this lady came up to me [and said] "I want you to know that I've made my donation to the Temagami Wilderness Society to help your people" (2007). She suggests that this mis-communication happened because the issue was confused by the Temagami Wilderness Society. She states "people in Ontario…who wanted to support us, they thought, well if we send money to the TWS, we're going to help the Indians" (2007). She says that this experience felt like the TWS were "using us" (2007).

A different TAA leader gave an example of being at a conference in New Liskeard (half an hour north of Temagami) where students and others, "thought we were joined with the environmentalists" (2007). He believes that this was because the TWS was using photos of Teme-Augama Anishnabai on their promotional material. He says "we never gave them permission to use any of our pictures." (2007) There are photos of the TAA on TWS material. However it seems that the intention of this gesture was very different than the impact. Brian Back of the Temagami Wilderness Society states that: "We felt we had an obligation to remind people that there was a

TAA issue too. TAA members were complaining that we did not mention them often enough, so we did." (2010) In regards to a series of photos taken on the first day of the TAA blockade, Back said: "Everyone was taking photos of that public event, including the media. They had sent out a press release." (2010) Further, in terms of permission, Back felt that permission was implicit. This might be an example of a group's boundaries being crossed without an awareness of those who crossed it. Permission to use a photo might involve permission to *print it*, not just permission to *take it*.

However, it seems that this is a mutual source of tension. There are accusations from both sides about how Teme-Augama Anishnabai and the environmentalists' goals came to be conflated by the media. A TWS leader suggests that it was Teme-Augama Anishnabai who were benefiting from the confusion around the issue. He states:

> The public was confused. They always saw environmentalists and First Nations as having the same ideas. Which we don't. But the public saw it that way. And many Natives like to play it that way. (2008)

It seems that both environmentalists and Teme-Augama Anishnabai think that the other group was using the public's conflation of the issue to their advantage. It is quite possible that at different times, different people from both groups might have done so.

However, I suspect that it was the way the public was reading press coverage that caused much of the confusion. One TAA leader suggests that it was both the Ontario government and the press "wanted to lump us in with the environmentalists" (2007). For instance, articles by Jerry Kobalenko from *Outdoor Canada* and

Rosemary Speirs for *The Toronto Star* both outline clearly the different positions of Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists. However, both also use metaphors to explain some of the common interests of the two groups. Speirs says "The Indians find common cause with the Temagami Wilderness environmentalists" (1988). Kobalenko states: "The Teme-Augama Anishnabai – the local Indian band—fight from the same corner as environmentalists" (1989). By using these metaphors to explain the situation, (a common journalistic practice) the writers simplified the group's positions. This might have unintentionally been fueling the conflation of the environmentalist's and Teme-Augama Anishnabai's issues.

Putting Land over People

One Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader said, that to the environmentalists: "the people weren't as important as the land, basically, or as important as the concept of wilderness." (2007). This sentiment was expressed by many Teme-Augama Anishnabai leaders in different ways. Some suggest it was a matter of priority, others suggest that it was a matter of who had authority over the land, still others articulated that it was a matter of environmentalists ignoring the human rights concerns. These three perspectives that emerged from the interview analysis, will be examined in this section.

A Matter of Priority

One Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader felt that certain male leaders in the Temagami Wilderness Society prioritized the land over the Anishnabai people. They

didn't care about Teme-Augama Anishnabai's historical tenure over the land. She states, as partially quoted earlier:

> But we had people buried all over the land. And houses that were burned down... We don't come from anywhere else. ...[and they] did not really care about that one way or another. That wasn't in their interest. And [environmental leader] did say that. He said that in a letter to Gary, I recall that. He's more interested in the land than he was the people. So that's a little bit of a slap in the face. (2007)

This Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader suggests that these leaders lacked interest and care for Teme-Augama Anishnabai's position and the legitimacy of their authority over the land. It seems that the TWS wanted the land protected first, and were comfortable *then* handing the land over to Teme-Augama Anishnabai, once the land rights issue was settled. The TAA wanted control over what was happening to the land first, so that they could make decisions over the land, which would have involved banning logging in some areas, in line with their stewardship philosophies.

Human Rights

Several Teme-Augama Anishnabai used the frame of "human rights" to articulate what the environmentalists had left out or ignored in their struggle. One TA leader states: "We had to compete with the environmental issue and try to make people understand that it was a human rights issue, from our perspective." (2007) Not only did the human rights issue have to "compete" with the environmentalist issue, but some Teme-Augama Anishnabai felt that "the environmental concerns were actually working against the human rights concerns" (2007).

One Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader tried to encourage various environmental groups to adopt a policy in support of Aboriginal rights and title. She

says the response she received was often "well that's not in our mandate, our mandate is to fight for parks and wilderness space" (2007). Her response was "but they're inhabited" areas (2007). She believed that if environmental groups didn't develop these policies, then they were not allies. She states: "Because if you're not for us, you're against us. You either support the rights of First Nations people, or you don't. You can't sit on the fence." (2007)

One Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader remarked specifically about approaching Tim Gray from the Wildlands League about this issue, as they were friends. It took a long time, but in 2003, the Wildlands League did publish *Honouring the Promise: Aboriginal Values in Protected Areas in Canada* in collaboration with the National Aboriginal Forestry Association (2003). The report suggests that protected areas creation and management must consider the Aboriginal perspectives, values, rights and aspirations. Tim Gray was one of the members of the writing and editing team.

In the 1989 context, a Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader met with women who were in the Temagami Wilderness Society. She states:

> And the women that I met... in the TWS who were on the Board were trying to get the Board to recognize that the human rights were not something that you could leave out of the parks formula, or the environmentalists' formula. And they had trouble. They told me that they had trouble with the men on the Board. They just would not budge. They were just so entrenched in having things the way that they wanted it. (2007)

The presence of a gendered division within the Temagami Wilderness Society will be examined later. This quote and others above, are useful for understanding that on the topic of human rights and Aboriginal rights, there are differing perspectives within

environmental groups. Further, these opinions change over time for some groups. However, a general unwillingness of many environmentalists to consider human or Aboriginal rights issues emerges from the interviews.

Authority Over the Land

Some Teme-Augama Anishnabai leaders believed that in lobbying the Ontario government to stop the logging, the Temagami Wilderness Society worked against the TAA's self-determination. One leader stated:

> By going to the Ontario government and asking [them] to introduce its laws, for the protection of the environment, then they're actually working against Teme-Augama Anishnabai. Because, as soon as you impose them, they're starting to impose the colonial law on Teme-Augama Anishnabai. (2007)

Another leader explains that the issue is one about acknowledging authority: He states that the division with environmentalists will continue:

> ...until they acknowledge that we are not a part of the public institution authority that they have to lobby and that they are citizens of. But, that we are the Indigenous people with the authority. (2007)

The creation of Lady Evelyn-Smoothwater Park was an example of environmentalists encouraging the Ontario government to impose its authority over the land in the name of preservation. One Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader states: "By creating parks....the environmentalists were providing fodder for Ontario to do even more administration on the land than they [already] were." (2007)

Environmentalists' Responses to these tensions

Several environmentalists felt, after the fact, that their prioritizing of the land over people was problematic. One environmentalists stated: "But I think that's always how I felt, that as long as the land's protected, then your culture's protected." (2008) But her mind changed later on:

> Because if the land was intact, then, I always thought that the Temagami First Nation people would be intact, because of the nature of the land and the spirit of the land...I guess...that was kind of patronizing for me to think like that...it's not me or any non-Native person's place to say what the Native people do with the land. It's their land. (2008)

Another environmental leader states: "It isn't enough to save the trees if the community underneath them are suffering." (2007) After witnessing the prioritizing of *trees* over *people* by environmental groups, like the TWS, she states: "it was in that period that I stopped calling myself an environmentalist and I started calling myself a social activist." (2000)

Some environmental leaders felt that their prioritizing of land was important. This was because while the land rights issue was being sorted out, trees were being cut down at an alarming rate. One leader explains their position:

> We didn't know what the TAA were going to gain control over. There were going to be areas left out...There would have to be a sorting out after the land claim issue was resolved. And they still don't have any control, and still the logging is continuing.(2009)

He also states, that: "If they had regained ownership of the land, we would have asked them to protect the old growth forest." (2008) This opinion represents the approach that the TWS took in lobbying government.

Giving priority to the old growth forest over the land rights issue is a different approach from Teme-Augama Anishnabai's strategy. Part of this difference in perspective might have to do with different conceptions of time. The TWS wanted the land turned into a protected area so that in the short-term, the land would be protected from logging. As they state in their literature, about the Temagami Wildlands Reserve:

> ...it is a temporary land trust to be held for the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and was, and is, intended for one purpose: to stop the continued destruction of the least degraded portion of Temagami while the land claim is unsettled. (TWS 1987b)

To the TWS, this must have been seen as an acknowledgement that once the trees were protected, the TAA could have their land. However, their priority was to have the trees protected first, and as soon as possible. The pressure that they were putting on the government was not sustainable over the long-term. They needed their efforts to show results. For the Teme-Augama Anishnabai, however, this position didn't acknowledge their authority. The Teme-Augama Anishnabai saw this issue within the context of a longer timeframe. As Gary Potts stated: "A particular life, a particular lifetime is a dot, because it's 60 years, 80 years.... But that's nothing when you take it into the context of 8,000 years." (2007)

Given that George E. Tinker states that "for Euro-American peoples, temporality has become the primary category of existence for many centuries." (1997, 162) Time is a very important marker for Europeans, whereas American Indian views have a different epistemological priority: space. Within a worldview suggested by Tinker, waiting 40 years for a land rights issue to be resolved is a short time compared to the 5,000 years that the Teme-Augama Anishnabai have lived on the

land. They are not going anywhere and will continue to put pressure on the government as they have for more than one hundred years.

Environmentalists, on the other hand, know that the general public interest in preserving the area's old growth forests would soon wane, and with it, their political leverage. Therefore, many felt that they needed a protected area so that their short-term efforts would last in the long-term, or at least "while the land claim is unsettled" (TWS 1987b).

Initial Approaches

From the above testimonies, it is clear that there were some tensions between Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists. However, one question that emerged from the research and the literature review is "how did the relationship proceed?" Lynne Davis and Zoltán Grossman have found stages in the relationship between First Nations and environmentalists (see Chapter 2: Literature Review).

Did similar stages happen in the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan*? I was unable to determine discernible phases in the relationship. While there was change, learning and evolution in the relationship, no clear stages emerged from the analysis. The over-arching sense is that personal relationships were the most determining factor in how the strengths and tensions played out. As time went on, those relationships that were positive got stronger, and those that were negative became more entrenched. More relationships were positive than negative. Therefore, on the whole, relationships did improve greatly over time. However, what follows is an attempt to

understand how actions taken by both parties early on in the conflict, might have contributed to some of the friction that was maintained throughout the years.

One environmental leader stated: "One of the first things I did was visit the Chief of the TAA/TFN. I said "I think we have a common interest."" (2008) However, a Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader said: "It started on a very disrespectful experience, when [environmental leader] never even talked to us before hand, before he decided where our place would be in his new Wilderness Park." (2007) One environmental leader suggests that this first meeting took place in 1985.

At one point, the TWS sent a delegation to speak at the TAA/TFN General Assembly. A TWS leader said "I explained our position very politely… I gave them an open invitation. I said you can take over the leadership of our organization if you'd like." (2008) A Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader said of this delegation: "I think [environmental leader] did a marvelous job of acknowledging the… respect they had for the Natives and their land. They weren't trying to interfere" (2009). However, another Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader states: "I didn't like his approach, I found him disrespectful to us." (2007)

There are several diverging opinions outlined in the above quotes. There is a difference between the intention of the TWS delegates to include the TAA/TFN in their struggle, and the impact of their actions on some of the key Teme-Augama Anishnabai leaders. The intention of the TWS delegation to be respectful was not received that way by all TAA/TFN members and leaders. There is also difference internally, between how various members of the TAA interpreted the TWS actions.

Some TAA leaders were comfortable with the TWS's approach, others were insulted by it.

A woman who was on the Temagami Wilderness Society board suggests that it was the manner in which the TWS leader approached the TAA/TFN that caused the problem. She states:

> Actually, those guys did reach out to the Natives, they did. But I think they were extending their hand without a full knowledge and perspective of the colonial mentality and the effects. They knew of it, but with not enough awareness around that. (2008)

She is suggesting that the TWS leaders who did approach Teme-Augama Anishnabai may not have acted as appropriately or as humbly as was required in a cross-cultural situation.

However, one environmental leader stated that in the initial meeting the TAA made it clear that they would not work with anyone. Communication problems resulted, he stated, because the TAA members at this meeting did not tell the other Councillours about this message that was given to the environmentalists. This environmental leader felt that this led to miscommuncation between the environmentalists and the TAA.

A call for a national park?

Several Teme-Augama Anishnabai people discussed the environmentalist strategy of calling for a national park in the Temagami area in their interviews. The biggest existing provincial park in Temagami, Lady Evelyn-Smoothwater Park is an example of how a park's rules have an impact on Teme-Augama Anishnabai (see Chapter 3). The call for a national park would have been offensive to Teme-Augama

Anishnabai because it would have defied their self-determination and authority over the land. However, there is a contradiction in the research about whether the Temagami Wilderness Society did in fact call for a national park. Certain members of the Temagami Wilderness Society stated that "We never had a position calling for a National Park." (2008) However other TWS board members interviewed state that a call for a national park was sent out. These inconsistencies need further examination.

The Temagami Wilderness Society advocated that the government adopt their proposal for the area, which was the Temagami Wildlands Reserve (TWR). This Wildlands Reserve, articulated in 1987, was to allow hunting, trapping and fishing, and was designed specifically to exclude logging and mining. The Wildlands Reserve plan stated that: "It is proposed for the interim period prior to the return of Temagami to its original owners, the Teme-Augama [Anishnabai] Nation" (TWS 1989e). The TWS were explicit that the Wildlands Reserve was not a park. The language of this TWR attracted several pro-TAA environmentalists to the Temagami Wilderness Society board in 1987-1988.

In 1989, many TWS members claim that a debate began to emerge within the Temagami Wilderness Society about whether to call for a national park. One board member suggests that this debate happened only among general members of the TWS, not board members. This member states: "there were some members who wanted to see a national park. A very small, vocal group. But it was never a Temagami Wilderness Society issue, ever." (2009)

However, other board members state that: "until April of 1990 it was the major discussion point of the annual meeting. "To park or not to park"...that was the

major focus of discussion. The debate continued for a long time" (2009). Another board member states that "we had to call a mediator in at one time to our board meetings, who came up from Kingston. Because [our differing opinions] got really [tense]." (2008)

One board member claims that the pro-park board members put out a call-out to supporters asking for money to help them in their efforts to have a national park created in the Temagami area. She states that between September 15th and November 11th, 1989, "a direct mail fundraising appeal went out without Board approval asking for funds to help the TWS promote a national park which was a major implosion within the TWS" (2007). Other board members do not remember this discussion. It is true that the TWS never created a detailed proposal for a national park in the same sense that they created a detailed proposal for the Temagami Wildlands Reserve.

However, a document found in the Earthroots archives seems to confirm the memories of certain board members. It is a letter, dated August 15th, 1989, written to Lucien Bouchard, then federal Minister of Environment (later Premier of Quebec). The letter is signed by a Temagami Wilderness Society leader and states: "The Temagami Wilderness Society would like to discuss with you our interest in proposing a national park for Temagami." (TWS 1989f)

Many suggest that the debate over a call for a national park created considerable division within the Temagami Wilderness Society. This conflict had gendered implication, and will be discussed more thoroughly in the "Internal Tensions" section. A call-out for a national park would have increased tensions with Teme-Augama Anishnabai. One Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader states: "the

loggers wanted to create a desert, clearcutting the land, our lands. And the environmentalists wanted to create a zoo." (2007) This might have agitated the relationship and might have led a Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader, as partially stated earlier to say: "So now we had two fronts. We had the Ontario provincial government... and now we had the TWS to fight...And both had the same idea. That we were not human enough to have authority in here." (2007)

Possible Sources of Behaviours

This section will use ideas from interviews, to uncover what the sources of these tension-creating behaviours of environmentalists were. Much of this analysis comes from interview participants themselves, and is supplemented by literature about environmentalist/First Nations relationships. This section is an attempt to get at the underlying,, "subsurface" cultural values and power relations, which affect the relationship.

Relationships as a Negotiation of Aboriginal/Settler Power Relations[90]

> Actually, those guys did reach out to the Natives, they did. But I think they were extending their hand without a full knowledge and perspective of the colonial mentality and the effects. They knew of it, but with not enough awareness around that.
> (Environmental leader 2009, as stated earlier)
>
> If you've been a colonized people for hundreds of years and these white people say we want to help you, work with you. [An understandable response is] "No, we don't trust you people." (Environmental leader 2009)

[90] This heading is a key finding of the work of Davis, O'Donnell and Shpuniarsky about Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relationships on social justice coalitions (2007).

Some environmentalists who choose to engage with First Nations communities are woefully ignorant of both the rich traditions of Indigenous Knowledge and of the brutal history of colonization. Whaley and Bresette found in their activist work that Euro-Americans were "socially and historically illiterate" because of a failure on the part of the education system to teach about Indigenous peoples (Whaley and Bresette 1994, 88). Davis, O'Donnell and Shpuniarsky state that it is non-Aboriginal people's ignorance towards "Aboriginal protocols, cultures and histories" (2007, 107) that can causes tension in alliances and coalitions. Further, I would add that ignorance about treaties, and of the history of First Nations-newcomer relations, leads to most non-Aboriginal peoples' social/historical illiteracy.

This ignorance can be a source of pain when non-Aboriginals work with First Nations communities on social or environmental justice issues (Davis, O'Donnell and Shpuniarsky 2007). Relationships that occur between First Nations people and non-Aboriginals are a "microcosm of colonization" (Davis, personal communication, 2008b). Until all Indigenous people in the area known as Canada have culturally-based, self-determination over their territories, colonization is an ongoing, burdensome reality. Because of this, whether they know it or not, non-Aboriginals can be seen as the representatives of an invasive culture. Social activist Robin Buyers articulates this:

> As a white person it's important to enter into alliances with Native people fully aware that you are the direct representative of a colonial history that has damaged or destroyed whole communities. (Davis, O'Donnell and Shpuniarsky 2007, 108)

One example of this unawareness of white privilege might be that some leaders of the TWS allegedly approached the TAA "without a full knowledge and perspective of the colonial mentality and the effects" (as quoted earlier).

Another action, on the part of environmentalists demonstrates an ignorance of racial/colonial histories. One environmentalist told of a public flyer that was created by the Temagami Wilderness Society that was not appropriate:

> And then there was some stupid, goofy things that happened,...you know, free the "Temagami Ten" and they used African, ANC symbols, ANC colours...[The] Temagami Wilderness Society, [did], which ...to the First Nations people who struggle for human rights, they [said] "come on guys". Some of them are just preppy rich kids in jails. (2008)

It should be noted that this event took place in 1996, outside of the period of study. Further, this was not the Temagami Wilderness Society, but Earthroots that used this material. However, because it reveals the workings of power in a situation, I find it relevant. Appropriating[91] the colours of the Indigenous South African political party (the African National Congress) seems to suggest that those environmentalists in jail were suffering an oppression similar to that of Nelson Mandela and his associates, who had been in jail for decades under the apartheid system. Painting white or middle-class environmentalists as oppressed misrepresents the very real oppression that blacks faced in South Africa at the time.

It is important to acknowledge that environmentalists living in or near Temagami were persistently harassed for several years. Smoothwater Outfitters,

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[91] Appropriating has been taken to mean the use of a cultural symbol for a purpose other than its original meaning. It is used in a way that depreciates the value of the symbol for the people who created it. For a discussion about "cultural appropriation" see Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation. 1997. Edited by Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

which was then Hap Wilson's eco-tourism business was broken into 10-12 times; and police did not respond by attempting to find the perpetrators. Police, in fact, were harassing environmentalists themselves, waiting around at people's businesses, taking license plates of customers (Wilson 2009). Under-cover agents were trying to infiltrate the organization and Hap Wilson's phones were tapped. This form of harassment was brutal to endure. Wilson asserted that he had to move out of town because of this pressure.

Being aware of the colonial history means recognizing how non-Aboriginal society has benefited, materially, in terms of having access to land that was taken from Indigenous people and from all of the wealth that has been taken from that land. There are also personal benefits, since non-Aboriginals are more likely, statistically to be employed, as they control the economy and educational institutions. It also means recognizing that certain Eurocentric notions infuse the ways that non-Aboriginals often act, which cause tensions. Creating an ethical space is about acknowledging the power dynamic which exists between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people. This power dynamic is a force, which disrupts the attempts of both parties to create egalitarian relations.

Many Temagami Wilderness Society board members discussed learning how to behave in a more culturally appropriate manner from Teme-Augama Anishnabai people. For instance, one TWS board member states:

> I'm a fast talker, I talk a lot. And I often chat away before really thinking of what I'm saying. But I really learned from Gary, and not just Gary, but the Native way of speaking a bit slower, not having to fill in all the spaces with noise, [and instead] with listening. (Environmental Leader 2008)

Another board member states:

> I learned a lot about myself...how to be or not to be in other cultures. How to ask, how to move slowly, how to not talk, how to just sit back and feel....And not to judge...and more of an appreciation for thousands of years that [Teme-Augama Anishnabai] have been here.... I think I got a more personal view...of colonialism and how it affected people through the generations, through [my partner's family] and knowing Gary from all [the politics]. (Environmental Leader 2009)

It is clear that these two women learned a lot through their work with Teme-Augama Anishnabai about communicating in cross-cultural and First Nations contexts and about Eurocentric behaviours. They also learned of the need to understand the history of colonization and its effect on Aboriginal people and their relationships with others, including non-Aboriginals.

An environmental leader also said, as partially mentioned earlier: "I learned a lot about myself. And my privilege and white privilege. As a white, middle-class person." (Environmental leader 2009) White privilege is:

> an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing each day...[it] is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, etc.
> (McIntosh 2004)

Many (but not all) white people carry this privilege around with them through their daily experiences. One important aspect of white privilege is not being aware of it, and in fact being taught not to recognize it (McIntosh 2004). However, in the case of relationships between environmentalists and First Nations, the two environmental leaders quoted above, were able to learn about how to keep their white privilege in check.

So why were some environmentalists more aware than others of the need to be self-reflexive of privilege and position, behaviour and belief? What caused some environmental leaders to be less aware of their economic and white privilege?

In the interviews, one environmental leader quoted Saul Alinsky's book *Rules For Radicals* stating: "Saul Alinsky, one of his rules was: polarize, polarize, polarize. You gotta get people off of the fence." (Environmental Leader 2009) This environmental leader was referring to Alinsky's rule number thirteen: "Pick the target, freeze it, personalize it, polarize it." (Alinsky 1972, 130) A careful reading of this thirteenth rule, and Alinsky's other rules, reveals how certain environmentalists might not have seen the social dynamics in the same way as McIntosh or the two environmental leaders above do.

In Alinsky's models, there is a clear group of marginalized people, and a clear enemy. Alinsky calls them the "Haves" and the "Have-Nots". Alinsky's division of people into "Haves" and "Have-Nots" might work in an urban United States situation, where a large, poor black population is fighting against segregated schools, or with workers who are struggling against a union-busting corporation. However, this division, when applied to the logging and land rights issues in the Temagami area, is not as appropriate.

It is true that the Temagami Wilderness Society did not have a lot of money to hire lobbyists like the logging industry. Some TWS members were also being harassed in the town of Temagami. However, if environmentalists look at themselves as "Have-Nots", they ignore the privileges with which many of them grew up and which many still possessed in 1988-1989. Further, this view ignores that many of

their parents are, in fact the "Haves". Many wealthy cottagers on Lake Temagami gave money to the Temagami Wilderness Society because their sons or daughters were involved in the struggle. Many of these environmentalists have a lot of privileges such as not living in poverty, like many Teme-Augama Anishnabai did in the 1970s and 1980s and some still do today[92]. Many had access to education at higher ratios than Aboriginal people. This is not to say that there were not poor or otherwise disadvantaged environmentalists involved in the logging and land rights issues. However, they were not the majority. Environmentalism, being a new social movement, cuts across class boundaries, and therefore a rigid view of "Haves" and "Have-Nots" does not work in the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan* issue.

Gosine and Teelucksingh (2008) have observed white privilege in the environmental movement and offer another explanation for why some Temagami environmentalists might have ignored their white privilege. They suggest that environmentalists are socialized in a world where the perspectives of whites, the upper- and middle-classes, urban residents and often males are dominant[93]. Those environmentalists who fit that mould often reach leadership positions in ENGOs. Those environmentalists who are Native, poor, disabled or people of colour who do not have these privileges are often marginalized in the environmental movement. Therefore, it is harder for people without many privileges to become leaders of mainstream environmental organizations (Gosine and Teelucksingh 2008).

Further when mainstream environmental organizations are led by white and upper/middle classes, they also set the agendas. Eurocentrism is often infused in an

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[92] The economic position of many Bear Islanders has improved since the 1970s.
[93] Along with this, the voices of straight, non-disabled, and non-gender transgressive people, as well as those with particular age, family and social status, religion, etc. are also privileged.

agenda set by middle/upper class white Canadians. This leads to particular types of issues being given voice. The concerns of whites and middle classes again dominate: wilderness issues and climate change take priority over issues such as toxic dumping in poor neighbourhoods and pollution from industry in Aboriginal communities (Gosine and Teelucksingh 2008). Many environmentalists do not recognize that their perspectives are based on biases acquired by their privileges. By ignoring existing social hierarchies (the real "Haves" and "Have-Nots,") particular ways of seeing the world are privileged—those dominant in Euro-North America (Gosine and Teelucksingh 2008).

Recognizing Aboriginal Title as a Legitimate Source of Authority on the land

The initial approach between the TWS and Teme-Augama Anishnabai representatives (in 1986, 1987 or 1988) did not lead to strong relationships between the two. It had left the TAA frustrated by a "disrespectful approach" (2007) and the TWS frustrated because they were told "that our help wasn't wanted" (2008). The TWS continued to act. The Teme-Augama Anishnabai were not interested in working together with them. And so, they decided to coalition with other non-Aboriginal citizen's groups. They used language stating that their work reflected the needs of "humanity," or of "all of the citizens of Ontario". This language was a source of tension for Teme-Augama Anishnabai. An environmental leader articulates their position:

> We were doing it for everybody... We were there to protect the interest of humanity... We saw ourselves as part of the

> big environmental picture… Think global, act local. (Environmental leader 2008)

Because this leader articulates being connected to a broader environmental picture, this section will look at some theory that attempts to understand this "universalizing discourse" of certain forms of environmentalism. A discourse is a way of speaking about something. It represents the types of words chosen, and the power dynamic that is expressed by who speaks about what and how they speak about it (Foucault 1972). This section will therefore examine broader environmental discourse, as well as specific Temagami area environmentalist articulations.

The desire to take action in order to preserve important ecosystems is a selfless act. The intention behind the gesture is often a very pure, dedicated passion for making the world a better place. However, in the context of a logging issue where a land rights issue is involved, or where there are original inhabitants of the land who are marginalized, this genuine desire has a different effect. Often, the impact of this desire to preserve appears as a desire to speak for "all humanity". I do not believe that the intent of many environmentalists is to be patronizing. However, I hope this section makes it clear that the impact of using a universalizing discourse is that it might appear as though an environmental group is attempting to "speak on behalf" of "all humanity".

Gosine and Teelucksingh suggest that some environmentalists approach their work through a "universal values" attitude (2008). They suggest that statements about a wilderness area being "for all world citizens," ignore the fact that it once belonged to the Indigenous people, and that they have been displaced from the land in the name of resource extraction or recreation. They also ignore the fact that many urban poor

people do not have the means to access wilderness areas (Gosine and Teelucksingh 2008).

When environmentalists use this "universalizing discourse" some people feel as though they are claiming to represent the needs of all people. Rodney Bobiwash, (2003) writes:

> ...there is a certain arrogance on the part of environmentalists because they claim to speak for the whole world, they claim to speak for the earth, they elevate themselves in a moral or superior way... (pg. 2.76)

Bobiwash gives the examples of the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity which claims that "Indigenous land and resources and traditional knowledge were there to benefit mankind and open for exploitation" (Article 8 (j) in Bobiwash 2003, 2.76). This article suggests that land that belongs to Indigenous people actually belongs to all "mankind". The UN Convention does not acknowledge Indigenous sovereignty as a legitimate source of authority in their own lands.

Some environmentalists use a discourse that they are able to "speak for the earth". They might claim to know "what's best" for the earth. Some people take this to mean that they are claiming to know "what's best" for Aboriginal people. The TAA respondents felt that the Temagami Wilderness Society was "speaking for" them. A TAA leader explains this sentiment:

> Part of their language was that they were protecting the homeland of the TAA. And we didn't like that. Because who were they to protect our homeland for us?... And it was just a way for them to get what they wanted, which was parks, wilderness parks, at the time. (2007)

Another TAA member also feels this way, stating: "Some of the environmentalists who come here have really thought that they would be able to save us from ourselves." (2007)

Rodney Bobiwash believed that by speaking for "all of humanity," environmentalists often achieve a "moral summit" which trumps the Aboriginal people involved (2003). Because of their privileges, environmental leaders are often in the powerful position of being seen as "just" human (Gosine and Teelucksingh 2008). Because they represent the "normal" position of people in North America white, middle-class, often male–they can claim the position of being "normal". In the media and public sphere, being "normal" allows one to be seen as more "human" than those marked with difference. Being seen as more "human" allows one to more easily speak for all of "humanity". "Raced people can't do that—they can only speak for their race." (Gosine and Teelucksingh 2008, 109)

George E. Tinker points to the Euro-American compulsion to act as "moral conquerors, providing solutions to other's problems" (1997, 167). By speaking "for the earth," some non-Indigenous environmentalists assume that the earth's people are just waiting around to take their direction about the "right" way to "save the world". This is invariably, the "Western" way of solving environmental problems. Environmental destruction is not commonly addressed concurrently with colonialism, racism, and Western pretensions of moral universalism. Tinker believes that until these problems are linked together "the real root causes of the problem will never go away" (167).

One former TWS board member, recognizes that environmentalists use language that foregrounds their agenda as the priority. She calls this language "talk about the environmental imperative." This language is "really good…to use when you're talking to mining companies, or government regulators". However, she qualifies: "But maybe it's not the best language to use when you're talking to First Nations". She says the reasons for holding back on this language with First Nations people are because:

> a) it is kind of condescending b) who are you to presume that your environmental ethic is so much more sophisticated than theirs and c) they might have something else on their mind at the moment.

Many environmentalists have some influence over government land-use decisions. The way that they think and discuss Aboriginal people symbolizes how they act towards Aboriginal people and the land. The discourses they use helps to determine their actions. Because they have some power over how decisions are made about land, the discourse they use has real consequences about how decisions are made. Using this universalizing discourse, or the language of "environmental imperative" can alienate First Nations people because it can undermine their self-determination—their right to define themselves and speak for themselves. It can unintentionally contribute to the general phenomenon of ignoring the validity of Indigenous Knowledge and governance systems for managing the land and for speaking out for themselves and their land.

If environmentalists are looking out for "all of humanity", some take this to mean that they are suggesting that they have the interests of Indigenous people in

mind. Some would suspect that this implies that they can represent First Nations people better than their own leaders. Rodney Bobiwash states:

> Indigenous people have to represent themselves. Nobody else can take our voice or have our voice. That we know what's best for us and nobody else can define that. (Bobiwash 2003, 2.78)

Some Teme-Augama Anishnabai people believe that this universalizing discourse existed in the Temagami area. They believe that it allowed certain environmentalists to prioritize the land over the people. The call for a national park seems to also be a part of this privileging of the needs of "humanity" over the needs of the Indigenous people of the land. Without Teme-Augama Anishnabai co-management of a park, their rights to determine the land-uses in their traditional territory would have been compromised by a national park.

Jocelyn Thorpe (2008) examines how environmentalists in the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan* used a "nationalizing discourse" as well. For instance, the Temagami Wilderness Society called Temagami a "national treasure" in court while suing the Ontario government over the issue of an inadequate environmental assessment (Thorpe 2008, 24; McNab 2003). The use of nationalizing language is a powerful way of turning Teme-Augama Anishnabai land into *Canadian* land through description/discourse. However, because this was not brought up by the interview participants in this project, it is not necessary to discuss at length in this project[94].

Some believe that the environmentalists prioritized the old-growth forest over the land rights issue, and called for a national park. These actions led to tensions with the Teme-Augama Anishnabai. These actions can demonstrate the use of a

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[94] For a more thorough examination of this, see Jocelyn Thorpe's PhD dissertation, 2008.

"universalizing discourse" which puts the needs of "all people" ahead of the right of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai to have authority in their lands. These actions, therefore, can be seen as a lack of consideration of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai's right to sovereignty and self determination. One TAA/TFN leader suggests that the source of this lack of consideration, was a subtle, hidden, unintentional notion "that we were not human enough to have authority in here." (TA leader 2007) Another Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader states: "But when it came to us being the masters of our own house, they didn't see that as being as important as protecting the house. Never mind who the owners were."

Willie Ermine argues that the creation of an ethical space must address Western notions of universality. Similar to Western claims to objectivity, the Western claim to have a philosophy that is universal ignores the fact that it is simply one of the many ways of viewing the world. Wade Davis said: "The world in which you were born is just one model of reality. Other cultures are not failed attempts at being you, they are unique manifestations of the human spirit." (no date) Ermine says that Euro-Canadians must realize the value of other cultures[95]. He says: "This is the realization that diverse human communities do not share a common moral vocabulary, nor do they share a common vision of the nature of human beings as actors within the universe" (2007, 198). Worldviewing skills on both sides of the relationship are important in order to recognize how to address the dominant cultural lens of Western universality, which can undermine egalitarian power relations.

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[95] Recognizing other cultures is a part of Canada's claim to multiculturalism. However, it is about more than just tasting different foods at a festival. Recognizing multiculturalism acknowledges the different ways of thinking and ways of knowing that exist within our land.

Environmentalists Responses to these Tensions

> There we were, we felt that we were there to help, and [were] told that our help wasn't wanted, until further notice. Okay, well, in the meantime, work needs to be done to go on protecting the area. So we did it. (Environmental Leader 2008)
>
> It (the clear-cutting) happened fast and somebody needed to do it. It's like when you jump into a river to save a drowning kid. There was no thinking. It was just acting. (Environmental Leader 2008)
>
> I think a lot of people thought we were there to rob and plunder. Do you think we were there to rob and plunder? (Environmental Leader 2008)

There are critics who suggest that environmentalists often do not accomplish any transformative conditions, and that their actions serve only to reify their desires for the landscape through political actions. Jocelyn Thorpe quotes Catriona Sandilands in stating that in promoting eco-tourism, the fight for wilderness in British Columbia (as quoted in Chapter 2):

> is not so much about freeing the resident ecological and social communities to negotiate multiple possible futures and identities as it is about imposing a particular view of the landscape on precisely those communities. (Sandilands in Thorpe 2008, 23).

This quote seems to suggest that the only thing that environmentalists in B.C. accomplished was having their particular view of the wilderness imposed on the land. Sandilands might be the kind of critic that the environmental leader in the third quote above is addressing. Indeed some critics did suggest that environmentalists were only acting in order to "rob and plunder". However, I believe that this is a gross mis-representation of the work of environmentalists in the Temagami area.

Board members of the Temagami Wilderness Society put their lives on the line through hard work and dedication. Hap Wilson states: "Every member has gone

through a break down or a break up (of marriage or business) or burn out. This is because of the amount of time and passion we put into it." (2009)

This chapter has outlined some of the problematic actions and discourses of environmentalists in the Temagami area in 1988-1989. However, it is important to point out that the work of environmentalists has had a lasting, positive influence of changing timber management policies and planning in the Temagami area. Because of their efforts, and the efforts of Teme-Augama Anishnabai, many forest stands and ecosystems were preserved so that people-both Teme-Augama Anishnabai and non-Teme-Augama Anishnabai can still use and appreciate them in a meaningful way.

When clear-cutting is happening at a rapid pace, what is the most appropriate thing to do? After spending time on an environmentalist blockade in the Temagami area in 1996, a young man by the name of Jim Loney[96] wrote an article about the need to be reflexive when taking political action. He was put-off by some of the actions of those with him on the Owain Lake Earthroots blockade. The blockade leaders had not let two minnow fishermen reach their minnow traps. This was costing them their daily livelihood ($500). He also felt that some environmentalists (though probably not the blockade organizers) sensationalized their actions, and might have been engaged in direct action in order to get a photo in the news (Loney 1996).

However, he suggests, that one does not often have the time to spend educating oneself before one is needed for social or environmental action. His title explains his position: "Working for justice: how perfect do you have to be before

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[96] Jim Loney is well known as he was a member of the Christian Peacekeeping Team's Iraq delegation, and was kidnapped in 2005.

getting into the fray?" (Loney 1996) His position is that there is a dire need for immediate action in the name of social and environmental justice. He states:

> ...but in the face of chainsaws and ancient pines falling, I would rather have joined my energy to theirs than have stayed home nursing my politics and preserving my purity" (Loney 1996).

What I take from Loney's words, and the actions and words of the many Temagami-area environmentalists interviewed for this project is that there needs to be a balance between theory and practice. An activist must listen and ask questions just as much as she/he writes press releases and blockades roads. As Paulo Friere states,

> a revolution is achieved with neither verbalism nor activism, but rather with praxis, that is, with reflection and action directed at the structures to be transformed. (Freire 1970, 120)

The work that must go towards creating an ethical space, in which meaningful cultural engagement can occur must be balanced by the work to fight to keep these spaces, like the forests of the Temagami area intact.

Actions of the TAA and the TFN

Only a few environmentalists had criticisms about tensions exacerbated by Teme-Augama Anishnabai persons, leaders, or by the TAA/TFN Councils. These include a claim that they were catering to "pro-development" interests, that they did not seek collaboration or offer the environmentalists guidance, and that they accepted help without acknowledging the contributions of environmental groups. This section will consider these behaviours, as well as respondents' theorizing on what the *sources* of these *behaviours* were.

'Pro-development' Interests

A few environmentalists interviewed for this project were concerned about the "pro-development" attitudes of some TAA/TFN members. One environmentalist participant stated:

> So when I saw hand-shaking going on between local pro-development politicians and local First Nations leaders... I just didn't understand why they would want to side with the pro-development faction that was bent on taking down old growth forests and eroding those cultural-wilderness values. (2008)

It is true that some Teme-Augama Anishnabai support some forms of logging. As one Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader stated: "I don't believe that the Temagami First Nation is totally against logging. I believe that the TFN is...more into logging in a responsible manner."

Another participant had been involved with the Temagami Lakes Association, the organization that represents the interests of cottagers on the lake. He articulated some of the cottager's concerns with the TAA/TFN taking control over large quantities of shoreline land on Lake Temagami: (as quoted earlier)

> I think a lot of the TLA members, many of whom I know personally....They're...a little concerned about what the long-term results of what Teme-Augama Anishnabai are going to achieve with their political ambitions. What are they going to do with those portions of the shoreline that they may wind up having under their own control...I get a feeling Bear Islanders want carte blanche to do what they want with the land. And I think that's kind of dangerous. I can see them putting tourist traps on the highway....And shoreline development on the lake, of course that would really do a hatchet job on what the lake has to offer if that was to happen. (2007)

He also suggests that people whose cottages are in Shiningwood Bay which is the proposed site of a new Teme-Augama Anishnabai mainland community are

especially concerned. Although these are contemporary concerns, I imagine these fears might have been even greater in 1988-1989, when it was not known just how much land the TAA/TFN would gain authority over.

There are a few flaws with the logic of this cottager. Doug McKenzie points out that he does not seem to be acknowledging that cottages and parks are "development". Some cottagers seem to ignore the impact that they have on Lake Temagami. Doug McKenzie states:

> many cottagers pay contractors to do work [on their cottages, building or renovating] and they know logs come from the shore line, but [allow this to happen] because it reduces their cost." (D. McKenzie 2009)

Further, McKenzie points out that there was agreement amongst all sides (in the Agreement in Principle of the 1990s) that there was to be new cottage development at Shiningwood Bay. These issues suggest that some cottagers look at [their] cottages as a benign force, which improves the atmosphere of the lake. However, more development, when other people prosper, is unacceptable to them.

Lynne Davis' work in Coastal British Columbia has found that one way to improve environmentalist/First Nations relations is for environmentalists to learn to accept the economic needs of First Nations communities. Environmentalists working in this area found that the unemployment and social needs of First Nations communities means that economic development is a crucial part of any sustainability strategy. One of the environmentalists she interviewed said:

> there's no way that any enviro [sic] or any other outsider could ever say, turn down those jobs with forestry...And so we, as an environmental group, had no experience in economic development. But we had to... get some. (Environmental leader in Davis 2009)

All communities need economic development and environmentalists need to recognize how to work with this reality, as opposed to fighting against it. In Davis's study, environmental groups that worked with First Nations to create sustainable economic development had the most successful relationships.

Davis found that the environmentalists she interviewed learned of the importance of working with communities following proper protocol for B.C.'s coastal communities. They did this by asking the Chief and Council for permission to work with members of the community, including the Traditional chiefs. One of her participants called this going through the "front door". Those who proceeded by acknowledging cultural protocols learned how to establish respectful relations with First Nations communities (Davis 2009).

Not Collaborating or Providing Guidance

Some environmental leaders felt that the Teme-Augama Anishnabai did not offer to collaborate or give guidance about how to proceed appropriately. One environmental leader made an early attempt to speak with the TAA/TFN Chief and Council[97] about collaborating. The response he received was "we don't make allies" (2009). He stated that the TAA/TFN Chief and Council were "right up front. There was no discussion of it." (2009) His reaction to this message was "it was very frustrating. Our help wasn't needed." (2009) Another TWS board member states: "we always felt like we were walking on glass" (Wilson 2009).

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[97] Doug McKenzie writes about this statement: "I was on council and don't recall this. Some of these environmentalists may have thought they were talking to the Chief and Council when in fact they were talking to a rogue group of TAA members." (2009)

An environmental leader explained how he asked for guidance from the TAA/TFN Chief and Council, and did not receive an offer for collaboration: "I gave them an open invitation. I said you can take over the leadership of our organization if you'd like. But it was only about them." (2008) The environmental leader states that he honestly explained to the TAA/TFN that the TWS would close-up shop after the logging issue was over. He believed that this would make them feel comfortable that they were not trying to establish a permanent authority in the area. However, it did not seem to improve their relations.

Another environmental leader felt that this lack of collaboration on the part of the TFN/TAA Chief and Council was also true about potential partnering with other First Nations groups. This leader speaks about meeting with a well-known outside Aboriginal leader:

> I went to a public meeting and [the Aboriginal leader] came up to me and said "how are things going in Temagami? And I told him about the situation etc. And he said: "how is it working with [the Chief and Council]?" And I said that [they] were being careful with us, that I hadn't really [spoken to them] in a while. And he said: "we tried to help them out and they never accepted." When [the TAA/TFN Chief and Council] said [they] wanted to go solo [they] really meant it. (2009)

This environmental leader suggests that the TAA/TFN might have had informal help from other First Nations on the blockade, but "in court they ran it solo[98]" (2009).

[98] This was partly to do with TAA lawyer Bruce Clark being "very controlling" (D. McKenzie 2009). He had a falling out with the TAA/TFN Chief and Council later on.

Accepting Help Without Acknowledging

Another act, that environmental leaders felt increased tensions between the two groups, was accepting help without acknowledgement. An environmental leader describes a large fundraising concert, with musician Bill Crowfoot, which was organized by the TWS. The funds from the show went completely to the TAA/TFN's efforts, "we didn't even count it, we just gave it to them" (2009). Another gift was several pieces of equipment given to the TAA/TFN by the TWS as the TWS blockade was dismantled in November 1989. The TWS gave the TAA/TFN a 16-foot boat and 30 horsepower motor, wall tents and winter stoves. A TWS leader describes the lack of acknowledgement on the part of the TAA:

> We turned all of that over to them for their blockade. We never told anybody. They didn't want anybody to know. We were never acknowledged for it. We helped to get people up to their blockade...All of this was a huge disappointment to all of us on the board. (2009)

This quote and others suggests the Temagami Wilderness Society had expectations that were not being met by the Teme-Augama Anishnabai or the Temagami First Nation[99].

Possible Sources of these Behaviours

Environmental leaders who articulated the TAA/TFN's contribution to joint tensions believe that what caused them was the TAA/TFN's staunch commitment to self-determination. One environmental leader explains:

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[99] Doug McKenzie states that he was not aware of this. He writes: "I was on Council and was not aware of the TWS donations. So they were not dealing with Chief and Council per se. They were maybe dealing with [only with] Gary Potts." (D. McKenzie 2009). This points to some failed efforts at communication between both sides.

> They wanted it all back. They wanted their dignity back. They wanted to restore their dignity on their own terms...But it's not, "hey TFN, you made a mistake". At the time, I would have done what [Chief and Council] did... I really believe that it is important for Aboriginal people to restore and maintain their dignity. That's vital before anything else can happen.... People are fighting for their homeland the world over. Fighting to restore their dignity and the beginning of healing. (2009)

He states that not being able to live, or have control of your homeland: "lives with you everyday. It shapes who you are and it shapes your personality" (Environmental Leader 2009). In this way, this environmental leader seems to be forgiving the TAA/TFN over the behaviours from which he felt frustration.

Many Teme-Augama Anishnabai leaders articulated that they were fighting for self-determination. Gary Potts states:

> We're not the general public. We're the Indigenous people who have been here for thousands of years, before their government institution showed up here. So here we were, fighting for that acknowledgement to re-establish our authority on our homeland area.

In this way, he articulates that the land rights issue was about having autonomy over a particular area of territory. Doug McKenzie described that with the current negotiations, "We reserved the right to self-government, that's the more important thing. And that land gives us the right to self-government." These two leaders suggest that exclusive control over territory as well as political and economic self-determination go hand-in-hand. They suggest that the struggle over the land rights was just as much about the right to autonomy as it was about land.

Internal Tensions

The Temagami Wilderness Society became a tight-knit community during the blockades. Further, the board of the TWS was "like a family" (Wilson 2009). Hap Wilson states: "we were pretty tight as a group, emotionally, we depended on each other. Everybody was going through emotional problems." However, like any family, there are tensions as well, which this section addresses. This is because some of the principles and politics that caused tensions *within* the TWS were because of tensions between Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists. Because of the sensitive nature of this topic, this section will rely heavily on quotes from interviews. This section covers the internal tensions within the Temagami Wilderness Society and within the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and the Temagami First Nation.

The main tension that most TWS board members describe is the tension over their support for the TAA/TFN's land rights issue. This debate was best exemplified through the discussion of whether to call for a national park. One environmental leader explains:

> I think there were a lot of tensions. There were intense tensions between the TWS and the TAA. For good reason. There were tensions within the TWS over the same reasons. So one of the areas of tension within the TWS and between the TWS and the First Nations was around support for a national park. (Environmental leader, 2007)

As already mentioned above, the group had to call in a mediator from Kingston at one point to help resolve this debate. However, one environmental leader felt that the discussion about whether to call for a national park was a "good, healthy debate" (2007). She said:

> There was a big discussion about… could the TWS call for a national park and still support a just land settlement?…[It

> was] a really good debate. Some people got very angry about it, and told the TWS they had to get all of their stuff out of their garage. But it was a good, healthy debate. You can't work those things out if you don't actually get all the views and concerns and worries and misconceptions and everything out. ...I think it got resolved in the sense that a call for a national park was dropped, but I don't think there was anything as joyous as a meeting of the minds.

With some further questioning, some underlying tensions of this conflict emerged.

> ...that big conflict I told you about in the TWS, interesting enough, split out totally on gender lines. There were three women on the board, four men on the board. The three women on the board said "no way," and the three men and a staff person they were just completely condescending about it. At one point one of them had the audacity to say well, he figured it wasn't so much a gender issue it's just that the men on the board were the ones who spent time in the bush so they really knew the issue. (Environmental Leader 2007)

Two other women on the TWS board said the same things, namely:

> There were many dissentions on the board... and this dissention, in a big way, fell down gender lines... the men on the board...felt that...the only way that we were going to get full support and protect this area was to turn it into a national park... but we knew that we couldn't do that at the same time that we were supporting the Natives and their land claim (Environmental leader 2008)

A third TWS board member states: "I love these men, but we split. It was right along gender lines." (Environmental leader 2009)

The men who were on the board do remember that the women of the board sometimes had different perspectives than they did. In fact, one man from the TWS board stated that: "we actually doubled the size of our group trying to get gender parity" (Environmental leader 2009). He states: "women have their train of thoughts in these matters, and men have their own, more aggressive way of looking at things...it's just trying to blend these two qualities into positive action, which I think we did for a while" (Environmental leader 2009).

Another man of the Temagami Wilderness Society board states:

> I think the board was mostly women....I don't recall there were ever gender dynamics. But the women there definitely kept everybody sensitive to women's perspectives. That much I remember. Things that us guys would never be as sensitive about. I wish I could remember specifics. They dominated the board. But not that there was...The votes never went all women, all men. I don't think it was ever [like] that. If that had happened you could say clearly there were gender issues. We were a consensus board. All in favour, and all against. Consensus. (Environmental leader 2009)

One former TWS board member suggests that this gender tension is indicative of the field of natural resource issues in general. She says:

> Gender is a huge issue in natural resources issues....So a lot of the work that I'm doing right now is with...these local advisory groups to the MNR and they are 90% men...And if you walk into a room and there's 2 or 3 women there...That's really high...Most of them have no women, one woman....And so, it's a big issue, but it's a difficult issue to get at. (environmental leader 2007)

She addresses one example of how difficult it is to address these issues:

> The auditors for Nipissing Local Citizen's Committee (LCC)... observed that there's a huge gender imbalance in the Nipissing LCC and they recommended that when recruiting new members that gender imbalance be taken into account. The LCC went crazy....I've never seen them so excited about anything. They just became crazed. And [the woman in the room and I] we're kind of exchanging glances with each other and thinking: "how do we get through to them on this?" And we never did. (environmental leader 2007)

She also says that the issue is self-perpetuating:

> There's a dynamic going on that the room's are so male, they're so male in attitude... it perpetuates itself, because women go on the committees, it's unpleasant, the men interrupt you, they're condescending, and just all that, you know, macho dynamic, it's very tiring. And so, women go on and go off again, or they don't go on.... They draw from male-dominate sectors. And it's a problem. I find it quite weary[ing]....sometimes... you walk into a room and you

> almost want to run back out again. Just all of that male energy comes at you. (environmental leader 2007)

Another difference among environmentalists was between those from southern Ontario and those from northern Ontario. During the 1989 blockades, many northerners were upset at environmentalists, who they stereotyped as all being from southern Ontario, for interfering with what they felt was a "northern issue". While a majority of the TWS blockade participants were from southern Ontario, all of the Temagami Wilderness Society board members were either from northeastern Ontario, or were currently living there. However, the TWS offices were in Toronto.

The north/south division is not necessarily just an issue about location. Many interview participants seem to refer to southern Ontario environmentalism as a particular mindset, a way of operating that pays less attention to local concerns. Jamie Lawson, as discussed in Chapter 2, suggests that what characterizes urban or southern Ontario residents is being "habituated over generations to landscapes and land-use solutions that rest on state structures" (2003, 179). Participants said that northern Ontario environmentalists: "are maybe getting a better understanding of the issue in regards to the Anishnabai point of view," (Doug McKenzie 2007) are "more realistic" (Anonymous 2007) and "have a more close relationship with the First Nations because [of their] proximity" (Anonymous 2007). Further, Bruce Hodgins suggests that social activists at Guelph and Trent Universities did not subscribe to the typical "southern Ontario" environmental mentality (Hodgins 2009).

However, these comments likely relate to the time period *after* the blockades. Earthroots (1991) organizing is done almost exclusively by southern Ontarians. North Bay-based Northwatch emerged just around this time as a leader in northern

Ontario environmentalist work. Many participants cite Northwatch as being more understanding of local First Nations issues and concerns. The 1990s saw these two organizations emerging as the two of the leading environmental voices working in the Temagami area. The differences between southern and northeastern Ontario environmental groups became more apparent during this decade. The 1996 Owain Lake Earthroots blockade made these tensions more visible. Northerners were very upset when blockade leaders did not let two minnow fishermen through, which compromised their daily livelihood.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the blockades brought the Teme-Augama Anishnabai together in a unified action. A strong sense of community and family developed during them. However, there was also internal conflict within Teme-Augama Anishnabai. Although family rivalries had been festering for some time, the first evidence of recent internal division came with the 1993 ratification vote on the negotiated agreement. The Teme-Augama Anishnabai, which represents a much larger group of people, living both on and off Bear Island voted in favour of the agreement. The Temagami First Nation, representing Bear Island residents voted against it. One Temagami First Nation member suggested that she voted against the agreement because:

> ...they (the TAA) were given voting rights and I felt that they were going to be telling us how to do things, how to live here, how to do this and they didn't even live here.... And that was the reason I voted against it....Nobody told me that should be voting this way, it was my choice. (Teme-Augama Anishnabai kwe 2007)

This same participant also felt that the community had become disillusioned with the TAA leadership because they had lost touch with the people. Some of the leadership

"started living that fast lifestyle" when living in Toronto for the court case (Teme-Augama Anishnabai kwe, 2007). The leadership became "power corrupt" and began to "ignore the needs of the people" (Teme-Augama Anishnabai kwe, 2007).

Another reason for this tension was that TAA leadership had moved their office to a location off of Bear Island (the old Manitou lodge building on nearby Temagami island). This was against the wishes of many community members. These offices, and much of the TAA's research files from the past few decades, were burned in a fire in 1995 (Hodgins 2008; Benidickson 1996; Teme-Augama Anishnabai kwe 2007). Many suspect TFN member(s) who were angry at this move are responsible for the fire. The defeat in the Supreme Court was also, according to some people, blamed on the TAA leadership.

These TAA/TFN tensions continued throughout the 1990s[100]. However, in January 2003, the TAA, the TFN and the municipality of Temagami signed a memorandum of agreement (TFN 2009). It was agreed that the TAA would focus on the land rights, and issues concerning the entire territory. The Temagami First Nation would focus on Bear Island specific issues. The two now call themselves the Joint Council and meet together regularly. In 2007, the Joint Council were collaborating on negotiations with the provincial government. After a brief hiatus, they have reconvened as a Joint Council.

There is another group, which has strongly diverged from the TAA/TFN leadership. There are a group of traditionalists, including some elders and people living closer to the land. The group calls themselves the Ma-Kominising Anishnabeg

[100] The government insisted that the TAA/TFN have one position, which, according to Doug McKenzie, was an "interference in community politics and issues". (2009)

(MKA), after the original name of Bear Island (mako=bear, minising=island). This group started in the early 1990s, and in 1996 held their own blockade at Owain Lake[101]. This was related to an Earthroots blockade over the same forestry issues. The group maintains ties with Earthroots to this day. They have been involved in a court case against the TAA/TFN council, arguing that they have no authority to sign away land that is theirs under the traditional family hunting territories system. The group has also acted on the land, restoring a trout-spawning bed by digging a channel through the Red Squirrel Road at Sharp Rock Inlet (Johnston 1997). Some people suspect that MKA members were also responsible for the burning of a few bridges over logging roads in the area as well (Hodgins 2007).

The internal tensions within both groups are messy. People were hurt by them and this continues to this day. The underlying issues rarely surface enough for either party to be able to address the conflicts honestly. Tensions arise because of personal, philosophical or political issues, rupture into inter-group conflict and fester when not addressed appropriately. While the tensions within Teme-Augama Anishnabai have been more damaging, there is at least one obvious reason for this. The members of Teme-Augama Anishnabai cannot just walk away, take some space from the issue and re-group. Most live beside one another on Bear Island and face each other in their daily activities, at the store, picking up kids from school, and at local events. They have been involved with each other for generations. Environmentalists are a relatively new group. At any time they can leave the group, take time away and get

[101] Some argue that the MKA began when TAA lawyer Bruce Clark was fired and "found a few individuals to believe him and start court action." (D. McKenzie 2009)

space. For instance, several of the women involved in the Temagami Wilderness Society board left the organization.

As this chapter shows, there are several actions that aggravated the relationship between Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists between 1986-1994. These behaviours can be attributed to various sources of tension. The relationship was challenged because of a negotiation of power relationships, a lack of acknowledging Indigenous authority and the strong desire for self-determination. The underlying cultural influences and power dynamics interfered with both parties meeting each other in an egalitarian, ethical space. Internal tensions and power dynamics also surfaced in these issues. However, these tensions were stronger in the pre-1989 (pre-blockade) period. As time progressed, (and especially with the collaboration on the Wendaban Stewardship Authority) the relationship improved (Hodgins 2009).

This chapter also discussed some of the strengths of the relationship. Only a few have so far been discussed: sharing resources and joint initiatives, including the benefits of increased numbers, media attention and influence. The benefits of personal relationships will be looked at in the next chapter.

Chapter 6: "A Lot of it is Based on Personal Relationships"

Jessie Sutherland was quoted earlier stating, "worldviewing skills can only be developed in relationship." (2005, 96) Personal relationships between Teme-Augama Anishnabai people and environmentalists represent an effort to carve out an ethical space despite their differences. The title of this chapter was articulated by an environmental leader, who emphasizes just how crucial personal relationships were in this relationship. Della Porta and Diani (1999) discuss the importance of personal relationships in social movements. They state:

> The case of national movements in Spain reminds us of the importance of the complex web of relationships, allowing movement groups and organizations, which might individually be relatively weak and isolated to play a significant political role. (112)

This quote highlights the importance of personal relationships in developing social movements. It also suggests the importance of these relationships for forming alliances and coalitions, and for strengthening the power of ordinary citizens. According to this environmental leader and many others interviewed for this project, the importance that della Porta and Diani credit to "informal, everyday-life relationships" (111) plays a very significant role in the relationship between the political actors in the Temagami area/n'Daki Menan.

Further, della Porta and Diani suggest that: "Personal linkages… facilitate() [the] reconciling of ideological or political differences and strengthen() feelings of mutual trust" (112). Just like in this study, they suggest that philosophic and political differences often lead to tensions among varying social groups and movements. However, they credit personal relationships with being able to reconcile these

tensions. In this study, the differences at the philosophic and political level, as articulated in Chapters 4 and 5, also seem to be reconciled to some degree by personal relationships.

Several Teme-Augama Anishnabai leaders stated that while at the organizational level they may not be in alignment with environmentalists, at the personal level, there is some respect. One leader stated: "As individuals, yes there's a level of respect. But again at the individual level. Not [at] the organizational [level], it's just no go." (Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader 2007) Another Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader explains his perspective: "But I think Teme-Augama Anishnabai, in the sense, once it comes down to one-on-one, I think most Teme-Augama Anishnabai are capable, at least of approaching environmentalists, seeing them all as people once they're one-on-one." (Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader 2007) Another leader stated his relationship with certain individual environmentalists is good, and with others it is not great:

> At the end of it all,... a high degree of respect was established with individuals who would be labeled environmentalists, but who in fact were very conscientious about the necessity to stop the clearcutting... And, a high degree of respect was established with a number of those individuals. But there were a few [with whom] there never will be a basis of respect.(2007)

This chapter will look at how varying degrees of respect existed within the personal relationships between Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists. It will examine which factors led to personal tensions, and which led to strong relationships.

Tensions

Why is it that, as the TAA leader above states, "there were a few [with whom] there never will be a basis of respect"? (TA leader 2007) One Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader, after stating that he had a good relationship with individual environmentalists, stated that "I know there's a general…distrust or skepticism with some of the leaders of the environmentalist movement." (Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader 2007) Certainly some of the political actions outlined in Chapter 5, and the philosophic tensions examined in Chapter 4 played a part in this. However, the interviews indicate that there were also personal issues that caused tensions in everyday interactions between Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists.

Some of the main spokespeople for both groups were men. Many of the women involved felt that the tension between the leaders had to do with their gender. She says:

> … I hate to say it, many of the men I still look at as [having] an ego. On both sides (the Natives and the environmentalists) there were male egos involved. (Environmental Leader 2007)

A Teme-Augama Anishnabai woman and leader states that she discussed the tensions with a woman on the Temagami Wilderness Society. They decided that some of them had to do with "man stuff". (TA leader 2007) She suggests that it was the male leaders acting like "alpha dogs" that aggravated the relationship (TA leader 2007).

This tension was reflected because the male leaders from both Teme-Augama Anishnabai and the Temagami Wilderness Society were sometimes critical of each other. Even after Bruce Hodgins had the two leaders over to his house in

Peterborough after speaking in his Canadian Studies class,[102] Hodgins suggests that days later they were criticizing each other. An environmental leader states that when egos and "strong personalities" of the male Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmental leaders interacted, that the men, "with their egos, [they] bounced off of each other." (Environmental leader 2008).

One woman environmental leader as above stated that this type of strong personality is a common occurrence that she has witnessed in other social movements. She explains:

> The strong alpha personality that can start a movement or an organization and buck the system and get people inspired into the struggle will often have problems then working with the people that become involved and relinquishing the power and control. (Environmental leader 2008)

Each leader brings strengths to an organization. Those whose strengths are at inspiring others to join need to know how to value the strengths of those who can make links with other groups, and work cross-culturally.

The effort of women on both sides was an important contribution to the strengthening of the relationship between Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists. Cocky explains that while some of the male leadership were butting heads, "I do think that the women did make some in-roads for the TWS." She says this was because the women environmentalists approached Teme-Augama Anishnabai with "more patien[ce] and a willing[ness] to move slower". She also suggests that it had to do with "women's way of looking at things more holistically."

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[102] Brian Back was surprised to learn years later that this visit to Peterborough was an attempt at peacemaking. He claims that Bruce Hodgins tried to keep the two of them apart during the visit. Hodgins says "I was trying to keep them from fighting" (2010). I imagine he tried to keep them apart where emotions were higher, so that at better moments they would be able to have constructive conversation.

She also adds (as mentioned earlier) that as women, "We did help to bridge that divide a little bit... because of our courage and our willingness to listen."

One environmental woman remembers having a meeting with several Teme-Augama Anishnabai women:

> I remember a group of women... as women involved in this process, we thought, women might have a very different take on all of this. And so we explored that,... and we engaged, or arranged a meeting with some of the women on Bear Island. I... remember having one meeting,... [about] how, the relationship could have expanded, or been something more enlightening for all of us.

Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader Mary Laronde also speaks about this meeting:

> And the women that I met, like Kathy Ingwersen, Brennain Lloyd, people who I met in the TWS who were on the Board were trying to get the Board to recognize that the human rights were not something that you could leave out of the parks formula, or the environmentalists formula. And they had trouble. They told me that they had trouble with the men on the Board.

Mary Laronde believes that the strength of the gender solidarity between herself and environmentalist women was because: "I find women are generally a little more, they can be, conciliatory. In my experience anyway, they're more solution oriented, instead. I don't find women as stubborn in terms of having to be right."

Many women interviewed believe that personal tensions between the two groups emerged because of strong personalities who might have been acting in the guise of male ego. However, women from all sides were working, sometimes "behind the scenes" to build the relationship, form friendships, listen to each other and learn from their experiences. With personal contact and familiarity, humour and creativity, many of the women involved were able to build trust between both sides, and develop strong relationships with men and women of both sides, despite political

differences. Through dialogue and collaboration, they were also able to take philosophic differences and merge them into a "nested philosophy".

Many of the participants spoke about how racism had an effect on Teme-Augama Anishnabai/environmentalist relationship. All of the racism named by participants was perpetuated by non-Aboriginal people who were *not* environmentalists. For instance, participants named white residents of the town of Temagami, as well as the town's mayor and council members as using overtly racist language. Teme-Augama Anishnabai members also identified the Eurocentrism that is found everywhere as having an impact on the relationship. Although there was no mention of environmentalists displaying racist language or behaviour, racism does have an influence in the relationship. Racism can cause local First Nations people to be more wary of non-Aboriginal people, and can lead to distrust or disrespect in the relationship. However, in many cases, Temagami Anishnabai people and environmentalists were able to moved beyond this position of distrust.

Strengths

The strengths of the personal relationships between Teme-Augama Anishnabai persons and environmentalists helped to establish some strong bonds, especially during the blockades period. Many of these ties continue until this day. The strengths that participants felt contributed to these connections include: a mutual framing of the issues, familiarity/relationship building, trust, communication, learning, humour/fun and gender solidarity.

According to Sidney Tarrow's contribution to resource mobilization theory, one of the four key concepts in collective social action is "collective action frames[103]" (Tarrow in Davis, O'Donnell and Shpuniarsky 2007). Snow et al. suggest that "frame alignment is a necessary condition for movement participants" (1986, 464). They discuss a concept of "frame bridging" in which "two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames" are linked (1986, 467).

As stated earlier, one woman environmental leader said: "So the approach this Anishnabai woman leader and I tried to promote is that you're not choosing an "either/or," there is a nesting of First Nations land rights and environmentally responsible resource management" (2007). These two women, as well as other Teme-Augama Anishnabai individuals and environmentalists participated in the bridging of their frames. Through communication and collaboration, they moved from separate framing towards a mutual[104] framing of environmental concerns and Aboriginal justice issues.

The Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists were able to agree on environmental health issues related to mining. Mary Laronde states:

> So we were against open-pit mining big time. And mining in headwaters. So there was certain things that we were against that I think were supported roundly by the environmentalist movement. So on those kinds of things, we were able to see eye-to-eye.

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[103] Snow et al. define a frame as "a schemata of interpretation that enable individuals "to locate, perceive, identify and label" (Goffman in Snow et al.) occurrences within their life space and the world at large." "Frames function to organize experience and guide action, whether individual or collective" (Snow et al., 1986).

[104] The word "mutual" is used instead of collective, as it acknowledges that both groups come from a different perspective. Under a "mutual frame", their two perspectives are joined, but they do not become the same. The term "mutual" allows each group to maintain its individual perspective and not become lost in the "collective".

One woman environmental leader worked closely with a leader with the Teme-Augama Anishnabai to create a mutual framing of their issues. They led workshops together: "where we would talk about forestry and land rights, as a settler and as an Aboriginal woman, we would talk and we did these workshops." (environmental leader 2007) She said about the workshops:

> We would do them with...conservation groups or Church groups. And [we] talked about how those things fit together, how they didn't conflict. And that was a real strength I think of the relationship, is that... there was some creativity and some energy to just do some of these things. And I think that they were fun, informative and productive. (Environmental leader 2007)

These two women, as discussed earlier, also worked together to create a sustainable forestry policy. This same environmental leader helped the Teme-Augama Anishnabai to create their Vision of Co-Existence, which they presented to the provincial government at the beginning of the early 1990s negotiations. The two also presented together at a conference in Duluth, Minnesota at a University of Minnesota-sponsored conference about pine forestry. Bruce Hodgins believes that the friendship between these two women was very important to the development of joint effort and collaboration. He says of the two that they were "very bright, and very close" (2009). This mutual framing and joint efforts, demonstrates how these leaders practiced strong worldview skills. By being able to recognize their joint commonalities, they worked towards creating dialogue and establishing an ethical space. Indeed this mutual framing is likely the source of many of the other strengths listed below.

Teme-Augama Anishnabai leaders worked hard to develop relationships and ties with outside environmentalists and Aboriginal rights sympathizers. Mary

Laronde states:" I think we did a fairly good job at outreach, speaking at different venues, like OPIRG, Wildlands League, Northwatch. I think that we were understood [our history]..."

Further, they also put considerable effort into the creation of a model forest proposal:

> We wrote this proposal...a model forest proposal...We paid for it and we facilitated it....We had everybody signed onto it except the MNR. Towns, all the OFAH guys, trappers, residents' associations...loggers...and even some professors at the university. We proved to ourselves that we could get along, you know. Like not everybody in our camps, but we really did a lot of great work...And it was politically undermined basically by the MNR. (Mary Laronde 2007)

These efforts by Teme-Augama Anishnabai increased the strength of relationships between diverse parties in the Temagami Area. However, like the Wendaban Stewardship Authority, the Ministry took away the effectiveness of this local project. It seems that any initiative which would have given more decision-making power to local residents was defeated by the Ministry's grasps for control over the land. In this sense, the MNR eroded the collective power that local stakeholders worked hard to develop in concert with each other (See Chapter 5).

Another group that contributed to the mutual framing of environmental and Aboriginal justice were Trent University professors and students. The Trent-Temagami area connection began in the early 1970s when the core Canadian Studies 200 course, taught by John Wadland, began having optional weekends at Camp Wanapitei in the north end of Lake Temagami. Trent history professor Bruce Hodgins was the summer Director of the camp, having taken over from his parents. This weekend tradition has led to many former Trent students being involved in both Camp Wanapitei, and the land rights and logging issues. Many Trent students and

faculty were arrested on both blockades. Over the years, many Wanapitei board members and staff, and Trent/Temagami attendees who have continued relationships with Teme-Augama Anishnabai[105]. Glen Caradus, who was a Trent student at the time, wrote a journal about participating in Teme-Augama Anishnabai blockade. He specifically articulates that he was, as an environmentalist, deeply committed to Teme-Augama Anishnabai's justice issue (Caradus 1990).

When Camp Wanapitei was offered as the nearby base site for Teme-Augama Anishnabai blockade, the Camp's commitment to Aboriginal justice became very strongly pronounced. Carol and Bruce Hodgins, John Wadland and John Milloy became very good and lasting friends of TAA/TFN's Chief Gary Potts and other leaders. Demonstrating their commitment to Aboriginal justice, Trent University awarded Chief Potts with an honorary degree in 1991. This was initiated by John Wadland, with Bruce Hodgins giving the citation. John Milloy became very close to Chief Potts and convinced him to attain a B.A. from Trent in the 1990s. Bruce Hodgins also engaged in several efforts to improve the relationships between Chief Potts and TWS leader Brian Back. Many students from Guelph University also attended the blockades and showed their support in other ways. Former Camp Wanapitei staff member and then University of Guelph student Bob Olajos worked hard to develop this support.

These members of the Trent and Guelph communities made it clear that one could act in the name of both Aboriginal and environmental justice. By supporting

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[105] An example is Gillian Campbell attended the Trent/Temagami weekend for many years and eventually became a Wanapitei shareholder and board member. She is a close friend of many of the main leaders from both Teme-Augama Anishnabai and the Temagami Wilderness Society. She was arrested on one of the blockades in 1989 (Hodgins 2009).

both blockades and by virtue of being mostly white university people, who supported Aboriginal rights, these university groups helped to shape a mutual framing of this issue. Rodney Bobiwash[106] and other Indigenous faculty and students also supported Teme-Augama Anishnabai on the blockades. The Trent community's emphasis on supporting Aboriginal rights as a top priority, meant that Aboriginal rights did not become subsumed within the environmental concerns, the way they did on many campuses. This can be seen by the number of supporters for both blockades from these two campuses. Roxanne Ayotte (Potts), a Temagami First Nation leader was attending Trent at the time of the blockades. She states: "So I found that the community at Trent was really, really supportive towards Bear Island… at the time." Many other campuses supported primarily the Temagami Wilderness Society blockade (Hodgins 2009).

Just as important as "seeing eye-to-eye" in this relationship, was the sense of familiarity that comes from working to build relationships. These were built between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai people and environmentalists who spent time on Lake Temagami. Informal visits by both groups and "running into people" around the Lake and in the town of Temagami helped to improve personal relationships. However, workplace relationships, developed at the youth camps and family lodges around the Lake were a more important factor. Many of the TWS leaders had lived or worked in the Temagami area for several years before the blockades. TWS board member Kay Chornook states;

> I was on the Lake through those years and they're (Teme-Augama Anishnabai) in the community you know?… And

[106] Rodney Bobiwash is the late Anishnaabe academic and activist who is quoted on page 1, as well as in several other places.

> that's when I developed a relationship with Gary Potts. And Rita O'Sullivan, (Bubsy) who was the second chief, and Mary Laronde. And I knew other local people, I was friends with various local people within Temagami and I met, I just met a variety of the local Natives through being on the Lake, at the bar, at friends' houses, that kind of stuff.

The mixed Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relationships, marriages and children in the area are, according to Bruce Hodgins, "a happy testament" to these relationships. One such relationship developed during the land rights and logging issues between Teme-Augama Anishnabai council member Peter McMillen[107] and TWS leader Cocky Ingwersen. The two met at Camp Wanapitei while Cocky was seeking technical help in organizing a fundraising concert that was set to happen at the Camp's Sandy Inlet site in the north end of the Lake. The two saw each other routinely "through the politics" and eventually "started hanging out" (Peter McMillen 2009). They are still a couple, living in the United States. The two were both successfully nominated to sit on the Wendaban Stewardship Authority. Bruce Hodgins suggests that their friendship was important for developing a sense of familiarity between the different members on the WSA. Each had many contacts on both sides, which made it "easy for us to bring issues to the table," (McMillen 2009).

Wendaban Stewardship Authority

It was the Wendaban Stewardship Authority (WSA) itself that was one of the most significant initiatives at bridging the relationship between Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists. Further, it is one of the strongest examples of the creation of an ethical space, between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginal in Canada. Bob

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[107] Peter McMillen was a camper and staff at Camp Keewaydin, as well as a year-round maintenance worker at Camp Wanapitei much later, including during the blockades.

Rae personally chose the six Ontario representatives, while Chief Gary Potts hand-picked the six TAA/TFN representatives. It was "the first time in North America where Native and non-Natives were sitting around a table and making decisions." (McMillen 2009) The WSA is explained in some detail in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. While it is mentioned earlier that consensus decision-making greatly benefited the relationship, there is more to this story.

At the beginning, the group had trouble connecting to each other. Cocky Ingwersen explains:

> D. [was] the Wendaban Stewardship Authority moderator the first year. Talk about a colonialist...He just did not understand what was going on.... This was our racism coming in. We thought "Oh good, we've got a black person [as a facilitator]. It's going to be great, he'll understand all of these relationships"... That first year we struggled to talk to each other...he wanted to have Roberts Rules of Order.

Teme-Augama Anishnabai member Doug McKenzie emphasizes: "D. was a true colonist. He could only see the Indians as a block and did not see us as individuals". (2009) This lack of vision in the moderator's role led to a difficult beginning, as explained by Peter McMillen:

> Everyone was hesitant at first. It was new ground...the first year was a lot of creating committees, policy-setting. [Figuring out] how we [were] going to run this thing, how we [were] going to make the decisions. [At first] it didn't go well.

However, things changed quickly when a new moderator was brought in.

> And when Jim Morrison[108] came in, Jim knew the Native way of thinking. He knew Native people, he knew the history of the Native people. And he was able to create a consensus policy that wasn't 100% pure but it was as close as we could get..... But once we got into it, once we had the

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[108] Jim Morrison is the author of the article quoted at the beginning of Chapter 4 (1997), and a friend of many in the Temagami area/n'Daki Menan.

> right people...We all sat down around a table. A lot of people had some good ideas, a lot of people had some hair-brained ideas. And after that first year, it started to coagulate a little bit. (Peter McMillen 2009)

Jim Morrison implemented a process of consensus-based decision-making. This meant that meetings took much longer, but ultimately led to better collaboration, more respect for each other, greater understanding between members, and fewer hard feelings.

Just as this study has found the need to embrace the differences between the two groups as much as the commonalities, so did Wendaban Stewardship Authority members find this need to balance the more familiar with the less familiar. Peter McMillen explains:

> The dynamics were always such that we weren't necessarily sitting across from each other, but sometimes that happened. *We tried to integrate people so that it wasn't all TAA on one side, government representatives on the other.* For the most part everybody respected all that and what it takes to reach consensus working together. *I always liked to be sitting with someone from my side, the Native side,* because we'd have questions amongst ourselves. Sometimes we caucused amongst ourselves. That's the only process of coming to consensus and making decisions when you have people with [similar] interests and different approaches. And I think it was done very civilly. (my emphasis, 2009)

This quote articulates very practically the tension between collaboration and independence. In terms of seating dynamics, Peter liked to be sitting with someone from "his side," but didn't want the room to be completely divided down the middle. This dynamic, is in a sense a metaphor for the entire Teme-Augama Anishnabai/ environmentalist relationship. In essence, the way to develop a strong relationship between these two parties was to learn how to see the other parties' worldview, while continuing to get strength from your own. The key is to maintain a balance of being

near those who are like you, but being open to those who are different than you. However, there were many other ways, besides heritage, in which the participants were different. The group learned to create an ethical space by truthfully understanding and acknowledging both the factors that promoted their own group autonomy, and factors that united the two groups.

Further, developing a sense of familiarity, and building relationships were crucial to the WSA process. As Peter McMillen said, "sitting around a table and making decisions" was an important part of the WSA process. However, the groups also met in rooms with no tables, and sometimes met socially after the meetings at the local bar. Cocky Ingwersen, Peter McMillen and Bruce Hodgins often spoke for many hours after the meetings, often with a different fourth person joining them. The group also took several tours of the stewardship area, traveling by boat and skidoo and staying in cabins. In both Peter's and Cocky's interviews, they told stories of being on the land with people from the Wendaban Stewardship Authority.

Cocky Ingwersen said that the biggest strength of the process was "getting to know each other personally. The personal became the political." A lot of stories were told and the group's bonds were strengthened as they learned about themselves and each other. They learned what everyone was good at, and what each person was most passionate about. The membership, particularly on Teme-Augama Anishnabai side, changed occasionally, but the general trust level was maintained.

Whether overtly or not, the members of the Wendaban Stewardship Authority had to deal with power dynamics. Cocky Ingwersen says:

> But there was a power issue there…and when you're supposed to be sitting around the table, supposedly having equal power,…We have power as a

> collective here, what are we gonna do? We gotta talk to each other. We gotta get past this bullshit, talk to each other. And I think that was what I could say was the result of that process. We learned how to do that.
> (Ingwersen 2009)

Despite the power dynamics, Ingwersen suggests that personal relationships allowed the group to get beyond this. She says that she learned about controlling her verbal aggression, learned to sit back and listen, and that the WSA was more about "the process than the end result" (Ingwersen 2009). Peter McMillen said that "the dynamics, they were great. They kind of made things lively…For the most part they were good. It was the fun part of the whole process." (2009)

Because the Wendaban Stewardship Authority members developed a sense of familiarity, the discussions and votes were mostly divided along people's support for differing degrees of economic development, as opposed to along Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal lines. Peter McMillen explains that there was a lot of diversity within Teme-Augama Anishnabai delegation: "I mean the dynamics on the Native side [were] incredible. You know, how people felt about different issues". (2009) There were TAA members, TFN members, some "on-reserve people" and some "off-reserve people" that contributed to this diversity. On the government side, there were also a variety of opinions. There were logging company owners, municipal politicians, environmentalists, recreationists and youth camp representatives.

There is some debate about the impact of the Wendaban Stewardship Authority. Peter McMillen says: "Here was an opportunity to really have a say, do something positive, educate people in the way we think and the way we govern. And

[about] doing things the right way." However, he feels that the Ontario government didn't want to give up the power they held:

> And people just didn't want that to happen....[It reinforced] the frustration and inability of a government, in this case, the provincial, to relinquish their authority. About being afraid to relinquish it, about being afraid to try something new... But it never happened, unfortunately... No one wants to relinquish anything they've gained. The Native people had so much more to gain, in the history of their struggle over generations... I mean history has proven itself over and over again. And how much of it basically is class and prejudice and [treating us as] second class people.

When asked if he was referring to politicians or MNR bureaucrats, he states:

> We had to fight the people in our backyard in terms of local government.... The MNR people were the ones that we saw everyday, that were there in Temagami and were familiar with the area. And if they said they didn't think something would work, it was too bad. They could have [instead] said: "I don't think it will work, but go ahead and try it".

Doug McKenzie believes that the Ministry of Natural Resources "agitated the relationship" between Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists (2007). Gary Potts discusses Teme-Augama Anishnabai and the Wendaban Stewardship Authority's relationship with the Ministry of Natural Resources:

> A number of bureaucrats at different levels, fairly senior levels in the MNR [were] determined that.... the authority [being transferred to us] could not happen. Because this would be too much of a departure from the norm, where they were the authority over Crown lands... And they resisted. There were times that...the local bureaucracy of the MNR resisted it. And we were able to go to the Minister himself who would direct their bureaucrats to back off and allow the WSA to continue its work. (Potts 2009)

Bruce Hodgins, a member of the Wendaban Stewardship Authority, asserts that local MNR officers openly criticized the Minister of Natural Resources when talking to the members appointed by the provincial government. This might have been because the Minister, Bud Wildman, was in charge of both the MNR and the

Ontario Native Affairs Secretariat. Being a New Democrat and a Métis man might have unnerved the civil servants in the MNR. Hodgins suspects that they were fearful of losing their authority over the land, and that Wildman was challenging their power by trying to give it to First Nations people, the Wendaban Stewardship Authority, and other agencies that were not the MNR. The MNR employees in defense of their position, were able to contain the decision-making power of the WSA. By taking away the collective power of the WSA, the Ministry of Natural Resources employees prevented the coalition from reaching its full potential.

However, the power of the MNR bureaucrats was limited. They were able to constrain the power of the WSA, but not stop it altogether. It was the Mike Harris Conservative government, who came in to power in 1995 that shut down the Wendaban Stewardship Authority. Peter McMillen explains that the Liberal and NDP governments were sympathetic and supportive of the WSA. However, as he says, when Mike Harris came to power, it was like "Clancy lowered the boom" (McMillen 2009).

Once Harris came to power, the report that the Wendaban Stewardship Authority created was integrated into a new process, called the Temagami Comprehensive Planning Committee. This was a local citizens' committee, which was supported by the MNR bureaucracy. However, there was only to be two Teme-Augama Anishnabai representatives. Consequently, early on, Teme-Augama Anishnabai boycotted the process because it didn't acknowledge the authority they hold over their land.

There is some debate over how much of the Wendaban Stewardship Authority's report was regarded by the government. Doug McKenzie says of the WSA report: "I don't think it was totally disregarded. But I think you'll find it in the Comprehensive Plan, parts of it in there anyway." (2007) Cocky Ingwersen feels that some of the WSA's land stewardship plan, though not very much of it, was implemented

> I remember [we made] a lot of decisions. Once the government changed, they just tabled it all. Even though we had jurisdiction for those four years. I think once it was over, it wasn't continued. I'm not even sure if any [decisions were implemented] like bear hunting? We did a few changes. (2009)

Brian Back, however, an environmentalist who was not a member, believes that the Wendaban Stewardship Authority's importance is over-rated. He states:

> The WSA got way more play than it ever deserved… It came and went and disappeared and has had no…permanent impact on anything. They made this plan and the plan never got used. (2009)

Bruce Hodgins' response to this line of criticism is as follows: "the WSA got no play in the media, because it did its job and produced a report that had consensus backing and the government changed to the Conservatives and everything fell apart (for a while). Otherwise, the WSA could have been very important." Although many of the WSA's decisions were disregarded by the Conservative Mike Harris government and the Ministry of Natural Resources bureaucracy, there were some benefits to the process. The biggest benefit of the Wendaban Stewardship Authority was the relationship-building that happened during its process. Many spoke in their interviews about the benefits of the WSA's approach. Cocky Ingwersen says that the strength of the relationship was:

> …that we could form a coalition against the powers that be. We did in some instances. The WSA was a great strength. We got the opportunity to collaborate, to understand each other's culture.

She also states that the impact of the WSA's trust-building "trickled back" to the communities because "people took that back to their jurisdiction, [or their] special interest group, and hopefully reported that things are going well, these are great people." However, she also states:

> I think if it had gone on longer, it would have filtered down into the larger community. I'm sure it did somewhat, there was some trust built, some understanding. But it needed more time, it just couldn't be another one of those government things on the shelf. (Ingwersen 2009)

Bruce Hodgins agrees. In fact, many of the Wendaban Stewardship Authority members were appointed to the plenary land rights negotiations committee, which gave a community voice to the TAA/TFN-provincial government meetings.

Other Strengths

Several other strengths of the relationship emerge from this testimony about the Wendaban Stewardship Authority. They include familiarity, trust, communication, learning, fun and a shared love of the Temagami area. These will now be considered in relation to the more general Teme-Augama Anishnabai/environmentalist relationship.

Familiarity and trust was built especially through the Wendaban Stewardship Authority. However, it is important to remember that the WSA did not happen until 1991. So, until that point, what helped to develop trust between the two groups? The leaders of both groups seemed to have pretty regular contact, through political

venues, as well as through social venues. These interactions helped to develop trust. Temagami Wilderness Society board member Kay Chornook tells a story of how she and Chief Gary Potts developed their trust:

> I remember having a conversation with Gary.... By this point, [some of the male leaders]... had issues with each other and there wasn't anything much positive happening between them, but I remember Gary and I talking on the phone, I was out at Smoothwater in the middle of all this. And I called Gary because we were having some issue, and like I said, I really don't remember what it was. And so I said, well, "I'll call him". And I talked to him, and Gary said to me "well this is all great, Kay, but why should I trust you?" and I thought about it for a second, and I said "well, I don't know, all you can do is trust me or not trust me". There were no promises I could make, [and] he didn't know me that well. But he did trust me, I do remember this conversation, and really having no guarantees for him, just giving him my word over something, and he took it. And I stuck by my word. And he realized I did and he and I have remained friends.

Communication and a willingness to listen were important ways of developing the relationship. Cocky Ingwersen explains (as stated earlier) that as environmental women: "We did help to bridge that divide a little bit, because of our courage and our willingness to listen." She also said that what helped was not only being willing to listen, but also "keep[ing] our mouths shut" in certain situations. Kay Chornook, as partially quoted earlier, states that working with Teme-Augama Anishnabai, she really learned to listen. She says she learned about:

> ...not having to fill in all the spaces with noise, and listening. You're speaking for yourself, you're not speaking for other people, your words have power, you need to respect and listen. And respect that, just because what you're saying sounds similar, it isn't necessarily the same thing. (Chornook 2008, as partially stated earlier)

Of course, alongside the importance of listening is the importance of learning for building alliances. Cocky Ingwersen suggests, of Teme-Augama Anishnabai,

that: "I think they knew more about us than we knew about them." Because of this, she had a lot to learn from Teme-Augama Anishnabai. She spoke about learning about colonization and its impact on Teme-Augama Anishnabai. She learned about her own white privilege. She learned about the effects of poverty on a community and individuals. She learned of important cultural differences. One incident that she remembers was discussed in the interview:

> I remember one in particular I was talking to some Native guy and he asked me to step back… later, I [asked him], What was I doing wrong? He said, "for one thing, you don't just walk up to people"… So I learned a lot .

In this quote Cocky suggests that she learned about the cultural protocols in First Nations communities about meeting people, introducing yourself, and interrupting people. She also discusses how she learned to keep her verbal aggressiveness in check through operating in an Indigenous cultural framework. Kay Chornook also learned a lot, especially from her friendship with Gary Potts. She stated:

> I learned a lot from Gary over the years. We're still friends. I still see him when I go on the Lake. I learned… that… even though we may all be working towards what looks like a similar goal, our processes and our goals aren't necessarily the same, and we need to respect that. Even though it would look on paper that it would be quite in our favour to work together. If we aren't proceeding towards exactly the same thing if we have different histories, agendas, processes to get there, then we have to respect that.

Elder Alex Mathias member talks about how he teaches environmentalists who come to visit him:

> You gotta teach them. If I went to the city I'd have to be taught too, because it's not my lifestyle. So when they come here they feel comfortable with me because I teach them. I tell them what's what. What kind of pine this is and what kind of pine that is. Because a lot of people come in and a tree is a tree to them, everything is a pine, but that's not the case. So, they teach me a bit I'm sure and I teach them.

One Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader discussed a joint workshop that she created and led with an environmental leader. In an already stated quote, she stressed that it was important that the workshops they co-created were "fun" and "creative". Also stated above, Peter McMillen suggests that the interpersonal dynamics on the Wendaban Stewardship Authority kept things lively and entertaining. Other participants, particularly environmental leader Kay Chornook, also spoke about how important fun and humour were in building the relationship. She states:

> Even if your agendas aren't exactly the same. But if you proceed with respect and a lot of humour... I always find that when I'm at anything with Native people, they laugh a lot. For instance when I go to drumming circles of non-Natives I often find it way too serious, where I always find a drumming circle of Native people, (will) dissolve in laughter as much as anything... When you're looking at anything, you need to be able to see the humour in it. Because we're given challenges and horrible things happen to us all of the time. And if you can't find the humour in it, then you become bitter, or you stay in this negative thing and the negative doesn't inspire other people.
> (Kay Chornook 2008)

Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader Peter McMillen tells a story about humour breaking down barriers with different groups in the Temagami area. On a trip with the Wendaban Stewardship Authority, he tells a story about lumber operator Marc Goulard:

> I remember after the fact, joking with Marc Goulard. He tried to start a big scare. We were up on a tour one day and the damn thing [his skidoo] wouldn't start. He said "I've been trying to get rid of it for years." And I said, "well why didn't you let us burn it up five years ago when we wanted to?" So, after the fact we could joke about it. (Peter McMillen 2009)

Environmental leader Cocky Ingwersen, speaks of the importance of dancing to developing the relationship: "Strengths?... Dancing. They just loved to dance. DJs

every Saturday night, dances on Bear Island. Do they still have that? I think we started building a relationship between the two cultures."

These strengths, including: building, trust, communication, learning, humour/fun and gender solidarity are similar to the findings of Davis, O'Donnell and Shpuniarsky (2007). These authors found that coalitions and alliances between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people can be sites of "learning and transformation" (2007, 107). They found that "coalition [is] a process of learning, not only in terms of acquiring new skills in organizing and political analysis but also in relation to becoming aware of Aboriginal perspectives and spirituality." (2007, 107) While the participants in this study didn't discuss spirituality, it is clear that there was learning about Aboriginal perspectives, personal relationships and power dynamics.

Zoltán Grossman (2001), in an article about First Nations/non-Aboriginal relationships in social justice issues in Wisconsin, discussed that one of the most important commonalities that led to a strong relationship was "a common place," or a mutual love of an area (see Chapter 2). Similarly, Jamie Lawson (1998) is convinced that a shared view of the land through the *nastawgan* led to shared meaning between environmentalists and Teme-Augama Anishnabai (see Chapter 2). Many interview participants discussed their passion for *n'Daki Menan*/the Temagami area, as was mentioned in Chapter 4. However, this is a strength of the relationship that is under-estimated by the participants in this study. Only a few mentioned their shared passion when asked about the strengths of the relationship. Cocky Ingwersen summed up how important this love of place is, for both sides, by answering an interview questions posed to her: "Strengths? That we both love the land. Although we look at it

differently." (Cocky Ingwersen 2009) This quote shows how the philosophic and political differences between both groups, can be reconciled by a shared, deeply personal, passion for the land.

In the context of ongoing colonization and Eurocentrism, non-Aboriginal people, especially white people, can sometimes feel guilty about what has been done in their name. While this is a natural feeling, it is not the most constructive. What is helpful is for non-Aboriginal people to recognize that if they learn how to show respect, they can become an "ally" for Aboriginal people. As mentioned in Chapter 2, an ally is someone who chooses to support those who are experiencing oppression, through friendship, learning and teaching about the oppression and/or through political action.

One environmental leader expressed how she was able to find a role for herself and her organization, as an ally. She did this by supporting the TAA's guiding principles, helping them when they needed it, and through developing an understanding of their issues, in close friendship with a TAA woman leader. As mentioned, she states:

> ...their whole way of describing the treaty of co-existence and their stewardship principles, they were all remarkable... It's still some of the best work around, of that form... theirs is the best work that I've come across. So that was a strength of the work, that was the strength in working with them. So I could contribute. We did some other things, too.

Mary Laronde stated: "...I think that it is well worth cultivating good, working relationships with environmental organizations, because I think that by and large, there are more areas in which you can be good allies and friends, than there are where

you can't be." (2007) Whaley and Bresette (1994) give a great working definition of the role of the "ally" in solidarity and environmental issues.

> we ally not because we are "alike" nor to remake each other or to force compromise or correct tactics. We ally to affirm each other's strengths and to call upon that which we need but don't have ourselves. (Whaley and Bresette 1994, 85)

In Summary

Personal relationships between Teme-Augama Anishnabai members and environmentalists were developed because of trust- and relationship-building; joint collaborative efforts; and in some cases, a mutual framing of issues. These relationships contribute to a broader social network between the two groups. These linkages take resources such as time, personal energy and money to maintain (della Porta and Diani 1999). They also require worldview skills, in order for participants to be able to understand each other's values and interests (Sutherland 2005). These relationships represent an effort to work towards the creation of an ethical space—a space for dialogue between the two parties (Ermine 2007).

In many cases, certain behaviours, such as trust building, humour, fun, time spent together in meetings or shared work, creativity, communication, learning and a shared love of the Temagami area/*n'Daki Menan* have allowed participants to work out the power dynamics that exist between them in a way that is mutually beneficial. These relationships also affirm Della Porta and Diani's claim that friendships can diminish the ideological distance between groups (1999).

However, in order to make these personal relationships work, a certain degree of risk is involved. First Nations and environmental leaders risk their own autonomy

when they seek to form alliances with each other. Della Porta and Diani remark that forming linkages "could be seen as unacceptable [to act] towards compromise" (1999, 132-133) and they could be seen as betraying their constituency. Alliances could "limit their own capacity to provide the stimulation and motivation for action to their own bases" (1999, 132).

As we have seen in case studies in British Columbia, Larsen (2003) and Davis (2009) demonstrate that alliances between First Nations and environmentalists can lead to increased autonomy of both groups. If these relationships are negotiated successfully, both groups can emerge with more than they began with, and are well worth the risks. Larsen and Davis show that the dynamism of social networks can be a powerful force of creativity, learning, transformation, shared resources and mobilization power.

It would appear in the Temagami issues, that certain individuals were prepared to take these risks, and a few others were not. Some personal friendships were forged across position lines, and both groups were strengthened for these efforts. Collaboration led to better understandings, learning, and shared benefits. However, others chose not to put resources into these networks, and focus instead on building the capacity of their own group. Still others might have attempted to form these relationships without a willingness to make the compromises that are required in forming friendships across differing worldviews and political positions.

Regardless of each individual's degree of participation in inter-organization relationships, it is no doubt clear that interpersonal linkages had a strong impact on the land rights and logging issues in *n'Daki Menan*/the Temagami area. Whether

they were humourous or hesitant, supportive or suspicious, these relationships were a key component of how both groups understood each other, communicated with each other and interacted with each other.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

This thesis examined twenty-four interviews from participants who were intimately involved with the First Nations land rights and environmental issues in the Temagami area. Through analysis of the interviews and synthesis of the literature, this study has found the strengths and tensions of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai/ environmentalist relationship during the years 1986-1994. The findings from this thesis are: a) that political and philosophic tensions between the two were reconciled through the strength of personal relationships; b) that the relationship improved over time through learning, growth and transformation; and c) that conscientious attention to First Nations/ environmentalist relationships are important for success in environmental justice struggles.

One might wonder about the purpose of such research, and about the benefit for the communities involved. It is the hope that this thesis offers not just a descriptive and analytical approach, but also provides prescriptive ideas for others involved in a First Nations/environmentalist relationship. During the research process, interview participants were asked to give advice to others in a similar situation.

This conclusion is structured around the three key findings that the thesis uncovers from literature and interviews. Spread throughout these patterns, are the fifteen key points of advice that participants offered to others in a similar position. Each piece of advice fits best within one particular pattern, and gives readers some ideas about ways to improve these relationships in the future.

<u>Pattern #1: Political And Philosophic Tensions Were Reconciled Through Personal Relationships</u>

Rodney Bobiwash seemed convinced, in 2000, that there was "a great divide between the actions, mindsets and cultures of environmentalists and Aboriginal people" (section 2.75). This thesis has examined the cultural and worldview elements of the differences between these two groups, by looking at their stewardship philosophies, in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 was an examination of the "actions" Bobiwash speaks of, the political moves and personal behaviours that affected the relations between environmentalists and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai on the blockades in 1988-1989.

Bobiwash's claim about there being "a great divide" is a very strong opinion about the relationship. What I have found is that there were *some* divisive elements of the relationship, and there were *some* personal relationships that were not constructive. Many misperceptions due to a history of colonization, a negotiation of Aboriginal/settler power relations, and a lack of acknowledging First Nations authority caused tension in the relationship between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists (Chapter 5).

However, what Bobiwash fails to mention in 2000 is the power that personal relationships had in reconciling these philosophical and behavioural differences. Many personal friendships and relationships were formed between environmentalists and Teme-Augama Anishnabai people, which were able to break down the philosophic and political boundaries that had once set them apart. The two groups collaborated on workshops, related to each other through humour and a mutual love

of the land; many also formed deep bonds through participation on the Wendaban Stewardship Authority (Chapter 6).

Although there was initial hesitation about each other, lasting friendships developed due to each groups' efforts at relationship-building and at developing a mutual understanding. Interview participants hinted at these successful strategies, by giving advice to others in a similar position. They stressed that an important way to break down these barriers was to develop an awareness of each other. This is done by being mindful of the other groups' characteristics and diversity, by being aware of your own groups' characteristics and biases, by understanding the similarities between both groups, and by recognizing both groups' intentions and goals.

Advice #1: Develop awareness of the other group

Both Ermine (2007) and Sutherland (2005) stress the need to understand cultural differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. They find that if the deep, hidden culture that embeds each persons' "thought-world" is not understood, that tensions arise. When there is a lack of understanding, assumptions and biases become sources of misinformation, which can fuel an individual or a groups' dislike of the other group. Most respondents in this study found that there was more need for environmentalists to better understand the Teme-Augama Anishnabai culture than the other way around. Echoing these sentiments, one interview participant who has conservationist sympathies advised that environmentalists should try to "understand [First Nations] culture" in order to better improve the relationship.

Mary Laronde suggests that there are certain assumptions made by environmentalists about First Nations people, and that they are important to break down in order to create better relationships. She states:

> The biggest assumption is you can't assume that the First Nations people are environmentalists. They're stewards of the land, but they're not necessarily preservationists, although you will find preservationists in First Nation communities.

Teme-Augama Anishnabai member Joe Katt also cautions that not only will there be differences of opinion about the issues at hand, but there will also be a "difference in [the] perception of what the relationship is". Joe Katt advises that environmentalists be "very sensitive" about this difference in perception. In this way, Laronde and Katt are encouraging people involved in First Nation-environmentalists relationships to practice "worldview flexibility" in order to better understand where the other is coming from (Sutherland 2005).

Advice #2: Develop awareness about your own group

According to Ermine (2007) and Sutherland (2005), developing an awareness of different cultural contexts under which another group operates means understanding: a)the hidden influences of *one's own* culture; b)the dominant power lens operating when you interact with that group and the unequal power dynamics that are created; and c)how each group's boundaries are crossed and why. This section, as well as the other two in this conclusion, look at these points mentioned by Ermine and Sutherland.

Environmental leader Cocky Ingwersen has suggestions for environmentalists about looking within and examining one's social position in order to improve the

relationship. She highlights the need to understand the dominant cultural lens (Sutherland 2005) that allows Euro-Canadians to ignore the personal costs and benefits of colonialism when interacting with individuals.

She recommended that white environmentalists be more conscious of how much they have benefited from colonialism. She in fact argues that it can help to look at one's self as a colonizer, in order to recognize how one has benefited from the colonial processes which have caused the others dispossession. She stated:

> I mean we as colonialist[s]. I think that's our [responsibility to develop the] awareness to say: okay, born white in Canada, or North America. Our parents were immigrants, they came here for all kinds of reasons, and they came here from oppression probably. Why would we do this to other people, why would our ancestors? We have to acknowledge that. In that we are racist, and get on with the work of trying to heal that, the best we can. And awareness, I think that's the one tension, is not to have that awareness of what that means.

Cocky argued that self-reflection is important in order to better understand privilege. She said that having privilege causes people to not see oppression, particularly oppression that one might have benefited from. She stated: "I think… all those [environmental] guys were blind. I think it was just the whole white privilege that we had. That we had to look more closely at, analyze, [and ask ourselves], where are we impacting people?"

Cocky articulated above that some environmentalists were not able to see the unequal power relations that existed between themselves and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai because of Eurocentrism (Ermine 2007). It is important for non-Aboriginal environmentalists working with First Nations people to be conscious not to fall into Eurocentric modes of thinking, such as the belief that environmentalist

notions and policies of land use are much better than First Nations land governance systems. Being aware of Eurocentric patterns of thought is an important step for environmentalists to recognize how they might cross the boundaries of First Nations people they interact with and vice versa.

Advice #3: Be aware of similarities

When considering the characteristics of the other group, it is not only important to consider how they are different from your own, but also the similarities that both groups share. Former Chief Joe Katt sees the power of recognizing the two groups' commonalities: "You know, Native values and environmental values are almost similar in a way." One Teme-Augama Anishnabai member stated:

> There are some similarities in the viewpoints. I know I have a friend that works for a National Aboriginal organization, and she's now running [as a] political person in the Green party. She said [that there's] an alignment of some of the views.

When there is alignment, both groups can come together in shared initiatives, as they did with the Model Forest Proposal, the workshops run by environmentalist and First Nations women, and on the Wendaban Stewardship Authority (Chapter 6).

Advice #4: Be conscious of each groups' intentions

What is also important in developing awareness is being conscious of the others' motives. One participant suggested: "Always be cautious" of the other groups wishes and desires. Another said: "Don't give them (environmentalists) your voice" (Former Second Chief Doug McKenzie 2007). These comments hint at some

of the tensions and difficulties that emerged early on in the relationship. On some occasions one group has crossed the boundaries of the other.

It is important for both sides to recognize when their own boundaries are crossed. As Sutherland (2005) indicates, sometimes we can learn about our own cultural values when we understand what it is that crosses our boundaries. This is an important practice for both First Nations groups and environmentalists hoping to work collaboratively. However, as mentioned, the personal relationships were able to reconcile some of these political and philosophic tensions.

Advice #5: Be aware of each groups' goals

In 1989, Rodney Bobiwash claimed that First Nations and environmentalists in the Temagami area were "striving for the same goal". It seems from my research, that this is not the whole picture of the relationship. Most interview participants would probably agree that in the short term, the Temagami Wilderness Society (TWS) and environmentalists both wanted to see the construction halted on the Red Squirrel Road. They shared a common *short-term goal.*

In terms of *long-term goals* however, they appear to diverge. Some elements within the TWS wanted the land to become a protected area. This has happened to some degree, as the Temagami area has increasingly been turned into parks and conservation reserves (administered by the Ontario Parks branch of the Ministry of Natural Resources). The Teme-Augama Anishnabai wanted the land to be recognized as rightfully under their stewardship, as it has been for thousands of years, instead of being administered by the Ontario government. Chief Gary Potts articulated these

long-term desires, and gave advice for other First Nations communities about reaching these goals:

> Know what your objective is for your homeland territory... Not just the reserve, but the homeland territory. Know that it's going to take time to re-establish that authority and the responsibilities that come with that authority.

In regard to these goals, Gary Potts recommended that environmentalists respect the historical authority of First Nations communities, as well as their long-term aspirations for re-establishing this authority:

> Accept that [the First Nations] are the authority. And that if [environmentalists] can be helpful, to let the Indigenous people know that in any way that they can be helpful, that [the environmentalists] would be pleased to help. And in areas where [you are] not helpful, we will avoid [you].

Doug McKenzie gives a recommendation about how environmentalists can acknowledge the authority of First Nations communities. He suggests taking directions from a First Nations community, and finding a "way to empower the Aboriginal community. They also have to trust the Aboriginal community."

Fewer participants gave any advice about how to convince a First Nations community to become more aligned with an environmental viewpoint. It seems that participants are aware that because of the need to recognize First Nations' traditional and legitimate authority over the land, it is less appropriate to tell these communities that they should be more aligned with the philosophies of newcomers to their land. One environmental leader summarized her position on Teme-Augama Anishnabai land governance authority, she stated (as previously mentioned): "it's not me or any non-Native person's place to say what the Native people do with the land. It's their land."

However, Former TFN Chief Joe Katt did point to the need for First Nations people to recognize certain aspects of the point of view of environmentalists. He stated that a stable alliance between environmentalists and First Nations is possible if First Nations people "see the truth about how sensitive the Earth is" (2007).

The advice given by participants suggests how personal relationships and the development of "worldview skills" (Sutherland 2005) can help to reconcile the political and philosophical tensions that arise. This includes recognizing that learning about the hidden influences of your own culture is crucial to understanding someone else's; acknowledging that it is important to be aware of both groups' intentions and motivations, and recognizing that there are similarities between the hopes and desires of First Nations and environmentalists. The awareness of one's own culture, of when one crosses another's boundaries, and of the dominant culture lens affecting one's relationships with another are themes that ran throughout this section, and will re-appear in this conclusion (Sutherland 2005; Ermine 2007).

Pattern #2: The Relationships Improved Over Time Through Learning, Growth And Transformation[109]

Like Davis (2009), I found that First nations/environmentalist relationships progressed over time. As people worked together, shared intense moments together, collaborated on projects or committees, and learned to understand each other, their mutual trust increased. My findings did not show as discernible stages as Davis'

[109] The wording of this pattern comes from Davis (2009) and Davis, O'Donnell and Shpuniarsky (2007).

(2009) work[110]. However, two main events, the blockades and the Wendaban Stewardship Authority were instrumental in providing forums for the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmentalists to interact, get to know each other, and work together. Further work could be done in this area, by asking more detailed questions about the progression of the relationship in the Temagami area over time.

Like Davis, O'Donnell and Shpuniarsky (2007), I found that opportunities for learning, growth and transformation improved the foundations of these relationships. My research found that personal relationships were especially important for creating these transformative experiences, as outlined in Chapter 6. Through humour, sharing resources, familiarity, trust, creativity, dancing and fun; strong, positive relationships developed. As people began to work together, they learned about each other's worldviews, customs and protocols. This led to a mutual framing of the issues and a balancing of power dynamics. Non-Aboriginal environmentalists especially had a lot of learning to do, as Anishnabai culture is not taught in most Euro-Canadian schools.

Several interview participants in this study gave advice about how these opportunities for learning, growth and transformation can happen. They found that there was a need to recognize the lack of opportunities for Euro-Canadians to learn about First Nations people and cultures in the school system. Participants felt that serious changes in the education system are needed to improve the relationships between First Nations and environmentalists. Interview participants acknowledged that environmentalists must do work to self-educate to make up for this education

[110] I suspect the reason for this lack of distinct phases has to do with the timing of the research relative to the time period under study. The relationships in Davis' study are still fresh, the participants having worked together for just over a decade at the time of the study. My research in the Temagami area examined events that took place approximately twenty years ago. Perhaps because the memories were not as fresh, clear stages in the relationship were less obvious in the data.

gap. They felt that environmentalists must especially learn to appreciate First Nations' perspectives on wildlife harvesting, and their need for economic development. Several interviewees believed that in light of this education gap, that First Nations people must be patient with environmentalists as they learn about their culture.

Advice # 6: Recognize the deficit of teachings about Aboriginal culture in the Euro-Canadian school system

Jessie Sutherland (2005) believes that people from different cultures who are attempting to work together on any project need to acknowledge the "dominant cultural lens" which influences the way any group operates with another. In the area of Canada, a Euro-Canadian perspective governs most patterns of behaviour, speaking and often thinking. Acknowledging this is important for understanding the knowledge gap when First Nations communities and environmental groups interact: namely, that the Aboriginal communities often know about the cultural lens that the environmentalists use, but the environmentalists do not often understand the worldviews, customs, protocols and practices of the Indigenous community. This knowledge gap is indicative of a wider problem: the distressing lack of Indigenous content in the Euro-Canadian education system.

This finding is consistent with the literature on First Nations/environmentalist relationships, which suggests that non-Aboriginal people involved in these coalitions had a lack of knowledge in the beginning stages of an alliance (Davis 2009; Whaley and Bresette 1994; LaDuke 1999). One environmental leader interview participant

acknowledged the gaps in the education system, and suggested that non-Aboriginal people often have a lot to learn about First Nations culture, history and protocols. She said:

> Don't assume that [environmentalists] have a basic understanding. But also don't understand that they wouldn't be open to having one, they just might not have entered their realm of understanding yet.

One participant who has conservation sentiments stated that education is crucial to improving Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relationships. He states:

> And I think it's through education and understanding one another's positions that you can achieve good results. Because it's often, or it has been the case, that positions or differences of opinion are based on misunderstanding, and lack of knowledge. And once you understand and increase peoples' knowledge, then often disagreements can either be averted or the impact of them can be greatly lessened.

This lack of education has specific implications for those seeking to improve First Nations/environmentalist relationships, which are discussed by the interview participants in the following pieces of advice.

Advice #7: There is a need for reforms in the Euro-Canadian education system

Former Chief Joe Katt believes that the education system needs to put more emphasis on certain subjects.

> I think we have to start making two things important in the education system. One is Native Studies, so we understand what colonization was and what are the rights of Native people, where they stand from. The other thing that we have to institute is Environmental Studies. So that everybody understands how sensitive the Earth is. So that when we have grandchildren growing up, that they're going to be more in tune to trying to do things in a way that's going to be less hazardous for the Earth

In Ontario, with the new documents *Ontario First Nation, Métis and Inuit Education Policy Framework* (2007), and *Acting Today, Shaping Tomorrow: A Policy Framework for Environmental Education in Ontario Schools* (2009), the Ministry seems to be catching up to what these interview participants have known for some time. However, there is still a lack of teachers trained to teach Indigenous Studies and Environmental Studies in Ontario's school system[111]. Further work needs to be done on how to address the shortage of teachers trained in both environmental and Indigenous knowledge.

Advice #8: Environmentalists need to "do their homework" to make up for the learning deficit

One environmental leader advised that environmentalists take responsibility for the fact that there are large gaps in their knowledge of Indigenous peoples, cultures and histories. She advised environmentalists to question what they have not learned from the Western education system, and try to fill in those gaps. She stated:

> Do a little bit of homework, get a basic understanding of Aboriginal treaty rights, land rights, the history of the area, and then ask some questions, do some homework. Don't expect the First Nation to do all your work for you, don't expect the First Nation to spend their time [on your] education, but do your homework, and then ask some questions to see if you've got it right.

One Temagami Anishnabai Elder advised that environmentalists seek Elders for advice:

> They'll meet an individual from that community, it doesn't necessarily mean he has to be (an) elected leader. It could be

[111] I'm currently taking a Bachelor's of Education program at Lakehead University, with Environmental Studies and Native Studies as my two teachable subjects.

> just an individual. And if they listen to him, or if he's an Elder, listen to him, take advice from him.

He recommends that environmentalists should be aware of whether the community still has "what they're supposed to have, wisdom and the knowledge and everything else that people carry[112]" and to show respect for this knowledge. This respect can be shown by following proper protocol when approaching an Elder, using samaa (tobacco), and/or the Elder's preferred protocol.

Cocky Ingwersen's advice for environmentalists is to take responsibility for their own lack of knowledge. She suggests that environmentalists often do not have a clear understanding of the power dynamics between themselves and First Nations communities. Sutherland calls this a lack of awareness of the "dominant cultural lens" (2005). Ingwersen contends that an awareness of this is important to develop. She articulated:

> But we have the responsibility to know more about those cultures, about their culture. And what they went through. To educate ourselves. Because we are the... we have the power, we are the, kind of the aggressors, the people who came here, right? So I think it's more our responsibility. I guess the tensions are between the colonialist and the colonized. And that power relationship that it set up. All of that, including poverty,... [and power] Who's got it, who doesn't. And yes they have the power of their attachment to the land. And that's theirs, you can't take that away from them. But we certainly tried.

Cocky suggests that self-education is an important step towards reconciling the power imbalance in the relationship between environmentalists and First Nations. Environmentalists must also have an awareness of how to analyze power dynamics, learn how they participate in them, and learn how to change them. In this way, she

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[112] To this, he added: "Not only Native people carry it, there's a lot of non-Native people (who) carry it as well."

suggests that environmentalists can learn how to use their privileges to gain advantage for less privileged groups, and can work towards re-balancing power dynamics.

Advice #9: Environmentalists must learn to understand the importance of hunting, trapping and fishing to First Nations culture.

> The land is a living organism, and the people belong there. People belong in the land.... We who set traps there manage the land, manage the animal population so that they don't get all overrun or... because the stock gets weak after a while too. Like too many beavers, those kinds of things. The land is food.
> (Teme-Augama Anishnabai participant)

The comment quoted above suggests that environmentalists will improve their relationship with Aboriginal people if they make an attempt to understand the First Nations' culture, with close attention to realizing that the hunting and trapping activities of Indigenous peoples were always sustainable because of sophisticated harvesting principles and practices. Most First Nations people today follow these same principles, even when they use metal traps and modern guns. Mary Laronde also believes that local Indigenous trappers and hunters know the land better than anyone. Their knowledge and animal management practices must be respected by environmentalists if a strong relationship is to develop. Grant (1992) and Morrison (1997) re-iterate the importance of acknowledging the unique way that Aboriginal people harvest animals, and of recognizing its significance to First Nations, Inuit and Métis cultures and economies.

Advice #10: Environmentalists need to consider the importance of economic development to First Nations communities

Lynne Davis (2009) found that an integral part of developing the relationship between the Coastal First Nations' and environmentalists was when environmentalists recognized the need for First Nations communities to have economic development. One environmentalist leader she interviewed stated:

> When I asked people how they saw the problems and what their priorities were, they said, "Look, you know, we had 2 more suicides last week... we've got 90% unemployment... community economic development's what we need. We've got to get some more jobs." And I could certainly see that there's no way that any enviro or any other outsider could ever say, turn down those jobs with forestry... And so, we, as an environmental group, had no experience in economic development. But we had to ... get some. (Environmental leader in Davis 2009, 8)

One Teme-Augama Anishnabai participant suggested that environmentalists should consider each land-management decision carefully. She advised that environmentalists be open about certain types of logging in certain places, and to not make vast condemnations about all forms of economic development. A Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader suggested that environmentalists keep an open mind about logging:

> My advice to them would be to look at all of the facts. To look at the whole situation, to look at the land management plan. [To look at] why it's being logged that way. What are the pros for logging [using a certain method] and what are the cons for that kind of logging. Because there's totally different kinds.

One conservationist stated that there exists a diversity of opinions about economic development among Teme-Augama Anishnabai people:

> And so, you might find people in the Native community who have a high conservation ethic and believe that yes, we need to be protecting ecolog(ical) values in Temagami better than we are currently. But then there are people within the Native community who are pro-development. Some guy runs a construction company and feels the ways things are is probably cool and if we created a few more lots of development for Temagami, that would be great too.

He recommended that environmentalists recognize the range of opinions within any First Nation. He stated:

> There is no formula for working with Native communities. The Native community in Temagami is not of one mind. So you can't... it's not some homogeneous group of people who are waiting to be consulted or engaged. There's as much diversity of opinion and character within the Native community as there is within the white community.

Davis (2009) found that environmentalists in her study learned through relationships with Aboriginal people that: "cultural, economic and environmental integrity were integrally connected." There is a need to balance these three factors in First Nations/ environmentalist relationships, with an awareness of how they have been unbalanced in the past.

Advice #11: First Nations people should be patient with environmentalists as they learn

Some interview participants gave specific ideas about how First Nations people can communicate with environmentalists about cultural differences and their expectations in cross-cultural relationships. Gary Potts said:

> Be as focused and as specific as possible when seeking assistance from the general public or any particular interest group of the general public such as environmentalists. And [explain] the protocol between them. [Explain] what you'd expect, [and] where they can be helpful. And [explain that you expect] that reciprocity of respect [to be] there. Because

> everyone is a human being, you know, at that time, and context. So communication is fundamental.

Potts advises that First Nations' communities explain protocol[113] to non-Aboriginal interest groups, as well as Indigenous conceptions of respect and reciprocity. He also recommends asking for help in specific areas, and giving clear expectations to any environmental groups involved in a mutual issue. Joe Katt, a former TFN Chief's practical advice for working with environmentalists, is: "be patient. If [you] see they're wrong in their attitude then try to correct [them]. [Tell them] I can understand where you're coming from and your perspective, but this is how we see things." One environmental leader gave advice about working with environmentalists:

> So, I think, [they should] take them as they come. And, chill a little. I think there's a bit of a cultural divide sometimes, [so] you have to cut each other some slack. If somebody gets it wrong the first time, I think First Nations people should feel comfortable just saying, that's not how it is, here's how it is, and then let that other person recover from that correction and incorporate it into their thinking and carry on together.

These participants acknowledged that the knowledge gap can be lessened by gentle feedback where respect flows between both parties, even when one has crossed the others' boundaries inadvertently.

Doug McKenzie articulates an important aspect of Aboriginal education, which must be considered in relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. He states: "what I've learned from all of this experience is basically I can pass on what I've learned, and give advice, without trying to impose my advice."

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[113] Protocol is the set of guidelines in any First Nations culture, which explain how to interact with people with respect. An example is to offer tobacco to an Elder before asking them for knowledge, or not telling particular stories until the snow falls. Protocols vary from community to community.

This recommendation emphasizes a principle of non-interference, which is common in Indigenous cultures (Ross 1996). This must be considered when working to improve environmentalists/First Nations relationships. One cannot force an opinion on someone else, personal growth happens best when someone has the space to learn from their mistakes in a non-judgmental atmosphere.

The guidelines and advice articulated in the above section examines the conditions that are necessary to develop an "ethical space" that is, a safe space for cross-cultural interaction (Ermine 2007). Education and learning are important for allowing a relationship between First Nations and environmentalists to improve over time. This learning allows both parties to understand each other, and to create meaningful dialogue that explores each group's values and beliefs. Without these conversations about worldviews, attitudes and protocol, respectful communication is much more difficult.

Pattern #3: Conscientious attention to these relationships are important for success

What is consistent in both the literature and my research about First Nations-environmentalist relationships, is that it is important for both parties to work on these issues with a conscientious attention to their relationship with the other. In my study, participants who took the time to get to know the other group, to meet with them, spend time with them, and try to understand their perspective had success in achieving their own goals.

To some this finding may seem self-evident in the premise of my research. However, there are some barriers to these relationships being given the priority they need. In some environmental circles, the time it takes for building relationships is not seen as constructive, when compared to the potential action that can be taken with the same use of time and effort. In some cases, *action* is seen as the most important component in any environmental issue. Paulo Freire (1970) writes that we must find the *balance between reflection and action*, between mobilizing resources and building relationships, if social movements are to affect positive change in the world.

Another barrier to partnership is that some First Nations communities see the risks involved in collaborating with environmentalists (Davis 2009) and choose not to be very involved.

Across the literature, there is a consensus that when First Nations and environmentalists enter into respectful alliance with each other, there is the potential for both groups to attain successes that they would not have been able to without the other's help. This is consistent in the literature about Wisconsin. For instance, Gedicks (1993) showed that when coalitions between the Chippewa and environmentalists (such as the group Anishnaabe Niiji) used tactics and elements of both cultures, the alliances achieved a strong measure of success. Similarly, Grossman (2001) found that because of a partnership between Wisconsin Chippewa people and rural white folks, treaty rights began to be seen as powerful weapons, which were used to defeat multinational mining companies from threatening their homelands.

Similarly, in British Columbia, Larsen (2003) found that for both the Cheslatta T'en and their non-Native neighbours; working together led to positive results for both groups. The alliance allowed the Cheslatta T'en to increase their self-determination, by giving them a "powerful position within their homeland" (2003, 82). Lynne Davis (2009) found that by collaborating, both environmentalists and the Coastal First Nations' have seen their capacities, economic potential and influence grow significantly.

Because of the power of relationship-building on developing strong connections between First Nations and environmentalists, many interview participants stressed this approach when offering advice to other people.

Advice #12: Relationship-building is important and takes time

Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader Vicky Grant suggests that:

> All of these things have to be built on relationships… that is where it all [must] start. Relationships are what it is all about… The problem is that we assume things, and then we start walking down the road and all of a sudden we find we have vehement disagreement about what we project is important, to each side. (Grant 2007)

Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader Mary Laronde suggests that awareness of both groups' common interests can lead to constructive relationships. She explained:

> I think [my advice] would be to establish a relationship. To really understand what kind of relationship it is…Who's using who, [this] kind of thing. Or come to a common understanding of the areas where you can work together. I think that that's important. But I think that it is well worth cultivating good, working relationships with environmental organizations because I think that by and large, there are more areas in which you can be good allies and friends, than there are where you can't be. Given a good open dialogue and you're willing to work on the relationship.

Laronde emphasizes the importance of communication or "good open dialogue" to strengthen the relationship, and to overcome the inherent power dynamics in such a relationship. One non-Indigenous interview participant suggests that the way he has operated allows for respect for these difference viewpoints. He states:

> I prefer to work co-operatively with people and try and reach positions where, yes there's some compromise involved. But you better understand me and I better understand you. And I'm not trying to beat you into submission. And you're not trying to do the same to me. But that we can probably accommodate most of each others' goals and aspirations. Not all, but most.

One environmental leader also pointed out that forming relationships with members of the local non-Aboriginal community, in this case the town of Temagami, is important. Environmental leader Hap Wilson gave helpful advice for environmentalists about working on the relationship with local non-Aboriginal people. He stated:

> I think what is difficult for young environmentalists who spend their time in the city, [is that] they tend to not understand the social implications and infrastructure of a small community and how it operates. That was problematic for us in the 1980s and 1990s. What we should have done was try to get the small community on our side, before even doing battle. When the media gets ahold of the issue and so does the government, [they] tend to pit one side against the other, and then sit back. Then extremists in both camps [start being vocal]... and then to find any kind of middle ground is so difficult. Back then we didn't do our homework. (Wilson 2009)

Vicky Grant also highlighted above that relationship-building work must be done *before* conflicts develop so that collaborations have fewer damaging disputes. Wilson pointed to the need to consider all forms of relationships carefully when working on local environmental issues. His quote also illustrates that some of the tensions

between environmentalists and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai were similar to tensions between environmentalists and local non-Aboriginal people.

Environmental leader Kay Chornook suggests that these alliances take time, and there are little material or status rewards for this kind of work. She stated:

> We aren't all going to be leaders. All these organizations that do this kind of work need people doing grassroots [work], [people] that are doing the shlepping at the bottom, that are folding flyers or stuffing envelopes. And I said to [a young man I had just met] "if you think you're going to step into this and be a recognized leader and get a lot of pats on the back (Some people do that because that's the personality they are). But most people are doing [work] just day by day, putting a step forward and doing every little bit that they can, to work towards something they really believe in."

Further, she adds that maintaining a positive attitude, and not despairing, is important in this kind of work. She learned this lesson from Chief Gary Potts.

> ...back at the time of the blockades, Gary said to me, when I was very upset... Something had happened against us. Perhaps we had tried to get an injunction, or the Natives tried to get an injunction. And he said "Kay if we cried every time a stick was broken, we wouldn't have the energy left to support the forest." The issues are so big and we need to maintain our energy and we just can't lose ourselves every time there's a small defeat. Because we're going to have a lot more defeats than we are victories.

Both parties interviewed acknowledged that putting the time in to build relationships between First Nations and environmentalists early on is a crucial way to achieve positive results in the long term. While working together may seem time-consuming or risky, it is the only way that the cultural barriers that caused the issue in the first place will ever be bridged.

Advice #13: Learn from past examples

Some interview participants gave suggestions of other First Nations/ environmentalist coalitions that are good examples to follow. As Mary Laronde said about the collaborative, TAA-run Model Forest Proposal (as stated earlier): "We proved to ourselves that we could get along. Not everybody in our camps, but we really did a lot of great work."

One environmental leader suggested that First Nations' use the approach of the Grand Council of the Cree when interacting with environmentalists:

> They were very good at coalition building. Masters at it.... They worked really well with environmental groups. They understood, (the Cree), that by welcoming the environmental groups (rather than letting them run around on their own), [they] made sure that those groups were working with them, with the right message, etc. The Cree had the environment groups well-disciplined and on message.

The method employed by the Grand Council of the Cree was to give strong direction to environmental groups, which strengthened the alliances they held with these groups.

One Teme-Augama Anishnabai respondent worked with the Wildlands League on an issue. The participant is very supportive of the way that this organization worked with them, and stated:

> Well the way that that one group helped us was good. They helped us when asked, and offered their assistance and called once in a while for updates. [They] advocated when we asked them to, and didn't do much else when we didn't ask. So that was good. I think that's a good way to approach things is you don't do something unless you're asked. And they [also] need to listen.

An acknowledgement of the authority of First Nations communities can be given, by following directions given by First Nations leadership, when it is possible and appropriate.

Advice #14: These relationships need to be articulated into policy

Willie Ermine (2007) emphasized that "we need perspectives that create clarity and ethical certainty to the rules of engagement between diverse human communities" (2007, 196). Mary Laronde advised that environmentalists create an organizational policy in support of Indigenous rights as a starting point. This is an important gesture, a first step in creating the "rules of engagement" with which to operate. Of course, First Nations people need to be involved in the development of this kind of policy, and paid well for their time.

Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader Vicky Grant advised that besides creating a policy for your own organization, influencing public policy is also important. She suggested that individuals must take responsibility for their own actions, and for the responsibility of the political system. Vicky Grant believes that people from all sides of this conflict need to recognize that they are accountable. She stated:

> We put them [the Ontario government] there. We gave them that authority. We use that bureaucracy when we need it on our side. If we have got to do anything, that is the biggest thing we have got to do. We have got to stop blaming and start accepting responsibility. All of us. Everybody.

Grant articulated that the responsibility for broader, political change falls on both sides. In order for these issues of environmental concern and social justice to be addressed, environmentalists and First Nations groups need to realize the potential for alliance, and start lobbying government together, so that their efforts have a bigger

impact. However, this cannot be done without intentional work towards relationship-building and continued growth.

Advice #15: Both sides have a responsibility for respectful relations

All environmentalist and Teme-Augama Anishnabai leaders interviewed expressed that respect was an important element of relationship-building. Building Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal alliances for social and environmental justice must consider the historical context of the relationship and its effect on their daily interactions. Doug Adams articulated the need to develop an awareness of the history of the negative residue that colonization has an impact on new First Nations/environmentalists relationships. He mentioned:

> Well, first of all, understand that there's been a lot of hard feelings tossed back and forth. So you're going to have to put up with the ripple effect today. Understand that right off the bat. If you can't handle that, go home.

While one side has benefited more from colonization, Cocky Ingwersen acknowledged that both sides need to take responsibility for building a solid relationship. She states: "I always tend to want to blame them, the white folk. But it does go both ways." The responsibility of developing strong relationships falls on everyone's shoulders.

Engaging in First Nations/environmentalist relationships can be risky for both groups. Lynne Davis' work on the Coastal First Nations' case in British Columbia found that this risk was apparent (2009). Teme-Augama Anishnabai leader Mary Laronde stated that First Nations must exercise caution when choosing groups to engage with: "I think they [First Nations] really need to choose their allies carefully,

and they really need to know the spirit and intent of the relationship". However, Laronde suggested that when chosen properly, First Nations/environmentalists can lead to rewarding relationships: "It's worth cultivating the relationships, because... there are way more things that we agree on, than [points where] we disagree on."

Environmental leader Hap Wilson encourages First Nations to work in partnership with local environmental groups. Wilson felt that the Teme-Augama Anishnabai did not collaborate with them as much as he would have liked. He stated: "had [they] joined forces with us, we could have bolstered [their] group, and [their] group would have given strength to our group" (Wilson 2009). He also felt that various environmental groups could have gained strength from working co-operatively, rather than autonomously. However, many other participants were satisfied with the amount of collaboration between environmentalists and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai in 1986-1994.

The Teme-Augama Anishnabai and environmental leaders interviewed see the potential of the First Nations/environmentalist relationship. If approached with an informed consciousness and with an effort made towards developing understanding; the relationship has the potential to create stronger support and resources for both groups. Most participants recognize that both sides must participate responsibility in order for a coalition to work. When intentional energy is put into building these relationships, strong coalitions can form which will likely benefit both sides greatly.

However, a crucial step towards this acknowledgement is proceeding with a high degree of respect. One Teme-Augama Anishnabai member explained:

> Be sincere about who you are, what you are, and approach things in a respectful manner as you would and try and do it in all your affairs and [respect] how we govern ourselves...

> I think what it is, is really maintaining that respect in working from a place of integrity and a place of truth. And in working with First Nations people, the Indigenous people of these lands, [what is important] is, you know is to [have] respect. Because it's difficult sometimes, you know when that respect isn't there or that understanding. [Because] those words [respect and understanding]... can mean different things and I think that when we build friendships and we work through honesty and integrity, then what we're doing is we're doing what the environment really wants us to do.

She is articulating that although respect is very important, there is a cultural difference between Indigenous and non-Indigenous conceptions of respect. For instance, people should ask permission before using photos of someone on promotional material. Another way to show respect is to offer someone *samaa*, tobacco when it is appropriate. It is important for environmentalists to recognize that there are different ways of showing respect in Indigenous contexts, and that these ways have to be learned.

Interview participants hinted that it is only through building friendships that these ways of showing respect can be learned. Sutherland (2005) confirms that worldview skills can only be developed in relationship. Stumbling about in messy cross-cultural relationships where boundaries are crossed and power dynamics are revealed is the only way to properly learn how to show respect for another cultural group. This is consistent with the findings of this study, since participants who learned the most about the other party were those who formed friendships and relationships with members of the other group.

Tensions in relationships between First Nations and environmentalists cannot be avoided, either, as locally-involved people are bound by geographic constraints.

"The bottom line is that there is only one Lake[114] out there. And if we all do not start to act responsible to that Lake, it does not matter who the hell does what." (Grant 2007) Putting conscientious attention into these relationships is crucial not only for the success of each group, but also for the sake of the more-than-human world. It is best to learn how to treat each other with respect before any crisis occurs, because when issues arise, if there is not understanding and collaboration, then it is the lakes, the trees, the animals and the plants that suffer.

Final Thoughts

Leanne Simpson offers new directions for our communities to take in the act of taking responsibility for the Earth. She suggests roles for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, which might guide us towards a more Earth-affirming outlook. In *Lighting the eighth fire: The liberation, resurgence, and protection of Indigenous Nations*, she gives an interpretation of a Nishnaabeg Seven Fires prophecy, which discusses the role of a new people, the Oshkimaadiziig. The prophecy offers advice for both Nishnaabeg and settlers about reviving a sacred relationship with Mother Earth. Oshkimaadiziig, the Nishnaabeg people, "are responsible for decolonizing, for rebuilding our nation, and for forging new relationships with other nations by returning to original Nishnaabeg visions of peace and justice." (Simpson 2008, 14)

Settler society's role is to make positive choices, "to decolonize their relationships with the land and Indigenous Nations, and to join with us in building a sustainable future based upon mutual recognition, justice and respect." (Simpson

[114] There are many lakes in the region, but only one Lake Temagami, the one to which she is referring.

2008, 14) We can see from these quotes that caring for the Earth is not sufficient for leading us to an Earth-affirming future. We must learn to care for each other, through communication and learning how to reconcile our conflicting interests in a healthy way.

Seeking positive, Earth-affirming relationships between First Nations and environmentalists is a challenge, a rewarding task and a journey. Whether you take from this thesis the need to create an ethical space, the need for individuals to improve their worldview skills, the importance of relationship-building or the need to simply create a dialogue; opportunities for coalitions and alliances will continue to present themselves. As long as we live in an extractive capitalist economy, transnational corporations will continue to pressure governments to bend to their desire to exploit nature. First Nations land is always involved.

Whatever the path of First Nations-environmentalist relationships take in the future, there's no doubt that conflict will continue to be a part of this road. However, conflict can be seen from different perspectives. One of peace and conflict theory's most prominent writers and actors, Johan Galtung offers his opinion on a Hindu principle, which seeks to illustrate these difference viewpoints: "following Hindu thought, remember **Conflict the Destroyer** and **Conflict the Creator**; conflict [can be seen] as a source of violence and… as a source of development." (Galtung, 2000, 10) Just as there are risks involved in creating dialogue or ethical space, so there are also benefits. If we look at conflict and cultural differences as prospects for learning and transformation, these relationships can be improved. Environmental leader and

interview participant, Cocky Ingwersen, articulated this best when she stated: "Though conflict comes opportunity."

Maria Campbell, Métis activist, author and Elder, visited Trent recently for a conference. She spoke about a group of Elders in Alberta who had been fighting against logging on their traditional territory. The Elders had been taken to court, and been forced off of their blockade. They had been ordered to pay the logging company several thousands of dollars in reparations (though they never did). For some, this might have felt like a defeat. However, Campbell quoted one of the Elders, whose words give perspective on the reasons we fight for the land and struggle to maintain strong relationships; fighting what seems like an uphill battle. The Elder said to Maria Campbell, after the blockade had ended (paraphrasing):

> 'Well, we might not have stopped the logging trucks, but at least
> we're passing on some good stories to our children.'

Appendix A:
Informed Consent Form

Seeing the Homeland the Trees?
First Nations/ Environmentalist Relations in
***N'Daki Menan*/Temagami, 1986-1994**
Informed Consent Form

Masters Student Researcher:
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Faculty Supervisor:
Bruce Hodgins
Address listed.

This project is examining the tensions and strengths in the relationship between the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and non-Native environmentalists, with respect to the land claims/logging issues from 1986-1994. It will consider how the two sides understood each other, and how their relationship to the land influenced their interactions.

It is the aim of this research to provide First Nations communities and non-Native environmental groups with new insights into such relationships and to offer positive suggestions and strategies for working in similar contexts. This research will be conducted using interviews with members of the two communities, as well as examining historical and contemporary documents.

As a participant, you will be asked to spend about one hour in an interview with the researcher. The interviewer will ask you about your involvement in the Temagami land claims/logging issues and your thoughts and experiences on the relationships between non-Native environmentalists and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai in regards to this issue. This information will be used for the completion of Alex Thomson's Masters Thesis at Trent University. The researcher is committed to bringing the findings back to the participants by writing a shortened report (15-25 pages).

Data will be recorded by audio tape as well as by the interviewer's written notes. The researcher is committed to ensuring your confidentiality, and as such, interview transcripts and tapes will only be reviewed by the researcher, Alex Thomson, and will be kept in a locked box. The research findings will not be used for commercial purposes. Findings from this research project might be used to give presentations or workshops at conferences or for members of the vested parties and participants. Following the interview, you will be sent a transcript or your interview, and given the opportunity to edit it.

Although all interviews are done on a confidential basis, it may be possible for someone to identify a comment made by a participant in the final report, even without their name attached. This risk is something you may want to consider in deciding whether to participate in the study. Please discuss this with the researcher if you have any questions about this.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You do not have to answer questions that you do not wish to, and you can stop participating at any point in the process, up until when the thesis is published. You can also ask to have the tape recorder turned off at any point. Should you choose to completely withdraw, your material will be destroyed.

The Temagami First Nation/Teme-Augama Anishnabai Chiefs and Joint Council approved this research project in September 2007. They will be reading the final report and the researcher will fully consider any concerns they have. They will not, of course, have access to interview transcripts, nor can they change any of the information obtained from the interviews. The TAA and TFN will not have ownership over material that becomes a part of the final report, but will be given a copy of the report.

It is your choice whether your name is revealed in the thesis or not. Please check the box that applies to you:

☐ Please keep my name and information confidential. Do not reveal this in your thesis.

☐ You have my permission to reveal my name in the publication of the thesis.

The information gathered from you during this project will be kept by the researcher for 5 years. After this period, the tapes and transcripts will be destroyed, unless you would like them returned to you. Please explain what you would like done with the data after this time period.

This project has received approval by the Trent Research Ethics Board.
You will be given a copy of this Informed Consent Form to keep.

I, the undersigned, declare that I have given my full consent to participate in this research.

Signed: ______________________________ Date: ________________

Name (printed): ________________________________

Appendix B:
Sample Interview questions

1. What is your relationship to n'Daki Menan or the Temagami area?

2. Could you describe your involvement with the land claims/logging issues since the early 1970s?

3. Could you describe your relationship with non-Native environmentalists or the Teme-Augama Anishnabai ?

4. What are the strengths of the relationship between non-Native environmentalists and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai?

5. What are the tensions between the non-Native environmentalists and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai on this issue?

6. How well do you feel that the Teme-Augama Anishnabai were understood by non-Native environmentalists?

7. How well do you feel that non-Native environmentalists were understood by the Teme-Augama Anishnabai?

8. Has the land claim changed your relationship to n'Daki Menan/the Temagami area?

9. Do you think that your relationship to n'Daki Menan/the Temagami area is different than that of non-Native environmentalists or the Teme-Augama Anishnabai?

10. Do you think that your opinion on permitted land uses in n'Daki Menan/the Temagami area is different than that of non-Native environmentalists or the Teme-Augama Anishnabai?

11. Do different members of the TAA approach non-Native environmentalists in different ways?

12. Do different non-Native environmentalists approach the TAA in different ways?

13. What advice would you give non-Native environmentalists about working with Native communities on a similar issue?

14. What advice would you give Native communities about working with non-Native environmentalists?

15. What did you learn from your experiences on this issue?

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