The University of Calgary

Walking Together:
An Evaluation of Renewable Resource Co-management in the Yukon Territory

By: Kelly A. Hayes

A Master's Degree Project
submitted to the Faculty of Environmental Design in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Environmental Design (Environmental Science)

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Abstract

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Supervisor: M. Robinson

Over the past few decades, there has been a growing recognition of the importance of public involvement in resource management decision-making in order to ensure economic, social and environmental sustainability. Co-management, a process that brings local resource users and government representatives together to share resource management responsibilities, is becoming commonplace in northern Canada. These cooperative arrangements are usually a result of a First Nations land claims settlement and are a way to provide opportunities for Native people to be directly involved in resource management. However, these arrangements also provide opportunities for all community members and, as a result, have created a more inclusive and community-based approach to resource planning and management.

The purpose of this study is to further knowledge and understanding of the co-management process, particularly in areas where there is a relatively large population of non-aboriginal people. The aim is to identify the strengths and weaknesses of this type of approach to resource management and to explore its effectiveness in developing sustainable approaches to resource use. This project proposes an evaluative framework for resource co-management that examines the operations of community-based co-management bodies and the initiatives that result from the cooperative management approach. The Yukon Umbrella Final Agreement (UFA) is a comprehensive land claim agreement that provides guidelines for the individual settlements of the Yukon's 14 First Nations. All co-management bodies established by the UFA are public boards that are to represent the community interests. By applying this evaluative framework to two Yukon communities where land claims are settled and co-management processes are being developed, this paper provides a critical understanding of how the Yukon approach to co-management is currently working. The evaluation provides an in-depth review of components of co-management practice including formation, organization, operations, actions, and effectiveness.

A general conclusion of this project is that by governments and communities sharing decision-making and responsibilities, the quality of the decisions and the management initiatives increases. The experiences of the two communities included in this project can provide guidance for other Yukon communities beginning their co-management process and also offer general lessons for co-management practice in other regions.

Keywords: **Co-management, renewable resource management, wildlife management, forest management, Yukon Umbrella Final Agreement, Yukon Territory, Renewable Resource Council, community-based management, public participation**

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This thesis is for my parents, Bob and Caroline Hayes. There really is a bit of both of you in me. Thank you for everything.

Acronyms

ARRC	Alsek Renewable Resources Council
CAFN	Champagne-Aishihik First Nation
CATT	Champagne-Aishihik Traditional Territory
CPAWS	Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society
CYFN	Council of Yukon First Nations
DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
INAC	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada
RED	Responsible Economic Development
RISK	Residents Interested in a Sustainable Kluane
RRC	Renewable Resource Council
TRRC	Teslin Renewable Resources Council
TTC	Teslin Tlingit Council
UFA	Umbrella Final Agreement
YCS	Yukon Conservation Society
YFGA	Yukon Fish and Game Association
YFWMB	Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board
YOA	Yukon Outfitters Association
YTA	Yukon Trappers Association
YTG	Yukon Territorial Government

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1:INTRODUCTION **1**

1.1 The Issue 1
1.2 Learning from Experience 3
1.3 The Task 5
1.4 The Communities 5
1.5 Limitations of this study 7

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY **11**

2.1 Literature Review 11
2.2 Developing an Evaluative Framework 11
2.3 Case Study Methodology 12

CHAPTER 3: CO-MANAGEMENT THEORY AND PRACTICE **19**

3.1 What is "Co-management"? 19
3.2 Defining Community 23

CHAPTER 4: CO-MANAGEMENT IN THE YUKON **25**

4.1 "Part of the land, part of the water" 25
4.2 First Nation Land Claims 29
4.3 Resource Management under the UFA 30
4.3.1 Fish and Wildlife Management *31*
4.3.2 Forest Resources *32*
4.4 Yukon Co-management Partners 32
4.4.1 Federal Government *33*
4.4.2 Yukon Territorial Government *33*
4.4.3 Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board *34*
4.4.4 Renewable Resources Council *35*
4.5 Roles and Responsibilities 35
4.6 Co-management Tools 38
4.6.1 Integrated Wildlife Management Plans *38*
4.6.2 Forest Management Planning *40*

CHAPTER 5: DESIGNING AN EVALUATIVE FRAMEWORK **43**

5.1 Community-based co-management bodies 45
5.1.1 Formation *45*
5.1.2 Organization *46*
5.1.3 Operations *49*
5.2 Community-based co-management initiatives 53
5.2.1 Actions *53*
5.2.2 Effectiveness *60*

CHAPTER 6: COMMUNITY CONTEXT **65**

6.1 Haines Junction 65
6.1.1 Local Co-management Partners *67*
6.1.2 Issues *68*
6.2 Teslin 71
6.2.1 Local Co-management Partners *73*
6.2.2 Issues *74*

CHAPTER 7: APPLICATION OF THE EVALUATIVE FRAMEWORK 77
7.1 Community-based Co-management Bodies 77
7.1.1 Formation *77*
7.1.2 Organization *80*
7.1.3 Operations *89*
7.2 Community Based Renewable Resource Co-management Initiatives 95
7.2.1 Actions *95*
7.2.2 Effectiveness *113*
CHAPTER 8:CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 127
8.1 Benefits of the Yukon Co-management Process 128
8.2 Challenges for the Yukon's Co-management Process 129
8.3 Research Findings and Recommendations 130
8.3.1 Community-based Co-management Bodies *130*
8.3.2 Community-based Initiatives *136*
8.4 Implications for Co-management Practice in the Yukon 144
8.5 Conclusion 146
BIBLIOGRAPHY 149
APPENDIX A: RESEARCH QUESTIONS 157
APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM 159

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1 Chapter 16 Highlights 31
Table 4.2 Chapter 17 Highlights 32
Table 4.3 Department of Renewable Resources 34
Table 4.4: Forestry Management Partners Identified in the UFA 36
Table 4.5: Fish and Wildlife Management Partners Identified in the UFA 37
Table 5.1 An Evaluative Framework for Co-management in the Yukon 44

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Yukon First Nation Traditional Territories 6
Figure 2.1 Participant Profiles 15
Figure 2.2 Meetings, Workshops and Open Houses 16
Figure 3.1 A Continuum of Resource Co-management 22
Figure 4.1 Wildlife Management Planning Process 39
Figure 6.1 Champagne Aishihik Traditional Territory 66
Figure 6.2 Teslin Tlingit Traditional Territory 72

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 The Issue

Humans have not taken care of planet earth. In the relentless quest for increased wealth and new technology, humankind has drawn from the surrounding environment as if it had no limit. As a result, forests are disappearing. Plant and animal species go extinct each day. Lakes and rivers are polluted. Abused soil is drying up and blowing away. The earth's wild places are shrinking. Fortunately, concern about the survival of the earth and all its inhabitants, including humans, is growing. There is increasing recognition that human society must change or *be* changed by the environmental alterations we have created. There is a need to find new ways of managing the way the earth's resources are used.

The term "resource" is an anthropocentric concept. A resource can be defined as "a product of the natural world that is useful to humans" (Grumbine 1992: 279). However, it should also be remembered that these resources (wildlife species, trees, water, air) have values that extend beyond their utility to humankind. Most of the discussion surrounding the use of resources focuses on "resource management". In many ways, "resource management" is a misnomer. Humans do not control wildlife populations or forest growth. Instead, it should be called "people management" because most resources are primarily manipulated by human activities (Riewe & Gamble 1988). Hunting and logging are examples of these activities.

In our current system, responsibility for making decisions about resource use still lies with our various centrally located governments. E.F. Schumacher recognized the shortfall of this system in the following excerpt:

> (Humankind) tends to count nothing as an expenditure, other than human effort; he does not seem to mind how much mineral matter he wastes and, far worse, how much living matter he destroys. He does not seem to realize at all that human life is a dependent part of an ecosystem of many different forms of life. As the world is ruled from towns where men are cut off from any form of life other than human, the feeling of belonging to an ecosystem is not revived. This results in a harsh and improvident treatment upon that which we ultimately depend, such as water and trees. (Schumacher 1974: 57).

Homo sapiens, as a species, began as gatherers and later hunters, who relied on the generosity of nature for survival. As we developed tools to provide us with reliable food, shelter and later the trappings of modern culture and society, our relationship with the environment became less immediate. Half a century ago, Aldo Leopold wrote: "civilization has so cluttered this elemental man-earth relationship with gadgets and middlemen that awareness of it is growing

dim. We fancy that industry supports us, forgetting what supports industry" (Leopold 1949:178). Society today, especially western society, is dominated by the urban landscape. People, for the most part, no longer earn their living as farmers or hunters or wood carvers. We are lawyers and business managers and retail sales clerks. As city dwellers, we know our food as it is presented to us—a slab of meat on a Styrofoam tray, or a bunch of ripe bananas. Toilet paper comes from the third aisle in Shoppers Drug Mart. There is rarely a connection between the products we use and where they came from. There is little understanding of the environmental destruction and animal abuse associated with industrial farming. There is little accounting for the poverty and suffering of the people who picked those bananas or the amount of fossil fuels required to transport them to our local supermarket. Few people think about the old growth forest that was cut down so we could have a roll of two ply comfort to flush away.

This is slowly changing. The threat of environmental destruction at the hands of human society is having an impact. The prevalence of corporatism and economic growth has undermined our ability to guarantee a ecologically rich and diverse future for generations to come. Governments cannot always be relied upon to make decisions that will be in the best interest for the general populace. Instead, it is becoming apparent that citizens must take a more active role in their governance to ensure cultural, economic and environmental sustainability. "Participation of the governed in their government is, the theory, the cornerstone of democracy—a revered idea that is vigorously applauded by virtually everyone" (Arnstien 1969: 216). Communities must become more responsible for making the decisions that affect their environment. People living in rural areas often have a direct connection to their natural surroundings as they rely on it for their income, as a food source, or as a place of spiritual reflection. As a result, they immediately feel the effects of resource management decisions, such as the approval of a massive clear-cut or the establishment of a national park. To a manager in Ottawa, it might just look like lines on a map. To a resident in a nearby community, those lines may represent the destruction of their home and the end of their livelihood. Although not all local residents can be counted on to always make the best decisions for their surrounding environment, the potential for more careful decision-making is most likely to increase through community participation.

Over the past 30 years, there has been a movement to find ways to better manage the effects of civilization on the environment. New approaches in conservation biology and ecosystem management recognize the importance of all elements of the biosphere, including humans (Grumbine 1992). Over the past few decades, the recognition of human rights and the move to a more inclusive democracy have also triggered demands for a local voice in resource management (Western & Wright 1994). There is still strong sense of connectivity between

humans and nature retained by many aboriginal and rural societies. The inclusion of public participation in environmental decision-making and, most importantly in Canada, the settlement of land claims has moved some of the control over resource management away from centralized government back to the affected communities.

Since the 1980s, several comprehensive land claims have been settled throughout Canada. The cooperative management of renewable resources is an important element in all of these settlements. The Yukon's Umbrella Final Agreement (UFA) (1993) is one of the most recent claims to be signed. Instead of the individual agreements negotiated by First Nations in the Northwest Territories such as the Inuvialuit (1984), Gwich'in (1992), Sahtu (1994), or the Inuit (1995), this agreement establishes a framework for the settlement of the individual claims of the Yukon's 14 First Nations. Like other land claims agreements, it sets out a new relationship between First Nations and other governments. It establishes a system that recognizes the rights of First Nations to govern themselves and to play a major role in the way resources are managed in their traditional territories. Through the establishment of local resource management boards and the collaboration of locals and governments in making management decisions, a cooperative approach to resource management is established. These co-management arrangements help maintain a balance between economic development and resource stewardship to ensure the survival of the northern subsistence economy and maintenance of the Yukon's environment. As more individual claims are signed, co-management is becoming a regular part of renewable resource decision making.

1.2 Learning from Experience

Co-management is becoming a common activity in Canada's north. Land claims have been finalized across most of the North and agreements are being negotiated in some parts of southern Canada, most notably British Columbia. In addition, formal co-management agreements are becoming a part of industrial development (Chambers 1999) and park management (Morgan 1993). All of these agreements are different. These differences can be linked to the evolving awareness of how these agreements work in practice and the distinct regional cultures. However, as this process becomes an established feature in the Canadian political landscape, an important question must be asked: how effective is co-management in achieving ecological, cultural and economic sustainability? Several evaluations of co-management agreements in other parts of Canada have been completed (Kofinas 1998, Chambers 1998, Morgan 1993, Roberts 1994). None of these have specifically examined the renewable resource management regime outlined under the UFA. In the Yukon agreement, federal, territorial and First Nation governments and local

communities share the responsibilities of resource management. In the five years following land claims settlement in the Yukon, co-management of resources has been an experimental process as no single method of carrying out the arrangement was outlined in the UFA. As a result, different approaches have been developed within each traditional territory. So far, no comprehensive examination of co-management in the Yukon has been carried out to consolidate the collective experiences of the parties involved.

In southern Canada, the struggle to assert First Nation rights in a largely non-First Nation society is proving to be incredibly difficult. The reaction of many B.C. residents to the signing of the Nis'ga Treaty or the uproar over rental hikes on Musqueum lands are prime examples (Matas 1999). On a broader scale, the need to find ways of reconnecting communities to their surrounding environment is moving forward, but with little direction. Other than land claim agreements, there are few examples where the requirement of community participation in resource decision-making is entrenched in legislation. In this respect, the Yukon agreement is unique. It is an act, passed by the Canadian government, which can only be changed if all the signatories agree. It guarantees First Nations rights in the territory, but also recognizes the need to include the large non-First Nation population in the management of shared resources. It identifies five different partners who must now share renewable resource management responsibilities: the federal government, the territorial government, First Nation governments, the Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board, and local renewable resources councils (see Section 4.4 for a full description of these different partners). At a conference held in 1995 to explain the contents of the UFA, Kluane First Nation Chief Joe Johnson made the following statement:

> These land claims we are settling, it looks like it is only land claims. But if you really look at the whole aspects of the claims, it's not just for native people—not all of it. It is for native and non-native people both. Some of the structures in wildlife management, like the council, give you people—Yukoners—a say in your area. About how your wildlife is going to be managed, and your fish. You haven't got that today. (A Shared Journey, Video #6 1995).

There is much to be learned from the co-management experience in the Yukon. But first it must be determined if and how co-management is working. Those who are directly involved in the everyday workings of the co-management process can provide insight into the problems and the achievements of the process. Has co-management done anything to "resolve historic cultural conflicts, to establish better community-agency cooperation, and to build trust amongst parties who are radically different, while legally bound?" (Kofinas 1998: 16). Does co-management lead to more thoughtful and subsequently sustainable management of resources? Only after examining

how co-management is put into practice can the conditions that may lead to successful management of human activity and the earth's resources be identified.

As the primary researcher, I have the benefit of being a Yukoner. I am familiar with many of the issues and places discussed in this project. In addition, I have family and friends living in both of the case study communities, which helped me in making contacts and developing community support for the project.

1.3 The Task

The purpose of this project is to further the understanding of community involvement in renewable resource co-management. By examining co-management in the Yukon through the experiences of those involved in its implementation, the strengths and weaknesses of current renewable resource co-management activities will be identified. This information can provide guidance for effective application and continued evolution of community involvement in resource management. To achieve this goal, four main objectives for this project were identified:

- Explore the evolution of co-management theory and practice.
- Develop an evaluative framework for co-management practice in the Yukon.
- Apply this framework to case studies of co-management practice in two Yukon First Nation Traditional Territories.
- Make general recommendations to assist participants and similar parties in other regions in improving their co-management processes.

By focusing on the roles, expectations and experiences of those involved in resource management in the territory, a general view of the value of community-based co-management will hopefully become apparent. The environmental and social aspects of this system must be included in this evaluation to provide a true understanding of its effectiveness.

1.4 The Communities

When the UFA was signed in 1994, four of the Yukon's 14 First Nations (Champagne and Aishihik First Nation, the Teslin Tlingit Council, the Nacho N'yak Dun First Nation, and the Vuntut Gwich'in First Nation) had also reached agreements on their individual claims. The map of the Yukon included in Figure 1.1 identifies the 14 First Nation traditional territories in the Yukon. A pre-implementation Renewable Resources Council was established three years before

Figure 1.1


Yukon First Nations
Traditional Territories
Renewable Resources Map ID: POP98001-01
Scale: 1:5,000,000
(1 cm = 50 km)
January, 1998
Old Crow
Vuntut Gwitchin
Dawson
Dawson
Na'cho N'y'ak Dun
Mayo
Pelly Crossing
Beaver Creek
Selkirk
Carmacks
Faro
Ross River
White River
Kluane
Little Salmon/
Carmacks
Burwash
Landing
Champagne &
Aishihik
Ta'an
Kwach'an
Kwanlin
Dun
Kaska Dena
Haines Junction
WHITEHORSE
Teslin
Tlingit
Carcross/
Tagish
Carcross
Teslin
Watson
Lake
Alaska (United States of America)
Northwest
Territories
British
Columbia

the claims were signed. The experiences of this council helped form a foundation for other resource councils and continue to be a valuable source of information. However, the relative isolation and the limited forestry development in this traditional territory did not make it a suitable candidate for this study. The Vuntut Gwich'in Renewable Resources Council folded after a few years and has only recently begun to function again as a management body. It was felt their experiences with co-management would be too limited for the scope of this research because they have only been established for a short period. For these reasons, this study will focus on resource co-management in the Champagne and Aishihik First Nation and Teslin Tlingit traditional territories. These two areas were chosen because of their depth of experience in co-management (5 years), the variety of issues faced in each region, the number of First Nation and non-First Nation people in the community, and their relatively close proximity to each other and to Whitehorse. Although each community is different, the experiences of both Teslin and Haines Junction most likely represent the experiences of other communities within the Yukon and different jurisdictions.

1.5 Limitations of this study

Carrying out an evaluation of co-management in the Yukon is not as simple as it might be in other jurisdictions. Unlike the Inuvialuit (1984) or Gwich'in (1994) agreements, there is no single co-management board that can be the focus of an evaluative study. In the Yukon, First Nations have signed land claim agreements *and* self-government agreements. By signing the First Nation self-government agreements, the federal and territorial governments have recognized the validity of First Nation right to self-government of their settlement lands and their people. In the Yukon, First Nation involvement in renewable resource management now comes through their own government department of lands and resources. There are public management boards that have been established, but their function is slightly different than that of a traditional co-management board as they represent community interest and act as conduit between communities and designated governments (M. Crawshay pers. com.). They have members appointed by First Nation governments and territorial governments, but they are not representatives of these agencies. They are expected to act on behalf of their community and in the interest of all Yukoners.

Attempts to evaluate the entire renewable resource co-management system in the Yukon would be a complex task. Some partners, such as entire government departments, would be almost impossible to thoroughly evaluate. The emphasis of this research is to determine the effectiveness of having local users involved in making decisions that affect their immediate

surroundings. As a result, the functions of the Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board (YFWMB) were not considered to be relevant to this evaluation as they are primarily involved in policy and decision-making at a territory-wide level. This is not intended to undermine the important role they play, but in terms of community-based management, their role is secondary. The operations of other partners such as the Yukon Territorial Government (YTG)'s Department of Renewable Resources, the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), and individual First Nation governments were also difficult bodies to evaluate as they are complex government organizations driven by politics and policy. This leaves the local renewable resources councils. These community groups are similar to other co-management bodies and as they are a new addition to the resource management system, it is important to examine how they are functioning. However, the operations of local renewable resources councils do not cover the more important aspect of how effective cooperative resource management is in the Yukon when all co-management partners work together. These resource councils have two purposes: they advise the other partners on some issues, but also act as a full partner in other initiatives. It is the notion of full partnership that is of most interest to this study. Therefore, an examination of the process that brings these different parties and the resulting products or plans will be useful. This will also allow for the inclusion of some insights on the functions of other partners in this co-operative management regime.

In order to make this project manageable and to ensure the end product is valuable to resource managers in the territory, this evaluation will focus on two aspects of the renewable resource co-management in the Yukon—the operations of the local renewable resource council and the community-based management planning processes. For simplicity, only the initiatives related to freshwater fish and wildlife management and forest resource management will be examined. The fact forest management planning has only just begun provides another limitation to this study. The individual responsibilities of the different partners will not be evaluated as it would be complicated and create an exceedingly lengthy report. Protected areas, the development assessment process, land use planning, and other functions that are now becoming the responsibility of the resource councils will not be included at this time. In addition, not all Yukon communities could be included in this evaluation, so the experiences related in this evaluation are specific to the two communities included in this case study. However, the positive and negative aspects of renewable resource co-management as conducted in these two traditional territories is a general reflection of the state of co-management in the Yukon overall. The experiences of these two communities can provide insight and guidance for other resource councils and communities becoming involved in cooperative resource management.

It should also be mentioned that devolution of federal responsibility for land management to the territorial government is quickly becoming a reality. This could have an impact on how forest resources are managed in the Yukon. However, this evaluation will examine the management of this resource as it is currently carried out by the federal government with the full knowledge that this process could undergo some major changes within the next few years. It is expected that INAC's forestry department will be reorganized to reflect YTG's regional management approach (B. Pelchat pers. com.).

The literature surrounding co-management in the Yukon is limited, so much of the information used for this study was collected through interviews and by observing council meetings and planning sessions. Interviews were conducted with all management partners. Local renewable resources council and First Nation government workers were easy to identify. However, appropriate territorial and federal government staff were more difficult to target as there are so many people involved at different levels. Therefore, this study focused primarily on the regional management section of YTG's Department of Renewable Resources and the Forest Management Planning section of INAC Forest Resources. The people targeted within these departments were mainly technical staff and did not speak for the government at the political or bureaucratic level. This did not render a detailed account of government policy toward co-management, but it did provide a general overview of the process by the people who are expected to carry out these initiatives on the ground. This created an opportunity for insight into the process without becoming too involved in government politics.

Chapter 2 Methodology

The process followed for this study is comprised of six stages: a literature review, the development of a evaluation framework, primary interviews, application of the framework to two case-studies, analysis and the formulation of recommendations.

2.1 Literature Review

The literature review conducted for this project provided an overview of the historical context for resource management in the territory, background on the development of Yukon land claims and self-government, evolution of co-management in Canada, public participation theory, ecosystem management, and community-based resource management and conservation. This review provided background for the project and a basis from which to evaluate the current process of community involvement in resource management in the Yukon.

Relevant literature was mainly identified through searches at libraries at the University of Calgary, Yukon College and Yukon Archives. YTG's Department of Renewable Resources and INAC also provided access to pertinent documents. Bibliographical references from similar Master's projects and PhD dissertations were also reviewed for relevant information. Additional materials were provided by the Alsek Renewable Resources Council, the Teslin Renewable Resources Council, and the Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board.

2.2 Developing an Evaluative Framework

The framework for evaluating community-based co-management in the Yukon presented in this document builds upon research carried out by Morgan (1993), Roberts (1994) and Chambers (1999). The frameworks developed by these authors have been amalgamated and modified to fit the Yukon experience. For this project, a new framework was developed which attempts to move beyond the primary focus of power sharing to an examination of the type of management that results from a community-based process. These changes reflect the evolution of co-management as new regimes are being established in areas where First Nations have legislated rights to self-government, but must function within communities where non-First Nations represent a large portion of the population. The ground-breaking work of the previously mentioned authors are examinations of boards that directly represent specific stakeholder groups (government, First Nations, trappers, etc...). In the Yukon, there is no single board established to make these recommendations (see section 4.3 for a detailed description of the Yukon situation).

therefore the examination must turn to the identified partners in co-management and the processes used to determine the direction of renewable resource management within specific traditional territories.

Many aspects relating to the operations of co-management boards have been removed and new criteria drawn from public participation, ecosystem management, and community-based conservation literature have been added. The literature review and the information gathered through the interview process provided the basis for these additions to the framework. For example, many interviewees mentioned the importance of risk assessment and conflict resolution in the Yukon's renewable resource management system. These observations are now included in the evaluative framework. The evaluative framework presented in this document is organized into two sections. The first examines the formation, organization and operations of community-based co-management bodies. The second section focuses on community-based renewable resource management initiatives by examining the relevant actions and their effectiveness.

2.3 Case Study Methodology

The approach followed in this study for conducting case studies in two Yukon communities included initial contact and approval of the local renewable resource councils and other relevant partners, development of research questions, interviews and attendance of community RRC meetings, planning workshops, and public information sessions.

2.3.1 Initial Contact and Approval

This evaluation would not have been possible without the full participation and support of local renewable resource councils and other partners. The first contact was made with the Teslin Renewable Resources Council (TRRC) in March 1999. At this time, the council was approached with a proposal for a different project, but it was determined that the evaluative study could be a more relevant project for the community. Based on the information gathered at this initial meeting, a new proposal was drawn up and presented to the council in April 1999. The council approved this proposal and agreed to participate fully in the research. Staff at the Teslin Tlingit Council (TTC)'s Department of Lands and Resources and YTG's Department of Renewable Resources were also kept informed during the proposal development. When the final proposal was approved by the resource council in April, the other partners were contacted and their participation was also confirmed. In order to include a second case study, the Alsek Renewable Resources Council (ARRC) and the Champagne and Aishihik First Nation (CAFN) were approached in May 1999. A presentation of the research proposal was made at an ARRC

meeting and they agreed to support the project. Discussions with the Lands and Resources department of CAFN also resulted in their agreement to participate. Input from the Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board (YFWMB) and other stakeholder groups was also requested through personal contact and written correspondence.

2.3.2 Development of Research Questions

Using the initial evaluative framework developed using information collected during the literature review, a series of questions was drafted. Open-ended questions were used so that the content and manner of the interviewees response would be only be restricted by the subject matter (Robson 1993). These questions were designed to draw out information on the major themes identified in the evaluative framework and to help establish a clear picture of the triumphs and pitfalls of co-management in the Yukon. The questions were partitioned into major themes with a variety of pertinent questions under each to help guide the interview process.

The questions were pre-tested with the project's supervisory committee, a senior employee of YTG's renewable resources, a senior First Nation government employee, and a renewable resource council member. The questions were then re-organized to reflect initial feedback and interviewer observations. One of the major changes was the simplification of the questions. The initial list was too long and complicated for most participants. Therefore, the major themes to be addressed were highlighted instead of following an extensive list of detailed questions. The use of an basic interview guide to cover major topics while exercising minimal control over interviewee responses, often referred to as 'semi-structured interviewing', is a commonly used technique in anthropological research (Bernard 1995). In semi-structured interviewing, the set of questions can be modified depending on what appears to be appropriate (Robson 1993). For example, questions can be reordered, reworded or dropped depending on how the interview is progressing. Interviews can then be conducted in a relaxed manner, much like a conversation instead of an interrogation. The lack of defined structure allowed for the examination of the major themes, but left interviewees open to raise the issues they felt were pertinent to the topic (Bernard 1995). This raised new issues in many interviews that would not have been included if the interviewer followed a strict questionnaire. A basic interview schedule was developed to ensure that all interviews were consistent and touched upon the same major themes (Robson 1993). However, each participant focused on the issues that were most relevant to them or their organization. In addition, a simplified and less direct interview approach was required when speaking with First Nation elders. This was done to reflect a different cultural approach to questioning and to ensure that the knowledge of these elders was respected. In some

cases, certain topics were skipped because they did not pertain to the person being interviewed. For example, government representatives were not asked about the details of RRC meetings as they were not relevant to their own operations. A copy of the research questions is included in Appendix A.

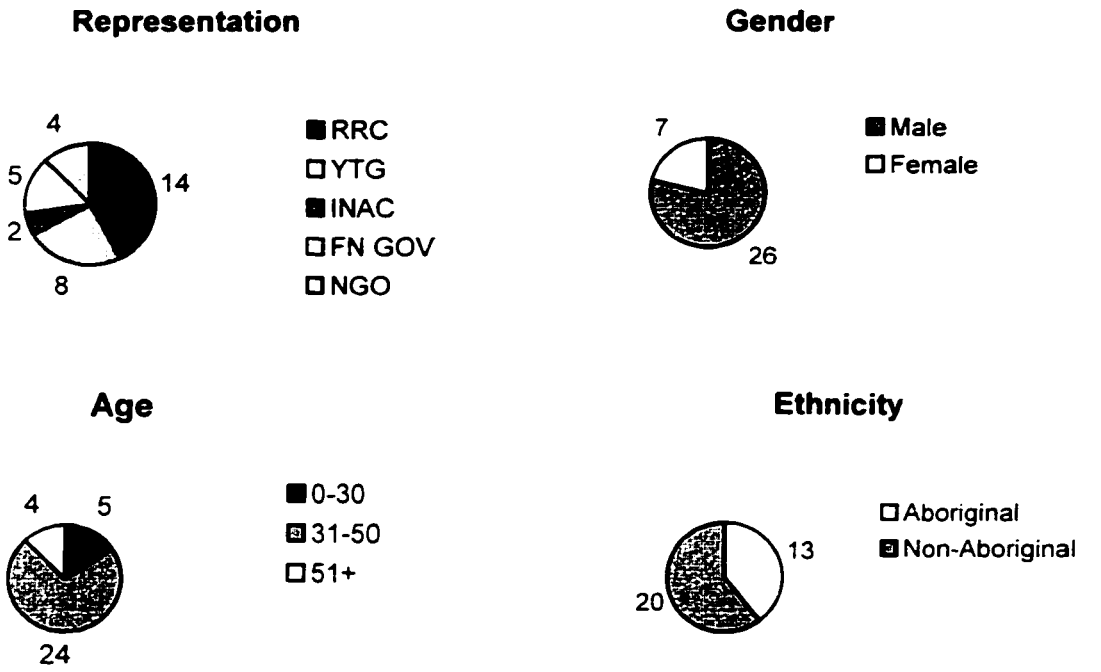
This project is based on qualitative research. The information gathered through the interview process is a series of personal observations and includes little quantifiable information. All the questions included in the interview process were open-ended to allow for the full exploration of participant's perceptions and experiences. It has been determined that people are more willing to share personal information when they can offer their own answers instead of being forced to choose among fixed alternatives (Bernard 1995). Some information such as number of board members and their demographics was quantifiable and is presented in an appropriate manner.

2.3.3 Interviews

As no review of the Yukon co-management experience has been conducted, no published information exists. Therefore, the bulk of information for this project was gathered through an interview process. Most interviews were conducted between June and September 1999. A list of potential participants, including all Alsek and Teslin RRC members, all CAFN and TTC renewable resource employees, YTG regional management employees, INAC forest resources planners and managers, and members from relevant stakeholder groups was developed. These people were identified using government directories and participant lists from community-based planning sessions. All potential participants were sent a letter explaining the project and how the interview process would be conducted. They were then telephoned directly to determine their willingness to participate in the research and to organize a time and place to conduct the interviews. In total, 33 interviews were conducted for this project. A profile of the interview participants is included in Figure 2.1.

Most interviews were conducted at either the participant's home or office in the communities of Teslin, Haines Junction, Champagne and Whitehorse. Before the interviews began, the purpose and objectives of the project were explained once again and the participants were provided with an opportunity to ask the researcher any questions. Based on the requirements of the Department of Environmental Design Ethics Committee, participants were asked to read and sign an interview consent form (see Appendix B). This form was complicated and difficult for some participants to read, so the general themes were explained to them before they signed the document. All participants were offered a copy of the form for their own records and

Figure 2.1: Participant Profiles



reference. Depending on the individual, the interviews took between half an hour and two-and-a-half hours to complete. The majority of interviews lasted approximately one hour. All interviews were taped and fully transcribed. Each interview was given a code to ensure participant confidentiality. Only the project researcher had access to the coding sheet as it was securely stored in a location separate from the transcripts in their home office. During the interview process, all participants were informed that all information collected would be destroyed two years after the project was completed.

2.3.4 Meetings and Workshops

Public meetings and workshops are an important part of the community-based co-management process. A list of meetings and workshops attended for this project is included in Figure 2.2. The following section outlines the various types of public sessions that were attended.

Renewable Resource Council Meetings

Between April and November 1999, council meetings in Teslin and Haines Junction were attended whenever possible. The Alsek RRC did not meet over the summer months, which meant there were fewer opportunities to observe their council meetings. However, the Teslin RRC met on a regular basis and was very open to the researcher's presence at their meetings. Attending

Figure 2.2 : Meetings, Workshops and Open Houses

Teslin	
March 23, 1999	TRRC meeting
March 24, 1999	Wildlife Management Planning meeting
April 29, 1999	Community Survey M.O.U development
May 3, 1999	TRRC meeting
May 11, 1999	TRRC meeting
May 17, 1999	TRRC meeting
June 14, 1999	TRRC meeting
June 24, 1999	TRRC meeting
June 25-26, 1999	Renewable Resources Open House
August 10, 1999	TRRC meeting
August 11, 1999	Forestry Public Meeting
September 8, 1999	TRRC meeting
September 15, 1999	Renewable Resources Open House
Haines Junction	
May 6-7, 1999	Understanding Forest Change in Kluane
May 18-19, 1999	Aishihik Integrated Wildlife Management Plan
May 18, 1999	ARRC meeting
June 1-3, 1999	Aishihik Integrated Wildlife Management Plan
November 16, 1999	ARRC meeting
November 18, 1999	Forest Management Planning Team meeting
November 24-26, 1999	Annual RRC meeting

RRC meetings was an important aspect of the research as it provided a direct window to the inner workings of the resource council. It also created an opportunity to develop relationships with resource council members and secretariats. This constant contact between the researcher and the councils allowed for increased trust and willingness to share information during the interview process.

Community Planning Workshops

To increase understanding of how the co-management process works, community planning workshops were attended throughout the summer. Three workshops were attended, and all were held in Haines Junction. Teslin has not started any renewable resource planning processes at this time. The first workshop was held to determine the direction of forestry research in the Kluane area. The workshop was held over two days in May, 1999 and was attended by government, industry and academic researchers, as well as ARRC members and the general public. This workshop provided insight into how communities can help direct research within their local area.

In June 1999, the ARRC hosted two planning workshops in Haines Junction to develop an integrated wildlife management plan for the Aishihik area within the CAFN traditional territory. All partners identified under the land claim agreement were in attendance as well as representatives from stakeholder groups and members of the general public. The first workshop was designed for the sharing of information and the identification of issues to be included in the plan. The second workshop was a further examination of these issues and the development of the plan that was submitted to YTG for final approval. Observations made during these workshops were invaluable to this project as it was an opportunity to see the co-management process in action.

Forest Management Planning Team Meetings

In order to gain a greater understanding of how the forest management planning process is developing, the ARRC invited the primary researcher to observe some of the initial forest management planning team meetings in their community. As this is the first time this process is being used, many of the ideas and initiatives used by this planning team will help frame how this community based process will work in the future.

Public Information Sessions

Several public information sessions were held in both communities between May and November 1999. These were primarily events designed to get information out to community members and to receive feedback on specific issues or initiatives related to resource management within the traditional territories. In Haines Junction, community information sessions were held in conjunction with the community planning workshops to present the workshop results. In Teslin, open houses on local renewable resource management were held in June and September 1999. These were designed to allow different groups with an interest in resource management in the area to present their ideas in a non-confrontational manner prior to a community-wide survey on resource management that is currently being conducted. In addition, an information session on forestry issues was organized by the TRRC in late August 1999. These sessions provided insight into how average community members view the current resource management process in the Yukon and the effectiveness of their participation.

2.4 Analysis and Formulation of Recommendations

All interviews were completely transcribed and each was given a code to represent the person and the participant category they belong to. For example, RRC members were all given

codes between 101 and 114, while First Nation government representatives were numbered 201 to 205. Each transcript was carefully read and each of the components (formation, organization, operations, actions and effectiveness) identified in the evaluative framework that were mentioned in the interviews were indexed. This initial analysis also helped generate some new themes or modify others established in the initial framework. This information was then re-organized under each of the framework component headings and categorized according to the evaluative factors represented (e.g., scale, participant skills, communications, and risk). Some rearrangement of themes was required, as there were overlaps and comments that addressed different factors or points to consider. Observations noted at the various community meetings attended over the summer were also applied to the evaluative framework and included. The quotations and comments identified under each evaluative framework component provided a basis for recommendations presented in Chapter 8.

Recommendations were developed using the information gathered from the interviews conducted for this project and observations made at public meetings using the evaluative framework as a guide. The background information included in the explanation of the evaluative framework also provided some direction, as the intent was to create recommendations that reflected the political, cultural, economic and environmental realities of Yukon communities.

Chapter 3 Co-management Theory and Practice

The notion of resource co-management has a long history in Canada's northern territories. The purpose of this chapter is not to give a lengthy overview of the different co-management arrangements that have been established over the past 50 years. Numerous researchers (Osherenko 1988, Pinkerton 1989, Berkes et. al. 1991, Roberts 1994) have already carried out thorough reviews of Canadian co-management practice and this study is not intended to duplicate their efforts. However, it is important to recognize the various approaches to co-management and the constant evolution of co-management regimes, especially those established under comprehensive land claim agreements. In 1942, local hunters and trappers in Aklavik, NWT met with government representatives to set up one of the first co-management arrangements (Roberts 1996). The Yukon Umbrella Final Agreement (1993) is one of the most recent claims to be signed and the system for resource management and it sets a new standard for First Nation and community involvement in renewable resource management.

3.1 What is "Co-management"?

Broadly stated, co-management refers to any arrangement where governments and other users (local people, industry, NGOs) work together to manage resources. Developing a precise definition of co-management is impossible as these arrangements can occur at a variety of levels and in many different ways (Berkes 1994). Parties that become involved in co-management arrangements usually have some motivation to do so such as a land claim agreement, a perceived crisis in resource depletion, or the need to mitigate development impacts (Usher 1995). There are many different types of co-management arrangements, ranging from ad-hoc agreements between communities and industry (Chambers 1999) to fully legislated agreements, mainly as a result of comprehensive land claims (Roberts 1994). Claims based co-management agreements are a good way of ensuring First Nations involvement as they are negotiated between aboriginal groups and the Government of Canada on the basis of aboriginal title or treaty rights and are protected under the Canadian Constitution (Usher 1995). Participants usually expect to benefit from the agreement in some way (Morgan 1993). Most often, co-management refers to the sharing of power and responsibility between the government and local resource users including everything from local participation in government research to community control over planning and management (Berkes et al. 1991). Governments usually provide administrative assistance and

technical expertise while the local resource users share their knowledge of the resource in question based on years of observation.

In northern Canada, co-management mainly refers to the joint administration of natural resources by federal, provincial, or territorial governments, First Nation people, and other community members as described in land claim agreements. This type of co-management includes both the planning and the execution of management. In most of these agreements, a co-management board is created with an equal membership of government and beneficiary representatives. The responsibilities and powers of the boards usually fall into two main spheres: 1) allocation, in which they have actual decision-making power, and 2) management, in which technically they have only advisory roles. Allocation and licensing are generally delegated to the boards and the local harvester organizations, and management for conservation remains the prerogative of governments (Usher 1995). Co-management boards allow for local participation in resource planning and management, but it is important to recognize that they are advisory bodies and the power to accept or reject their recommendations remains with the First Nation or the central government.

Co-management is proving to be a very powerful tool in directing the future of the Canada's north. Many northern communities are predominantly First Nation and many people continue to follow some aspects of their subsistence lifestyle. Hunting, fishing and trapping are very much a part of northern life—not only for sport, but for everyday living. Having some level of control or say in how these resources are managed is essential to the continuation of their particular northern lifestyle (Kofinas 1993). The western view of resource management has historically emphasized competition rather than cooperation, supporting individual gain over communal profit (Berkes & Farvar 1989). However, the notion of sharing resources and working together to ensure the survival of the entire community has always been a cornerstone of northern societies (McClellan 1987, Riewe & Gamble 1988, Cruikshank 1991). Local systems of management, often referred to as self-management, are a series of informal regulations and management strategies that have been developed according to community-based systems of knowledge and values (Feit 1988). This type of self-management is part of a society, whether it be an indigenous culture or simply a community of resource users, and can be linked to "traditional" practices or recent innovations (Feit 1988).

As more non-Aboriginal people moved into the north, and government presence increased, a state-management system began to dominate the northern landscape. Southern-trained scientists came north with their own notions of how wildlife and forests should be managed. Much of their direction came from empirical science and government policies

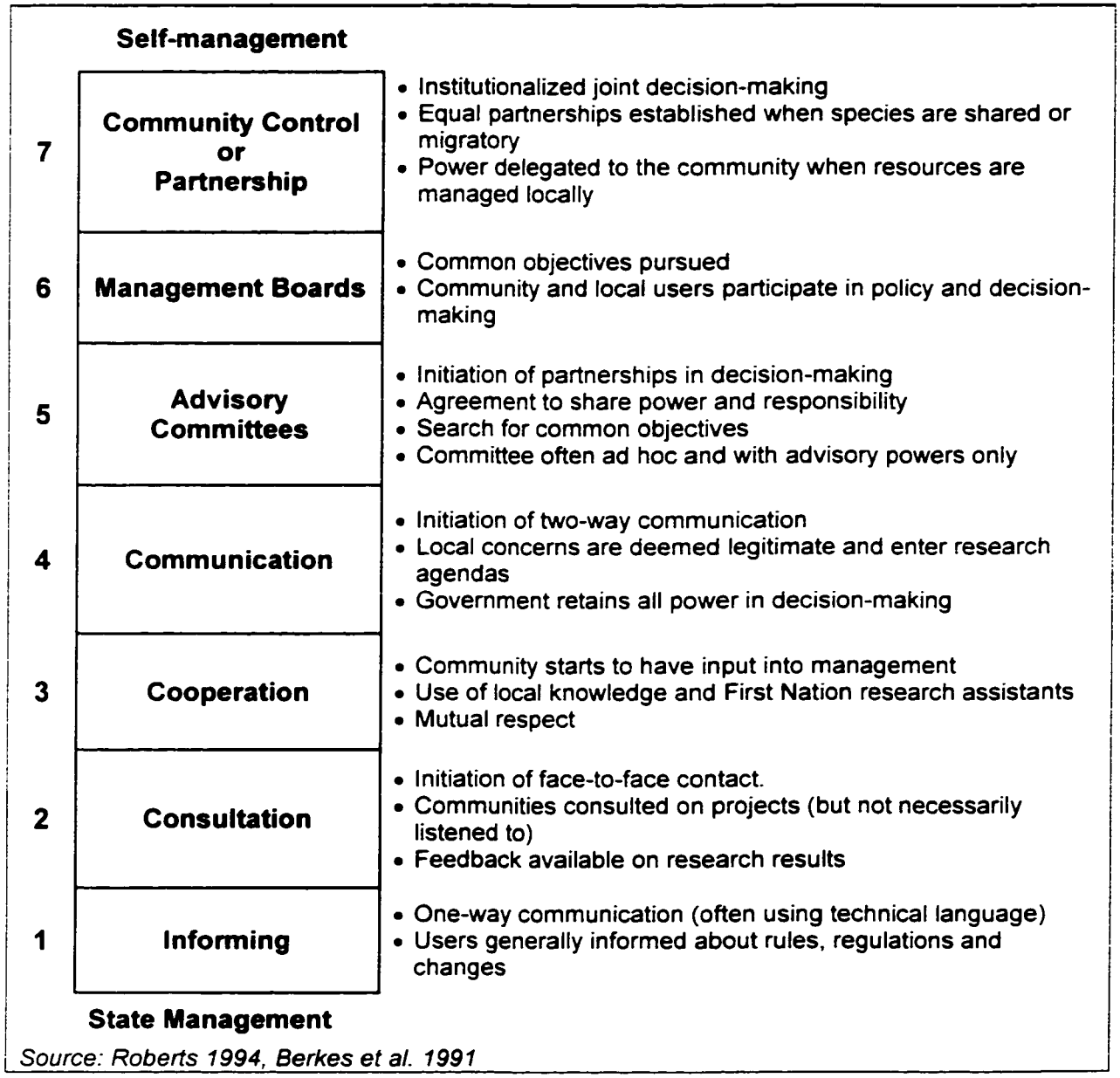
developed in distant offices. Many assumed northern wildlife populations and forests had thrived because of the small First Nation population and their "crude" hunting practices (Riewe & Gamble 1988). However, the state seriously over-estimated its ability to successfully manage these same resources without considering the vast knowledge to be learned from the local management systems (Korean 1986). In many cases, the state-system only served to further alienate locals from government resource management systems and the resources themselves (Feit 1988). Faults can be found in both approaches, but the combination of the two systems can often help provide new directions in management that is acceptable to both the government and local people.

Co-management, in its many forms, has helped bring these two systems together. For local communities, co-management can provide a solution to feelings of alienation from lands and resources, disruption of harvest; and to the loss of social, cultural and economic values (Usher 1995) while governments benefit by increasing local acceptance of management approaches by sharing decision-making and responsibility (Pinkerton 1989). Within the co-management definition, there are different levels of community participation and power sharing. Arnstien first explored the notion of a "ladder of citizen participation" in 1969. Berkes used this ladder to create a model for the different levels of co-management that was modified by Roberts (1994) in her examination of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (See Figure 3.1). These levels range from complete government control (state-management) to a level where there is an equal sharing of responsibilities (self-management). The lower levels of the continuum deal with basic public participation or consultation. Only the top three levels, where governments relinquish some of their control over the management process to users and community members, should be classified as true co-management (Roberts 1994). At the upper level—community control and partnership—local users assume responsibility for management functions while governments maintain jurisdiction over resources.

In some cases, co-management may include elements of a few different levels depending on the situation or the resource in question. In some cases, co-management can occur within a defined structure (a co-management board) or as a process (wildlife management planning). However, it should be remembered that co-management boards or arrangements are not instruments of self-government or self-management (Usher 1995). Self-government usually refers to the empowerment of First Nation band councils to control their lands, influence culture and to create economic development opportunities at a local level, much like a municipal government (Dickerson 1992). Co-management refers to a collaborative approach where power and responsibility are shared by the different partners. In her examination of the Inuvialuit Final

Agreement. Notzke (1994) argues this co-management agreement does not truly reflect the aboriginal right to resource self-management because all native rights are subject to a conservation principle. She maintains co-management initiatives will therefore always favor regulations acceptable to government instead of deregulating native harvesting rights (Notzke 1994). Whether or not community values and initiatives drive co-management or simply take the passenger seat does depend on the situation and as this type of process becomes more commonplace, there may be greater acceptance of the role of the community as a local manager.

Figure 3.1: A Continuum of Resource Co-management



Source: Roberts 1994, Berkes et al. 1991

3.2 Defining Community

At a basic level, communities can be described as groupings of people based on kinship or a shared culture (Daly & Cobb 1990). However, when speaking of resource conservation, the geographical context of a community must be recognized. People living within the same region and relying on the same resources must be part of this definition of community (Berkes & Favar 1989). Although the management of forests for timber production may have implications for those living in distant cities or even other countries, people living in the immediate vicinity may have a special interest in how that forest is managed. In this case, all those who are directly affected by resource management decisions should be able to participate. The recognition of people's place within a geographical area or defined environment may lead to a more holistic definition of community. Drawing from the field of ecology, a community is an interacting population of organisms (people) living in a common location (Korten 1986). In his classic work *A Sand County Almanac* (1949), Aldo Leopold argues for the development of a "land ethic" where the definition of community is expanded to include our surroundings—soils, water, plants and animals. His argument is not to restrict our use of these resources, but affirms their right to continued existence as members of our collective community. This ideology could be transferred to careful planning and management of human activities and their impacts on ecological processes. However, this can only occur when people who have a direct link (i.e. residents) are involved in the decision making process.

In the Yukon, a careful examination of how we define "community" is required. Even within northern Canada, the Yukon is unique. In many other parts of the north, non-aboriginals live in the capital cities where they hold government jobs while aboriginal people make up the vast majority of rural populations. The Yukon is slightly different. Whitehorse is predominantly a non-First Nation community. However, in the small rural communities (most have a population less than 1,000) First Nation people may make up between 20 to 100 per cent of the population. (Pelchat & Urquhart 1998). The high proportion of non-First Nation people may be the result of several factors. It could be based in the history of the Yukon's development or perhaps it is the attractiveness of the territory and it's relative accessibility. Whatever the case, there are many non-aboriginals who call the Yukon their home. Clashes between two cultures have often been a problem in the territory, but now that land claims are being finalized, many people are recognizing the need to work together and move beyond historical differences. Whether they are a First Nation person or not, many Yukoners live a "frontier" lifestyle. "They cut their own firewood, hunt game and catch fish for food (not sport), build their own homes, repair their own vehicles, use generators for electricity, and one way or another spend a lot of time in the

wilderness (locally known as 'the bush')" (Pelchat & Urquhart 1998). It is this shared reliance on natural resources that helps frame the new community-based management process. Therefore, the definition of community in relation to this research includes both the notion of geographical place and the involvement of all cultures that share the environment.

To further the definitions used in this project, community-based co-management refers to the inclusion of local people in resource planning. A resource, in this sense, is defined as a product from the natural world that is useful to humans (Grumbine 1992). Little (1994) makes a distinction between community-based conservation programs and those that are concerned with local resource-management activities that do not have a distinct conservation objective. However, the lines between the two approaches may not be as distinct as he proclaims. Local people *may* have a much stronger interest in the careful management of their resources. This can be linked to their direct reliance on sustaining the resources surrounding their community. For many people living subsistence lifestyles, the need to be included in resource planning and management processes is essential in continuing their way of life. Co-management arrangements help maintain a balance between economic development and resource conservation.

Community-development theory also plays an important role in understanding the basic premises of community-based resource planning. The definition for community development supplied by the United Nations in 1955 reads: "Community development can be tentatively defined as a process designed to create economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation and the fullest reliance upon the community's initiative" (in Lotz, 1987: 42). Community-based resource planning and management initiatives draw from the 'self-help approach' to community development which is based on "the premise that people can, will and should collaborate to solve community problems" (Littrell & Hobbs 1989: 48). By becoming involved in these processes, locals can come together in developing a strong sense of community and the capacity to deal with other issues on their own in the future (Littrell & Hobbs 1989). For many northern communities where wildlife and habitat are critical to the local economy "co-operative management of resources becomes a key issue...in the implementation of principles of environmental sustainability and culturally appropriate economic development" (Berkes et al. 1991: 12).

The unique nature of the Yukon, its history and its communities has lead to an approach to renewable resource co-management that differs from other northern regions. This approach brings all people, regardless of their cultural backgrounds, together with the different responsible government agencies to manage their local environment. The remainder of this document will examine the Yukon's co-management experience.

Chapter 4 Co-management in the Yukon

In 1985, the Porcupine Caribou Management Agreement was signed, making it the first co-management arrangement in the Yukon (Porcupine Caribou Management Board 1993). This agreement dealt with the management of a single herd of barren-land caribou. In the 14 years that have followed, the notion of resource co-management has become commonplace across the territory. Government agencies are beginning to realize the importance of community involvement in the decisions that affect local resources. Land claims have helped to entrench the rights of First Nations and other community members to ensure their active participation in resource management and planning. The following section gives a brief overview of the historical relations between people and the Yukon environment, specifically their attitudes towards wildlife and forestry. It also includes an examination of the evolution of land claims in the Yukon and an explanation of the current renewable resource management structure.

4.1 "Part of the land, part of the water"

Yukon aboriginals have always seen themselves as "part of the land, part of the water" (McClellan 1987). This deep understanding of northern ecosystems has always been essential for comfort and survival of people in the sub-arctic. The relationship between humans and the Yukon environment goes back to the beginning of North American history. Some of the oldest evidence of human habitation on this continent can be found scattered across Alaska and the Yukon Territory (McClellan 1987). It is widely believed that humans traveled from northern Asia to North America over a land bridge created during the last ice age. Regions of Siberia, Alaska and the Yukon were not covered by the continental ice sheets and became a refuge for ice age animals and plants. The exact timing of human migration to North America is unclear. Some archeologists believe the first Pleistocene hunters arrived 30,000 years ago while the majority accept the date of 11,000 years ago (Coates 1991). Whatever the case, the earliest inhabitants of the territory lived a hard life, struggling to stay alive in the harsh northern conditions.

About 10,000 years ago, the earth's temperatures began to rise, the ice sheets melted and the land bridge connecting Asia and North America disappeared (Cruikshank 1991). For the next several thousand years, the Yukon's inhabitants adapted to the northern environment with several distinct native societies evolving in different regions. Tlingits from the Pacific coast moved inland to the southern Yukon and Inuit occupied the far northern regions along the Arctic coast. The central interior was inhabited by Athapaskan people, grouped into Gwich'in, Han, Tuchone

and Kaska cultures. When the first Europeans arrived in the Yukon in the mid-1800s, they encountered societies well adapted to life in the harsh sub-arctic landscape. Survival depended on a close understanding of the rhythms of the land and the seasonal movements of animals and fish set the pattern for First Nation life (Cruikshank 1991). Family groups moved throughout the region hunting, fishing and berry picking depending on the location and the time of year. Their movements were deliberate and they often returned to the same camps year after year. They also developed complex trading systems that continued after the arrival of Europeans.

During the second half of the 19th century, the Yukon saw a steady influx of traders, prospectors, scientists and missionaries. Their arrival increased demands on the Yukon's natural resources. In addition, trade opportunities and a growing reliance on western products began shift the delicate balance between Yukon First Nation people and their environment. They began to change their perceptions of wildlife and land use to one more compatible with notions of commodity production or resource harvesting and surplus exports (McCandless 1985). Mining created a new economic sector that First Nation people exploited by selling meat to miners and working as laborers (Coates 1991). By the end of the century, about 3,000 First Nation and 1,000 non-First Nation people lived in the Yukon region, hunting and trapping as needed with little restriction from the central government in Ottawa (McCandless 1985). This all changed in 1896 when gold was discovered in the Klondike.

The Klondike Gold Rush brought the Yukon to the attention of the world and thousands came north to seek their fortune. By 1898, Dawson City was the largest Canadian settlement west of Winnipeg and the territory's population had swelled to an estimated 30,000 people (Coates & Morrison 1988). Local First Nation society was swamped by the invasion of gold-seekers, but they continued to play an important role in the Yukon economy by hunting and selling meat to mining camps (Coates 1991). Dawson City's isolation meant fresh meat was not readily available and residents turned to wild game for their food supply. Prior to the turn of the century, hunting regulations in the Yukon were virtually non-existent and the arrival of thousands of gold seekers quickly took its toll on wildlife.

The Yukon became an official territory in 1898, mainly due to public demand for self-government (Coates & Morrison 1988). Wildlife management was one of the first responsibilities passed down from the federal government to the territorial council. In 1901, the council enacted *An Ordinance for the Preservation of Game* that established annual limits of six caribou, two moose, two sheep and two goats per hunter. A fine of $500 was imposed on anyone who hunted out of season or exceeded these limits (McCandless 1985). Territorial game laws were changed

many times over the following years, however these laws did not apply to First Nation people until the 1920s.

The Klondike Gold Rush ended almost as quickly as it had began, and by 1910, there were only a few thousand people left in the Yukon. For the first four decades of the 20th century, virtually everyone in the territory depended on wildlife to support their way of life. Through the Territorial Council, there was still a measure of self-government and locals had a strong voice in the formation of game laws. Across the North America, there was growing support for national parks and wildlife protection. Most people no longer accepted market hunting, but the Yukon government took more of an interest in the economic possibilities of wildlife (McCandless 1985). The purchase of wild meat was an accepted practice in Yukon communities, trapping continued to be an important element of the Yukon's economy, and the territory was gaining a reputation within the big game hunting community (Coates & Morrison 1988). In 1920, the territorial game ordinances were amended to reflect the changes in the new territory. Trapping seasons were set; the commissioner now had the power to license big game hunting guides, game market hunters and meat dealers; and for the first time, the game laws were extended to Yukon aboriginals (McCandless 1985). However, little emphasis was placed on enforcing the laws and the council relied on wildlife users to preserve the resource (McCandless 1985).

Until the 1940s, First Nation and non-First Nation people lived in relative harmony as economic stability hinged on good relations between trappers and traders (Coates 1991). This all changed with the construction of the Alaska Highway. The Yukon was suddenly connected to the outside world and the territory's population rapidly increased. At the same time, the collapse of the long fur trade and the end of the riverboat era had a profound influence on the Yukon economy. People who had long relied on trapping and woodcutting for their income had to look elsewhere for work (Cruikshank 1975). The government also changed its relaxed attitude towards First Nation people's use of land and resources. In the late 1940s, the Territorial Council prohibited the sale of wild meat and established mandatory trapline registration. The highway brought increased interest in the development of the North. The notions of land ownership and tenure, which had never been an issue, suddenly came to the forefront. Aboriginals found themselves being separated from the lands they had used for generations. The 1950s and 60s were a dark time for Yukon First Nation people. Many moved out of the bush and into the small communities that sprang up along the Alaska Highway, but they were not welcomed into the new northern economy (Coates & Morrison 1988). Their children were sent to culturally insensitive schools that left a legacy of shattered lives. A feeling of resentment began to grow in the First Nation communities.

On the other hand, non-aboriginals in the Yukon enjoyed an economic boom during the post-war period. The highway brought more people into the territory and these people required services. The federal territorial governments expanded, attracting numerous bureaucrats to the Yukon's new capital, Whitehorse. Mining and oil exploration kept the territorial economy strong until the 1980s. Wildlife was still a major interest for most residents, and in 1945, the Yukon Fish and Game Association was established. This group had a great impact on the direction of wildlife management in the territory, playing an important role in the changes to trapline and outfitting regulations during the '40s and '50s (McCandless 1988). The Yukon Fish and Game Association is still a strong public voice in wildlife management today.

Up until the late 1940s, wildlife management was the direct responsibility of the Yukon's chief executive while the RCMP carried out the enforcement of regulations. In a response to pressure from increasing human populations and concerns raised by groups like the Yukon Fish and Game Association, the Yukon established the Department of Game and Publications in 1949 (Yukon Government Records Series 9). Them Kjar, the department's first director, was from Alberta and imported many of that province's attitudes towards wildlife management. In 1953, the department's budget was a mere $12,000 and was supported by a director and a handful of ex-RCMP as enforcement officers (Yukon Government Records Series 9). Over the next decade, Kjar's influence saw the introduction of bison, mule deer and pheasants; major changes to hunting and outfitting regulations that only forced First Nation and non-First Nation people further apart; and the beginning of a wolf poisoning program that would last for the next 20 years (McCandless 1988). The Department has changed its name several times over the past few decades, but is now the Department of Renewable Resources. It is one of the largest government departments with almost 200 staff (YTG 1999).

Hunting and trapping still remain a major component of Yukoners lifestyles, particularly in the communities outside of Whitehorse. Hunting is now limited through a complex licensing system, but many Yukoners still rely on a successful moose or caribou hunt for their yearly supply of meat. Some residents still trap. First Nation people are not restricted by a licensing system or harvest limits, but this may soon change with the recent settlement of land claims. In addition, increasing global environmental awareness prompted the establishment of conservation groups, such as the Yukon Conservation Society in 1968.

Management of forest resources is relatively absent in both Yukon policy and literature. The federal government has always managed forests. Logging on a significant scale started during the gold rush when wood for construction, heat, and fuel for riverboats was in high demand. Since then, the harvest has fluctuated, but an estimated 3,000,000 m^3 of fuel wood and

760,000 m^3 of lumber were cut in the Yukon between 1898 and 1970, mainly along major river corridors (Yukon Forest Strategy 1997a). Resource Transfer Agreements were signed with the western provinces in the 1930s and the Northwest Territories in 1987. However, the Yukon still has no control over forest resources on public lands (Canadian Forest Service 1999). The 'green rush' of the early 1990s when over 400,000 m^3 of raw timber was harvested from the Watson Lake area has shown federal policies and management styles are not appropriate, nor acceptable, for Yukon communities (Yukon Forest Strategy 1997b). The Yukon government is currently negotiating the transfer of all resource management responsibilities from federal to territorial control (Canadian Forest Service 1999). It is estimated that this transfer will be completed by April 2001.

4.2 First Nation Land Claims

Yukon First Nation people were largely ignored during the initial non-indigenous settlement of the territory. Many aboriginals remained at the fringe of the newly established white society, taking advantage of economic opportunities when they arose but basically maintaining their traditional way of life. There was no attempt to sign any treaties with Yukon First Nations. There was a possibility that another "Eldorado" lay under Yukon soil, which convinced authorities not to set aside specific lands for First Nation use (Coates 1991). The federal government also saw the gold rush as a short-term event and believed the territory would never sustain a large non-First Nations community, therefore there was no need for a treaty (Coates & Morrison 1988). In 1902, Kishwoots, or Jim Boss, Chief of the Lake Labarge Indians asked the federal government for a treaty (McClellan 1987). In his letter, he wrote, "Tell the king very hard we want something for our Indians because they took our land and our game" (CYFN, INAC & YTG 1999:3). His request was brushed aside, and other than some attempts by the Anglican Church, the notion for a treaty in the Yukon was forgotten.

Increased government presence in the territory following World War Two focused attention on the Yukon's First Nation communities. The federal government became more involved in their affairs, controlling almost every aspect of their lives. Yukon First Nation people were organized into 16 bands and were expected to elect leadership councils (something that went against their traditional methods for governance) following amendments to the Indian Act in 1952 (Coates 1993). These bands would be reorganized several times over the next few decades. Today there are fourteen distinct First Nations in the Yukon: Vuntut Gwich'in, Tr'ondek Hwech'in, Nacho Ny'ak Dun, Selkirk, Little Salmon-Carmacks, Ross River Dena, Champagne-Aishihik, Kluane, White River, Kwanlin Dun, Ta'an Kwach'an, Carcross-Tagish, Teslin, and Liard.

First Nation people were not about to watch as the government slowly stripped away their culture and society. In 1968, Elijah Smith, chief of the Whitehorse (now Kwanlin Dun) Band, made the following statement at an Indian Act consultation meeting:

> We, the Indians of the Yukon, object to...being treated like squatters in our own country. We accepted the white man in this country, fed him, look after him when he got sick, showed him the way of the North, helped him find the gold, helped him build, and respected him in his own rights. For this we have received little in return. We feel the people of the North owe us a great deal and would like the Government of Canada to see that we get a fair settlement for the use of the land. There was no treaty signed in this Country, and they tell me the land still belongs to the Indians. There were no battles fought between the whites and the Indians for this land (in McClellan 1987: 95).

Other aboriginals echoed Smith's concerns and together they formed the Yukon Native Brotherhood. In 1973, the group published Canada's first comprehensive land claim, Together Today for our Children Tomorrow (Coates 1991). The commencement of negotiations created a stir among non-First Nation residents, who saw land claims as a major interference to the region's economic development (Coates & Morrison 1988). In 1984, negotiators reached an Agreement in Principle, but that year's territorial elections saw the return of an unsympathetic Progressive Conservative administration and the agreement was quashed. Six years later, under a New Democratic government, another Agreement in Principal was signed by the Council for Yukon First Nations, the federal government and YTG. After almost two decades of negotiations, the Yukon Umbrella Final Agreement (UFA) was signed in 1993. It guaranteed the territory's 14 First Nations ownership of 41,400 square kilometres of land and $257.3 million to be paid in installments over 15 years (Government of Canada 1995). It also established a framework for the claims of individual First Nations. The Vuntut Gwitch'in, Nacho Ny'ak Dun, Champagne-Aishihik and Teslin Tlingit Council were the first to have their claims ratified. Since 1995, three more First Nations have finalized their claims and the rest are in the final stages of negotiation. Self-government agreements are also part of the Yukon land claims process. These agreements allow First Nation governments to pass laws and to negotiate the transfer of programs and services in areas where they have jurisdiction. For example, they now control the management of wildlife and forest resources on their settlement lands.

4.3 Resource Management under the UFA

Management of wildlife and other resources was an important issue in the land claims process and innovative ways of creating management structures were included in the UFA. As their culture and livelihood is so closely connected to the natural environment, aboriginal people

depend on a functioning ecosystem for their survival. One of the primary goals of the UFA was to establish a resource management system based on First Nation values (B. Smith pers. com.). Under the agreement, communities, YTG, First Nation governments and the Government of Canada now cooperate in the management of all territorial resources. Chapters 16 and 17 of the UFA outline the new approach to resource management.

4.3.1 Fish and Wildlife Management

Chapter 16 sets out the right of Yukon First Nations to harvest fish and wildlife and to play a major role in their management. The chapter is one of the longest in the agreement, which indicates the importance of these resources to the First Nation community. Like the rest of the UFA, Chapter 16 is complex and full of legal jargon. For simplicity, Table 4.1 outlines the major points outlined in the chapter.

Table 4.1: Chapter 16 Highlights

First Nation Harvesting Rights
• Yukon First Nations have the right to harvest fish and wildlife for their food needs at any time of the year within their traditional territory, on settlement land and on vacant Crown Land. The harvesting rights of First Nations can be restricted only for conservation, public health or public safety reasons. • A Yukon First Nation who wants to hunt or fish in another First Nation's traditional territory must ask permission or purchase a hunting or fishing license and harvest according to the Yukon Wildlife Act. • Individual Final Agreements may set out "total allowable harvests" for some fish and wildlife species. Therefore, if harvesting limits are placed on certain species for conservation reasons, the First Nations would have a guaranteed share of the harvest. • Each Yukon First Nation can establish fish and wildlife harvest levels to reflect food requirements. This "Basic Needs Level" can be adjusted only with the consent of the affected First Nation.
Trapping
• Based on trapper's consent, up to 70 per cent of traplines within a traditional territory can be given Category 1 designation. The local First Nation is the final authority for Category 1 Traplines. • All remaining traplines within a traditional territory will be identified as Category 2 and the Minister of Renewable Resources will hold the final authority on their allocation. • The local Renewable Resources Council will review the use of traplines and make recommendations on the allocation of all new, vacant and under-utilized traplines within the traditional territory. • Registered trapline holders will not be forced to sell or give up their traplines. • A compensation process for trappers affected by resource development activities will be established.
Trapping and Outfitting on Settlement Land
• Any trapper whose trapline is located on settlement land can continue to use that area without fee. • Outfitters may cross settlement land in order to reach an outfitting area, but they do not have the right to erect permanent camps or to hunt on this land. • Anyone can hunt non-commercially on undeveloped Category B Settlement Lands.
Training and Education
• YTG and First Nation governments will develop training programs to provide all Yukoners with opportunities in renewable resources management • YTG will provide trapper training until 2005.

Source: CYFN & YTG, 1997

4.3.2 Forest Resources

Chapter 17 of the UFA outlines the how the management of Yukon forest resources, which includes "all plants in a wild state" will be carried out (UFA 1993). This chapter is significantly shorter than Chapter 16 (10 pages as compared to 41), a reflection of the relative disinterest in the Yukon's forest resources up until a few years ago. Under the UFA, each Yukon First Nation will own, manage, allocate and protect forest resources on their settlement land. Table 4.2 gives a brief overview of the contents of Chapter 17:

Table 4.2: Chapter 17 Highlights

First Nation Harvesting Rights
• First Nations may harvest forest resources on crown land as required for traditional activities (hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering, ceremonial, or tool-making). • A maximum of 500 m^3 of wood may be harvested without a fee from crown land by First Nations for non-commercial uses each year. • First Nation harvesting rights on crown land do not apply when they conflict with another government authorized activity, where the land is subject to lease or sale, or where public access is limited.
Pest and Disease Control
• Consultation between First Nation and other responsible governments before pesticides are applied to either Settlement or crown land.
Forest Fire Control
• Government will not fight fires on settlement land five years after individual agreements are signed. • Yukon First Nations will be consulted in regard to fire fighting priorities on settlement and non-settlement land within a traditional territory.
Third Party Interests
• Timber harvest agreements already approved prior to the settlement of land claims will be upheld.
Access to Settlement Lands
• Timber permit holders may cross and make stops on settlement land to reach their permit area with the approval of the affected First Nation, or through application to the Surface Rights Board. • There will be no access charge and only compensation for unnecessary damage to settlement lands.
Economic Opportunities
• Through negotiations, First Nation economic opportunities (logging, small business, tourism) in the management, protection and harvesting of forest resources will be addressed.

Source: CYFN and YTG (1997)

The management of forest resources in the Yukon still falls under federal jurisdiction, therefore the Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) is responsible for making the ultimate decisions on forest management with local First Nation governments and Renewable Resources Councils playing a major role.

4.4 Yukon Co-management Partners

The structure of wildlife management in the territory changed with the signing of the UFA. Along with federal and territorial government departments, First Nation governments now have a major role to play in wildlife management planning and implementation. In addition, new public management structures were established to help determine how fish and wildlife will be

managed and harvested. The establishment of these bodies is an attempt to take a more holistic approach to resource management by encouraging public participation in management decisions and by confirming the right of Yukon First Nations to manage renewable resources on their own land (Simmons & Netro 1995). The new management bodies include the Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board, local Renewable Resource Councils, and the Salmon Sub-committee. As the Salmon Sub-Committee is primarily concerned with the management of salmon only, it was not included in the research of this project. However, this is not meant to be an indication of the quality or the importance of its work. The following sections briefly describe the renewable resource management partners targeted for this study.

4.4.1 Federal Government

The Government of Canada, through INAC, is responsible for forest management in the Yukon Territory. This covers a wide range of responsibilities, including permit allocation, harvest analysis, research, management planning, fire suppression and silviculture (Moorehouse pers com.). The National Forest Strategy and the Canadian Forest Accord (1992) provide the framework for INAC forest management initiatives. Based on these documents, their mission is "to maintain and enhance the long-term health of our forest ecosystems, for the benefit of all living things both nationally and globally, while providing environmental, economic, social and cultural opportunities for the benefit of future generations" (INAC 1999: 1). The forestry section of INAC is continually being downsized and there is some uncertainty regarding its make-up once devolution of natural resources to the territorial government occurs. There are regional offices in some of the outlying communities, but these are mainly involved with technical or enforcement aspects while management decisions are made by staff at the Whitehorse office.

The Canadian Wildlife Service is another federal department involved in wildlife management, but their main focus is on migratory species and they have very little involvement in other wildlife issues. Their role in the two case studies was minimal, and therefore they were not included in the research for this project.

4.4.2 Yukon Territorial Government

The Yukon government has had full responsibility of managing Yukon wildlife since the early 1900s. Its mandate, simply stated, is "to conserve and manage fish, wildlife and habitat" (YFWMB 1996: 21). There are several branches within YTG's Department of Renewable Resources, but this study will focus on only one: the Fish and Wildlife Branch. Within this branch there are different sections involved in fish and wildlife co-management. Regional Management

is a new section of the branch established as a result of the UFA to deal specifically with co-management issues. Through this section, regional biologists are hired to work directly with local First Nation governments and RRCs within their area. There are currently five regional biologists working in the following areas—Kluane, Southern Lakes, Dawson, Mayo and Watson Lake. Because of its close involvement with the Yukon co-management process, Regional Management was the main focus of this study. Table 4.3 briefly describes these different sections or players within Fish and Wildlife Management.

Table 4.3: Department of Renewable Resources

Director	• Main YTG contact for the FWMB • Provides technical support to FWMB
Regional Management	• Works with YTG Land Claims Unit on the interpretation and implementation of Land Claim agreements • Organizes and implements community-based wildlife management planning • Hires and supports regional biologists • Coordinates review of Wildlife Act regulation proposals with YFWMB • Coordinates YFWMB and RRC access to wildlife harvest information and species population data • Communicates information requirements identified by the YFWMB and RRCs to affected branches
Wildlife Management	• Coordinates YFWMB and RRC requests for information regarding wildlife management, populations and habitat with regional biologists • Provides public access to approved wildlife management reports
Habitat Management	• Assists in Special Management Areas (SMA) planning established in Final Agreements • Coordinates RRC participation in SMA planning
Fisheries Management	• Responsible for freshwater fishery harvest management and population surveys • Coordinates response to FWMB and RRC on freshwater fishery management issues

Source: YFWMB 1996

4.4.3 Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board

The Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board is one of the new management bodies established by the UFA. It is comprised of 12 members, six appointed by Yukon First Nations and six by the territorial government (UFA 1993). First Nation appointees have diverse backgrounds and represent all age groups, including youth and elders, while the government appointees are usually citizens with an interest in wildlife or representatives from interest groups such as trappers or outfitters. The board is mostly involved with policy and legislation development. It is also involved with addressing Yukon-wide management issues and overseeing all management strategies in the 14 traditional territories. However, it is not involved with local management decisions.

4.4.4 Renewable Resources Council

A Renewable Resource Council (RRC) is established when a First Nation finalizes their individual land claim. These councils are the primary instrument for local renewable resource management, including forestry and fish and wildlife, within the First Nation's traditional territory (UFA 1993). This effectively transfers decision-making on local issues from government head offices to the communities (Pelchat & Urquhart 1998). There are currently seven established councils (TRRC 1998.). They include the Alsek RRC (Champagne-Aishihik First Nation), Mayo RRC (Nacho Ny'ak Dun), Teslin RRC, Old Crow RRC (Vuntut Gwich'in First Nation), Little Salmon Carmacks RRC, Selkirk RRC and the Dawson RRC (Tr'ondek Hwech'in First Nation). Other First Nations are in the final stages of their land claim negotiations, so more councils should be established during the next few years. The RRCs are made up of six local representatives (three First Nation appointees and three government appointees). These councils can make recommendations to government ministers, affected First Nations, or the YFWMB (UFA 1993). These recommendations may address issues such as harvesting requirements, content and timing of forestry or fish and wildlife management plans, management of furbearers, and the allocation or conditions for commercial uses of forest resources or fish and wildlife (CYFN & YTG 1997). They also can allocate harvesting quotas and traplines, report harvest levels and make decisions regarding forest fire or pest management. Most importantly, these councils act as a window of communication between the communities and other governmental bodies (Simmons & Netro 1995).

4.5 Roles and Responsibilities

In the five years following the settlement of land claims, the roles in responsibilities of the different parties in respect to the management of renewable resources has remained unclear. The land claim and self-government agreements only provide the framework. How this new approach to resource management is to work in practice has been left up to those involved in applying it to their daily business. It is an experimental process, at best, with no clear guidelines for how it should be done. Speaking at a workshop on roles and responsibilities of the partners under the UFA, then Minister of Renewable Resources, Hugh Monaghan, likened their job to that of an aircraft pilot learning to fly.

> As pilots, we are flooded with 'legalese'. The manner in which most of us deal with the prodigious volume of acts and regulations is to bear in mind the overall legal parameters and practical intent of the guidelines as best as we can understand them, and then get on with the business of piloting our aircraft and developing our flying skills (YFWMB 1996:5).

As everyone becomes more familiar with the UFA and the intentions of the different clauses are clarified through their application, the roles and responsibilities of each partner are becoming more apparent. However, this is an evolving process and each year new approaches are discovered and changes are made. Therefore roles and responsibilities are evolving and ever changing. They may also differ between each traditional territory. Tables 4.4 and 4.5 describe the roles and responsibilities of each partner in both forestry resource and fish and wildlife management. The absence of a territory-wide board for forestry resources similar to the YFMB is the main difference between forestry and wildlife co-management in the allocation of roles and responsibilities.

Table 4.4: Forestry Management Partners Identified in the UFA

Partner	Role	Responsibilities
Federal Government	1. Final authority for decisions regarding the management, allocation and conservation of Yukon forest resources.	• Develop forest management plans within each FMU with partners from affected traditional territories. • Consult affected First Nations and RRCs before altering legislation or making significant changes forest management, allocation or forestry practices policies. • Commercial timber harvest permits on non-settlement lands. • Ensure forest resource activities on non-settlement lands meet development assessment requirements. • Fire management on non-settlement lands
Renewable Resources	1. Final authority for decisions regarding forest resources on lands owned by the territorial government.	• Remain an informed party in the development of forest resource management in anticipation of devolution.
First Nation Government	1. Final authority for decisions regarding management, allocation and conservation of forest resources on settlement lands.	• Develop management plan for forest resources on settlement lands. • Screening and allocation of commercial timber harvest permits on settlement lands. • Ensure all forest resource management, allocation and practices on settlement lands meet development assessment requirements. • Forest fire management on settlement lands
Renewable Resources Council	1. Provide recommendations to government and local First Nations on all matters related to forest resource management within the traditional territory including: • management coordination; • content and timing of local forest resource inventories and management plans; • policies, programs and laws that affect local forest resources; • proposals for forest research; • allocation of local forest resources for commercial use; and • employment opportunities and training requirements.	• Organize public information and consultation on local forest resource management issues. • Provide a communication link between community concerns and upper levels of government. • Cooperate with local RRC and other First Nations in finding solutions to common concerns.

Adapted from: YFWMB 1996, CYFN & YTG 1997

Table 4.5: Fish and Wildlife Management Partners Identified in the UFA

Partner	Role	Responsibilities
Federal Government	1. Final authority on the management of migratory fish and wildlife species.	• Provide technical information on migratory fish and wildlife populations to all partners. • Work with First Nations on projects within their traditional territory
Territorial Government (Dept. of Renewable Resources)	1. Final authority for management of fish and wildlife in the Yukon. 2. Ensure the conservation of fish, wildlife and their habitats in the Yukon. 3. Ensure the rights and interests of all Yukoners are reflected in fish and wildlife management within individual traditional territories and across the Yukon by working closely with other partners.	• Provide technical information on wildlife populations and habitats to all partners • Work with First Nations on projects within their traditional territory • Nominate half the local RRC members and half the YFWMB members. • Regulate and monitor the harvest of all non-First Nations and First Nations outside of their traditional territories.
First Nation Government	1. Ensure First Nation rights and interests are reflected in fish and wildlife management within individual traditional territories and across the Yukon by working closely with other partners. 2. Manage fish and wildlife populations on settlement land within individual traditional territories where coordination with other management programs is deemed unnecessary.	• Provide traditional and technical knowledge to all partners • Work with biologists and researchers from other agencies on projects within their traditional territory • Nominate half the local RRC members and half the YFWMB members. • Regulate and monitor First Nation harvest within their traditional territory. • Request changes to the Basic Needs Level.
Fish and Wildlife Management Board	1. Provide opportunities for public consultation on fish and wildlife management issues at a territory-wide level. 2. Make recommendations to relevant partners regarding matters related to fish and wildlife management, including: • fish and wildlife and habitat management policies; • content and timing of all fish and wildlife management plans; • population goals and management options recommended by RRCs; • establishment of a Total Allowable Harvest; • Basic Needs Level adjustments; and • harvest methods.	• Organize territory-wide public information and consultation on fish and wildlife management issues. • Provide a communication link between community concerns and upper levels of government.
Renewable Resources Council	1. Provide opportunities for public participation in local fish and wildlife management. 2. Make recommendations to relevant partners on any matter related to the conservation of fish and wildlife in their traditional territory, including: • harvesting requirements; • content and timing of all local fish and wildlife management plans; • furbearer management; and • allocation and conditions for commercial uses of fish and wildlife.	• Organize public information and consultation on local fish and wildlife management issues. • Provide a communication link between community concerns and upper levels of government.

Adapted from: YFWMB 1996, CYFN & YTG 1997

4.6 Co-management Tools

Defining the roles and responsibilities of the different partners is important in establishing a co-management regime. However, the real challenge is finding meaningful ways of engaging the different parties in the co-management of resources. The land claim negotiations established a framework, but applying this framework to the everyday workings of resource management requires some creativity and flexibility of the different partners. In the years following the signing of land claims, the different parties have made various attempts to develop a process for defining issues and assigning responsibilities.

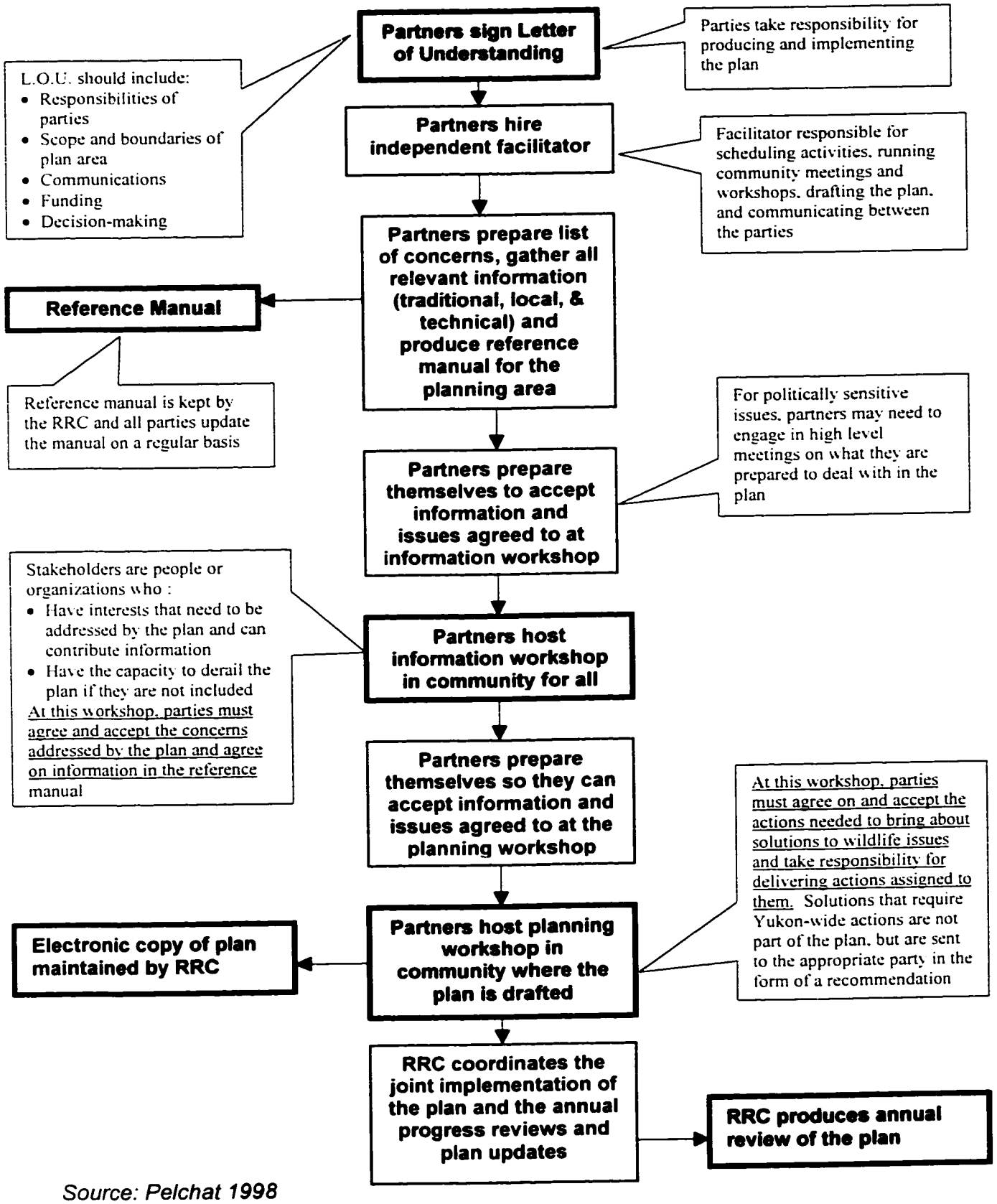
4.6.1 Integrated Wildlife Management Plans

Historically, the Yukon government's approach to wildlife management was based entirely on the scientific opinions and expertise of individual biologists working for YTG. The general public was informed of the government's intentions through travelling "road shows" where biologists visited the different communities and made presentations on their research objectives (Pelchat pers.com.). Little emphasis was placed on community knowledge or concerns and, as a result, nobody cared about the final reports or management objectives and the technical information was not supported by the communities (Yukon Forest Commission 1997b).

Under the co-management regime, a new approach was required to improve the relationship between the government and the community and to ensure local participation in the planning process. To do this, the government's top-down approach had to be turned upside-down and the responsibility of identifying issues would be handed off to the communities (Yukon Forest Commission 1997b). A basic planning model developed by the Porcupine Caribou Management Board was used as a framework for starting community based wildlife management plans. The first such plan was worked out by the Mayo District RRC, the Nacho Ny'ak Dun First Nation and the Territorial Government in 1992. The final product was the Mayo District Integrated Wildlife Management Plan which has been reviewed and updated every three years since it was signed. The integrated plans "should include conservation of all key species and their habitats, and the needs of all resource users—both consumptive and non-consumptive" (YFWMB 1996). The plans allow communities to shape wildlife management in their area rather than simply responding to outside interests and pressures.

This planning process continues to evolve as the partners learn new things or find new problems each time another plan is worked out. Figure 4.1 illustrates how this process unfolds. Before the plan begins, the partners sign a letter of understanding or an M.O.U. that outlines the partners roles and responsibilities in developing and implementing the plan (Pelchat

Figure 4.1: Wildlife Management Planning Process



Source: Pelchat 1998

& Urquhart 1998). Generally, the territorial government is responsible for gathering technical information, the First Nation is responsible for gathering traditional or local knowledge and the RRC is responsible for identifying local wildlife management concerns, as well as coordinating the development and implementation of the plan (Pelchat & Urquhart 1998). All parties are given equal status in designing the plan. The plan is developed during two community workshops run by an independent facilitator. Community members, government representatives, First Nation governments, and RRC members are all involved in these workshops. All issues and subsequent actions to address them must be agreed to by all partners. Population dynamics, habitat protection and harvest numbers are some of the topics that may be covered in these plans. At the end of the second workshop, the plan is submitted for YTG approval. As YTG is an active participant in the plan development, there is little chance that the plan will be refused at this point. These plans are reviewed on a yearly basis and new plans are drafted every five years.

4.6.2 Forest Management Planning

Planning for forest resources management does not have a long history in the Yukon. It has been slow getting started and has faced complications with land use planning and timber supply analyses (N. Morehouse pers. com.). Devolution of control of forest resources from the federal to the territorial government also seems to be a stumbling block as it leaves many government employees unsure of whether they will have a job next year. However, forest management plans are critical for both communities and the Yukon economy if this industry is going to continue to grow. These plans (not to be confused with harvest plans) are considered to be the primary method of engaging the different co-management partners (N. Morehouse pers com.). There have been few attempts to develop forest management plan so far. One site-specific plan has been developed for the Marshall Creek area (described in Chapter 5). The partners in the Champagne Aishihik Traditional Territory have signed a memorandum of understanding and the planning process has begun in that community.

The process they currently follow is slightly different from integrated wildlife planning in that they do not hold large public meetings to develop the plan. Forest Management Planning Teams are established to develop the plans. These teams include representatives from the different governments and are usually chaired by the RRC. The community is consulted at different stages of the plan's development. Under the UFA, the following points must be considered when conducting forest management planning:

- Forest resources must be used in a way that will allow for use by future generations;

- There must be an integrated and balanced approach to the management and protection of forest resources in a watershed;
- Management of forest resources on settlement and non-settlement land must be integrated;
- Yukon First Nation forest harvesting and management customs must be respected;
- Fish and wildlife harvesting rights and management plans must be respected; and
- Knowledge and experience of both First Nations and scientists must be used and respected (CYFN & YTG 1997).

The Champagne-Aishihik Traditional Territory Forest Management Planning Team is the first of its kind in the Yukon. In many ways, it is setting the stage for how forest management planning will occur in the future.

The settlement of land claims has brought in a new era of resource management in the Yukon. It is now more inclusive and community-driven. Gone is the top-down approach of the past and community members are now involved at a meaningful level in partnership with all governments (First Nation, federal, and territorial). How this new system works is still being defined. It continues to be a flexible and creative approach where each new issue is dealt with in unique ways. All parties are learning by doing. The question that now remains is how effective is this approach in creating environmentally, socially and economically sustainable management initiatives?

Chapter 5 Designing an Evaluative Framework

Evaluations of co-management arrangements have been carried out by several researchers in the past (Morgan 1993, Roberts 1994, Chambers 1999). The evaluation framework proposed in this MDP builds upon this previous work. Comments made by co-management partners during the interview process reinforced the utility of some aspects of the previously developed framework but also shed light on new criteria to be examined. In addition, ideas drawn from co-management, community-based management, ecosystem management and public participation literature helped identify alternative topics that are now included in this evaluation. It must be recognized that this framework is not meant to evaluate co-management in the Yukon as if it was in a final state. Community-based co-management in the territory is constantly evolving, with partners continually learning new approaches and adapting their processes to reflect new knowledge. This evaluation is simply to provide a snapshot of the Yukon after five years of co-management. The purpose is to highlight the aspects of co-management that are working well and those that need more attention. Therefore, co-management that only meets some of the criteria can still be considered effective, as it is understood that the system will continue to evolve and improve over time.

There are five identified partners in co-management in the Yukon: the federal, territorial, and First Nations governments, the Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board (including the Salmon Sub-committee) and renewable resources councils. As mentioned in the discussion related to project limitations (Section 1.5) for the purposes of this study only one co-management body—the local renewable resources council—was chosen for evaluation. Co-management in the Yukon is more complicated than other jurisdictions because the RRC is an advisor to governments and the YFWMB, and also an equal partner in resource management planning. Renewable resource planning processes have been identified as the main tools for co-management (YFWMB 1996). Therefore, an examination of these plans will be included under the Actions and Effectiveness sections of the evaluative framework. Reference to other co-management partners will also be included in this section as it is also important to emphasize their strengths and weaknesses within the community-driven process. However, the emphasis on the effectiveness of including the community through the RRC and public participation in directing the management of resources will remain the focus of the evaluation.

There are two main sections of the evaluative framework. The first section deals with the institutional structure of co-management bodies (RRCs), with specific reference to formation,

organization and operations. The second section focuses more on the function or the initiatives carried out by these organizations in collaboration with other co-management partners, focusing on the specific actions they have taken and how effective they have been in addressing environmental and community concerns. Each section is sub-divided into a series of components with outlined criteria that different aspects of co-management can be measured against. These criteria can be quantitative (number of members on the council) or qualitative (reflection of community values in decisions). The two distinct sections were developed to differentiate between the inner workings of the co-management body and the effectiveness of the initiatives they help establish. The proposed evaluative framework is presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: An Evaluative Framework for Co-management in the Yukon

Component	Factors	Points to consider
Community-based Co-management Bodies		
Formation	Purpose	• Proactive vs. reactive
	Scale	• Manageable area • Defined link between community and resources • Small number of users
	Implementation	• Clear guidelines
Organization	Composition	• Council size • Representation • Continuity
	Participant skills	• Strong leadership • Expertise/comfort • Won't act out of self-interest
	Mandate/Authority	• Clearly defined management functions • Decision-maker vs. advisor
	Funding	• Autonomous vs. government funded • Adequate
	Accountability	• Appointed vs. elected
Operations	Meetings	• Location and facilities • Scheduling and frequency • Agenda • Visitor policy
	Secretariat	• Administration, finance, and communications • Local hire
	Expectations	• Reasonable workload • Community timelines vs. "outside" timelines
	Access to information and education	• Trust with community, FN and other governments • Research • Skill training provided through workshops, seminars
	Communications	• Plain language • Communication with other jurisdictions
Community-based Initiatives		
Actions	Issue identification	• Community vs. other organization
	Community involvement and consultation	• Communication • Public meetings/planning sessions • Independent facilitator

		• Participants as equal partners
	Use of local knowledge	• How obtained • Communication of information • Access to information • Use of information in planning process
	Use of scientific knowledge	• How obtained • Communication of information • Access to information • Use of information in planning process
	Constraints	• Representatives are clear on their organizations objectives and limitations
	Decision-making	• Consensus
Effectiveness	Ecosystem-based	• Hierarchical context • Ecological integrity • Ecological boundaries • Humans imbedded in nature
	Risk	• Level of risk or uncertainty in decisions • Monitoring • Adaptive
	Conflict	• Community vs. governments • Community vs. community
	Community support	• Community values reflected in decisions • Feeling of ownership
	Government support	• Recognition of validity of community-based decisions

Adapted from: Pinkerton 1989, Roberts 1994, Mitchell 1995, Grumbine 1997, Chambers 1999

The remainder of this chapter includes an in-depth examination of the different factors and the points to consider.

5.1 Community-based co-management bodies

5.1.1 Formation

5.1.1.1 Purpose

One of the first components that should be examined when evaluating a co-management body is the reason for its existence. For the most part, the origins of co-management are in crisis and struggle as a result of First Nation land claims, resource depletion and development impacts (Usher 1995). Some co-management arrangements are more obviously connected to a perceived crisis, such as the Beverly-Qamanirjuaq Caribou Management Board, while others, such as the claims-based boards, may be less of a reaction to resource issues and can take more of a proactive approach to planning and management.

Examples from around the world show that co-management comes in many forms, some ad hoc and others as a result of formal, legally binding agreements. The merits of these differing approaches have been argued (Roberts 1994, Chambers 1999), but the certainty provided by legislated agreements (usually through land claims) is often the most desirable. Claims-based co-

management bodies are negotiated structures, their members are usually politically accountable representatives, and these bodies are permanent unless there is agreement among all parties who signed the final agreement to remove them (Usher 1995). Support for informal co-management arrangements may fluctuate from year to year as membership within the different participating organizations change or in response to economic pressures.

5.1.1.2 Scale

For co-management to be effective, the land that will be the focus of this management should be a small area defined by direct links between the landscape and benefits to local users (Pinkerton 1989). In cases where community involvement is key, a geographical sense of the community is necessary. If local people use the area, they will feel more of a direct connection to how the area is managed. In addition, the community must also be able to clearly define its membership (Pinkerton 1989). Pinkerton (1989) also notes that co-management works best in small communities where effective communication can occur.

5.1.1.3 Implementation

An implementation strategy is also important in the formation of a co-management body. Without such a strategy, a lack of direction and planning may create confusion and delays in getting co-management started (Staples 1995). There is often a gap between the understanding of those who negotiated the agreements and those who are responsible for its implementation (Staples 1995). In many cases, the First Nation representatives involved in negotiations usually carry over into the implementation whereas government representatives change on a regular basis. As a result, a government representative's understanding of the agreements is often very different than the collective understanding achieved by the negotiators (Staples 1995). This can lead to many problems and disagreements between those implementing the agreement. For those involved in co-management, there needs to be clear guidelines to follow regarding their set up, how they should run, and their responsibilities. However, they must also be able to determine their own operating rules and procedures in order to reflect local conditions (Korten 1986).

5.1.2 Organization

5.1.2.1 Composition

When developing a co-management committee, the number of members or the size of the committee is an important factor to consider. Other evaluations of co-management boards indicate smaller committees (less than 15 members) are more effective (Roberts 1994, Chambers

1999). Conflict seems to be a greater problem in large committees where direct communication among participants may be more difficult or where participants might feel more uncomfortable sharing their ideas (Roberts 1994). Larger groups can also be more cumbersome and harder to manage (Osherenko 1988) and may make it more difficult to reach consensus (Roberts 1994). In most cases, members of a co-management organization represent identified stakeholder groups. In these situations, representation of all stakeholders should be included to ensure compliance with co-management decisions (Chambers 1999).

Another important element is membership turnover. If membership is always changing the group will have to continually educate new members which can take away from more pressing management issues (Roberts 1994). More importantly, if the entire board is replaced at once, all of its knowledge and experience will be lost causing a large disruption in the process (Chambers 1999). It will also hinder the development of strong relationships among members. An organization with low membership turnover and regular attendance can develop as a team where mutual respect and understanding can help overcome longstanding differences (Usher 1995). This continuity can also lead to increased levels of trust among both the members and the community they are representing (Roberts 1994). However, change in membership can also be good as it allows for the inclusion of new ideas and knowledge (Roberts 1994, Chambers 1999).

5.1.2.2 Participant skills

The success of a co-management regime depends on the people involved in the process (Roberts 1994). Pinkerton (1989:29) notes "the motivations and attitudes of key individuals can make or break co-management, no matter how much legal backing or supportive arrangements an agreement has." Participants must support the intent of the co-management process. Members can only be effective if they believe in the process and work to see co-management achieved. Some traits of an effective participant are leadership abilities, relevant knowledge or expertise, and good interpersonal skills (Chambers 1999). Participants should also exhibit cross-cultural sensitivity, patience, and a commitment to finding long-term solutions (Morgan 1992). It is also essential that participants come to meetings ready to work since lack of preparation has been cited as a major factor undermining the functioning of co-management boards (Roberts 1994, Chambers 1999).

Beyond this, there must be strong leadership within the group. Most often this leadership comes from the group's Chair. As a result, the filling of these positions should be taken seriously. Only residents who exhibit the participant skills previously outlined along with strong leadership and communication abilities should be considered. Co-management bodies are more likely to

develop in an effective manner if there is a dedicated individual or a core group who are prepared to work diligently to advance the process (Pinkerton 1989).

5.1.2.3 Mandate and Authority

The mandate of the co-management body must also be clearly defined from the outset in order to provide focus and direction (Roberts 1994). The roles and responsibilities of the co-management body and its members should be outlined during its establishment. This will help avoid confusion and conflict among participants.

The authority of the co-management body is usually defined through a formal agreement between the participating parties, in many cases a land claims agreement. There is less of an obligation to support informal co-management arrangements, as their authority is often ill-defined (Morgan 1993). The authority of formal committees can also be questioned as the Minister responsible has the power to make final decisions (Roberts 1994). Usher (1986) makes the distinction between devolving power from one level to another using the same framework and actually transforming from one system to another: in other words, allowing for a shift in the management paradigm. In many co-management arrangements, power is not necessarily shifted, as the co-management body is simply perceived as an advisory body that can be listened to or ignored depending on the situation. Therefore, the authority of a co-management body is often questionable.

5.1.2.4 Funding

Co-management bodies must have a secure source of adequate funding that can be counted on from year to year (Osherenko 1988, Pinkerton 1989). This funding should cover the costs of administrative support, participant expenses, institutional resources (i.e. rent, telephone, paper, and photocopies), and costs associated with the effective functioning of the committee (i.e. public meetings, surveys, and educational materials). Northern co-management arrangements can attribute some of their success to the administrative support and funding provisions outlined in their respective land claims agreements (Osherenko 1988, Roberts 1994). Different co-management regimes can be funded through various sources including the federal or provincial government, industry, conservation groups, and local communities (Chambers 1999). However, reliance on government support is not necessarily the best option. The implementation funding of land claim agreements is usually re-negotiated after 10 years and the government tends to reduce the amount of money they are willing to provide (M. Robinson pers. com.). In her review of fisheries co-management, Pinkerton (1989:27) argues "co-management is most likely to develop

when fishermen (resource users) show a willingness to contribute financially (or recruit other levels of support) to the rehabilitation of the resource, and /or contribute to other management functions." The use of local facilities and abilities can reduce costs and increase perceptions of community control (Korten 1986).

5.1.2.5 Accountability

There needs to be some recognition of the level of accountability of co-management representatives. Participants are usually appointed by the group they are supposed to represent, such as the federal government or a First Nation. Korten (1986: 4) argues a basic principle of a democratic society is that control should rest with the people who will "bear the major force of its consequences", which is most often the local community. If we accept this, accountability for the outcome of specific actions should also be extended to the community. Although the basic premise of self-government is compelling, it does have some serious flaws, such as its inability to take into account 'the bigger picture'. In his examination of the multi-party CORE planning process in B.C., S. Owen (1998:17) made the following observation: "Representative governments can be supplemented effectively with greater public participation...The key is that such participation is open, so as to be responsible; balanced, so as to be fair; and advisory, so as to leave decision-making with accountable, elected officials." The premise that elected officials are ultimately accountable for resource management decisions is an important factor in co-management as it removes the process from the political arena and allows for communities to become involved without creating another level of bureaucracy.

5.1.3 Operations

5.1.3.1 Meetings

A regular meeting schedule should be organized to ensure the smooth functioning of a co-management committee. However, where, when and how these meetings are conducted can have implications on the productivity of these meetings. The location of a meeting can determine its ultimate success (Roberts 1994). Meetings should be held in a place where all participants feel comfortable. The facility should have good lighting, a washroom, a kitchen area, parking and required equipment (Chambers 1999). Another important element is the set-up of the room. In most cases, a round-table format encourages discussion while a long rectangular table where participants face each other is more combative (Schwarz 1994).

The scheduling or timing of meetings is also important. There should be enough time between meetings for participants to carry out any required duties and to prepare for the next

meeting (Roberts 1994, Chambers 1999). The frequency of meetings should also reflect the number of issues the co-management body is dealing with (Chambers 1999). If there are many issues to be discussed, this should be reflected in the number of meetings held.

The last point to consider is the way the meetings are held. A defined agenda and a set of mutually acceptable operating procedures give meetings a focus and a set of guidelines to follow. However, in many cases these guidelines (such as Roberts Rules of Order) do not reflect the way community people interact or work together. In his work with the James Bay Cree, Berkes (1989b: 195) notes:

> The coordinating committee, as the main co-management institution, has the disadvantage of being a white-man's institution run by white man's rules. This effectively prevents the traditional fishermen-hunters from participating and limits representation to articulate southern-educated people who are comfortable in committee settings.

Although there must be some structure to meetings, they must also be held in a non-intimidating or informal way where people can feel comfortable participating. In addition, a policy should be developed to address public attendance of committee meetings with provisions for in-camera sessions when required (Roberts 1994).

5.1.3.2 Secretariat

A strong and well-supported secretariat is essential to the effective functioning of a co-management group (Morgan 1993, Roberts 1994, Chambers 1999). The competence of the secretariat can directly affect the committee's ability to operate. A secretariat is usually responsible for a variety of tasks, including: logistical arrangements; preparing meeting agendas; distributing information to participants prior to meetings; briefing the Chair; dealing with technical equipment or facilities; preparing meeting minutes; facilitating communication between members; handling correspondence and providing a link to the public (Chambers 1999). With so many duties, the secretariat needs to be well supported both technically and financially. The secretariat should collate information received, but the council itself should determine what information sources are appropriate to avoid perceptions of secretariat bias (Morgan 1993). Despite their important role, it is essential the secretariat remains neutral and leaves the actual decision-making up to the committee. Whenever possible, the secretariat should be hired from the local community instead of employing professionals from larger communities or southern Canada (M. Robinson pers. com). This will create local job opportunities and build community capacity.

5.1.3.3 Expectations

There are two elements that can be examined in relation to the expectations of co-management bodies. The first relates to workload. There is a tendency to overload the individuals involved as, especially in small northern communities, these people may be sitting on several different committees or councils. The sheer logistics of being part of any co-management group – responding to surveys, attending meetings, reviewing and commenting on draft plans– has overwhelmed many people (aboriginal representatives in particular), leading to what has been described as "burn out" (Gallagher 1988: 94).

Confusion regarding the exact role of some co-management bodies can lead to government departments sending them copies of every document instead of just the information that applies to their function (ARRC Meeting, Nov. 16, 1999). The responsibility of sifting through all of the information then falls to the committee (usually the secretariat) and can be extremely time consuming. Committees can also become distracted by information that goes beyond their mandate. In addition, there is a growing trend towards requiring public involvement in all types of decision-making. This can overload the public and related cooperative committees and hinder their ability to respond to government requests for feedback (Roberts 1995).

Meeting specific timelines is also a challenge for some co-management bodies. In small, isolated communities, the 'big city' notions of efficiency and the need to work within imposed schedules conflict with local approaches to decision making which often occurs at a slower pace (Kofinas 1999). According to previous co-management research, aboriginal members are sometimes reluctant to hurry decisions, instead consulting with the community for extended periods to ensure there is a broad level of community support (Morgan 1993). The need to follow 'local time' when trying to establish co-management processes is critical to its future success. Carpenter and Mair (1990:81) state: "we are moving through rather uncharted waters so we must proceed cautiously. The pressure to get things done, to show results, must be balanced with the need to respect community sensitivities and move at their pace."

5.1.3.4 Access to Information and Training

One of the goals of co-management is to "provide opportunities to both participants and local communities to share information for research and education" (Chambers 1999: 60). This means there must be a willingness to share knowledge, whether it is scientific data or the accumulated knowledge of local people. The foundation for sharing information, be it from government, First Nations, or any community member, is trust. For this to occur there must first be a spirit of cooperation. Only then can the different parties begin to demonstrate their

competence and knowledge in a way that will gain respect from other participants (Owen 1998). The combination of local knowledge and science can often lead to more positive resource management initiatives. Pinkerton (1989: 29) argues: "Successful co-management creates a willingness among both (resource users) and government to share data about a resource, and therefore to reach collectively a more complete understanding of the resource." She adds the data used for co-management must take into account different knowledge bases while also being consistent and of high quality if it is to be seen as credible by all parties involved (Pinkerton 1989). For this type of data-gathering to occur, government workers who act as technical advisors for the group must move away from departmental mandates and support the objective of the process to help develop collaborative and balanced solutions (Owen 1998).

In some cases, information is not available and research must be undertaken to gather what is required. In terms of cooperative management, "authentic participation in research means sharing the way research is conceptualized, practiced, and brought to bear in the life-world. It means ownership of the responsible agency in the production of knowledge and the improvement of practices (McTaggart 1991: 171). When all parties are involved in the acquisition of new knowledge, capacity building on all sides can take place (Hobson 1992). This can be in the form of community members developing technical skills or scientists learning to look at issues from a local perspective. In addition, participants must have access to training and education in order to become meaningful participants. This can include workshops on communication, organization, or specific management topics.

Education and training opportunities for both co-management participants and community members create more support and understanding of co-management initiatives. It can also help create a level playing field among participants. As Jull (1991: 28) notes: "today we offer indigenous people...equality of opportunity in our game played by our rules, and with us having a good head start." Committee members often need training in various aspects of co-management practice in order to be effective participants. However, training opportunities must be shared equally among co-management participants and other residents, otherwise there is a potential for the co-management body to be seen as a 'private club' which is not accessible or a benefit to the general public (Chambers 1999). In particular, youth should be targeted for training and skill development. It is these young people who will eventually be responsible for carrying out management responsibilities and they should have the capacity and the interest to do it (M. Robinson pers. com.).

5.1.3.5 Communication

Effective communication is often a major factor in determining the level of success in cooperative management arrangements (Morgan 1993). Regular communication between co-management participants and between co-management bodies and the communities they serve is critical to the process (Roberts 1994). Communication must occur in a language in which all participants are completely fluent to ensure true understanding and the successful expression of ideas. If there is no common language, a translator must be available for all meetings. In most cases, co-management requires some form of cross-cultural communication (Gallagher 1988).

Language is only one component of cross-cultural understanding. There are different ways of seeing the world, and in a co-management setting, technical language and use of a non-indigenous paradigm and knowledge system can cause confusion and misunderstandings (Usher 1995). There must be an attempt to find common ground. In addition, communication with other co-management bodies can help speed up the learning process. By sharing information on how co-management is carried out in different areas, a greater understanding of the process and effective ways of carrying it out can be developed.

5.2 Community-based co-management initiatives

5.2.1 Actions

5.2.1.1 Issue identification

When examining the issues dealt with by co-management bodies, it is important to understand the origin of the issues. Is the issue something another authority has brought to the attention of the council for them to react to, or is the issue something that has come from the community itself? State-management initiatives are commonly expressed as a 'draft' plan (a possible timber harvest number or a park proposal) and co-management committees are asked for their input or comments. Communities can react negatively to such proposals, as they may not see the issue important or have serious problems with the proposal. This method of public consultation does not consider common values that make up a community's vision of the environmental 'public interest'. Instead, it forces participants to become adjudicators of localized, isolated issues (Jamal 1997).

The community should drive the process used to address specific concerns or resource management in general in question. In terms of community-based management, "an effective process is one that has been created by and for those who will be using it" (Cormick et. al. 1996: 8). If community members are forced to deal with an issue or participate in a process they do not feel comfortable with, conflict can occur. It has been argued that constructive conflict

management includes the identification of community values, attitudes and concerns, and establishing an effective two-way communication process with all interested parties at the outset. This means communities are involved at all levels, including issue identification, to allow for meaningful community input through assessment of potential impacts and genuinely addresses community concerns (Jamal 1997).

5.2.1.2 Community involvement and consultation

The basic premise of community-based co-management is the meaningful inclusion of local people and other resource users in the co-management process (Chambers 1999). Community support, trust and respect are at the root of successful co-management processes (Osharenko 1988, Pinkerton 1989). Community involvement is a process for including the public in decision-making. The previous discussion of 'community' (see section 3.2) outlined the difficulty of defining 'community'. A community or 'the public' is not a homogeneous group. Instead, it is "a constantly shifting multiplicity of affiliations and alliances that group and regroup according to the issues and their understanding of the issues, perceptions of risk, and the natural evolution of informal structures" (Roberts 1995: 227).

There are varying degrees of consultation and participation. In most cases, consultation includes education, information sharing, and negotiation, where the goal of the organization consulting the public is better decision-making. Education related to co-management issues is important as it brings people 'up to speed' and makes it easier to engage them in participatory processes (Roberts 1995, ARRC meeting, November 16, 1999). Participation occurs when the public is brought into the decision-making process (Roberts 1995). Residents are able to influence decisions through a public forum based on their level of authority, their communication style and their ability to articulate their wants and needs (Jamal 1997). Each group who wants to include the public in their consultation process uses different methods, which can lead to some confusion at the community level (Gallagher 1988)

Participation experts have argued that agencies often depend too heavily on the 'public meeting', but it remains the primary forum of public participation (Gallagher 1988). Public meetings usually consist of a presenter and an audience with opportunities to ask questions. This type of forum tends to pit one person against another and creates a confrontational atmosphere (Gallagher 1988). In many cases, the same handful of people come to public meetings and voice the same concerns, which may not be truly representative of the entire community (D. Dennison pers. com.). Other methods for engaging the public that are being used with varying degrees of success are surveys, open houses and workshops. Depending on how they are conducted, surveys

can be excellent ways of gathering the perspectives of a large portion of the community. However, they do not allow for face-to-face interaction among participants in attempt to arrive at mutually acceptable outcomes or decisions (Cormick et. al. 1996, Jamal 1997). Open houses are designed more as a way of informing the public, but do allow for one-on-one interactions which can help build understanding and trust. Workshops are often held when there is a product to be developed and are more collaborative in nature. Regardless of the method employed, the timing or scheduling of public consultation is important. In small northern communities, there are times of the year (summer and fall) when public involvement is nearly impossible. People are busy doing too many other things, such as hunting, fishing or enjoying the summer weather, and have no time (or interest) in sitting in an all-day meeting or answering a three-page questionnaire. In particular, meetings, workshops and open houses should be held at a time of year when people can attend, in comfortable place, and advertised well in advance (Gallagher 1988).

When using a meeting or workshop format, a professional facilitator can often help reduce conflict and guide the proceedings. Facilitators should be outsiders to process so they are not seen as having an agenda. A facilitator's role is to improve group member's ability to work together effectively and act as a mediator when conflicts between different participants causes a communication breakdown (Schwarz 1994). It is important to remember that a facilitator is not a group member, nor a judge. Only the participants are responsible for making decisions and resolving conflicts.

It is also important to remember that community consultation should not mean the inclusion of every single community member. The entire community does not become involved in every process or issue because people do not always have the time, energy or interest. However, efforts should be made to involve key stakeholders in any consultation process since their absence can jeopardize implementation of any resulting decisions or plans (Jamal 1997). In places where there is constant consultation on a variety of issues, people have to prioritize what is most important to them. People will willingly participate in a consultation process when they believe they will be affected by a certain decision (Roberts 1995). Those who do not participate lose the opportunity to influence the process (Jamal 1997).

5.2.1.3 Use of local knowledge

The combination of both Western scientific knowledge and the knowledge of local people is central to the idea of co-management. "Traditional ecological knowledge" is a term used to explain this knowledge, usually in reference to aboriginal communities. Johnson (1992: 4) defines traditional ecological knowledge as:

> ...a body of knowledge built up by a group of people through generations of living in close contact with nature. It includes a system of classification, a set of empirical observations about the local environment, and a system of self-management that governs resource use...

One problem with the use of the word "traditional" is it is often used in relation to things that were done in the past. The way humans interact or use their environment is a dynamic process. Resource use practices may disappear over time in a response to technological advances or social change and the ecological wisdom related to that activity will be lost. However, different knowledge generated by new institutions or practices may appear. (Berkes & Favar 1989).

For the purposes of this study, the term "local knowledge" was found to be more appropriate. "Local knowledge" includes the same basic principles as "traditional ecological knowledge", but is more comprehensive, incorporating the wisdom of both First Nation and non-First Nation community members. Chambers (1999: 65) defines local knowledge as "knowledge that has been gained through years, and often generations, of living on the same land." Cultures produce local knowledge that identifies distinct characteristics of the region. In his examination of the cultural dimensions of environmental decision-making, Griggs (1997:3) states: "Local knowledge of soil, climate and resources is critical to maintaining a distinct cultural landscape and is transmitted in various ways between generations. Local knowledge should be included in environmental decision-making because in many cases Western 'science' is neither superior nor more 'objective' (Griggs 1997).

Although the intent of most co-management agreements is to incorporate and utilize local knowledge and management systems, few specify how it should be done (Usher 1995). Many people (especially Western scientists) have the impression that local knowledge is uncomplicated, easy to gather and easy to categorize (Cruikshank 1998). As a result, gathering and analyzing local knowledge can appear to be a simple exercise of applying whatever has been determined as "local knowledge" to a set of parameters established by a researcher. This type of approach can miss the local context or the way of understanding a specific issue. "What seems to be missing in this objectivist paradigm is any sense of how such issues are discussed in the local communities" (Cruikshank 1998: 53). Community members must be involved in designing the methods for gathering local knowledge and should also be responsible for the collection and analysis of the information.

The use of local knowledge in resource management is gaining acceptance on some levels. However, the importance of this local knowledge is not always recognized. There needs to be a reciprocal relationship established between local knowledge and science, where each are given equal footing. Government institutions, which often have a strong connection to Western

science beliefs, do not help promote a greater scope and authority for local knowledge and management systems (Usher 1986). Scientists and others whose beliefs are rooted in the Western system often have difficulty giving traditional or local knowledge much credibility, but as Hobson (1992) points out, the basic survival of northern people was (and still is) based on their understanding and knowledge of their environment. Therefore, the validity of this knowledge should be recognized and it should be fully incorporated into resource management and decision-making.

5.2.1.4 Use of scientific knowledge

It is important to recognize the validity of local knowledge. However, the utility of scientific knowledge should not be overlooked. Scientific research and knowledge in the past has been criticized for being too narrow in focus and, perhaps, too simplistic where "the only things that count are the things that can be counted" (Gamble 1986: 22). In a co-management arrangement, local knowledge can be helpful in identifying issues and providing possible solutions. Science should be used in the same way. In particular, scientists have an important role to play as technical advisors. They should be involved in the management process as they can help participants decide "what is possible, what is probable and what is desirable" (Stanforth & Poole 1996: 741). There needs to be a commitment to identifying data needs using local *and* scientific knowledge. The combination of the two approaches can produce superior management by generating superior data. However, E. Pinkerton (1989) argues this data should still allow traditional cultural practice to continue unimpeded. The purpose is to develop plans, which meet government needs for conservation without violating local cultural traditions (Pinkerton 1989).

The way scientific information is presented or communicated in a co-management setting is critical. Participants may not be familiar with scientific approaches so they might have problems understanding what scientific information means, "not only with respect to the scientific data, but also its implications to their sector's goals and desires" (Jamal 1997: 96). Scientific reports are often long and difficult to read due to their technical language (Gallagher 1988). To be effective participants, scientists must learn to speak in "plain language". For some this may be difficult. However, their level of success in helping formulate management rests on their ability to communicate scientific information and their ability to incorporate local knowledge that may be presented to them. The effectiveness of scientists or researchers in understanding or communicating information related to specific issues is often directly related to their own personal experience with the topic at hand. E. Pinkerton (1989) argues co-management works best when bureaucrats (most often scientific representatives) have direct experience with

the issue in question and are willing to take a hands-on approach. Communities are often more willing to accept the advice or statements of a government employee who is a local and their effectiveness in dealing cooperatively with the community will increase with the length of time they live in the area (Morgan 1993).

5.2.1.5 Constraints

One of the major stumbling blocks in cooperative resource management initiatives is the lack of clarity in participant mandates. The positions of the different parties must be clear from the outset. Are there any issues they will not agree to? How much time and money do they have to spend on management initiatives that come out of the process? Can they speak for their organization and make agreements on their behalf? In her examination of multi-party planning processes, Jamal (1997: 115) made the following observation:

> "...Sector chairs represented a number of individuals and organizations, but the sector representatives may or may not have been a decision maker in any of the organizations being represented. In this sense, conflict is masked, for if it is defined as opposed interests, how can it be effectively addressed, if those directly involved in the conflict are not present and accountable?"

This dilemma was illustrated during the Mackenzie Delta-Beaufort Sea Regional Land Use Planning Commission Roundtables in 1989. At the end of the multi-party planning sessions government agency representatives were not prepared to commit to the final document without the express support of their political masters and refused to sign the consensus document (Robinson 1993.) Situations like this create frustration and a lack of trust that can be detrimental to the co-management process.

Another constraint of community-based initiatives is a lack of funding. In most cases there is no single funding agency that can be counted on to support a multi-party community-based resource management system. Therefore, the performance of the system becomes "a function of its ability to mobilize available resources and to use them productively, equitably and sustainably in meeting the needs of community members" (Korten 1986: 3).

5.2.1.6 Decision-making

The method used to make decisions in a community-based process is critical to determining its level of support by all agencies involved. There must first be a set of rules established that are agreed to by all participants. This provides an efficient means of conflict resolution and reduces 'transaction costs' in the enforcement of these rules (Berkes & Favar

1989). Decision-making can be based on a democratic vote or a consensus based (shared) approach. When the responsibility for decision-making is shared, "those with authority to make a decision and those affected by that decision, are empowered jointly to seek an outcome that accommodates rather than compromises the interests of all concerned" (Owens 1998: 18).

Principled negotiation, mediation and consensus-building strategies are all part of shared decision-making (Duffy et al. 1996). When decision-making is shared, the various individuals, groups and organizations that may be affected by the decision help make the decision. For this to occur there must be a clear understanding from the outset as to the roles and responsibilities of all parties, including government and non-government participants. Parties who have formal decision-making authority (usually some level of government) must be involved in the process. In this way, the formal authority becomes a participant in and supporter of the final decision, which ensures that the mandates, policies, regulations and concerns of the final authority are addressed with the consensus decisions. "Thus, the participation of such authorities in consensus process does not 'fetter' their authority or abrogate their responsibilities" (Cormick et. al. 1996: 9). It should be recognized that the community participants are advisors to the lawful government decision-maker, but that a consensus decision must be implemented to the greatest extent possible by government. This assumes government is represented in the negotiation and they inform the other participants of government policy and fiscal constraints (Owen 1998).

Consensus building is the cornerstone to successful implementation of co-management initiatives. In their examination of consensus building in environmental planning, Cormick et al. (1996: 3) argue, "it is through building consensus that we develop a collective commitment to manage scarce resources wisely". Including all stakeholders or user groups in a consensus-based decision-making process usually leads to community compliance rather than enforcement, which can reduce conflict and enforcement costs (Morgan 1993). In a consensus process, all parties work together to resolve differences. Each participant is given equal status and, in effect, a veto in the process. This levels the playing field and gives each participant authority to play a powerful role in reaching any final decision (Duffy et al. 1996). Although participants may not agree with all aspects of a decision, consensus is reached if everyone is willing to live with the total package (Cormick et. al. 1996). As noted, one of the key assumptions of consensus is everyone counts equally. If this is true, participants must have equal access to the resources needed to function effectively, otherwise the outcome is not much more than "coercion disguised as consultation" (Cormick et. al. 1996: 6).

5.2.2 Effectiveness

5.2.2.1 Ecosystem-based

Many government and environmental agencies are currently advocating an ecosystem-based approach to resource management. This approach to management is considered to be more inclusive and has the potential to support more sustainable resource use. R.E. Grumbine (1992:277), an important figure in the development of ecosystem management theory, defines ecosystem-management as "any land management system that seeks to protect viable populations of all native species...adopt a planning timeline of centuries, and allow human use at levels that do not result in long-term ecological degradation." Instead of regarding nature simply as a resource for human use, ecosystem management recognizes its importance to human and planetary survival. Humans are not seen as something separate from nature, but are a part of it and our dependence on healthy and functioning ecosystems is acknowledged. The involvement of people directly effected by resource management decisions is an important aspect of ecosystem management.

There are several components that should be included in ecosystem-based management. One is the hierarchical context of the resource management. This is what R.E. Grumbine describes as "contextual or big-picture thinking" (1997: 43). Instead of focusing on managing a single species, ecosystem management should take a system perspective and attempt to understand the connections between all levels. The complexity of society requires that resource management must be interdisciplinary as management issues can be multidimensional and involve several different agencies. In her explanation of First Nation perspectives on wildlife management, Gladys Netro (Simmons & Netro 1995: 161) states:

> Unlike government, we do not separate out research, management, and harvesting, or fish migratory birds, big game and forests and deal with each as a compartment of renewable resource conservation. Our approach to the management of wildlife and other renewable resources is holistic rather than merely integrated.

Ecological boundaries are also important to consider when taking an ecosystem approach to resource management (Grumbine 1992, 1994, 1997). Boundaries defining management areas are human constructs usually established for administrative or political reasons and often have no connection to the ecological processes of the area. The distinction between public and private land or land in different provinces or nations often establishes a boundary where management initiatives begin or end (Grumbine 1992). Grafton Njootli, a Vuntut Gwich'in First Nation member from the northern Yukon, made the following comment at an Elder's Council Assembly:

> Elders always tell me in old Crow that hard times are coming. If we don't have any environment, any land, or any fish, or any animals, then it's going to make it tough for us. So now is the time to act, and I would like to make a suggestion on how to do that. Even though this is Vuntut Gwich'in land, this is Dawson City land, and this is Selkirk, we can't protect our own environment. We've got to have one system because the wind blows and it doesn't stop over here, it just keeps on going (Yukon First Nations Elder's Council 1994: 131).

Ecosystem management attempts to move beyond the established boundaries and build cross-jurisdictional working relationships where common problems and areas of concern can be dealt with in a co-operative way.

An ecosystem approach to management also considers the integrity of an ecosystem. An ecosystem exhibits integrity if, when disturbed, it has the ability to recover towards an end-state that is "good" for the system (Reiger 1993). To ensure ecological integrity, viable populations of native species and ecological processes need to be maintained, the natural range of variation within ecosystems must be represented, management should be targeted at long-term goals and human use must be recognized as an essential element of management strategies (Grumbine 1997).

The notion of humans as elements of the ecosystem is essential to understanding the complexity of our interrelationships and effects on the integrity of ecosystems. The current state of the planet clearly illustrates the extent of human impact on nature and the impact nature has upon us. Humans are part of the ecosystem and must begin to recognize this fact if ecosystem management approaches are to be successful. If we are to have effective land or resource stewardship, we must have people who are active on the land and understand its complexities (Berkes et al. 1991). These are the people that hold the key to true ecosystem management. Milton Freeman highlights the importance of the connection between communities and their environment in the following statement:

> Any society which has a profound and continuing dependence on a set of resources for its future as well as present well-being, is logically bound to have a strong self-interest in managing those resources in the best way possible. This more especially the case with those particular resources whose manifold attributes are imbedded in the history, the myths, they symbols, the religion and the very identity of that society (1992: 35).

As ecosystem management develops, innovations–like co-management– that influence human behavior, managing organizations and decision-making processes should receive significant attention. These new approaches and their effectiveness need to be understood and developed as their importance may go far beyond any advances in scientific knowledge and understanding (Yaffee 1996).

5.2.2.2 Risk/Uncertainty

As the cooperative management of resources is a relatively new initiative, little information is available on how this type of management should be done or its effectiveness. Decision-makers do not always know the odds when they make a decision. A certain amount of risk is taken when making any decision, especially those related to the environment (Mitchell 1995). Information on wildlife populations or forestry regeneration is not always known, or if it is known, it might only reflect information gathered over a short time or small area. Decision-makers do not know the behavior of a system, but have a basic understanding of the key variables (Mitchell 1995). Not understanding cause-and-effect relationships is a problem in management decisions. However, complexity should not be an excuse for preventing the use of available ecological information. Using relevant scientific information to weigh alternatives, reducing uncertainties through research, and implementing management actions in an adaptive, learning fashion can address problems of uncertainty and risk (Stanforth & Poole 1996).

In any type of resource management, a certain amount of flexibility should also be expected. Humans are only beginning to understand the complex dynamics and relationships in ecosystems. Therefore, any management decisions are only a best guess in a learning process and should be adapted as new understandings are developed or natural changes in ecosystems occur. Monitoring can help determine the success of management decisions while basic research can reduce uncertainty and fill knowledge gaps (Stanforth & Poole 1996). People who are the direct beneficiaries of this research should be involved as they can help inform and direct the work, monitor it, and make the best use of it (Hobson 1992). Management strategies should be flexible enough to adapt to new information that may come to light through monitoring or research.

5.2.2.3 Conflict

Conflict used to be an expected product of resource management decisions. An acronym for the old style of decision-making used by some resource managers is D.E.A.D: decide, educate, announce and defend (D. Urquhart pers. com.). Different segments of the local community will have different interests in a resource's use and conservation. "While aims may be

complimentary at times, in most cases these varied interests are actively and potentially conflictive" (Little 1994: 348). When participants have different understandings of a situation or have different values, this can lead to conflict (Mitchell 1995). One party might be pushing for economic development while another group may support the protection of the environment. These competing interests are a natural feature of most communities. Therefore, for cooperative management to work, methods for the effective and equitable management of such conflict must be developed (Korten 1986). Cooperative management can help to inform and educate community members about proposals and their potential consequences. This can create opportunities for the type of open, honest two-way communication that can help limit confrontations and conflict (Roberts 1995). When management decisions are inconsistent with local knowledge and livelihoods are disrupted, community members can become confrontational. Dealing with the resulting conflict can be far more expensive than simply involving users in the planning and decision-making process (Pinkerton 1989).

The main origin of conflict in resource management used to be disagreement between communities and government decision-makers. Co-management helps diffuse these conflicts through its requirement for broadly based local resource control (Korten 1986). However, co-management may also create conflicts within the community by reallocating authority to local people (Kofinas 1999). If situations arise where conflict is evident, community members must be able to "vent" as the first step to rebuilding trust (Roberts 1995).

5.2.2.4 Community support

When resource management decisions are made, they should reflect local values in order to be accepted by the community at large. D. Porter, the Yukon's Minister of Renewable Resources in the early 1990s, made the following observation:

> A good conservation strategy must reflect the thoughts, the hopes and the concerns of the people in a region. The concept of conservation, in short, must be a concept that they are comfortable with and that they agree with; that they are prepared to apply in their own lives as well as the lives of others (Porter 1990: 13).

Human values often dictate how resources will be managed, regardless of scientific information. Understanding human values and developing management strategies that reflect these values is essential to successful resource management. (Grumbine 1994). Community-based management is traditionally one of the principle means of ensuring security of livelihood (Berkes & Favar 1989). A real measure of a community-based management intervention is its ability to strengthen local resource control (Korten 1986). When everyone in the community feels they have been

given the opportunity to meet their basic needs they will be more likely to support resource management decisions. From a community perspective, being consulted and included in decision-making creates commitment to an issue. In addition, it establishes confidence in and lends credibility to organizations that are open to collaborative planning processes (Roberts 1995). Community support can also make the implementation of decisions or plans easier. When local people are committed to an idea, they can find creative ways of having that idea realized, whether it be fundraising, volunteering or finding facilities to house new initiatives (Korten 1986).

5.2.2.5 Government support

Perhaps the most critical element in the success of a co-management process is the level of government support it receives. In most cases, the responsible government makes the final decision on any initiative that comes out of a co-management process. The way governments deal with the emerging practice of co-management will have a direct influence on how these processes evolve and gain legitimacy. In most cases, during negotiations governments will demonstrate a willingness to decentralize and to devolve certain responsibilities to the communities as a way of including them in a more comprehensive public management system (Usher 1986, Simmons & Netro 1995).

However, when it comes to implementing co-management agreements, participants often run into rigid bureaucratic systems unwilling to give up power or dominance. Government management agencies often have extensive financial resources, many employees, and well-developed organizational networks, "which places them in a strong position to maintain the status quo and, if they choose, ignore the requests of communities and advisory-based management boards" (Kofinas 1999: 339). Governments often have a hard time believing there may be ways of managing resources other than their standardized procedures and use of expertise (Pinkerton 1989). If government is to be an effective partner in a community-based resource management process, structural, policy and value changes must occur at all levels (Korten 1986). Community-based management initiatives go against the top-down approach of most formal government structures. In addition, co-management seems to work best in areas with a small government bureaucracy that has a regionally based mandate (Pinkerton 1989). Centralized bureaucracies with their standardized rules have difficulty responding to specialized needs of specific communities (Korten 1986). For co-management to succeed, government structures must change to facilitate interagency cooperation, power sharing, and more adaptive management strategies.

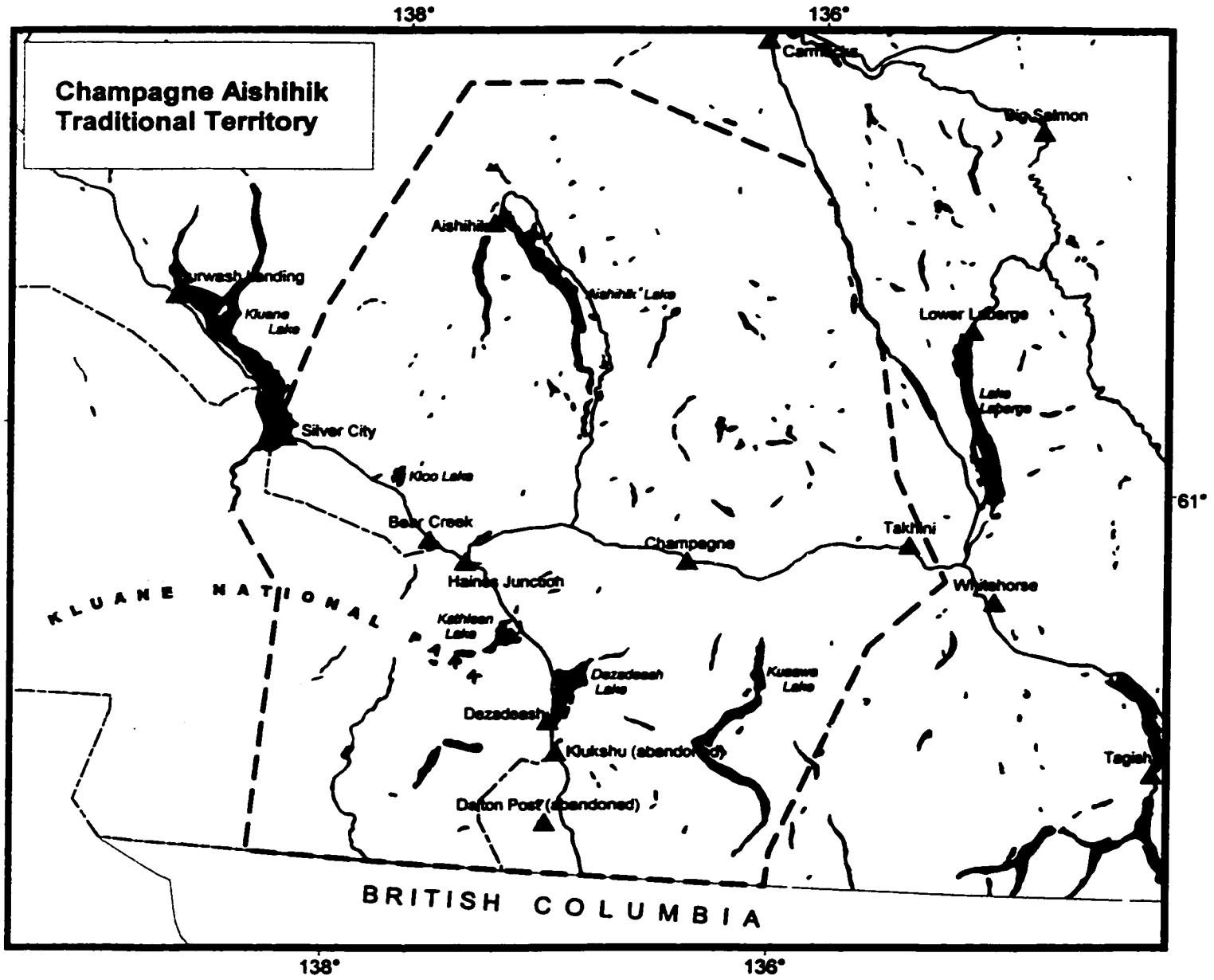
Chapter 6 Community Context

To gain a better understanding of the effectiveness of community-based co-management in the Yukon, an evaluation of the process was conducted in two different communities. For the purposes of this study, communities with a relatively long history of co-management were most desirable. Therefore, the case study communities were chosen from those located within the traditional territories of the First Nations who were the first to sign their individual claims. The two that were chosen—Haines Junction and Teslin—were considered to be the most appropriate based on the following criteria. Firstly, the co-management partners in each community were very supportive of this project, which ensured access for the researcher. Secondly, both communities have similar characteristics in that both: 1) have similar demographics; 2) are located within two hours of Whitehorse (and are therefore influenced by its proximity); 3) have diverse economic bases; and, 4) are very active in resource co-management. In addition, these communities have had to deal with similar issues, such as forestry pressures, hunting closures and habitat protection. This chapter will give a brief introduction to these communities and outline some of the co-management issues they have dealt with over the past five years.

6.1 Haines Junction

One hundred and fifty years ago, the community that is now Haines Junction was the bottom of a massive glacial lake. The Lowell glacier, called "Naludi" or "fish stop" by local First Nations, had pushed across the Alsek River creating a huge dam (Cruikshank 1991). The glacier retreated sometime in the mid-1800s draining the lake and exposing the Dezadeash and Alsek River valleys. Local Champagne and Aishihik First Nations referred to the town's present location as "Dakwakada", which means "high cash" in Southern Tuchone (Champagne-Aishihik Indian Band 1988). A detailed map of the Champagne and Aishihik Traditional Territory is included in Figure 6.1. Southern Tuchone and Tlingit traders used this portion of the Dezadeash River valley primarily as a travel corridor. Other locations, such as Klukshu, Neskatahin, Hutchi and Aishihik were more important for hunting and trading reasons (Cruikshank 1974). Jack Dalton moved into the area in the late 1800s, setting up a trading post at Champagne in 1902 (Champagne-Aishihik Indian Band 1988). Gold was discovered at Sheep and Bullion Creeks that same year and a wagon road was pushed west from Whitehorse, making Champagne an important rest point along the way (Parks Canada 1999). Many people from Hutshi and Aishihik began moving to Champagne, although these communities maintained their importance until the 1940s.

Figure 6.1


Champagne Aishihik
Traditional Territory
138°
136°
61°
Carmacks
Big Salmon
Aishihik
Aishihik Lake
Kluane Lake
Lower Laberge
Lake Laberge
Silver City
Kloo Lake
Bear Creek
Champagne
Takhini
Haines Junction
Whitehorse
KLUANE NATIONAL
Kathleen Lake
Dezadeash Lake
Kusawa Lake
Dezadeash
Klukshu (abandoned)
Tagish
Dalton Post (abandoned)
BRITISH COLUMBIA

The construction of the Alaska Highway had a significant effect on the lives of First Nations living in the southwest Yukon. The highway was built along the old wagon route. A connecting road was built from Haines, Alaska and the community that sprang up at the junction of the two highways became known as Haines Junction. In 1942, hunting pressure from the American soldiers constructing the highway convinced Canadian authorities to set aside a large portion of the coastal mountain ranges west of the highway (Coates 1992). The Kluane Game Sanctuary would eventually become Kluane National Park Reserve in 1972. A federal experimental farm operated just west of town from 1945 until 1968 and its old buildings now house the Parks Canada offices (Yukon Executive Council 1987).

During the 1940s and 50s, Haines Junction was predominantly non-First Nation settlement. This changed when the federal government's Indian Affairs branch centralized Indian housing there and moved many First Nations into the area (Coates 1991). The number of First Nation people living in the villages at Aishihik and Hutshi had dwindled by this time due to dislocation and death from disease (Champagne-Aishihik Indian Band 1988). In 1966, the airport at Aishihik was closed and many of the remaining families were moved to Haines Junction (Coates 1991). In 1974, a hydroelectric dam was built at Aishihik Lake, which lead to further disruptions to the local First Nation community. In the early 1970s, the Champagne and Aishihik Indian bands were joined and established their headquarters in Haines Junction (Coates 1991).

Today Haines Junction is home to approximately 800 residents, of which about 25 per cent are First Nation people (DIAND 1995). The community supports several gas stations and hotels, Parks Canada facilities, regional government offices, an airport, a school (kindergarten to grade 12), and a variety of small businesses including tourism, firewood collection, and agriculture. Tourism becomes a major focus during the summer months, while the winters are a time to trap and play hockey.

6.1.1 Local Co-management Partners

Champagne and Aishihik First Nation

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Champagne and Aishihik First Nation was one of the first to settle their claim under the UFA. During the past decade, their leadership has been very progressive in identifying economic development projects and creating educational opportunities for youth (Coates 1991). Members of their council worked with Yukon College to help establish a Renewable Resources Program in 1992 (L. Joe pers.com.). The First Nation's Renewable Resources Officer is a graduate of the program, and is currently attending university in order to further her skills. Another graduate of the Renewable Resources program is filling her position

for the next two years. The First Nation does not have anyone working specifically on forestry management, although they are heavily involved in a small timber production company, Dakwakada Forest Products.

Yukon Territorial Government

In 1995, the government hired a regional biologist for the entire Kluane area (Champagne-Aishihik, Kluane and White River First Nation traditional territories) to work out of Haines Junction. A conservation officer and a field technician also work out of the Haines Junction office. In addition, Yukon students are hired as research assistants during the summer months.

Alsek Renewable Resources Council

The Alsek Renewable Resources Council is made up of six members, three appointed by CAFN and three by YTG. The current chair is a local mechanic with extensive trapping and outfitting experience (and an avid snowboarder) who has been involved in the ARRC since its inception in 1995. A well-known Yukon outfitter and trapper and respected elder from Champagne, has also been on the council since 1995. A local trapper and a Parks Canada warden have also been appointed by CAFN. Recent YTG appointees are the owner of the local bakery and another Parks Canada warden. The council rents a small building in town as their office and has a part-time secretariat, who has worked for them since 1997.

6.1.2 Issues

The following list outlines some of the major renewable resource management issues that have been dealt with in the Champagne-Aishihik Traditional Territory using a community-based process. This list is not meant to be exhaustive, and does not mention many of the smaller projects the partners have undertaken. The decision to not include every issue does not reflect on their importance. However, for the purposes of this project, only the major issues highlighted in the ARRC's annual reports are included.

Wildlife:

Aishihik Caribou Recovery

In 1990, First Nation elders and other community members expressed concern about declining caribou and moose numbers in the Aishihik and Kluane areas (L. Joe pers. com.). To address this concern, the Yukon government closed caribou hunting in the area and asked the recently formed

Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board to consult communities in the area about the possibility of wolf control. The communities supported the notion of wolf control and over the next two years, as caribou and moose populations continued to decline, a Wolf Conservation and Management Plan was developed (YTG Dept. of Ren. Res. 1999). Using an experimental approach, wolf control was conducted for two years after which calf survival was evaluated. Results showed a strong increase in calf survival, so the recovery program continued until 1997 and an experimental sterilization program was added to the project design (YTG Dept. of Ren. Res.1999). The most recent population estimates indicate that the Aishihik caribou herd has increased from about 680 animals in 1991 to 1080 animals in 1999 (YTG Dept. of Ren. Res. 1999). Moose numbers have also increased to about 4000 animals (YTG Dept. of Ren. Res. 1999). In 1996, YTG, CAFN and ARRC formed a steering committee to coordinate and ensure public involvement in the recovery program (ARRC 1999). The program itself is currently being reviewed and was a major component of the Aishihik Integrated Wildlife Management Plan developed in June 1999.

Alsek Moose Management

The Haines Road south of Haines Junction was a popular hunting area for Yukon residents in the 1970s. In the early 1980s, the number of moose in the area dropped from about 570 to 330 and the percentage of yearlings in the population dropped from 12 per cent to one per cent (ARRC 1997). Hunting restrictions and a wolf control were implemented to rectify the situation. Local First Nations voluntarily restricted their hunting in the area, which shifted some hunting pressure to the Aishihik region (ARRC 1997). When the Aishihik Caribou Recovery Program began (see previous section) local hunters refocused their attention on the Alsek moose population, which had begun to increase again. In order to ensure careful management of the moose population, the ARRC proposed the development a moose management plan for the area. In 1997, the Alsek Moose Management Plan was designed with the involvement of the ARRC, YTG, CAFN, Parks Canada, the Kluane National Park Management Board, B.C. Parks and B.C. Environment. This plan now provides a framework for the cooperative management of moose in the Alsek area.

Hunting Regulation Changes

The hunting area east and south of Haines Junction (Game Zone 7) has a limited moose harvest. Since 1989, only 10 resident permits are issued for the area based on concerns about the dwindling moose population. In 1996, the ARRC submitted a proposal to have a special

registration hunt from November 1 to December 31 using any permits that were not utilized during the regular season. The proposal was designed to provide resident hunters with more opportunities in the area and to provide alternatives to hunting in the Aishihik area (ARRC 1999). The ARRC proposal was accepted and was written into the 1997 Hunting Regulations. In 1997, the ARRC suggested that the special hunt be extended from November 31 until March 31. This was also accepted by YTG and is reflected in the 1998 Hunting Regulations. Both these proposals were developed through consultation with local residents, the regional biologist, and CAFN (ARRC 1999).

Forestry:

Spruce Beetle Advisory Committee

Since 1994, about 147,000 hectares of forest along the Shackwak Trench northwest of Haines Junction has been affected by spruce beetle infestation (YTG Dept. of Ren. Res. & ARRC 1999). This sparked controversy in the community, with some residents calling for increased harvest opportunities and others demanding more protection. To deal with the controversy, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada helped set up a local spruce beetle advisory team comprised of forestry technicians, CAFN, YTG, and identified stakeholders. The committee attempted to develop a local forest management plan, but there was little public support, which was most likely a result of poor community consultation (ARRC 1999). The advisory committee was supposed to develop recommendations for the three decision-making governments (INAC, YTG and CAFN), however the committee fell apart when it was felt that the wishes of the federal government were being forced upon the community (ARRC 1999). The committee folded in less than a year, but the issue was the beginning to community-based forestry management as it formed a basis for consultation.

Consultation Protocol

To address confusion and conflict between the Alsek Renewable Resources Council and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, the two parties signed a consultation protocol in June 1997.The objectives of this protocol were to clarify the roles and responsibilities of the different partners, to ensure effective communication and to develop a method to facilitate sound forest management in the Champagne and Aishihik Traditional Territory (ARRC 1999). All forest resource management initiatives conducted by INAC and the ARRC are subject to the protocol agreement.

Forest Management Planning–Marshall Creek Burn

In the summer of 1998, a forest fire burned approximately 3880 hectares of forest near Marshall Creek, just east of Haines Junction (DIAND 1998). The fire's proximity to Haines Junction and the easy access to the burn area created interest in a salvage harvest. Areas with harvest potential were identified by forestry workers and a harvest plan was developed with community consultation and input. The ARRC acted as the coordinator and chair of the forest planning team for this project. The final plan was implemented and the harvest was successfully carried out.

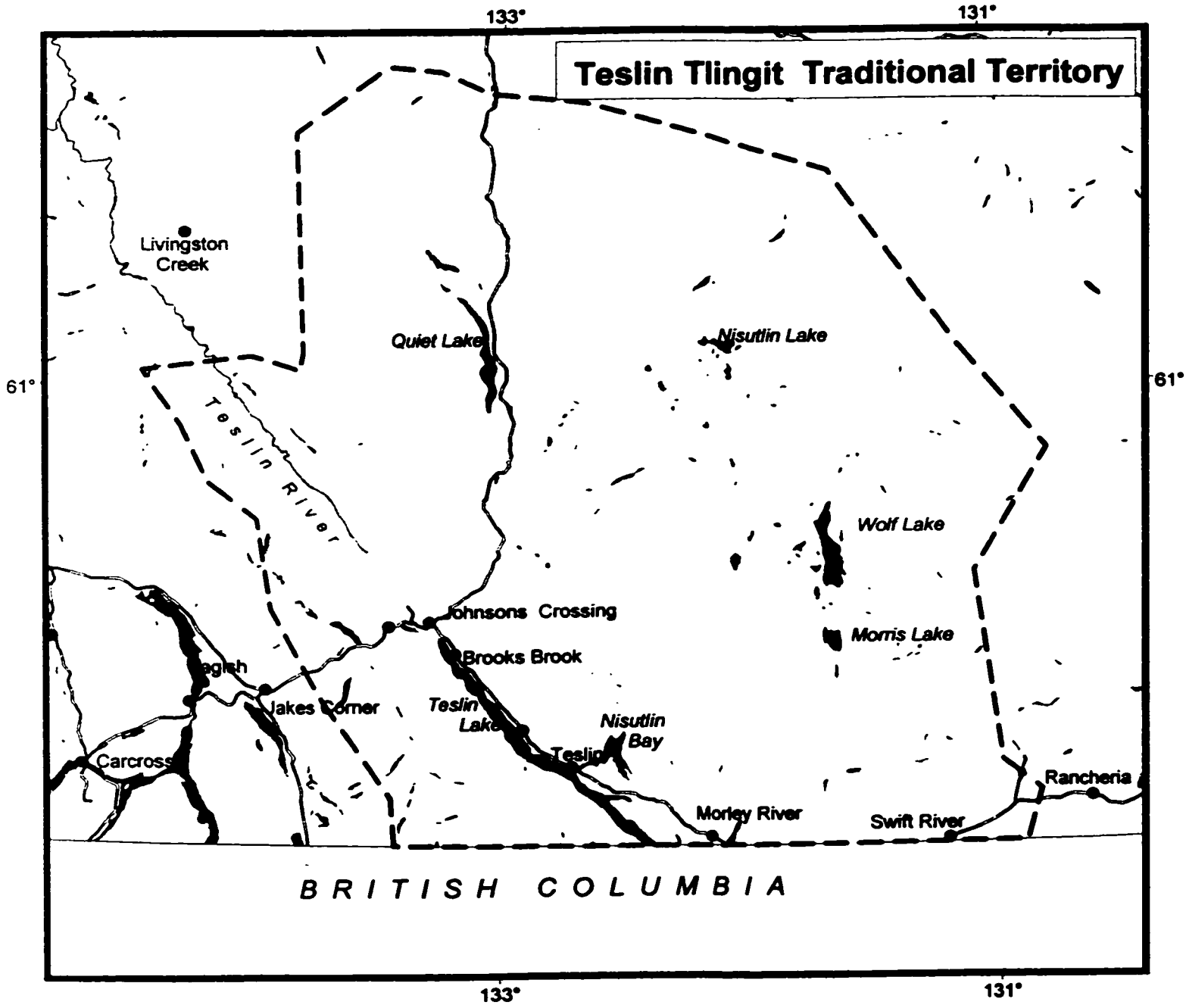
Champagne-Aishihik Traditional Territory Forest Management Planning Team

The ARRC, CAFN, YTG, and INAC signed a letter of understanding and a terms of reference for forest management planning in the Champagne and Aishihik Traditional Territory in the fall of 1999. A forest management team was established, including the four core partners and several stakeholders: Parks Canada, Village of Haines Junction, small and large-scale logging operators, Yukon Conservation Society, and two grassroots community groups— RED (Responsible Economic Development) and RISK (Residents Interested in a Sustainable Kluane). The team is the first to begin cooperative forest management in the Yukon. A final plan for the management of all forest resources within the traditional territory is expected to be completed by the spring of 2001.

6.2 Teslin

Sometime during the 19th century, Tlingit people from Southeast Alaska moved inland across the coastal mountains and settled in the Teslin Lake area (Chatterton & Porter 1998). The map included in Figure 6.2 shows the Teslin Tlingit Traditional Territory. The lake's name comes from the Tlingit word "Tes-lin-too", which means "long, narrow waters" (Chatterton & Porter 1998). The Tlingit adapted to the more difficult living conditions inland, but retained their coastal Tlingit language, social structure and trading ties (Cruikshank 1974). In 1898, the Hudson's Bay Company set up a trading post at Johnstontown, at the southern end of Teslin Lake near the mouth of the Jennings River (Cruikshank 1974). This post was shut down in the early 1900s and a new post was opened at the village of Teslin's present location in 1903 (Yukon Executive Council 1987). An RCMP detachment was established in Teslin in 1904 and by 1911, the Church of England had set up a mission (Coates & Morrison 1988). However, until the early 1940s, local First Nation people mainly came to the post to trade furs or for social events and spent the rest of the year hunting and fishing in their clan territories (Cruikshank 1974).

Figure 6.2


133°
131°
Teslin Tlingit Traditional Territory
Livingston Creek
Quiet Lake
Nisutlin Lake
61°
61°
Teslin River
Wolf Lake
Johnsons Crossing
Morris Lake
Brooks Brook
Jakes Corner
Teslin Lake
Nisutlin Bay
Teslin
Carcross
Rancheria
Morley River
Swift River
BRITISH COLUMBIA
133°
131°

The construction of the Alaska Highway also influenced the lives of the Teslin Tlingit people. In 1942, the American army established a camp at Teslin to act as a base for the road expansion south to Watson Lake and north to Whitehorse (Coates 1992). For the first time, local First Nations remained near the community year round in the hopes of finding work with the highway crews (Cruikshank 1974). Many did find work, but the arrival of the soldiers also brought epidemics such as the flu, measles, chickenpox and meningitis (Coates 1992). In the years that have followed, Teslin has firmly established itself as a highway community. Approximately 500 people live in Teslin today (Village of Teslin 1999), and the majority of residents are of Tlingit ancestry. The community includes several gas stations, a motel, a general store, tour operators, a school, an airport, a minimum-security correctional centre, a small timber company and several family businesses.

6.2.1 Local Co-management Partners

Teslin Tlingit Council

The Teslin Tlingit were also one of the first four First Nations to sign their land claim agreements under the UFA (1993). When they signed, they also re-established their traditional clan leadership system, a first in the Yukon (Coates 1991). Representatives from each clan (Daklewedi, Yanyedi, Ishkeetan, Deshitan and Kukhhittan) sit on the Teslin Tlingit Council (TTC), the First Nations government. The TTC's department of lands and resources has a director and two full-time staff — one who is educated in forestry management and another with renewable resource and conservation officer training. Local First Nation students are sometimes hired as assistants during the summer. The TTC recently bought Yukon River Timber, a forest products company.

Yukon Territorial Government

The Department of Renewable Resources has a full-time conservation officer working out of their Teslin field services office. In 1997, the Yukon government hired a biologist for the Southern Lakes region. This area includes the traditional territories of the Teslin Tlingit, Carcross-Tagish, Kwanlin Dun, and Taan kwach'an First Nations. To keep the regional biologist central, his office is currently located in Whitehorse. The regional biologist visits Teslin several times a month, attends TRRC meetings and meets with TTC employees as often as possible.

Teslin Renewable Resources Council

The Teslin Renewable Resources Council is the largest RRC in the Yukon as it reflects the clan system used by the Teslin Tlingit Council. The TTC appoints five members, each representing their clan, and YTG appoints an additional five members to balance the council. The five TTC appointees also make up the Teslin Tlingit Renewable Resource Council and work as direct advisors to the TTC (H. Taylor pers.com.) The current TRRC chair owns a construction company and is an avid fisherman, hunter and trapper. Other TTC appointees include a respected First Nation elder and two individuals who work for YTG, but spend a lot of time out on the land. One TTC position is currently vacant. The Yukon government appointees include a local pilot, an administrative assistant for YTG and INAC field services, a teacher, a heavy-equipment operator and a local trapper and guide. The council's office is located in Teslin's Yukon College campus building and they are supported by a part-time secretariat.

6.2.2 Issues

The following list outlines some of the major renewable resource management issues that have been dealt with in the Teslin Tlingit Traditional Territory using a community-based process. As with the previous section, not all community-based initiatives are included, but this must not be taken as an indication of their importance. For the purposes of this project, only the major issues highlighted in the TRRC annual reports are included.

Wildlife:

Nisutlin River Delta National Wildlife Area Management Plan

Under the TTC's Final Agreement (1995), the Nisutlin River Delta given National Wildlife Area status in order to "conserve and protect the full diversity of wildlife and their habitats for the benefit of all Canadians" (TRRC 1996: 9). The delta is an important staging area for migratory birds and supports a wide variety of wildlife species and is extensively used by the Teslin Tlingit people. The TRRC and the Canadian Wildlife Service developed a management plan for the area in consultation with the TTC, YTG, and the residents of Teslin (TRRC 1996). The plan was formally approved in the spring of 1997.

Sheep Enhancement Project

In 1995, the TTC and the TRRC worked together to protect a small number of sheep that had begun to repopulate the Big Salmon Range along the Alaska Highway. The TTC had selected the land that includes Game Management Zone 10-22 under their land claim, and therefore

effectively closed hunting in the area through voluntary compliance of their membership (TRRC 1996). A community member proposed the closure of adjoining Game Management Zone 8-27 as a compliment to the Sheep Enhancement Project. The TRRC twice voiced their support of this closure, but after much controversy decided to rescind their recommendation and the issue was taken to the Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board (TRRC 1998). A private contractor was hired to examine the issue and determined that the proposal was simply a proactive measure to help the sheep population recover (TRRC 1998). However, local hunters felt they were being targeted as evil predators and they opposed the "random closure of areas" (TRRC 1998: 12). Scientific and local knowledge is currently being gathered on the sheep population and the TRRC may address this issue in a regional fish and wildlife management plan.

Lake Trout Limits

In 1998, the TRRC made a recommendation to the Minister of Renewable Resources to reduce the lake trout limit on Teslin Lake from two fish per day to one fish (YFWMB 1999). Residents were becoming concerned by the increase of fishing in Teslin Lake. This recommendation was put forward after extensive community consultation and much controversy. The Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board was asked to review the recommendations for its implications on a territory-wide level and determined there were none. In 1999, the recommendation was accepted and will be written into the next Recreational Fishing Synopsis.

Forestry:

Resource Report for the Nisutlin Forest Management Unit

In 1998, INAC's Forest Resources department released harvest numbers for the Teslin area based on their Timber Supply Analysis. A total harvest of 89,000 m^3 was deemed sustainable for the Nisutlin Forest Management Unit (TRRC 1998). Teslin residents overwhelmingly opposed the harvest, as their area had traditionally seen a harvest of approximately 2,000 m^3 (D. Dennison pers. com.). A local forestry steering committee, chaired by the TRRC, was established and working with various stakeholders, the team recommended an annual cut of 16,000 m^3 until a forest management plan was developed for the entire traditional territory (D. Dennison pers. com.) The TTC, TRRC, YTG and INAC are still working out the wording of a Memorandum of Understanding that will allow for the initiation of forest management planning in the area.

Chapter 7 Application of the Evaluative Framework

The purpose of this study is to develop an understanding of the current state of community-based renewable resource co-management in the Yukon. In order to determine the strengths and weaknesses of the system, information gathered during the two case studies will be applied to the evaluative framework developed in Chapter Five. In some instances, both communities will have similar experiences while in other cases they will be extremely different. In order to illustrate these similarities and differences, both communities will be described under each of the evaluative framework's headings instead of applying the framework to each community separately. When community experiences diverge, direct reference to the experiences of each community will be included. Information used in the application of the evaluative framework was gathered through observation and primary source interviews. Information provided by interviewees is referenced as (Interviews 1999) to ensure the anonymity of participants. A full list of participants is included in Appendix B. Quotes from interview transcripts are included to help illustrate some of the issues or concerns. Only general attributions, such as the interviewee's employer or the group they represent, are included.

7.1 Community-based Co-management Bodies

7.1.1 Formation

7.1.1.1 Purpose

Renewable Resource Councils are formally recognized management bodies established as a result of legally binding land claim agreements. As mentioned in previous chapters, these councils are not a group of government or stakeholder representatives. They are made up of community people appointed by various governments to act as "the primary instruments of resource management" in their traditional territory. The fact that these councils are public structures can possibly be attributed to the long history of poor relations between the territorial government and local First Nations.

> *There is a tremendous amount of tension between the First Nations and the territorial government. So when they were negotiating the land claim agreement, they didn't want to be part of the Yukon government. They wanted to have their own government. They really pushed for self-government. When they were creating co-management boards and councils, there was no way they wanted someone representing the Yukon government on those boards and councils. They were much more comfortable having a non-native person from their community on that council, but not a government worker. No bloody way. (YTG representative).*

As part of First Nation land claim agreements, the RRCs were set up to meet the desire for increased First Nation participation in the management of renewable resources. However, it was also recognized that local non-First Nation people needed to be involved in decisions.

> *The purpose was to bring back decision-making to their traditional territory, within their government, but also within the community. And of course, the sharing of that was the compromise that (First Nations) made, and I think farsightedly so. They were the catalysts and they had the ideas because they had been subjected to this type of management for so long from Indian and Northern Affairs and they knew where it had to go. (RRC member)*

Although the roots of RRCs may be in the struggle for First Nation rights, their function is more proactive and far reaching. It has brought a new approach to resource management to the Yukon where communities help drive the management process. However, in some cases they are responding to crisis situations, as there is a long legacy of poor resource management in the Yukon.

> *Most of us thought we were going to sit down and talk about moose and sheep and recommend bag limits. We hardly ever get to do that. We had to learn about all this stuff like sustainability and harvest levels. What we are dealing with in the Alsek Moose Management Plan is directly linked to 50 years of wolf control... Back in the early 80s, the (Alsek) harvest was 140 moose. We are taking 10 out of there now. But that's what everybody thinks of when they talk about the good old days. That's what we are fighting. "When is it going to be like the good old days?" It's never going to be like that again. You can count on it. We thought we were going to be dealing with moose and sheep and caribou, but really we are dealing with the effects of people. (RRC member)*

In the five years since the settlement of land claims, RRCs have gone through a lot of changes, but they are starting to become more comfortable in their position as they learn their roles and responsibilities. For the most part, the purpose of the councils — to provide community involvement in resource management decision-making — is clearly understood by both communities.

7.1.1.2 Scale

Prior to the settlement of land claims, resource management occurred on a Yukon-wide scale. Specific regions were identified either as Game Management Zones or Forest Management Units, depending on the resource being managed. Today resource management areas are defined by First Nation traditional territory boundaries. In many cases, these traditional territories are marked by natural boundaries, such as mountain ranges or watersheds. Working at a traditional territory scale allows for the combined management of settlement and non-settlement lands while

still recognizing the jurisdiction of the respective governments and the direct connection local families and businesses have to the surrounding landscape.

> *You can look at it as stewardship of the resources in the traditional territory. Shrinking it down to retain the settlement lands doesn't erase the sense of stewardship for the whole traditional territory. What you have then is people trying to retain some control over what happens in the traditional territory. If you can't be the sole manager, you might as well be the co-manager...Cooperation makes more sense so we can have standards in zoning and operations. If you don't it confuses people and creates enforcement nightmares. (FN government representative)*

However, there is some disagreement regarding the strictly geographical definition of who is considered a community-member within a traditional territory. Every traditional territory has overlap areas with adjoining traditional territories. If the resources in question fall within one of these overlap areas or the resources are migratory, the scale of the community increases. In addition, people and organizations (environmental, industry) outside of the community may have an interest in the decisions that are made by resource councils or through co-management processes.

> *There are multiple concerns, obviously. It's not realistic for community people to assume that the use of their traditional territory is exclusive. It is not. The laws don't support that and the reality doesn't support that. All kinds of people are using it in different ways. Having said that, the community absolutely needs to have influence and control. But it is a question of scale. (NGO representative)*

> *We're realizing there are appropriate scales to make decisions at. You can't have everything go to the community because there will be the "not in my backyard" kinds of issues that come up that will prevent the effective use of natural resources. (YTG representative).*

The interests must be recognized and worked into the management process. While there is still some disagreement as to who has the right to be involved in certain issues, stakeholder participation is an important element of the community involvement and consultation process (see section 7.4.1.2). However, using the traditional territory as a framework, the number of people and stakeholders involved is reduced. In the Yukon, most communities have less than 1,000 residents and there is usually only one main community within each traditional territory. This helps simplify the process by curtailing the number of people involved.

7.1.1.3 Implementation

There was no real implementation strategy or guidelines to assist in the establishment of RRCs or a cooperative resource management process. For the most part, RRCs were left to figure

out how to operate on their own. This allowed for local conditions to be reflected in the way RRCs were organized.

> *I remember one meeting where the director from YTG and Champagne-Aishihik came out and said, "you guys are it. Here's your project. Don't ask us anymore because nobody knows. You're the first. Just start doing it." (RRC member)*

As a result, confusion over the RRC's roles and responsibilities has created some problems that are only now being worked out. In some cases, RRCs initially took on too much responsibility and are only now realizing that they have to cut back (Interviews 1999). The exact intention of some final agreement clauses still needs to be agreed upon, especially in relation to the roles of the different partners.

> *It seems to me that the negotiation of the agreement was the easy part. Even though it took 20 plus years to negotiate. It seems to me that near the end of the day, the negotiators got lazy and signed off on a lot of things thinking that we'd work out the details down the road. Well, here we are down the road and we have to work out some of those details and sometimes our interpretation is not the same as the First Nations interpretation of what is written. (YTG representative)*

7.1.2 Organization

7.1.2.1 Composition

In almost all cases, RRCs are made up of six members — three First Nation and three YTG appointees. Teslin is the only exception. The TRRC has 10 members in order to facilitate the appointment of representatives from each of the five Tlingit clans. The smaller council (6 members) appears to work well. Fewer members means more opportunity for everyone to speak at meetings and get projects accomplished in a timely fashion. However, the smaller number means that the six councilors have to carry more responsibilities. One of the problems for both councils is finding people to fill the positions.

> *Our whole strategy throughout the negotiations was to increase community participation by increasing opportunities through seats on boards in the community. We have had a real struggle in trying to find enough people to fill those positions. They are simply not there. (FN government representative)*

> *There are just so many committees and councils, it seems like anyone that has any interest in this stuff is involved in all of them and it gets so you can't even keep track. In a community like this, well, we're stretched pretty thin, but it's okay. But can you imagine what it is going to be like in Burwash or Beaver Creek. You just don't have the number of people to make up a real good quality resource council, let alone a dozen other sub-committees. (YTG representative)*

Besides simply filling the positions, it is also important that there is some balance on the councils. For example, it would not be a true representation of the community if the council was made up

entirely of outfitters or, conversely, environmentalists. In Teslin, each clan must also be represented in the council. A balance must be struck if these councils are to have any validity in the eyes of the community (Interviews 1999). This can increase the difficulty of filling council positions, especially in small communities.

> *It is more difficult for some of the smaller clans. Like the Ishkeetan Clan has a terrible time finding representatives because there are only 20 or 25 people in total. Daklewedi is about 250 people in total, but it's still not easy for them either. (FN government representative)*

> *There is the assumption made that there are a lot of people out there who want to take an active role. There are a lot of people out there who are so busy with so many other things, sometimes it is going to be really difficult to find the local people to be involved in this stuff. You may not get the people with the time and the dedication. (YTG representative)*

Council appointees are not political appointees. They may be appointed by the different governments, but they do not represent them in any way (Interviews 1999). Again, the TRRC is in a unique situation as its five TTC appointees also act as an advisory body to the TTC. The TTC sees this as an important relationship.

> *We've got issues that deal with our traditional territory and we know these issues are going to go through the RRC eventually. So for us, when there's a big issue we want to meet with (our resource council members) first before they go to the general RRC so they know about it and we've already made a decision about it and they know why we are going to make our decision to the RRC as a whole. (FN government representative)*

However, the creation of a distinct sub-group within the resource council can lead to problems when making consensus-based decisions. It has the potential to create division within the council.

> *We are supposed to be there together as one council, but I know the Tlingit appointees call themselves the Teslin Tlingit Renewable Resources Council. There is no such thing in the land claims agreement. It is the Teslin Renewable Resources Council. We are a whole body. The Tlingit council, they have a system for themselves. They come from their meeting with their decision already made for that local government. It should be made together, with all of us as a resource council. It's really difficult. (RRC member)*

Membership turnover in these councils usually occurs according to a schedule mapped out in the UFA. According to the schedule, members are appointed for five years, except for the initial appointments which had staggered appointments of three, four, and five years (UFA 1993). This was done to ensure that the entire council would not have to be replaced at once and allow for a consistent level of knowledge or understanding at the council level. The TRRC follows this formula, but the ARRC has a different appointment schedule. In their case, members are appointed for three years, with the initial members having staggered one, two and three year

appointments (CAFN Final Agreement 1993). Some individuals who have demonstrated excellent abilities as council members have been asked to sit for a second term in both communities. This has only been done in a few special cases.

7.1.2.2 Participant Skills

The skills of individual members can influence the effectiveness of the council as a whole. Despite the small number of residents to choose from, both the ARRC and the TRRC have a diverse council with different skills to offer to the process. Firstly, all councilors express an interest in the environment, although it may come from different sets of values (Interviews 1999). Some are there as trappers, hunters or outfitters while others are nature guides, park wardens, or just someone who has an interest in the outdoors.

> *You have to have some interest in what you are doing. You have to go out on the land quite a bit and see how the animals are living, what the weather is doing, and the water, air. What activities people are doing, you know? Like if they are harming the land or the environment. You have to be interested in that kind of thing. (RRC member)*

Few members have specific administrative or technical skills. There a few that do, but for the most part, these skills are brought to the council via the secretariat or government technicians. The process of being on a council has been and will continue to be a learning experience that all councilors go through together in order to build trust and good working relationships with each other.

> *When we started, we really had a lot of people with bush experience there. But that didn't help when we had to decide whether we were going to buy a photocopier or we were going to rent one. We had to all work together to figure all these things out. (RRC member)*

Both the TRRC and the ARRC appear to have members who work well with each other. There are no apparent personality conflicts or cultural differences. Working together and respecting the decisions or recommendations the council comes up with is critical to their overall success. There cannot be one dissenting member as it would shake the credibility of the council as a whole (Interviews 1999). At present, this is not the case with either council. They appear to be unified on all issues they are currently dealing with, although there have been instances in the past where dissention has been a problem (Interviews 1999).

> *As a member of the council, you bring forward your own opinions and views, but if the council as a whole doesn't agree with something you've said, the biggest thing you can't go do is go behind the council in public and say you don't agree with it. (YTG representative)*

You have to get some of these councilors to realize that they aren't there just to focus on their trapline. You have to take into consideration as a councilor the rights of everyone out there. (RRC member)

Personality conflicts can also pose a problem, whether it is within the council or between the council and a community member making a proposal. The council has the authority to decide certain things, such as local trapline allocations or outfitter quotas. However, in small towns where everyone knows each other, personality conflicts can arise and potentially impact the decision-making process.

There shouldn't be any personal bias. People shouldn't be able to say, "I don't like that individual, so I am going to turn down his proposal." I hope that never happens. (RRC member)

Again, at present, this does not appear to be an issue with any of the proposals or projects the council is working on. However, the potential to create deeper divisions is there as community members maintain some level of control in resource management decisions.

Leadership is the last crucial element of the council's composition identified in the evaluative framework. In the case of both the ARRC and the TRRC, certain members have demonstrated strong leadership qualities and help drive the process by getting things done. Not all members demonstrate this conviction, but this cannot be expected. As with most organizations, there are a few key individuals who carry the weight of the council on their shoulders. Some members complain that other councilors do not do as much work, but they still continue to invest their time.

Sometimes I feel frustrated. We have 10 members, but there are really only three or four of us pulling the rest of the members along... I think just because I am here and I worry about things, I'm more involved than I want to be sometimes. But I enjoy it. That's why I wanted to be on the council. I love the outdoors. (RRC member)

The council members choose a chair from the general RRC membership. Unlike other co-management bodies, no consultants from outside the community are involved. The chair should be the driving force behind the council. This is definitely the case with the ARRC.

You need a really dynamic and enthusiastic chair who is able to move around and cajole the various governments to get going on things and make them a higher priority. Money goes to wherever the squeaky wheel is. The council is in a lobbying or pressuring role to get action and funds expended in communities. So you have the Alsek council that probably commands a third of the department's budget... whereas the Teslin group are virtually ineffective in commanding the interest of the government and virtually no money is being spent and no planning is being done. (YTG representative)

There are some definite reasons as to why the ARRC's chair has been so effective. A lot of it has to do with personality and attitude. To be successful in this process, you must be a collaborator and work with others (Interviews 1999). However, this cannot be the only reason as other chairs also exhibit similar qualities. Time and energy is also required, and some chairs (and RRC members) simply don't have enough time to invest in council affairs. They are too busy with their jobs or families (Interviews 1999). They also have to be confident enough to deal with conflict and run meetings. Dealing with conflict effectively appears to be an issue with the leadership of the TRRC.

> *I think being the chair is a big demand because you have to be the overseer. You have to make sure the meetings are going along and the secretary is doing her job. Being the chair, you have to listen to both sides of the public. There are people who are against things and there are people who are for things, so sometimes you don't know which way to turn. (RRC member)*

7.1.2.3 Mandate

The mandate and authority of the RRCs was not well defined in the UFA or the individual final agreements. This has lead to some confusion and caused conflicts partners who may see their position differently. The wording of the final agreement, which states that the councils are "the primary instrument for local renewable resources management," has only increased the confusion as this statement can be interpreted in many different ways. "Primary instrument" infers the highest level of importance. However, this is not always reflected in the understanding of the different partners.

> *Some of the resource councils have bitten off way too much because they've read too much into what they are supposed to do. Do I think it is right that a lay person in the community has a say? Certainly, but they shouldn't be the one to make the final decision because they do not have the knowledge, the training or the background to make that decision. But they should be informed and they should be a conduit for the community to get their input into decision-making. (YTG representative)*

It is clear that the council is an advisory body. Their main functions, according to the agreement, are to act as a sounding board and a conduit between the community and various governments (Interviews 1999). Their authority, simply as an advisor, is well understood and usually (although not always) respected. The TRRC has outlined their mandate in their Operating Procedures as being primarily an advisor to other resource management partners (TRRC 1999). However, the do have authority to deal with certain issues, such as establishing outfitter quotas and allocating traplines within the traditional territory. The UFA (1993) also states that they may participate as "an interested party" in any public proceeding that deals with renewable resources. The benefit of having local involvement in decision-making at a meaningful level, not simply and

advisory level, is understood by many government officials (Interviews 1999). The inclusion of RRCs as full partners in planning is not outlined in the UFA, but they are now included in most resource management initiatives.

Many councilors see the RRC's mandate as to ensure the local environment and resources are carefully and wisely used (Interviews 1999). While few councilors would describe themselves as environmentalists or conservationists, these attitudes are reflected in the work of the council.

> *If there was an economic situation here where everybody said, "we want jobs and that means cutting down 300,000 m3 every year, so let's do it because I just bought a new double-wide 4X4 and my kids want a snowmachine and I want the land to support the lifestyle I've grown accustomed to." The resource council would basically have to say, "no, that is not sustainable." (RRC member)*

The RRCs also have a responsibility to provide a way of informing the public on different issues so they can be involved in the process in a meaningful way (Interviews 1999). This means providing useful information to residents that is easy to understand. In Haines Junction, the ARRC organizes annual information nights. Over three evenings, the general public is invited to the sessions to learn about the work being done in the traditional territory on specific resources (e.g. forestry, fisheries, and wildlife). The TRRC organized two open houses over the summer and fall of 1999 and invited all organizations with an interest in renewable resource management in their traditional territory to set up information booths. Participants were able to interact with residents on a one-on-one basis and were also able to learn about the other interests in the area. However, annual or even biannual meetings are probably not enough. Not everyone in the community will come out to these meetings so the information is not reaching everyone.

> *We have a huge educational role that we are not fulfilling. I think we are probably not capable of doing it. We don't have the expertise, the hours, the manpower. It is just too large of a job. So we fall back on being a small group of local people dealing with officialdom on one side and the next door neighbor on the other side and trying to be a liaison between the two of them and never really appearing to be effective to anyone. (RRC member)*

Both councils have also developed visitor guidelines for their meetings that are outlined in their Operating Procedures. In both cases, all council meetings are open to the public except during special sessions identified in their agenda (ARRC 1999, TRRC 1999). If any members of the public want to make a presentation to the council, they must first contact the secretariat in order to be placed on the agenda for the next meeting (ARRC 1999, TRRC 1999).

7.1.2.4 Funding

Lack of funding for RRCs is a major issue that was raised by almost every interview participant (Interviews 1999). Funding for RRCs is provided by the different government agencies involved and administrated by YTG. The RRCs are not government agencies, by their money is directly controlled by YTG (Interviews 1999). RRCs currently function on approximately $80.000 a year, which is simply not enough (Interviews 1999). In the case of both the ARRC and the TRRC, almost half of their money goes directly to their secretariat to pay for wages and supplies (Interviews 1999). This leaves very little money for them to be involved in various projects and planning processes. The TRRC did not have an official secretariat for its first few years, which meant that they were able to maintain their finances (Interviews 1999). On the other hand, the ARRC was thrown into a legal battle with the federal government right away and had to spend a lot of money on legal expenses, meetings, travel, and hiring a good secretariat to keep things organized (Interviews 1999). As a result, the ARRC ran out of money in the winter of 1998 and had to shut down their operations over the summer of 1999 to save money and wait for their next funding installment. The lack of funding is an issue that frustrates nearly every resource council member (Interviews 1999).

> *If we are the primary tool for management, we should be getting the funding required so we can manage it properly instead of saying, "oh, good enough. We don't have time for all the details." It's like sewing a garment and not having time to hem it or put pockets in it so you end up with this funny looking thing, whereas if you had the time and the funds, the end product would be better. Especially when you are dealing with your resources. We have to do things carefully and to the best of our ability. (RRC member)*

In order to pay for the different community projects or programs, RRCs are starting to look for funding from other sources. For example, the ARRC has applied to YTG's Community Development Fund for money to help develop a community fire management plan (Interviews 1999). They have also learned to ask governments to pay for community planning sessions and workshops instead of the RRC paying for them (Interviews 1999). In Teslin, the TRRC has formed a partnership with several other agencies to help pay for an extensive community-wide survey on local renewable resource values.

> *We started out wondering how we were going to spend all our money. We could have bought something like an office or a logging truck — that was one of our jokes. But now that we are doing all this stuff, if we want to stay involved as actively as we feel the council should, we are going to have to look to other sources of funding. (RRC member)*

Finding alternative funding sources is time consuming, which puts another pressure on already busy council members and secretariats. In addition, proposal writing requires skills that many

community members may not have. This creates an unfair situation where the RRCs are constantly struggling just to keep in step with the other government agencies they are supposed to be working with. To add to this problem, new government initiatives that require public participation are being developed and the RRCs are being called upon to participate. These are extra duties and no additional funding has been provided to the RRCs (Interviews 1999). In Teslin, protected areas planning has become a major issue that has taken up a lot of their time. All resource councils are getting involved with issues such as land use planning and the development assessment process (DAP). These are issues that the council should be involved in, but extra funding is required.

> *One of the biggest problems about setting up a budget that has fairly strict guidelines is that you can shuffle stuff like in any budget, but you can't take into account things that have been added on. YTG's Protected Areas Strategy, we've been involved with dramatically and it has taken up a lot of time and energy and money. No money has come from YTG to add into this. (RRC member)*

The RRCs made a presentation to the committee reviewing the implementation of the land claims agreement in the fall of 1999. At this presentation, the need to increase funding was expressed by all RRCs. This may lead to new funding arrangements based on the recommendations of the review committee.

Funding is also used to pay council members travel expenses and an honorarium for attending meetings or other workshops. Depending on the length of the meeting or the amount of preparation required, honorariums range from $200 to $250 per day (Interviews 1999). This is based on a scale developed by YTG for all boards and councils. While many councilors feel the pay is fair for the work they do, there are others that disagree (Interviews 1999).

> *Maybe one of the biggest mistakes they made was to pay people. In a community-based management system, I think you are making a big mistake when you start paying people $100, $200 a day and start giving them meals and gas money. People will ride that as long as they can. If you don't pay them, it is a whole different ball game... The people who are genuinely interested will go to the meeting without being paid. (RRC member)*

While this criticism is valid, it must also be recognized that RRC members invest a lot of time and energy into the council and its activities. Honorariums, no matter how small, are a small price to pay for the amount of work that is carried out by council members.

7.1.2.5 Accountability

RRCs are appointed bodies. This leads to some problems as some residents feel they are not truly representative of the community's concerns. Because governments (First Nation and

YTG) appoint them, there is a perception that politics can interfere with the selection of candidates. One of the unwritten rules of the council is to have representation from different interest groups or community sectors. However, when there is no community control over these appointments, governments must be relied upon to appoint a variety of representatives. This is a troublesome issue for all partners and stakeholders involved in renewable resource management (Interviews 1999).

> *One of our concerns with the RRCs is whether or not they have fair representation on them. Appointments to boards or councils are not supposed to have any strings attached, but I think there is definitely some political interference in all of the appointments. It is very difficult to get away from that. (NGO participant)*

> *The use of appointments still makes me nervous that there still might be some sort of political influence in selecting these individuals. It is not a democratic process, but I hope it is a representative process. I am concerned about how few older people are there, how few youth, how few women. I think there are voices that are not being heard in that process and that is different from community-based management where ideally you're trying to ensure that. (YTG representative)*

Some participants indicated that governments might benefit from having such a complex decision-making system because it removes government liability (Interviews 1999). Instead of one government department being criticized for a bad policy decision, all partners can be blamed, or no one, depending on the complexity of the situation.

> *There still has to be some accountability, credibility of the people to stand by their recommendations that they are making at a public meeting. That's the way it used to be. Apparently the bureaucrats didn't like it. They don't like going to meetings and telling people, "we think this regulation is necessary for the following reasons." That is gone. Now it goes through the resource council and these community workshops were everybody supposedly gets a kick at the can... If something goes AWOL and if something doesn't work, the system is so complicated that nobody has to accept the blame. (RRC member)*

However, the idea of an elected council is also rejected by many of those involved in resource management (Interviews 1999). An elected council would become one more level of government within the community and there is a fear that it would become another "popularity contest" (Interviews 1999). Many of the people appointed to these councils, for example First Nation elders would probably not run in an election. There must be a level of accountability, however. The council does represent the community, but its powers are limited and final decision-making on most issues still lies with the governments in question.

> *I think governments still have the ultimate responsibility to make decisions. They are the only elected people. And I think what the government needs to do is not try to work with First Nations through the board or the council, but work more directly with the First Nations on a government to government basis. The First Nation has*

elected officials; the government has elected officials. If people don't like what they are doing, toss them out. (YTG representative)

7.1.3 Operations

7.1.3.1 Meetings

Both the ARRC and the TRRC have a consistent meeting schedule. The ARRC has regular meetings once a month and additional meetings if they are required to deal with specific issues. As mentioned in the section on funding, they did not meet at all over the summer of 1999 due to financial restraints. Their meetings are held at the ARRC office, which is an old building that they rent in the centre of Haines Junction. The council had a local carpenter build them two large tables with their logo on the top to be used at information sessions or public meetings. These tables are pushed together in the office to form a large square table that is used for council meetings. Maps, posters and documents from projects the ARRC is involved in cover their office walls. The set-up of the room and the presence of the council's work create a comfortable setting.

The TRRC meets every two weeks and sometimes more often depending on the issues at hand. Their meetings are held in a boardroom at the Yukon College campus. Photos of elders and diagrams explaining the Teslin Tlingit Council structure hang on the walls. The meeting is held around a long, rectangular table, which is less effective than a round table set-up in engaging people in conversations (see section 5.1.3.1). Overall, the room does not appear to be the domain of the resource council. It is simply a meeting room that anyone could use. The TRRC still holds meetings over the summer, although it is more difficult to get all the members to attend. During the fall harvest season, fewer meetings are held because people are out on the land.

Agendas are prepared and handed out prior to meetings of both councils. The agendas of these meetings are also publicly posted to inform community members about the issues that will be discussed. Agendas are also sent to other interested parties, such as the regional biologist or the First Nation resource workers. The meetings themselves also follow these agendas. However, formal meeting structure is not always followed. Both councils have developed Operating Procedures, and in situations when there must be a decision, it is determined by consensus (ARRC and TRRC Operating Procedures). The rest of the interactions at the meeting are informal and members speak out at their will. A more formalized meeting would not work for these councils, as it would probably make the individuals involved uncomfortable.

I haven't been involved in anything like this since I was in boy scouts. I used to have to drink a beer before a council meeting, that's how nervous I was. Nobody knew how to do that stuff. I kind of glanced through Robert's Rules of Order. That's more of the stuff we leave to the administration. (The secretariat) reminds us if we are talking about money, there has to be a motion. I don't mind that. (RRC member)

Lack of preparation was apparent at both ARRC and TRRC meetings. Council members are expected to read an information package organized by the secretariat to prepare them for the issues they will discuss at the meeting. The duties of council members are outlined in the TRRC Operating Procedures (TRRC 1999). In many cases, council members had obviously not read their packages prior to the meeting. This causes frustration with some of the other members who do come to the meetings prepared.

> *It's something that council members have kind of got away from, what their roles and responsibilities are. To be prepared, to read, and to be involved. You can't just say you are a council member and show up to a meeting now and then. There is actually work to be done and decisions to be made and there are things to help out with. (RRC member)*

7.1.3.2 Secretariat

The ARRC has had a local part-time secretariat since they were first established. The current secretariat has worked with them since 1997. She works out of the council office and is responsible for the following activities: research, meeting organization, general administration, finance, public relations, public consultation, and other special projects (ARRC 1999). The ARRC has leased a computer and other office equipment so the secretariat can function properly. In addition, they have recently decided to hire an assistant to help with filing and general office work as the council has become more involved in forest management planning and this requires more of the secretariat's time. Since she has worked for the council for a few years, the ARRC secretariat has developed extensive knowledge in both the function of the resource council and the contents of the CAFN final agreement. This knowledge is very helpful to the resource council, but some individuals outside the council feel that she may have too much influence on council decisions because of her experience (Interviews 1999)

The secretariat for the TRRC is also a part-time position working out of the council's office. The TRRC has had a more difficult time finding someone to fill the secretariat position. They have gone through several secretariats in the past few years (Interviews 1999). All have been local people. The TRRC office is also fully equipped and they have recently hired an assistant to help out or fill in when the secretariat has other obligations. The responsibilities of the TRRC secretariat are similar to the ARRC secretariat and are outlined in their 1999 Operating Procedures. Both councils recognize the importance of a good secretariat and support the expenditure to hire competent individuals (Interviews 1999).

> *You need to hire a really good, competent person to can help establish the credibility of your resource council. That costs you $40,000 a year to get someone like (our secretariat). She's there all the time to answer questions and do administrative stuff.*

She organizes things and hassles us to make sure we are prepared to show up at meetings... I think we basically have to agree that we are going to spend half of our budget on a legitimate office person and make do with the rest of it. (RRC member)

7.1.3.3 Expectations

The workload placed on RRC members can be a concern. In many small communities where there may be several community boards or councils, certain individuals who have relevant skills may be sitting on more than one council. Within the membership of the ARRC and the TRRC, this is the case with only a few individuals. However, almost all the council members have full-time employment or spend significant amounts of time outside of the community hunting or trapping. In addition, family responsibilities are added to the workload. In both communities, most RRC members are individuals who are prominent within their community because of their knowledge, enthusiasm and civic involvement (Interviews 1999). As a result, the membership of both councils already has extensive work, family or other responsibilities. This can cause a drain on those individuals and there may not be others within the community that can fill their place. Being a council member requires commitment, and there are often too few people with this type of commitment in small communities (Interviews 1999). This can create a potential problem for the effective functioning of the councils.

A community of 300 is being asked to do what a province of 3 million can't do well. Everyone has to be on a board or a council... It is the 20/80 rule where 20 per cent of the people do 80 per cent of the work. Those 20 per cent are just overtaxed... The UFA is a plan for a Porsche, but the people are having trouble riding a bicycle. They just can't peddle hard enough. (NGO participant)

It does take a lot of a person's time. Sometimes it is very frustrating. Like me, I work for the government all of the time... During the summer I can't really participate in the council because I am so far away working... In some ways, it governs your life, but in the winter months there is lots of time. You can't do much. It's too cold out. (RRC member)

The workload of the RRC members also depends on the amount of work passed on to them by the other governments. When the RRCs first started functioning, government departments were sending them copies of every land use application or document — whether it was relevant or not— or else sent them nothing (Interviews 1999). This lack of understanding and respect frustrates many RRC members.

The problem is that governments are paid to do their job. We are all doing other jobs and we are involved in this because we think it is worthwhile to be involved. Although everything is not secondary, it has to take a back seat to your life. You still have to earn a living and take care of your families. Most government employees, it is just an eight-hour slot. (RRC member)

Without a clear understanding of their role and responsibilities, councils can become involved in issues that are beyond their mandate and waste valuable time (Interviews 1999). To alleviate this problem, the ARRC has developed screening criteria and methodology to deal with matters brought to the council (ARRC 1999). This helps determine which issues fall within their mandate and how these issues should be dealt with. It also reduces the workload of the council and clarifies their role with other management partners. This has led to positive changes for the ARRC.

> *(Our workload) has changed because we have established ourselves. The governments are aware of the role of the resource council and our relationship with government. And the public is more aware of the role of the resource council and the effect they can have in resource management. (RRC member)*

Time lines are also important to consider. Community consultation requires time and decisions cannot always be made as quickly as some agencies would like (Interviews 1999). A time line for the acceptance, variance or rejection of RRC recommendations to government has been developed (ARRC 1999). However, no specific guidelines for community consultation have been established. This is a reflection of the reality of community life where, depending on the time of year or the complexity of the issue, RRCs may require more time to consult residents. Other resource management partners are beginning to understand this reality.

> *We've all had to stop and re-evaluate our expectations of the speed things are going to happen. In many ways it seems like getting local involvement in decisions is a good thing. It is good. It is evolving. Things we thought would take a year will realistically take 10 years. It's a lot like the land claim agreement itself. It started off as a couple year project and it took over 20 years. I think a lot of this is the same. (YTG representative)*

However, there are still cases of unrealistic or unfair consultation periods being imposed on councils and communities in general. One example is the federal department of forestry asking for input on the method of distributing long-term timber harvest agreements. This is an extremely contentious issue in the Yukon and the first consultation was conducted over July and August 1999 when most people were not available for consultation. A second draft of the proposed process was released in mid-December 1999 with all feedback expected by the end of January. In both cases, this has left communities with little time to respond to an issue that is seen to be a direct threat to many of their local resource planning initiatives (Interviews 1999).

7.1.3.4 Access to Information and Education

Sharing information begins with trust. Both RRCs have developed good relationships with their regional biologists and renewable resources staff working for the First Nation

(Interviews 1999). Since the ARRC has developed its consultation protocol with INAC and has already carried out some forest management planning in their area, they appear to have a much better relationship with technical staff from INAC forestry. However, the TRRC is currently battling with INAC over the timber supply analysis for their traditional territory and the timber harvest agreement process. Therefore, there is a lot of suspicion and mistrust of many (although not all) forestry employees (Interviews 1999). This mistrust can directly affect the quality of the work done by the RRC or other resource management partners. Without full access to information, or the perception that the information will be sound, management decisions or recommendations may be missing critical elements. Judging from the experiences of the two councils, this trust will only develop once cooperative planning initiatives are underway.

Identifying research needs is also an important role of resource councils. In the past, a lack of concrete information has stalled or completely derailed certain management initiatives. For example, the controversial proposal to close down sheep hunting in an area near Teslin was eventually withdrawn mainly because there wasn't solid evidence that the closure was required (TRRC 1998). The ARRC has been very effective in becoming involved in processes and helping to highlight areas where more information is required in order to improve management practice. An example of this is the research component identified for the Marshall Creek Forest Management Plan.

> *The research stuff seems to alleviate a lot of the concern because if there is enough question marks, lots of people just say, "Well, we should just stop."...Here we look at it as not really a barrier. We figure out what it is that people don't like about a harvest and work around it. It's way better than five years ago when people were just screaming, "STOP THIS! I DON'T LIKE IT!" That's not good enough anymore. If anyone does that in a public meeting now, people just stand back and shake their heads because we've already been there. Let's move on. (RRC member)*

There must also be training opportunities for RRC members. In many cases, they do not have the public speaking, administrative, or even the literacy skills required to fulfill council responsibilities.

> *Every time you go to meetings, you've got a stack of papers this thick. It takes you a long time to read it. If you don't really understand it at meetings, like my situation, I haven't been educated that good. I quit school in grade 8. That was in '65, so that's a long time since school. (RRC member)*

> *It is difficult to get most councilors to speak about issues. They may have strong feelings about them, but it is very difficult for them to speak in public about it. (RRC member)*

There is money in the final agreement earmarked for RRC training. The Council for Yukon First Nations currently administers the fund and is now developing some training opportunities,

although none have been carried out to date (Interviews 1999). There was some initial training on how to be a board member, but it was not specific to the RRCs (Interviews 1999). Some council members have attended one day training or education workshops on different topics, such as habitat protection. However, there are not many of these sessions and they do not deal with some of the fundamental skills required to be an effective board member.

7.1.3.5 Communication

All members of the ARRC and the TRRC speak English fluently, so there is no language barrier in the general workings of the RRCs. However, not all RRC members understand technical resource management theories and jargon. Some of the members have less than a grade eight education and need to have information presented to them in plain English (Interviews 1999). When government employees or consultants try and explain issues or information to councils in complex or technical terms, it can creates problems for both councils.

> *You have to learn everything. You have to know technical terms, like in forestry. Half of it is above your head, like 'annual allowable harvest,' but you slowly learn what everyone means. You work in different areas too, like fish and wildlife and forestry. Everyone has a different way of talking and you have to find a way to break it down. (RRC member)*

> *One of the biggest things we have tried to do is say 'Put this in plain language. Peel it down. Just because you have a bachelors or a master's or a doctorate in this thing, put it in plain everyday language so that people can understand... We are not all scientists and we are certainly not all scholars. There are people who have incredible knowledge about the practical side of life, but they need the information in everyday language. (RRC member)*

This problem is especially acute for First Nation elders. They have extensive knowledge of the land and the wildlife, but they are not used to talking in technical terms. This can leave some of them confused and not willing to speak about issues that they think they don't understand (Interviews 1999).

> *Some of our elders, they come to the meetings but they aren't educated like we are. They are left in the dark. You've seen (our elder representative). He's been around for years, but he's not clued in on all these abbreviations and things. How the hell is he even supposed to begin to learn? But he knows what this country looked like, even before the road came in. It is good to see him there. Even if he doesn't say that much. He's kind of shy. (RRC member)*

In order to bring technical people down to a level where they can explain their information in a simple way, the ARRC now requires that all technical presentations at planning sessions are limited to one page of paper (Interviews 1999). This forces scientists and technicians to simplify

their information and makes it easier for community members to digest. However, no training sessions have been developed to help technical workers learn how to communicate effectively.

Communication should also occur regularly between different RRCs in order to keep up to date with the issues others are dealing with. In most cases, there is little communication between the RRCs (Interviews 1999). All of the RRCs in the Yukon meet once a year for a three-day session to discuss different issues or concerns. As RRCs are established only after an individual First Nation signs their final agreement, many RRCs are at different stages in their development. The newer RRCs have a lot to learn from those that have been established for a long time.

> *We talked about having a SWAT team for councils that are just forming. Members from other councils could come in and provide information... It could be helpful and cut down on time and costs. Why should you struggle through something when you could pick up the phone and call someone who knows? (RRC member)*

In addition, the priorities of RRCs vary depending on their communities and their situations. For example, the ARRC was forced to deal with forestry issues as soon as they were established whereas the TRRC is only beginning to start discussions with INAC. There is much to be learned from the experiences of other councils and, at present, councils do not have much communication with each other. All RRCs are connected to the internet and there has been a proposal to set up a central library that different RRCs could use for reference, although neither of these opportunities have been developed to their full potential (Interviews 1999).

7.2 Community Based Renewable Resource Co-management Initiatives

The following section refers to the initiatives carried out through the cooperation of the relevant partners identified in the UFA. These include wildlife and forestry management plans and the individual recommendations or initiatives developed by the RRCs.

7.2.1 Actions

7.2.1.1 Issue Identification

The way that resource management plans in the Yukon are developed is slowly changing as a result of the new management partners. In the past, plans or initiatives were developed at a central office in Whitehorse and then the communities were informed of the projects. This type of approach was not very effective in the eyes of many government workers and community members (Interviews 1999).

> *We used to have these community tours, because all the biologists lived in Whitehorse, so we'd jump into a vehicle and do a road show and hold public*

meetings. The turnouts used to be so-so and we'd wonder why. We were talking about something that was supposed to be a big issue, but nobody was coming to these meetings. It probably had a lot to do with the fact that we were there to tell people what was going to happen. We weren't there asking 'what do you want us to do?' That has changed. (YTG representative)

Presentation of draft plans in order to receive feedback is not considered to be acceptable by many resource management partners (Interviews 1999). Instead of providing feedback, the community should help generate the ideas for the plans (Interviews 1999). The need for more involvement by RRCs and other partners in the early stages of planning and issue identification is a concern for many participants (Interviews 1999). It is hoped that this involvement will give clearer direction to resource management initiatives.

What I found mostly all my life is people that have the authority, government people; they really don't know what they are talking about. They are in Ottawa and we are here. They don't know what is happening on our land. They make all the big plans and it doesn't turn out. They spend thousands of dollars for nothing. (RRC member)

An example of this is the federal governments timber supply analysis for the Yukon. This information was presented to the communities without any consultation regarding other local values or concerns. It was a biological calculation and did not consider economic or social aspects in the analysis (RRC AGM, November 25, 1999). This has caused anger and frustration and strained relationships between the different forest management partners (Interviews 1999).

Creating an opportunity for local involvement in both the identification of issues and in designing the process that will lead to management decisions helps build trust and feelings of community ownership in the outcomes (Interviews 1999). The Aishihik Caribou Recovery Program is an example of the effectiveness of this type of approach. The program was carried out after local people brought their concerns about dwindling moose and caribou populations to the territorial government. It was a highly controversial program, but it was supported by many community members as they saw it as a necessary step in bringing caribou back to the area after years of mismanagement (Interviews 1999). This also helps illustrate the utility of local knowledge.

As the practice of providing opportunities for communities to identify resource management issues becomes more accepted, there is a growing concern over government intervention. In order for a plan or an initiative to be community-based, there must be no government constraints on the process.

We are starting to see some intervention by senior staff in the selection of issues that will be dealt with in the planning and I'm really worried about that because what it means is that if the majority of the community identifies wolves as a problem, but

wolves are not on the table, it's really a violation of the underpinning of community-based management. (YTG representative)

Once limitations are placed on a process, it can smother initiatives that the community feels strongly about. Before the Aishihik Integrated Wildlife Management Plan workshops, the director of YTG's Fish and Wildlife Branch wrote a letter to the other partners stating that the Yukon Government would not support lethal wolf control (YTG Dept. of Ren. Res. 1999). The point is not that the community wished to continue lethal control, but that these constraints were placed on a community-based process before it began. This can erode trust and respect for other planning partners. In this case, through consensus building exercises, the partners were able to come up with a compromise and the plan now includes the continuation of non-lethal wolf control.

7.2.1.2 Community Involvement and Consultation

Community involvement is a critical element of the Yukon's community-based co-management process. Community meetings and consultations are held for a variety of planning and management initiatives. These meetings can vary from straight presentations of information in order to educate community members (e.g. TRRC open houses or ARRC information nights) to participatory planning workshops. The TRRC keeps residents up to date with a newsletter and the ARRC has a notice board set up in the Haines Junction general store. Wildlife planning sessions are also open to the public. Forest management planning meetings are not public, but information sessions are held throughout the process to ensure the community is kept up to date as the plan develops and have opportunities to comment at different stages. It was pointed out by several participants that you are more likely to hear about community values at these meetings instead of feedback on a plan (Interviews 1999).

One of the questions that arises at these meetings is who should be included as part of the "community". The forest management planning team in Haines Junction wanted to have a representative from the Yukon Conservation Society as a participant. No local representatives could attend the planning sessions, so a representative from Whitehorse participates in their place. This created friction within the planning team as they tried to determine if this person should be considered a member of the community (CATT Forest Management Planning Team meeting, November 18, 1999). Other organizations with a Yukon-wide mandate, such as the Fish and Game Association, Yukon Outfitters Association, or Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society have had to find ways of becoming involved in some of these processes so that the interests of all Yukoners can be included, not just the immediate community (Interviews 1999).

At one time, all the management decisions were made at renewable resources, so our input into wildlife management simply required a visit to renewable resources with

the Chief of Fisheries or the ADM or the wolf biologist or whoever. Basically, we had one contact. Now a lot of that is being done at the regional level and we have to have representation in the community. We are a volunteer organization that already puts in about 5 to 6,000 volunteer hours a year. Now we are having to push out of Whitehorse proper into the communities—which isn't necessarily a bad thing. In the long term it will probably be better if we were to become more Yukon based. But it does make things more difficult and more expensive for us...(NGO representative)

Including these groups can have a positive impact on the successful implementation of co-management decisions. If these groups are not included, they can become very antagonistic and create problems for the planning partners. Some partners recognize that it is easier to have these groups at the table for the development of a plan instead of fighting them in the local media (Interviews 1999). If they are not involved, there will be conflict.

I don't think you can leave decisions totally up to local communities. We are all citizens of the Yukon, right? So you can't just say, well, the Teslin or the Watson Lake community is going to make the decision for the wildlife or the forest in their area. In that sense it does make sense that it is okay for people from Whitehorse to be there. (NGO representative)

If you just want the council, the FN, and the government to buy into the plan and you don't give a shit about the other people in the area, then you just get those people to sit down and work out a plan. They will debate and discuss and make commitments and they buy into it that way. But if you want the YFGA and the Yukon Conservation Society and the general population to buy in, you have to broaden it and that is why we have the public workshops. (YTG representative)

Some of the community meetings are extremely successful. If the issue is contentious or will have an impact on resident's lives, people will show up (Interviews 1999). For example, over 100 people attended a meeting in Haines Junction to discuss spruce beetle infestations (Interviews 1999). However, many meetings are not well attended, which can be frustrating for the partners who are trying to include the public in their process. Some individuals question the utility of so much public involvement.

A lot of times it seems the money that could be going into effective wildlife management is spent just spinning our wheels in committees and meetings that nobody goes to. Even with the resource council, they try to strive for so much public involvement in every issue, so on any one night there are times when there are two or three meetings dealing with various aspects of renewable resource management all in the same town. People will go to one or two of these things and then they just say "enough of this." Then there will be a really important meeting and nobody will show up. (YTG representative)

Meeting "burnout" is a reality in both Haines Junction and Teslin. Many of those interviewed for this project indicated that there are often just too many meetings. People get tired of meetings when they are held every night. When there is such an overload, the significance of

specific issues can be lost (Interviews 1999). Instead of attending meetings, people will simply carry on with their lives and do the things they prefer to do, like go out fishing or berry picking.

> *You don't see very many local people coming out. I don't know if we should pay them to come out or what. Sometimes when people are pissed off at government, they don't want to show their face. To hell with them. They've had enough. So I don't know if we could go around to people's houses one on one and have a cup of tea or something. I don't know. It is a hard thing to figure out. (RRC member)*

> *There isn't much interest. The same people come out and giving their ideas. There is just not enough people getting involved. Our board was put there for a purpose. We represent each clan, but it would be nice to see one or two members of your clan sitting there at a meeting seeing what you are doing. But you don't. Very few people come. And all our meetings are open to the public. (RRC member)*

In both communities, partners identified getting First Nation residents to attend meetings was a particular challenge (Interviews 1999). People are not taking an active interest in the management of their traditional territory, which frustrates the different partners.

> *It really kind of cheeses me off, because I'm a First Nations person and I don't see many First Nation people coming out. When everything we do deals with the First Nations traditional territory, we don't have as much involvement as we should. (RRC member)*

This issue is starting to be dealt with in different ways. When the TRRC held their information open houses in 1999, direct invitations were sent to all TTC employees through their e-mail server to encourage them to attend. In Haines Junction, certain elders are personally invited by RRC members to participate in workshops or meetings where their knowledge is important (Interviews 1999).

Another problem with the public meetings identified by several participants is timing. Many of the planning workshops or information sessions are held during the day, which makes it difficult for people who work to attend (Interviews 1999). All of the planning sessions attended for this project were held during the day, although additional public meetings were held during the evening to get community feedback as the plan developed. Holding meetings during the day is better for government workers as it is part of their job to be there, and many will attend these meetings. As a result, some residents see these meetings and workshops as still being dominated by government people from outside their community (Interviews 1999). Partners recognize the difficulty of organizing community meetings or workshops during the summer and fall when most people are doing other activities (Interviews 1999). Most major meetings and workshops are held during the winter and spring when more people are likely to attend. For example, the Alsek Moose Management Plan was developed at meetings held during the spring and the CATT Forest Management Planning team has established a schedule recognizing that the summer is not an

appropriate time for public consultation (CATT Forest Management Planning Team meeting, November 18, 1999).

Several people also criticized the public meeting process. Several of these meetings have digressed into shouting matches between community members. This only helps to illustrate the differing values that must be taken into account when trying to work within a community-based process. However, shouting matches are not the best way to build greater understandings between different factions.

> *I don't think public meetings are the best avenues, number one. I think they are poor venues for discourse, for public values to be exchanged. They are places where people line up and say what they think and what other people think, but they don't exchange and talk about and compromise anything. (YTG representative)*

In particular, certain people within the community tend to take over some of these meetings and don't allow others to participate because they are overly aggressive or they won't stop talking (Interviews 1999). This intimidation can lead to poor community participation in general.

> *The unfortunate part of it, and I don't know how to get around it is that when you have some of these meetings in the format of workshops, you always get a few vocal people who are really loud and keep other people feeling they should make comments. (RRC member)*

> *People will never come to a meeting unless they have a bitch. They won't come and do something constructive. It is always a negative thing. "You're doing this all wrong". (RRC member)*

Public consultation is time consuming, which can also lead to frustration. Residents often want to see something done right away, whereas the process of developing cooperative management plans takes time. For example, it took forest management partners in Haines Junction two years to develop a terms of reference for their planning process and it is expected that the plan won't be ready for another year and a half (CATT Forest Management Planning Team meeting, November 18, 1999). In 1997, the TRRC made a recommendation to YTG to limit the trout catch on Teslin Lake to one fish per day instead of two. The YFWMB was asked to consult the Yukon public to see if the closure had wider implications and wrapped up their consultation in the spring. It showed that there were no territory-wide concerns and the recommendation has now been accepted. However, the lengthy process has frustrated both the council and Teslin residents (Interviews 1999). Some people now argue that, in some cases, there is too much consultation.

> *The issues tend to get very complicated when you involve a lot of people. In a lot of cases, the public consultation process can go too far. I think in some cases it has gone too far. When you include everybody, and not just the professionals, that can be unhealthy I think. It can pit neighbour against neighbour; it can pit First Nation*

against First Nation. It can do all sorts of things when you engage everyone in this because everybody has an opinion on it and you get bogged down in the process and the decision-making goes nowhere. (RRC member)

The public gets frustrated with the pace in which things move along. It's time, energy and what happens is a lot of people say, "well, just get on with it. We are sick and tired of all this consultation. You always ask us". And then the council is in an awkward situation where people who want something to happen right away blame the council for being another level of government when the government is dumping everything on them. I mean every government. We all want things from the council. We don't want to be going in there and doing things that aren't community based. It doesn't work. So it is much slower than the old way. And we used to think the old way was too slow. It's much slower, because it takes time to talk to people. (YTG representative)

Independent facilitators are used for many of the planning workshops and some of the more contentious public meetings. This has been useful in keeping the process on track and helps control conflict (Interviews 1999). One facilitator in particular is often used to help develop these community-based plans. He is well liked and trusted by the partners and, because of his extensive experience, knows what will work and what won't work for these plans. However, some individuals are concerned that there may be an over-reliance on certain facilitators may lead to problems in the future. There has been an attempt to identify alternative facilitators, but so far these individuals have not been utilized (Interviews 1999). Instead, the same individual is continually used, and some partners see this as a concern.

Now some of these communities are at the point where they won't embark on a process unless so-and-so is going to be there to facilitate. It ends up giving that facilitator an enormous amount of responsibility and authority in how these things go. I'm thankful of the people who are now doing it, but I think it would be useful to have some cross-fertilization of facilitators and ideas of experimentation. (YTG representative)

There should be opportunities to train community members in facilitation skills. In particular, RRC members would benefit from this training. However, facilitating public meetings or planning processes sometimes places them in an unfair situation. For example, an RRC member would not be able to effectively facilitate a wildlife management planning workshop because they are expected to be a partner in the plan itself. It makes their participation difficult, as they have to continually move between being a facilitator and presenting the RRC's ideas on certain issues. In addition, it puts them in an awkward position when conflicts arise, as they can become a target for angry residents. It also makes it difficult for them to smooth over conflicts because they know many of the community residents intimately.

7.2.1.3 Use of local knowledge

The use of local knowledge is recognized as an integral part of cooperative management by all partners (Interviews 1999). The Alsek Moose Management Plan is an example of the utility of local knowledge in developing approaches to resource management. Local knowledge is used in the day-to-day business of the RRCs simply because of the people involved in the council.

> *I think that traditional knowledge should play a more important role... I always say you have to know where you are coming from and know where you are in order to know where you are going. If you are only working from now, now isn't the standard. (FN government representative)*

> *There are a lot of areas that we don't know or we don't have knowledge about, but we can refer to older members of the council, whether they are First Nation or non-First Nations people. They have a lot of local and traditional knowledge that they provide for us. When we have to make a decision, it's good to know where there is a berry picking spot or if so-and-so's camp is there or if this is where the sheep walk by. So we are able to gather a lot of information from the local people and it helps with decisions. (RRC member)*

However, the use of local knowledge has not been integrated into resource management completely. Local knowledge is not always used by governments or researchers in the formation of management initiatives or plans. In many cases, the inclusion of local knowledge is simply a line item in proposals, nothing more (Interviews 1999). This can be attributed to a lack of understanding of what local knowledge is, confusion over how to collect, store it and distribute it, and questions related to copyright and ownership. Partners indicated that there needs to be guidelines to help facilitate the use of local knowledge.

The first point of confusion is determining what local knowledge is. Most participants made the distinction between traditional knowledge, which is culturally based, and local knowledge or knowledge based on years of observations (Interviews 1999). From the perspective of the First Nation government participants, local knowledge is easier to understand and to share. Traditional knowledge is more sacred (Interviews 1999). Therefore, the distinction between local and traditional knowledge is important to make and to understand.

> *I don't know if traditional knowledge is the proper title for it. Moose information, caribou information, fish and wildlife information anyone can learn. It's just a case of spending time out there. Basically it is just your memory of this area over time. You notice changes... That's the different than oral history-type thing that can be very personal information and give out sensitive material. You don't share it with people unless it is very specific to something. (FN government representative)*

> *I like to look at it not only as traditional knowledge, but local knowledge from people that have been out here for a long time. Definitely, they might have a smaller picture of the area that they are out in, but when you get everybody together, you can get a big picture and start to understand the changes and trends. (RRC member)*

There is no handbook, or textbook. You can't go look these things up. In most cases, it's in someone's head. That someone has to be in the room and provide that information. What I see as valuable is to see someone who has spent 50, 60, 70 years on the land come in and provide us with their observations. You don't need to be a First Nation person. You just have to be someone who has spent a lot of time on the land, has made a lot of observations. (YTG representative)

The collection of local knowledge usually falls to the First Nations government (Interviews 1999). They are expected to gather much of the information from elders and people who still spend a lot of time on the land. The CAFN has compiled local knowledge for the Alsek Moose Management Plan and for the Aishihik Integrated Wildlife Management Plan. Traditional and local knowledge has been gathered by the TTC on fish populations and through a bioregional mapping project. However, there are many more processes and issues going on that require local knowledge and it simply is not available (Interviews 1999). This is a concern for government representatives who require this information to carry out management initiatives (Interviews 1999). Part of the problem can be attributed to an overload on First Nation renewable resources personnel (Interviews 1999). A First Nation's department of renewable resources may have only two or three employees, but they have many of the same responsibilities as the federal or territorial government, only on a smaller scale. First Nation employees may not have the training to deal with the multitude of tasks they are asked to perform each day.

They are another government and they are not. They don't have 95-100 people working for them in renewable resources like we do... It's an unfair balance and that's where I have to acknowledge the First Nation. It's slow because they are not capable. There's not enough of them. They don't have enough money, people, energy to put towards decisions that we expect, in like 5 days they should be able to respond. (YTG representative)

I'm never going to say that I know everything. I'm not a trained biologist... I find one thing that is really confusing is that one day you are working traditional knowledge, the next day you are working on moose, all of a sudden you are doing something on trapping or B.C. hunting regulations or complaints on over harvesting, and then you have to deal with salmon. All in one week. It becomes very confusing, especially if you don't have the training. (FN government representative)

I think it is a "be careful what you wish for" scenario. You've taken a group that wants independence and self-government and all that and you put them in an overwhelming situation where you've passed legislation that creates obligation. If anyone is in breach of anything right now, it is probably the First Nations themselves because they can't stay on top of things. (FN government representative)

There are questions surrounding the methods that should be used to gather local knowledge. Mapping and oral accounts currently appear to be the most effective ways of

gathering information (Interviews 1999). However, no defined methodology has been developed to help guide the gathering of local knowledge. At present, most communities are left to develop their own method for gathering this information.

> *So much of it is just people talking on the steps of Madley's. They just don't feel as comfortable at public meetings. There have only been a few times when I've been able to get even close to the same kind of participation from First Nations elders about their experience on the land as I have been able to get from just bumping into them at the post office or some other place we have in common. (RRC member)*

> *There is no avenue here that is agreed upon where non-First Nations people with experience and wisdom will be listened to. There is a mechanism for First Nation people, but not non-First Nations. Unless they are sitting on a council themselves, nobody is going to go out and survey them. (RRC member)*

During land claims negotiations, CYFN gathered local and traditional knowledge from many First Nation elders. Unfortunately, that information was not well catalogued or stored properly and much of the information is considered to be lost (Interviews 1999). For the information that has been collected, there are no clear guidelines to help determine who can use the information and how it can be used. First Nation governments are very protective of this information (Interviews 1999). As a result, much of the traditional and local knowledge collected by First Nations is not shared.

> *In incorporating traditional knowledge into our planning processes, we are the keepers of the traditional knowledge. It's going to be up to us to decide how we are going to gather this traditional knowledge, how we are going to incorporate it and how we are going to protect it as the owners of this knowledge. (FN government representative)*

There is also a problem in finding ways of integrating local knowledge and scientific knowledge. Again, there has been no real understanding reached regarding how local knowledge should be used. At present, the use of local knowledge has changed the way resource management occurs, but only in a limited way (Interviews 1999). There have not been any significant changes in management approaches. For example, previously developed regulations such as only hunting full-curl rams or 90-day hunting seasons are still being used. However, there is now an opportunity to explore other approaches based in the traditional practices of Yukon First Nations (Interviews 1999). In Teslin, they have established 'conservation days' where people will not hunt or fish on a specific day of the week. This is one example of a traditional practice that has been reinstated through the co-management process.

> *I see a big part of our role is learning about some of those customary alternative concepts that are rooted in aboriginal understandings to see if they could be applied and whether they would be sustainable when applied in a contemporary context. (YTG representative)*

There also must be a greater understanding of what local knowledge means or how it fits into scientific paradigms. The scope of traditional and local knowledge is broad and cannot always be reflected by a set of data or symbols on a map (Interviews 1999). In some cases, the context of the information being shared is as important as the location it refers to (Interviews 1999). Co-management partners recognize the need for greater acceptance of general concepts instead of specific data (Interviews 1999).

> *We don't need to have empirical numbers to talk about general principles. What we need is for people to express their interest and that comes from their past. They have to be able to talk about where they were and what they did, what their parents told them, what was out there. And of course we always have an interest in relatively how much more is that then what you see now and what happened to those animals. (YTG representative)*

> *You can't apply reductionist thinking to traditional knowledge and just take out the observations. You have to accept it as a whole and yet we can't be in the business of uncritically basing decisions on any information that comes in or any knowledge that comes in. That is going to be a major point of tension and I don't know how we are going to resolve that other than experimentation. (YTG representative)*

There are also people who are skeptical about the quality or utility of some local knowledge. Residents may not see a reason to give equal weight to what might be perceived as "folk tales" or simply somebody's word. This has created conflict when certain co-management initiatives have been discussed. For example, the attempt to close sheep hunting in the game zone outside of Teslin was based primarily on stories about sheep being in the area in the past and old sheep trails on the mountainsides (Interviews 1999). However, opponents of the closure responded to this information by saying "prove it" (Interviews 1999). This can be frustrating for individuals who are trying to incorporate local knowledge to the decision-making process.

> *I have heard people say that traditional knowledge doesn't count for anything. Time and time again, decisions have been made by the resource council who have been impressed by, what I think, is the wrong opinion... It is kind of hard when you have people that have no faith in it, who doubt everything. That's the problem I see with traditional knowledge. I would like to see it incorporated more, but if people aren't going to believe it, then it isn't going to be part of management. (FN government representative)*

> *There is a lot of skepticism in the Yukon. You know, "what is so great about what the Indians know? This is just part of our sucking up to First Nations and we are tired of it. Any elder can just spout off about anything and you are going to give that as much weight as a $150,000 caribou survey? What the hell is this all about?" So how do you address that? (NGO representative)*

Questioning the knowledge or the opinions of elders is looked down on in First Nation culture. Beyond this, it is also not considered to be "politically correct" to question their knowledge either. This causes concerns among some local people and other management partners who see it as an unfair limitation on determining how management should be carried out.

> *As a scientist, you never question an observation... You get a native elder stand up and tell you that he saw something, that's fine. That is valuable information. But when he starts to tell you why he thinks he saw something, you have every right to question. Then you touch all kinds of sensitivity cords and people get upset because you are questioning an elder. But as a scientist, you have to do that. We do it to ourselves. (YTG representative)*

> *If there is anything opposed by any of the natives, the whole thing seems to stop. The whole process comes to a dead end unless all the natives are totally on side. If they disagree, nobody wants to touch it. Don't disagree... I think that is a pretty stupid thing to do, but that is at a higher political level than what we are dealing with here...But nobody ever stands up to them and challenges them or says what they are saying is bullshit. So it just keeps going and going because nobody calls their bluff or anything. (RRC member)*

It should also be recognized that many of the technical government workers are also very knowledgeable about the land. Many government workers, especially those working with YTG, have lived in the territory for an extended period (Interviews 1999). In the case of the regional biologists, they have an opportunity to develop a close understanding of the surrounding area simply by focusing all of their work in one region.

> *I often hear about scientists parachuted in from the city into the community with no background or knowledge of the issues other than science. I think we are lucky in the Yukon in that a lot of the people who are working here have a wealth of knowledge. (YTG representative)*

Perhaps one of the greatest concerns with local knowledge is the need to pass this information on to the youth of the area. The culture of communities is changing and people are spending less time on the land. The information that has been accumulated in the people who have spent most of their lives in the bush is slowly being lost as these people pass on. However, this loss is not necessarily due to a lack of trying.

> *The true elders, not the modern elders, know how they learned and they know that passing on information is really important. I think they enjoy that kind of stuff. They enjoy the interaction with young people. What is unusual is the kids now aren't interested in learning. I think the elders really enjoy passing that information on and having the young people learn from it. (FN government representative)*

In both Teslin and Haines Junction, children are being taught more and more about their heritage and basic skills for living on the land through the school system. The Alsek Moose Management Plan includes a project to measure snow depth that is a partnership with the local school. Students

in both communities attend culture camps and take winter camping trips. Yukon College has developed a renewable resources program for older students and seats are reserved in the program for community members. Hunting and trapping education programs are also carried out by YTG. While it is true that there are less people out on the land, there are some attempts to create an interest in these activities with the youth of the communities and opportunities are created for those with an interest.

7.2.1.4 Use of scientific knowledge

Science does play an important role in the Yukon's community-based resource management process. Its relevance to issue identification, research and education has already been discussed in previous sections. While local knowledge also plays a critical role and may require some extra attention to increase its application, science should not be ignored.

> *I would say that science has helped tremendously our understanding of wildlife and how wildlife interacts with other creatures and its habitat and people. I can think of many examples of where if we had relied simply on traditional or local knowledge we would have been wrong. Science has helped us. That's not saying that science is always correct and traditional knowledge is always wrong. All I'm saying is that you have to have a good dose of both. (YTG representative)*

Partners recognize the importance of having scientific representatives in the room when resource management is being discussed (Interviews 1999). These individuals can help decide what solutions are workable and what specific outcomes might be. However, they should not be driving the process (Interviews 1999).

> *There has to be people sitting in that room that are knowledgeable about what is ecologically sound and what isn't. If there are some wild ideas that the community is expressing, somebody has to be the keeper of the process and say, that's crazy, it won't work. So ultimately, there is always someone in the room that has the responsibility to keep things on track. That we don't get lost in never-never land. (FN government representative)*

When the community-based management process first began, some government scientists collected information on projects or species that occurred within traditional territories and presented this information to the RRCs. In Haines Junction, a contractor collected all of this information into one reference manual to be used by the ARRC. After a short period, this approach was determined to be inappropriate for the council to use because they did not have the expertise or the interest to use it (Interviews 1999). Instead of referring to the manual, the council was more interested in getting technicians to come in and talk to the members about what they knew and what they thought about local renewable resource issues (Interviews 1999).

It is critical that scientists understand how to communicate information. The previous example demonstrates that compiling information from scientific studies in a written format is not appropriate. In most cases, RRCs and residents are looking for basic information that can be explained in a simple fashion (Interviews 1999).

> *We hold public meetings and we invite technicians or biologists, people who know things about trees and animals. We bring them out, and we don't ask them to defend government policy, we are saying we want to know about moose down the Alsek or we want to know about the trees at Marshall Creek. What can you tell us? And they tell us. (RRC member)*

As described in the communications section, scientists were only allowed to use one page to explain their information for the Aishihik Integrated Wildlife Management Plan (additional maps and charts could also be used). This forced the scientists and technicians to pare down their information and explain it in simple terms so that all participants could understand.

Familiarity is also an important element of communicating scientific knowledge. As councils and communities become more familiar with different biologists or forestry professionals, they start to trust them more and will respect the information they present (Interviews 1999). Building this trust is very important. Before land claims was settled, the communities did not trust governments because they did not really understand what the government was doing (Interviews 1999). For this reason, YTG reorganized its Fish and Wildlife Branch to include a regional department and hired regional biologists in areas where RRCs were in place. The federal forestry department has not taken this approach, although this may change once devolution has occurred.

There are some concerns over how the regional biologists will work once all the claims are signed. At present, there are five regional biologists in the Yukon. Each region may contain as many as four traditional territories. Both the regional biologists for Teslin and Haines Junction are only working with one First Nation government at this time, but already they are overburdened (Interviews 1999).

> *Some of these people in the communities have a meeting with the First Nation in the morning, then fly a survey in the afternoon and then have a meeting with the RRC in the evening. They are being pulled apart. I'm concerned about that.... What are they going to do when the other First Nations get their agreements? Something will have to change. (YTG representative)*

Many participants expressed a need for more regional staff in order to ensure the community-based process can continue (Interviews 1999). While technicians and consultants are hired to help out in certain cases, regional offices are often as overburdened as First Nation resource offices. While the regional biologist for Kluane lives in the only community he currently works with, the

Southern Lakes biologist has to travel to Teslin on a regular basis. Having to spend time traveling can take a toll on their personal life, which can make a job difficult (Interviews 1999). When all land claims are settled within a region, the biologists who serve these areas will have to spend a lot of time visiting the widely dispersed communities.

Funding for this type of approach to management is also a concern. As more projects are initiated in the communities, funding for the regional department is drawn upon more and more. Additional funding will be required as more individual claims are settled, and when all 14 RRCs are functioning, there will be a tremendous strain on government funds (Interviews 1999). As funding becomes scarcer, the ability of RRCs and First Nations to lobby government for projects will become more important. Even with seven finalized claims, competition for funding and resources is beginning to cause strain and frustration with some communities.

> *I find that frustrating, comparing us to Champagne Aishihik. They get a lot of stuff. They get a lot of money, funding and support from people. Look at how much work they got out of that Aishihik recovery program. Look how much work they get out of the bison. The wolf control. Look how much they benefit from the issues around them. Half their country is a park. I think there is a real imbalance. I've thought about it myself sometimes and tried to figure out how they can afford to do the moose surveys. I've talked to the moose biologist and said 'you know, that Teslin burn and it's great moose population, when was the last time it was surveyed? How come you guys haven't surveyed it?' And they tell me it is not a priority. Our Wolf Lake herd is because it is a control for the Aishihik wolf control... We haven't had much wildlife work done here in a long time. (FN government representative)*

While the focus on certain areas is not likely to be intentional, it is a concern that must be addressed. For community-based co-management to be successful there must be a commitment to fund the initiatives that are generated by this process. While governments have some responsibility in fulfilling these funding requirements, all partners must begin to look for alternative funding sources so these initiatives are not discarded. The TRRC created a funding partnership between several government departments and other municipal or non-government groups in order to carry out a comprehensive community survey. The ARRC has developed a system where they receive the money from bison permit applications and they are placed in a fund to support initiatives related to bison management. They have created a similar process with outfitters. The YFWMB also has a fund that can be used for habitat enhancement projects. Both RRCs are starting to look at other funding sources to help cover the costs of projects in their area.

7.2.1.5 Constraints

Ensuring that all partners are clear on each other's mandates and positions regarding funding or support is an important step in co-management processes. For co-management

initiatives within both communities targeted for this study, the signing of memorandums or letters of understanding by all partners is always the first step in a co-management process (Interviews 1999). This helps clarify the expectations and limitations of the individual partners. In some cases, such as the CATT Forest Management Planning Team, a terms of reference has also been developed to help further clarify the process that will be followed and the responsibility of each of the partners.

In addition, efforts have been made to ensure that the major decision-makers for each of the partners are present at community workshops or planning sessions. When different initiatives are being developed, these individuals should be involved so that recommendations will not be opposed later (Interviews 1999). This approach paid off at the Aishihik Integrated Wildlife planning session. Both CAFN's Director of Lands and Resources and YTG's Director of the Fish and Wildlife Branch attended the planning workshops. The need to monitor the First Nation harvest has been an issue for many years (Interviews 1999) and the workshop participants developed a recommendation to initiate this process in the Aishihik area. The two directors discussed the possibility of developing and jointly-funding such a program over lunch and announced their support for the initiative during the afternoon session. If these individuals had not been part of the workshop and had not been exposed to the discussions surrounding the proposal, it may have taken extensive lobbying by the different partners to get the same support. For contrast, Teslin has developed a community-wide survey to help determine what the renewable resource planning priorities should be for the region. While many of the main partners from the various processes are supporting the initiative and have agreed to support the outcome of the survey, the federal forestry department has not. Therefore, if forest management planning is determined to be the highest priority for the Teslin area, the forestry department may not support a planning initiative in the area simply because they have not deemed it to be as pressing of an issue (Interviews 1999).

7.2.1.6 Decision-making

The way that decisions are made through co-management should also be included in a terms of reference or memorandum of understanding. As already explained, final decisions are still the domain of the appropriate government agencies. However, decisions made within the community-based process also need parameters. These structures have to be agreed upon before the process begins (Interviews 1999). All planning processes reviewed for this project included a Memorandum of Understanding that was developed before the process began. This helped establish how decisions would be made. Consensus is the method of decision-making used in all

of the processes observed for this project. It appears that residents and the partners are most comfortable with this type of approach. However, since it is a community-based process, individuals who provide technical support must be careful not to direct the process too much (Interviews 1999). Most government representatives see their job as providing information and options for the process and then allowing the community to make the final decisions (Interviews 1999).

> *You don't just go in there and say "what do you want to do?" and I've seen that... People stood around and said "you guys are the ones who are paid to do this. Give us some options." That's really what we are trying to provide. Options. And give them the options to make decisions. That's the main purpose of the meeting. To put it in a framework that is reasonable. We have to do that. That's our job. Then they can do things that make sense to them. (YTG representative)*

Ensuring that all stakeholders are represented at community workshops and planning sessions is also critical to their success. At the Aishihik Integrated Wildlife Management Plan workshops, a variety of community members and representatives from different organizations were invited and attended the sessions. Since decisions are based on consensus and each participant has the right to oppose actions they do not agree with, it gave people an opportunity to have an affect on the final outcome. It helped ensure that they had a chance to express any concerns and have them integrated into the plan (Interviews 1999). It also brings the different decision-making agencies together so they understand what each other is doing to avoid duplication or conflict. This approach is also taken to ensure buy-in by all stakeholders and the beginning and to avoid controversy when the plan is implemented (Interviews 1999).

> *If you don't bring them together, you don't know what the diverging views may be. You don't hear the other views if you don't bring them together. So you hear the views and you figure out where your differences in values are, then you learn about their views and hopefully it comes together with some compromises. (FN government representative)*

This approach was used to develop the Alsek Moose Management Plan and when partnerships for the Teslin community survey were established. The CATT Forest Management Planning Team includes many different stakeholders, including YCS, RISK and RED to ensure that their concerns are at the table throughout the planning process (CATT Forest Management Planning Team meeting, November 18, 1999). Decisions made with the support of the community and the different partners have more of a chance of being successful and of being carried through as a result of shared commitments (Interviews 1999). In many cases, community support determines the success of any initiative.

Decisions are made at the community level instead of being made by someone in Whitehorse. The people are noticing and saying, there isn't as much trout as when I used to go fishing. When we had our public meeting, people agreed there was a problem, and all of a sudden we were getting all these solutions. It got people thinking. I think basically people were happy...It's nicer that the community is involved in the decision making. (RRC member)

Like any consensus-based approach, there has to be trade-offs. Not everyone can be completely happy with the outcome, but hopefully all issues can be addressed in some way.

It's your own area, so you want to be conscious and make sure that what you've got will be there for later on. It's just that you still do have conflicting stuff within the community as well. There is always a certain amount of compromise, but it also a matter of them getting the different people together and saying we want this and that and this is our priority for here and maybe you should go do that somewhere else. It may seem simplistic or idealistic, but I think we end up with some trade-offs but look at what is best for the vision of the community. (RRC member)

In the Aishihik Integrated Wildlife Management Plan, the continuance of the non-lethal wolf control program was a trade-off (Interviews 1999). Initially YTG was opposed to any wolf control, but because it was an important issue to CAFN and the community, they agreed to support the non-lethal program. In the case of the sheep closure proposal near Teslin, no consensus could be reached because certain individuals were not willing to compromise in any way. This has only lead to strained relationships and increased conflict within the community (Interviews 1999).

There are some problems with the consensus-based approach. Wildlife management planning sessions are not as structured as forestry planning sessions as community members and other partners are free to participate when they feel like it. This means people can walk in or out of the workshop and there is no consistency in the participants. It also means the number of residents attending the meeting fluctuates and sometimes there may be a majority of government representatives in the room at one time. While this approach appears to work well, there is a possibility the voice of the community could be missed in certain discussions or that decisions are made by the people who have been helping develop the process, not the community (Interviews 1999).

There is also a perception that more controversial decisions will not get made in a community-based process.

The resource councils are individuals that have to live in these small communities. They don't want to be seen as making the decisions that are going to piss off people in the community because they have to live there. As a result, when it comes to making really hard decisions, they avoid them and pass the buck. (YTG representative)

The sheep closure debate in Teslin is an example of how an RRC will back off of an issue if it becomes too controversial within the community. However, the exact opposite approach was shown during the discussion to limit the daily trout catch on Teslin Lake (Interviews 1999). This was also a controversial issue, but the TRRC was still able to put forward a recommendation that has now been implemented.

7.2.2 Effectiveness

7.2.2.1 Ecosystem-based

Ecosystem management is not a direct goal of the community-based plans or initiatives developed under the Yukon's co-management system. However, many of the elements of ecosystem management are apparent in these plans. The first is the recognition of humans as part of the ecosystem. Residents have the perception that governments cannot make ecologically sound decisions because they do not understand the land and there is too much political interference (Interviews 1999). By involving local resource users in management planning, they are able to represent their activities within the ecosystem and residents often have a good idea of what is actually occurring on the land as a result of human activity (Interviews 1999). They also have more of a vested interest in the careful management of these activities, as they will be the ones to feel the effect of these decisions the most. As a result, the inclusion of locals can lead to more careful and perhaps more sustainable approaches to resource management.

> *They want to allow timber harvesting right across the lake from my house. I could look across and see clear cuts... They don't care. They just want the timber. They don't care what they are doing to the land or the fish. We are the people that have to live here year' round. My son and daughter, I want them to live here and still be able to see a virgin forest, not a bunch of equipment cutting it all down. All they are looking for is the big bucks. They don't care what the land looks like. (RRC member)*

> *There are some people who want to cut down (the trees) and use it all up and then move on. They don't care about the next generation of people. They only think that they are going to make this million dollars and they are going to be rich. Have everything. It's not the right way. You have to think about mankind. (RRC member)*

When the Teslin community was informed of the increase in their region's timber supply analysis, most residents were very upset and felt that trees could not be harvested sustainably at the level determined by the federal government (Interviews 1999). The recommendation developed by the local steering committee still supported an increase in timber harvest, but at a much lower level in order to recognize local growing conditions and other community values.

Unfortunately, this recommendation was only accepted for one year and the community is fighting to reduce their total allowable cut again.

During the Aishihik Integrated Wildlife Management Plan workshop, the possibility of re-opening moose hunting in the area was raised. The community was presented with a series of options relating to the number of moose they could harvest. These options ranged from two per cent of the harvest (approximately 100 moose) to higher levels. After some discussion, the community agreed to the two per cent harvest as they felt it would adequately meet their needs while also allowing the moose population to recover. This illustrates the growing knowledge of residents surrounding the management of resources. Much of it relates to understanding how much they can use without compromising the rest of the system.

> *This community, I think, is a whole lot wiser about forestry issues than we were five years ago and we are more able to say, 'Well, we used to say don't cut anything because we've got Parks and we've got tourists, but now I think everybody understands that, if done properly, we can extract a portion of the community's income from the land. We have to do right, and if we do, the land will still be the land that most of us know. (RRC member)*

The need to keep people on the land in order to remind us of the importance of a healthy ecosystem is also recognized by the partners (Interviews 1999). Both First Nation and non-First Nation people have to be able to use the land in order to value it. If they do not value it, then there is a chance that the land will not be properly cared for.

> *It's disappointing to me to see the Aishihik campground empty. No one goes there anymore and we need to maintain ties to the land. First Nation people will always maintain ties to the land because that's where they are from. But it's the rest of the Yukon. When you start removing the ability of people to benefit from the land, they won't go there anymore. It will become less valuable, and who knows what will happen. (FN government representative)*

The various community planning processes that are now taking place allow for a more integrated approach to renewable resource management. However, these processes must be coordinated if there is to be consistency in the approaches and to avoid duplication.

> *You look at it and we have wildlife planning and protected areas and forestry and land use planning. We are just piling bureaucracy on bureaucracy... Instead of looking at the big picture, we are now breaking it down into 10 or 15 little pictures. I don't know where it is going to stop. It is getting bigger as we unravel the final agreement and more resource councils are being established. I think it is going to be really cumbersome and it is going to take a long time to deal with it. (NGO representative)*

The need to coordinate resource management planning is recognized by the CATT Forest Management Planning Team (CATT Forest Management Planning Team meeting, Nov. 18,

1999). Their planning must include initiatives expressed in the Kluane Land Use Plan and the various wildlife management plans already established. They must also take future initiatives, such as the redrafting of the area's land use plan, which may occur in the next few years. The TTC has identified land use planning as a priority (Interviews 1999). Without a land use plan, other processes will simply move ahead and a land use plan will be created without a real process. This may not allow for "the big picture" to be reflected in these plans (Interviews 1999).

For wildlife planning, integrated plans address the hierarchical context of ecosystem management. While the Alsek Moose Management Plan addresses a single species, the Aishihik Integrated Wildlife Management Plan includes all wildlife and critical habitat in the area. While this requires more work to be put into the plan, many of the community partners prefer this approach (Interviews 1999).

> *To me, you can't deal with moose without dealing with caribou. Everything interacts. You know that where the moose are always has fresh growth and where the caribou are is old growth. There is a mixture of that in the forest. There are a lot of overlaps. If there are lots of bears, there will be lower moose calves. Everything relates with each other. (FN government representative)*

However, members of the ARRC who have experience with both the single species and multiple species wildlife plans and small scale and large scale forest management plans recommended that communities try out a smaller plan first (RRC AGM, Nov. 25, 1999).

In terms of establishing management boundaries, the use of traditional territories allows for the inclusion of large areas in management plans. These boundaries are often crossed in management planning as most territory boundaries overlap. As a result, adjoining First Nations are involved in planning processes. The Kluane First Nation was invited to the Aishihik planning workshops, and was even assigned certain actions to carry out. Bison management is shared by both the ARRC and the RRC in Carmacks as the bison range falls within both their traditional territories.

7.2.2.2 Risk

There is risk involved in any decision that is made regarding the management of resources. Humans have only begun to understand how ecosystems work and the links between different organisms. There has been extensive research conducted on certain wildlife species in the Yukon, but it has only occurred over the past few decades. Local knowledge can stretch back much further, but it cannot always predict the consequences of specific actions. In regards to forestry, there is very little understanding of how the Yukon system works, although research conducted in other regions can be applied if it is adjusted to fit the northern conditions

(Interviews 1999). Taking this lack of information into consideration, risk must be identified as a factor in every decision made in the community-based process. This can place a lot of pressure on the partners in the co-management process.

> *I'm always worried that we have missed something and that 20 years down the road someone is going to say "Imagine, those people didn't think of 'X'", and I don't know what that is, yet. (RRC member)*

However, based on the approaches developed through the community-based process to address moose hunting (ARRC) and forest harvest levels (TRRC), it is apparent that when community members are involved in a decision-making process they are often not as willing to take large risks with local resources.

> *People are always more willing to gamble other people's money rather than their own. By making communities in charge of handling their own resources they are far more conservative than what someone who would be gambling it for them might have chosen. (INAC representative)*

> *A lot of the decisions that have been made here have surprised me by how conservative they are, because you really have a lot of people here who want to open things up. But by the time we go through the process, it really is a conservative approach... (YTG representative)*

> *I would say that in our community, with the bodies we have in place, we are very careful about the decisions we make. I guess we look at everybody as a whole, and not just the people now, but our children's children and what is going to be there for them. What I find really interesting within this community is that it is not just the natives that feel this way. The non-natives feel really strongly that way themselves. It is great having the whole community come together. (FN government representative)*

In addition to the risks associated with making the decisions, there are risks involved when the power to be a part of decision-making is given to communities. There is the potential that under certain circumstances, such as a poor economy, communities might be willing to take greater risks with their resources (Interviews 1999). However, if governments truly support the notion of co-management, they must be willing to trust the community to make good decisions. Many of the participants in this study indicated that allowing community members to decide the level of acceptable risk has led to very conservative decisions being made (Interviews 1999).

> *It's the job of the community to evaluate what you think is risky and what is not risky and they make the decision. If it is something you can't live with, then you respond to it, but don't tell them what to do. Give them entirely the co-management role and then tell them they can't do that. Let them find out what it is they can and can't do. We are just the technical advisors, that is all. (YTG representative)*

> *It's a very difficult thing because that's actually co-management, where they are making the decision about how much risk they are willing to invest in order to get what they want. What we find is they are the least risky of all of the groups. They are*

the ones that are most conscientious about making sure they don't screw up. We don't have a fear about it at all. (YTG representative)

There are safeguards to ensure that the community does not start taking big risks with resources. One is the fact that governments still have the ultimate decision-making authority. The second is that both the ARRC and the TRRC have identified the careful management of renewable resources as a crucial part of their mandate (Interviews 1999). Therefore, it would be unlikely that the RRCs would agree to an incredibly risky proposal.

We are here to reflect what the community wants. If they want small cottage industry, we will support that. But are we going to say that the doors are open and we are here for the cutting and then 10 years down the road realize we made a mistake? By then, it is too late to shut the gate. The horses are gone. And when you cut down a tree, in my lifetime, I will not see that tree reach the same height. (RRC member)

Lack of information should not restrict decision-making. In the case of the Marshall Creek Forest Management Plan, unanswered questions were added to the plan's research component. The Alsek Moose Management Plan and the Aishihik Integrated Wildlife Plan have a similar component. This allows for management to move forward, even if there is unknown factors.

The other option is that it gets steamrollered by the scientific method or that we say, 'we don't really know. Let's do another experiment.' And so it is another excuse for inaction while we let things go or do different things in controls while we basically tease apart what caused it when in fact we should be looking at a more risk adverse way of saying 'its likely this is the cause and we better get on with this and not bugger around with voluntary compliance or education. This could be an issue, this could be happening. Let's get on with making a decision that is in the best interest of the animals. (YTG representative)

The need to constantly monitor management initiatives and adapt as more information is gathered is recognized in all of the community-based management plans developed to date. Each plan has a definite timeline and certain actions must be carried out within a specific timeframe. Feedback and reviews are scheduled and the RRC is in charge of ensuring that the responsibilities of the different partners are met (Interviews 1999). Experimentation and adaptation become critical in the implementation of the community-based plans. Learning from these initiatives adds to the understanding of the different processes at work (Interviews 1999).

7.2.2.3 Conflict

The introduction of community-based co-management has affected the level of conflict within both communities involved in this project. One of the most obvious changes to resource management decision-making under the new co-management process is the removal of

government as the target of community criticism. Today, conflicts are not always based in struggles between the government and the community, although this continues to be a major problem with forestry. Involving community members and other partners in decision-making diffuses the responsibility of making decisions and allows for an increased understanding of the issues and processes at the community level (Interviews 1999). Instead of researchers arriving in a community, conducting their research, leaving and then sending a report a few months later, community members are now involved in the process. This has helped reduce conflict (Interviews 1999).

The creation of the RRCs has changed the focus of conflict. The individuals involved in the councils are suddenly finding themselves bearing the brunt of criticisms from the community. This has increased conflict at the local level as neighbors are now shouting at neighbors when management decisions are made that they do not agree with, regardless of the councils authority in the decision-making process (Interviews 1999). The lives of some council members or their status in the community have been changed by this new attention in negative ways.

> *The people in the community have tried to browbeat the council. And they don't get along with lots of people.... The community gets divided at a real level, because decisions are being made about my lifestyle by people that I've always known and it used to be the government. (YTG representative)*

> *You get a lot of verbal abuse. There is a lot of pressure on you. Your whole community is backed off and everyone is looking at you...It is really hard and you have to think long-term. That's what my husband says. I have to remember that I am there to serve all the people and that we are there to serve the next generation. No matter what happens, you still have support out there. (RRC member)*

> *Sometimes you feel like a fall guy. The government, that's renewable resources responsibility, and so you should blame them. We are not government employees, so they can just step on us. We have nothing to support us. (RRC member)*

The evidence of this conflict is reflected in both community meetings or workshops and in the lives of individual community members. Residents now see the potential power communities may wield in making resource management decisions. Those with specific interests are joining together in an attempt to ensure their views are heard and to try and use influence in decision-making (Interviews 1999). This has only lead to the creation of different groups within communities, something that was not always prevalent before the settlement of land claims.

> *I hear discouraging things about Teslin. I hear it is a community completely divided now, but before it was one of the most integrated communities in the Yukon. Now there is a line drawn right down the middle and there are services and resources and power that are held by some and not by others. We saw it in some of our planning...There are some odd alliances that are forming. Non-natives that used to*

have some authority are trying to establish some political leverage. (YTG representative)

In both Teslin and Haines Junction, new grassroots community groups are being established, such as RED (Responsible Economic Development), RISK (Residents Intent on a Sustainable Kluane) and the Teslin Chamber of Commerce, which is widely recognized as a pro-development group (Interviews 1999). Membership of these groups is primarily non-First Nation. While these may not be officially recognized management partners, they are influential within the communities. Some people perceive the emergence of these groups as a direct backlash to the land claim settlement.

When this stuff is legislated, and during the whole process over 20 years the public wasn't involved in it, so all this stuff shakes down and when all these rules and policies start coming out, then the polarization gets even more. People had no say into what was going to happen. People who were living as taxpayers for years had no say in this at all. (RRC member)

The First Nations people in the community seem to have more power and the non-First Nations seem to be working people. They are non-government people in private business. That makes a big difference. They are struggling more for their own livelihood. They don't like any opposition. (RRC member)

These new community groups can have a profound influence on the community-based process. The membership is often prominent within the community and usually passionate at public meetings. This can give the impression that certain viewpoints are shared by the whole community while they may only be the viewpoints of a select few (Interviews 1999). RRC members in both communities recognized this as a difficulty in the community-based process. It can lead to problems in the development of community-based actions or recommendations for management.

In the first few years we tried to figure out what 'consultation' really means. We realized that at public meetings, the interest groups are the ones that come in and they are very vocal and they intimidate everybody. The majority of people don't like confrontation and a lot of people that have a lot of good ideas shut up because they are literally afraid to say anything. They don't want to in small towns. Psychology is a big part of it and being liked by everyone is important. You see the full force of what somebody who has control over lives and salaries can do in a small community. When you actually sit down one on one with someone, they will tell you one thing, but when you go to a public meeting, they will never say a word. (RRC member)

By being on the renewable resource council, you make enemies, by not agreeing with a few people. The majority of people don't say anything and a few vocal ones you are supposed to listen to. Or that's what they think. You're supposed to jump when you holler. But they could be four noisy people and 300 others who don't say anything, but they agree with what you are doing. But they don't say anything. (RRC member)

In some cases, the individuals who are opposing certain initiatives can cause the system to break down or else they will influence the process in such a way that the council will support their cause (Interviews 1999). This occurred in Teslin when a few local residents and a group of outfitters strongly opposed the sheep hunting closure near the community. The TRRC eventually decided not to support the closure even though there was local support and First Nation government support for the initiative.

> *It just goes to show that when there is controversy, they just say 'oh, we rescind, we rescind.' To me, there was scientific evidence, there was traditional knowledge and there was local support, so we as a resource council should have gone into that meeting and based on that, made the recommendation for the closure. (RRC member)*

The entire community will never be in complete agreement over different resource management decisions. There are too many differing views and values at play. Resource councils must recognize that they will not make everyone happy all the time (Interviews 1999). In some cases, they will be required to make a stand against certain groups or residents and put forward a recommendation these people do not agree with. If they do not, RRCs will not be able to make any decisions and will become paralyzed, rendering them ineffective. The TRRC has faced many difficulties in developing a way of dealing with the different factions within their community (Interviews 1999). After running into opposition each time they put forward a proposal, they have now decided to conduct a community-wide survey that will attempt to determine what the overriding community values are and to ensure that every resident has a chance to have a say in the process (Interviews 1999). It is hoped that this community survey will help diffuse some of the conflict within the community. The ARRC has also developed ways of dealing with local conflict. Their approach has been to include vocal individuals in the co-management process (Interviews 1999). For example, representatives from RISK and RED are now members of the CATT Forest Management Planning Team. By bringing these individuals to the table and involving them from the very beginning, it is hoped that conflict will be reduced (Interviews 1999).

> *I think it reduces it because it gives people a forum for people to express different points of view and sit and talk. It's not like one person comes in and says that's all, that's it. By listening to other people and having everything put down on the table, and giving them a chance to actually discuss, people come out with a little bit more of an idea where other people are coming from and it can help reduce conflict. I think the fact that having people involved reduces a certain amount of conflict. (RRC member)*

While the community-based process increases conflict, not all partners perceive this conflict as bad. The new approach to management decision-making may bring a greater understanding and more local involvement in resource management.

> *It's a new thing to be pissed off at because you didn't get on it or they didn't listen to you or because they made some decision you didn't like. But on the other hand, I think every time we have another board or council like this, it filters down very slowly that maybe, just maybe somebody else will have a say. But I certainly believe in the process of setting up these groups and boards. Because over time you just wear down people's sense of pessimism. (RRC member)*

> *It makes conflict, but it also makes people think. Some people don't think. They just go through life and go with the flow. Some people, as long as they've got the easy street, they don't care. When things get into a slight bind, that's when they start thinking. It makes them think twice. That's good. Keeps you on your toes. (RRC member)*

7.2.2.4 Community support

Community support is recognized as an essential component of co-management in both communities involved in this project. Communities need to support these initiatives if they are to be successful. If not, then people will continue to carry out activities in whichever way they feel is appropriate. It comes back to the notion of managing people, not resources (Interviews 1999).

> *My hope is, by choosing those options and knowing the impact of each of those options, that it has community support. It is that community support that answers the sustainability question. If it going to be a decision that lasts, it has to have that community support. (FN government representative)*

Community values must be integrated into management decision-making if they are to support it. For example, people in Teslin are primarily opposed to large-scale logging, regardless of scientific information that may support a large harvest.

> *They might try to base their decisions on what they call the science of it rather than the traditional knowledge, or people speaking more from local knowledge. Not just knowledge, but values and lifestyles... We don't want large-scale logging. Even if the science supports it, it's not going to fly. (FN government representatives)*

The other partners involved in decision-making need to recognize the importance of including community values in resource management (Interviews 1999). Part of this is reflected in the approach taken to community involvement and dealing with conflict, as already described in previous sections. The community will only support something that reflects their interests, and in many cases their interests are closely tied to the careful management of local resources.

> *I think the whole world in terms of community sensitivities about conservation. I really do believe they are a better steward of the land around them than other interests are. I think the other interests can have it sort of in a temporary way, but*

the long term they can't hold that interest like the community can because it's not their back yard. They don't have to deal with it every day. (YTG representative)

For example, the ARRC proposed an extension of moose hunting in the region south of the community in order to meet resident's demands for more hunting opportunities. However, they did not ask for more permits. They simply asked for all the permits that are not used during the regular hunting season be re-released to new applicants. Since most people from other communities are not interested in winter moose hunting, local people are usually the recipients of the re-released permits (Interviews 1999). Using this approach, moose populations are still being protected while local people continue to have opportunities for hunting. The approach taken to developing timber harvest levels in the Teslin area was also a reflection of community values. The community does still not accept the new levels developed by the federal government because they do not include local values. Therefore, the community does not support the new levels and is making the development of a forest industry in the area difficult. There is a general recognition that the inclusion of community groups such as the RRCs helps bring community values to the table in any co-management process which leads to better management decisions (Interviews 1999).

Developing community support is not always a simple task. It can be a long and difficult process, as illustrated by the spruce beetle controversy in Haines Junction. One of the major stumbling blocks identified by many of the partners is apathy within the community (Interviews 1999). It is hard to get people out to meetings and makes it difficult to develop a clear picture of what the community wants. It comes back to having only a few voices heard, who may not really be speaking for the whole community (Interviews 1999). While certain issues, such as forestry, seem to be of great interest to many residents and public meetings or workshops related to these topics are well attended, other issues are not given as much attention (Interviews 1999). For example, a public meeting held to present the content of the Aishihik Integrated Wildlife Management Plan only attracted one Haines Junction resident. Some partners are beginning to question the requirement to have community support on every issue.

One of the other problems is there is a tremendous amount of indifference. Maybe there aren't issues. Maybe we're creating issues. (YTG representative)

There appears to be no solution for this apathy. Both councils are very active and promote what they are doing within the community using newsletters, advertisements and posters. It appears that more people become active participants in the process as they recognize that they can make a difference (Interviews 1999). Perhaps community support will become easier to develop, as

people become more comfortable with the cooperative approach to renewable resource management.

7.2.2.5 Government support

Government support is the most critical element of cooperative resource management. Without complete support of the party with the ultimate authority, the entire process is meaningless. By signing the land claim agreements, the federal, territorial and First Nation governments have indicated they will support this new approach to management. Resource councils are written into the agreements and therefore should be recognized. The requirement for community involvement is now part of resource management. Identifying resource councils as "primary instruments of resource management" in traditional territories indicates they should be treated as important players. Five years after the land claims have been settled for the CAFN and the TTC, both resource councils still have to fight to be recognized (Interviews 1999). The problem does not appear to occur at the community or even technical levels (Interviews 1999). The difficulty appears to originate in the upper levels of government bureaucracy.

> *I find with both YTG and DIAND, there are people in there who are excellent to work with. I think the problem comes from the regional managers and your director generals, you know. The higher ups. That's where we have the problems. When it comes down to the biologists or the technicians, we all work well together. So there is co-management at the lower levels, but there isn't much co-management at the higher levels. (FN government representative)*

> *I think that the people that made the decisions and signed the papers did so in good faith. But like any government, usually the bureaucracy runs things and that's where a lot of the original resentment, and that was the way that it came across, as somebody infringing on a power base when we would do something... They like being about to make the decisions and they don't want anybody else to infringe upon them. In saying that, everybody I know now, from ministers with the feds to ministers with YTG, seem to very strongly be behind this system here and say they will do it. But it just like all bureaucracies. There are things that fall between the cracks. (RRC member)*

Some participants acknowledge there is lack of recognition at upper government levels, but do not see it as malicious, attributing it to a lack of understanding (Interviews 1999). Others indicate that it may be a reluctance to change or to devolve any real power down to the community level.

> *It seems like it usually comes down to power. The feds always say they want to do community-based stuff but they are very reluctant to give up power. So are First Nations on the other side. They spent a long time getting control of this land and they don't want to give it up again. (INAC representative)*

We should be there right from ground zero. So I guess it's just not being recognized as an active, participating partner...It makes it hard. You're always fighting an uphill battle instead of just coming together and working at reasonable solutions. We always have the boxing gloves on and are defending ourselves all the time. We just want to be part of the whole process. (RRC member)

As government agencies become more familiar with their new roles and learn to work with other partners, this attitude may change. At present, the reluctance to give up control is particularly apparent with the federal Department of Forestry. YTG is not a perfect partner, but they have demonstrated their willingness to change through the hiring of regional biologists and supporting the intent of community-based management (Interviews 1999). Although there are some genuine efforts to involve communities in forest management planning, there are presently initiatives coming out of the forestry department that are extremely unpopular and very contentious in the various communities. Frustration with INAC's forestry department was mentioned by many of the participants, particularly those from the communities (Interviews 1999). These problems were also apparent at public meetings held with forestry officials.

Some programs are unchanged because of the personalities involved. In forest management, it has been absolutely painful to watch because these centralized people have no idea about communities. They are coming up with southern paradigms that is basically that nobody likes forestry but it is in their best interest, like cod liver oil, and if they want schools, people are too stupid to realize that money has to be generated off the land and that may mean that they have to look at a clear cut for a couple of years and you have a whole set of people who are used to being beaten up and make apologies later. Despite all the promises to do things differently, it just happens again, over and over. I think that institution is virtually unchanged and there is no federal acceptance of the role of resource councils. In my view, they are just bewildered by what the groups represent. (YTG representative)

Devolution of control over forest resources may change some of the problems associated with centralized bureaucracies. Forestry may become more regionalized, much like wildlife management (Interviews 1999). However, regardless of the number of people working at a regional level, there will still be a significant amount of power held at the head office in Whitehorse and at the political level (Interviews 1999). Even now this is proving to be a problem for some of the government employees who are developing good relationships with RRCs and First Nation governments.

We often have to go back and spend months and months in Whitehorse going through decisions that people aren't that comfortable with in Whitehorse because they don't understand. They see it as a loss of power. The community has an incredible amount of power. They want it. It's there and they've taken it. (YTG representative)

Some research participants have also criticized first Nation governments for not always taking the community or the resource council recommendations seriously. Some individuals perceive there is a reluctance to challenge First Nation governments because it is not a politically or socially correct thing to do (Interviews 1999).

> *To me, it often seems like the body that has the most influence and sway is the local First Nation. You kind of wonder what the resource council there for? What are we here for and what is the resource person in the First Nation for because the decisions sometimes bypass all those people that actually have the mandate to deal with the renewable resources. It seems like the politicians, especially the First Nation politicians, have a veto on all decisions. (YTG representative)*

One of the biggest problems in developing government support for these initiatives is the lack of clarity in the final agreements. While these agreements established a framework, they do not explain how these arrangements are to be carried out. As a result, there is little legal basis for most of the co-management initiatives being developed at the local level (Interviews 1999). For example, wildlife management plans are not identified anywhere in the land claim agreements, although they are the primary method of carrying out co-management in the traditional territories (Interviews 1999). If co-management is to happen, there must be some effort put into developing ways to make it happen (Interviews 1999).

> *If you have advocates within the government who are willing to be aggressive and move beyond the strict language that we have in the agreement in order to make things work, that's what it takes. People have to realize that we have a commitment here to share decision making, to empower the community and that essentially do whatever it takes. No one has the exclusive ability to successfully manage a resource. We've seen that unless there is community buy-in, on any management decisions is that it isn't going to work anyway. People that are able to see that realize we have to change the way we do business. (FN government representative)*

The various governments have rejected very few of the recommendations developed through the community-based process. Many people recognize once a community has developed a proposal, it would be political suicide to flatly reject that recommendation (Interviews 1999). For the most part, governments have tried to work with the recommendations and develop approaches that acknowledge community concerns, but still reflect political realities. An example of this is the acceptance to continue the study of non-lethal wolf control in the Aishihik area and the agreement to hire a First Nation harvest reporter. This indicates an acceptance of the need for sharing power in order to develop cooperative management initiatives.

> *When people decide they are going to manage wildlife, I think it is an interesting concept. That we know what we want to do and what is the best. I think with any of these plans that come out, you can't avoid the politics. You can recommend*

something, but if the government managers decide that is not politically sound to do at the time, it will be modified. (RRC member)

While there appears to be an ongoing struggle for government support, community participants indicate that this is beginning to change. The initiation of forest management planning in Haines Junction and the attempts to develop a memorandum of understanding between forest management partners in Teslin demonstrates this change. In addition, RRCs are gaining recognition. As they develop working relationships with other partners, there is an increase in trust and respect from all parties (Interviews 1999). Hopefully it will only be a matter of time before the notion of including RRCs in decision-making and respecting their recommendations will be a matter of course.

I think the chair of any resource council could pick up the phone and talk to the Minister of Renewable Resources. And they would know who we were. And it wouldn't be "oh, I'll have to get back to you." It's like "Yes, what is the problem?" and we can talk like that. Both ways. It's a conduit and I think it makes the government feel more comfortable. (RRC member)

Chapter 8 Conclusions and Recommendations

The following chapter presents the main conclusions and recommendations identified through this project. In order to set the stage, a brief summary of the benefits and challenges of the Yukon's co-management regime as demonstrated by the two communities will be presented. The research findings of this project will be presented under the main headings developed for the evaluative framework. Recommendations related to these findings are also included under these headings. These recommendations will be general and applicable to both communities. The chapter concludes with a final summary of the project and its findings.

The intent of this project is to provide useful information to partners involved in the co-management of renewable resources in the Yukon. As a result, the recommendations presented in this chapter are intended to be practical and feasible within the current legal, political, social and economic frameworks of each case study community. Previous evaluations of co-management practice have mainly focused on the operations of individual boards. The recommendations included in this project are primarily designed to evaluate and possibly improve the co-management process in the Yukon context. Co-management in the Yukon is a product of a legislated land claim agreement. Many of the operating principles of the co-management committees are already addressed in this claim and are based on the experiences of other co-management regimes in northern Canada. Therefore, evaluating the formal structure of these bodies does not appear to be as much of a priority as examining the effectiveness of their cooperative management initiatives.

The recommendations and conclusions included in this chapter are based on the experiences of two Yukon communities. However, it is hoped that they will also be useful to other communities within the Yukon who are also learning how to function within the system created by the land claims agreement. In many cases, the experiences of other communities will be the same. Participants in this study have pointed out they need to make more of an effort to learn from each other so everyone does not have to make the same mistakes. In addition, the Yukon experience can be used as an example of community-based co-management other regions can learn from, where people from different cultures must come together in order to develop a sustainable approach to the use of local renewable resources.

8.1 Benefits of the Yukon Co-management Process

Using the information collected through the interview process and by attending various community meetings and planning sessions, the benefits of the Yukon's co-management process become clear. One of the greatest benefits identified by many co-management partners is an increased level of trust among the different parties. For many years, top-down management from centralized governments excluded First Nations and other local residents from decision-making. Land claim agreements, self-government and the establishment of RRCs now provide opportunities for all Yukon residents to become involved in the management of their local resources. Through the sharing of information and respect for different viewpoints or knowledge bases, trust is being developed among groups that were traditionally in conflict. Some participants in this project indicated they were concerned with the time and costs involved with this type of process, but overall it appears there is general support for this new approach to management. There is general agreement that in the long run it is the only way resource management can be effectively carried out.

Improved communication between communities and governments or other agencies is another benefit of the process. Instead of each government trying to gather information or feedback from residents, the RRCs provide a central forum for all local resource management issues or concerns. Now, if a resident has a problem, they can talk to the resource council and they will respond to the issue instead of the person having to take their concern to an office in Whitehorse. The improved communication goes both ways. Governments now have a local group they can work with to help develop appropriate consultation strategies. This helps governments get an initial reading on how the community may respond to a proposal based on the reaction of the RRC members. In addition, communication between different governments is also improved as they are brought together to work collaboratively on projects. As a result, they are given an opportunity to understand what each agency is doing, where their priorities lie, and how strategic alliances can be formed in order to reduce costs or duplication. At the local level, communication can also be improved as different factions within the community are brought together to discuss initiatives. This can improve their understanding of each other's positions, potentially reducing conflict.

Empowerment is another major benefit of the Yukon's co-management arrangement. For the first time ever, Yukon First Nation people have the authority to manage their own lands and they are starting to be recognized as equal partners in the management of resources within their traditional territories. In addition, all local residents are being given an opportunity to have a real say in the way their local environment is managed. This sense of empowerment leads to pride and

may help improve other aspects of community life through increased awareness and a more caring attitude.

> *(Co-management) takes away the feeling of being marginalized. People are returned to a feeling of dignity. Not just the people sitting around the table, but also all the people who are affected by their decision, which is the whole community. Most importantly, they decide... It really comes down to a sense of dignity. That you are part of your own governance. That you are not the old notion of the serf and the king. It's truly, truly thrown away. That old system is one that irked people deeply. It alienates them. It makes people angry and it makes them useless citizens. They just become people that live in that place upon whom rule is imposed. This way, they are kings in their own land. That's very important because fundamentally, people make good decisions. If they are left to do it, they will. (RRC member)*

For the most part, government and industry have ignored many small Yukon communities. However, the new system of resource management, which requires the meaningful inclusion of local residents, is forcing this to change. With local people involved, the potential for more sustainable approaches to renewable resource management is possible.

8.2 Challenges for the Yukon's Co-management Process

Although improved trust between the co-management partners was identified as one of the successes of the Yukon process, mistrust continues to be a problem in some areas. Specific government departments and groups are working hard to develop good working relationships between themselves and the different partners. However, there are some organizations that have not been as successful in developing trust with the other partners. This appears to be a particular problem with some of the more centralized governments and within the upper levels of bureaucracies. The development of good relationships at some levels only heightens the frustration of co-managers with other agencies or governments that are not as cooperative. The longer these disagreements or conflicts continue, the more difficult it will be to develop trust in the future. This has become a particular concern with forestry, although devolution of control over forest resource management to YTG may create the atmosphere needed to improve relationships between the different partners.

Local capacity is also a challenge for the Yukon's co-management system. It is difficult to find residents with the appropriate skills and the commitment to sit on the many community boards and councils. Training and education for council members is currently limited in the smaller communities. Honorariums appear to be the only real incentives provided to those who agree to sit on the councils. The chair of an RRC also requires a specific set of skills, which is sometimes hard to find in small communities. In addition, the First Nation governments face

staffing problems as there are very few of their members who have the skills required to carry out the many duties of a renewable resources worker.

Another challenge to the Yukon's co-management system is apathy. It is difficult to get people to attend the many meetings held to discuss different renewable resource management issues. If they are not of direct concern to individuals, it is unlikely these residents will attend. This is a frustration shared by all partners involved in the management process. Although certain initiatives, such as open houses or workshops, are being used with some limited success, alternative methods of engaging community members, such as surveys, land use mapping, or community suppers, must be considered.

Almost all participants identified government support as one of the biggest obstacles to the co-management process. Part of this can be attributed to the concerns identified in the discussion about lack of trust. There appears to be no simple solution to this dilemma. The land claim agreements were signed in good faith, but their implementation appears to be fraught with internal battles and personality conflicts. Governments are shifting towards more support for community-based initiatives and cooperative management approaches. However, this process is very slow, and may not be completely functional for many years or even decades. In the meantime, communities and First Nation governments will continue to be frustrated by the obstacles and lack of respect displayed by some government agencies.

8.3 Research Findings and Recommendations

The following section presents the main findings of this project and related recommendations. The evaluative structure proposed for this project provides the framework for this discussion. These recommendations were developed using the information collected and analyzed through the interview process and meeting observations. Please refer to Section 2. 3.5 for a detailed explanation of the analysis process. Not all elements of the framework are included in the following examination as not every aspect evaluated resulted in the identification of significant findings or an obvious recommendation. Some of the issues identified through this research may be applicable to several areas identified in the framework.

8.3.1 Community-based Co-management Bodies

8.3.1.1 Formation

As both the RRCs were formed as a result of a legislated land claim agreement, many of the aspects related to formation are developed before their establishment. There is a general agreement among the co-management partners regarding the purpose of the councils. Although

there is some disagreement as to the roles and responsibilities of the RRCs and the different partners. these issues are being discussed and will probably be worked out over the next few years. as everyone becomes more familiar with the co-management system. The use of traditional territories limits the area that is to be cooperatively managed to a reasonable size. For the most part. the local community appears to have direct connections to these traditional territories. An implementation strategy was not developed for the four initial RRCs. However. this may be a useful tool for the RRCs who are currently being established. This does not mean a strict implementation strategy should be developed. Each community should be able to design the way it wants its RRCs to function. However. some basic principles and some basic information on what does and does not work and could be useful for new councils.

Recommendation 1: A guide for the set-up and operation of new RRCs should be developed using the experiences of established RRCs as a basis of information.

A framework for this guide could be developed at the annual RRC meeting. A consultant could be hired to develop the guide with input from the various RRCs. Funding for this project could be provided through a partnership with all the co-management agencies or alternative funding sources could be identified.

8.3.1.2 Organization

Composition

Almost all Yukon RRCs have only six members. The formula of three YTG and three First Nation government appointees is written into the Umbrella Final Agreement. This appears to work well in Haines Junction where there is a relatively large population to draw from. The experiences of the TRRC indicate the larger council (10 members) does pose some difficulties. such as finding appropriate and committed members from such a small community. The establishment of the 10-member TRRC is specific to the TTC and recognizes the Tlingit clan system. Unless there is a shift in the approach to governance in the community. the 10-member council will remain. However. the establishment of large councils should not be encouraged in other small communities. It appears to only exacerbate frustration and council-burnout.

Recommendation 2: All future RRCs should be limited to six members or less, if deemed appropriate by land claim negotiators.

Another concern related to the size of councils is how very small communities, such as Beaver Creek (White River First Nation) or Burwash Landing (Kluane First Nation), will support a council. Also. it is unclear how councils responsible for traditional territories with significant area overlaps, such as Kwanlin Dun and Ta'an Kwach'an in the Whitehorse area. will be able to

function. This situation has not yet arisen, but it may be appropriate to consider alliances between different communities in order to establish effective councils. For example, two small communities may wish to establish a single RRC. It may also be appropriate for one RRC to be established in Whitehorse that would cover all of the overlapping claims in the area.

Recommendation 3: Strategic alliances between potential RRCs should be examined in order to ensure productive and efficient community-based management.

Participant Skills

Participant skills were another major issue highlighted in discussions about operations. Training opportunities for RRC members is essential. At present, there is no clear plan or meaningful access to training. If these councils are to be effective partners in co-management, they must have the skills to do it. Council members should have opportunities to learn public speaking, proposal writing, basic scientific principles, and literacy skills. If funding for training RRC members was set aside during negotiations, this money should be applied to these needs. These training activities could also be used as an incentive for residents to become involved in RRCs or community-based management activities.

Recommendation 4: Regular training opportunities should be organized for co-management participants in order to develop useful skills.

In addition, training for newly appointed RRC members should also be organized. At present, new members are responsible for informing themselves about council business and RRC roles and responsibilities. This makes it difficult for other council members who must help these people become familiar with their functions and time that could be spent on council business is often spent training new members instead.

Recommendation 5: Orientation sessions should be held each year for new council members to help them understand their role and responsibilities as an RRC member.

This session could be held in conjunction with the annual RRC meeting of all the RRCs or could be organized at specific times of the year by an appropriate agency, most likely the Yukon government or the Council for Yukon First Nations.

Mandate and Authority

Both the authority of the RRCs and their mandate is already outlined in the land claim agreements. Some people feel the RRCs should have more or less authority and others argue the merits of an elected versus an appointed council, but these are details after the fact. The councils

were negotiated as part of the land claims process. It is unfortunate there was no direct public input in the negotiation process; there is little chance that these agreements and the bodies that were established will change in any significant way. At present, council appointments appear to be fair and representative of the community. However, if politics begins to be played out in the councils, the notion of appointments may have to be revisited.

One major concern raised in discussions relating to the authority of the RRCs is a lack of understanding of the council's mandate at the community level. Both councils involved in this project carry out public relations work, but it is obviously not enough. There must be a more concerted effort to explain the role of the RRCs to all Yukoners to help avoid confusion and conflict.

Recommendation 6: Information clearly explaining the roles and responsibilities of RRCs should be presented to all Yukon communities.

This could be done through newspaper or magazine articles, television documentaries, or public presentations at First Nation general assemblies and other community meetings. Any costs related to this information should be carried by a central funding agency, whether it is government or an independent funding source. This information is critical to the successful operations of the RRCs, but it should not be a responsibility of the councils. Their limited funds should be spent on RRC activities. By signing the land claim agreements, governments have agreed to carry out a cooperative approach to renewable resource management. This also includes informing all Yukoners about this new system so it is well understood.

Funding

Funding is one of the most critical elements that needs to be addressed if councils are expected to meet their responsibilities as "the primary instrument of resource management" within the traditional territories. The funding that is currently available is not sufficient and, based on the experiences in other regions, once the implementation funding is spent there will be even less money available from governments in the future. Initially, RRCs were supposed to have almost $180,000 per year to carry out their functions (L. Joe pers. com.). When the final claims were signed, governments would only agree to half the amount. Now RRCs struggle to carry out the many activities they are supposed to be a part of. If RRCs are expected to be meaningful partners in the co-management process, more funding should be supplied. The amount of funding provided to RRCs must be revisited. This was the message both the TRRC and the ARRC sent to the Implementation Review Panel in the fall of 1999.

Recommendation 7: Funding for RRCs must be reviewed and increased to reflect demands being placed on the councils by other government agencies.

As the agency responsible for disbursing RRC funds, YTG should undertake this task with the assistance of the other co-management partners. If RRCs are to be expected to find alternative funding agencies, training in proposal writing should be provided. This issue is addressed in the above section related to training and participant skills.

8.3.1.3 ***Operations***

Meetings

The meetings held by both the ARRC and the TRRC meet the requirements outlined in the evaluative framework. Many of the details of how meetings should be held are addressed in their Operating Procedures. The utility of developing operating procedures is significant and should be something all councils should carry out. Both councils involved in this project have already done this. However other councils that have not done this should consider this a priority.

Recommendation 8: All RRCs should develop their own operating procedures.

Both the ARRC and the TRRC hold their meetings in very different locations. The permanent and personalized office used by the ARRC creates an atmosphere of ownership in decision-making that was not evident at the TRRC meetings. Although the effect of this is primarily psychological, it may lead to a more positive attitude among the membership as they can see evidence of the things they have been involved in. Since the TRRC is much larger than the ARRC, it is not possible for them to meet in their small office. However, this should be a consideration for the future.

Recommendation 9: RRC meetings should be held in a location where it is possible to personalize the space in order to increase member's awareness of projects and remind them of their successes.

Some RRC members indicated other members coming to meetings unprepared was a problem. However, this issue can be dealt with through the participant skills and training initiatives previously mentioned.

Secretariat

The position of the secretariat is critical to the successful functioning of the RRCs. At present, the secretariats for both councils are residents of the community. This helps build capacity within the community and keeps the process local. This approach should be continued, even if it means providing additional training opportunities in order to develop this capacity.

Recommendation 10: All RRC secretariats should be hired locally.

These positions must be supported financially, which can be addressed through the discussion regarding funding. Support for secretariats can also encourage them to remain in the position for longer. A knowledgeable secretariat with extensive co-management appears to be a positive attribute for RRCs.

Expectations

Both RRCs are becoming swamped by demands from different government agencies that would like their assistance. There are many issues RRCs should be involved in and it becomes difficult to identify where they should be focusing their energy. In many cases, simply understanding what issues are within a RRCs mandate can be a problem. The screening criteria developed by the ARRC is one method that could be used to reduce some of this confusion and help identify relevant issues.

Recommendation 11: All RRCs should develop screening criteria to help identify and prioritize issues.

There are some concerns related to the timing of consultations and expectations regarding feedback or decision-making. However, all co-management partners are beginning to understand what is acceptable and what is not. Expectations placed on communities and responsible governments will become more reasonable as everyone becomes more familiar with the co-management process.

Access to Information and Education

A successful co-management arrangement requires sharing of information between the co-management partners. Much of this is related to trust, which is slowly being built among partners in the two communities. In regards to community involvement in the identification of research needs, this appears to be improving as more community-based management plans are developed. In addition, the invitation of the ARRC to present research and project ideas at YTG's regional management budget sessions has helped bring community concerns to the table. This may also happen once plans and working relationships between the partners are developed in the Teslin region. Access to education and training is also a concern. However, this has already been addressed in the discussion related to participant skills.

Communications

Communication links need to be improved, especially among the individual councils. Each RRC is different and tackles issues relevant to their specific community, but there is much to be learned from the collective experience of all other councils. One annual meeting is not sufficient. All RRCs have access to the Internet, so communication via e-mail and websites is possible through their offices. In addition, YTG is developing a website describing the different community-based wildlife management plans. This will give RRCs a central location to find information on plans other councils are developing. However, participants also expressed an interest in having a resource library where they could find all documents related to the community-based process in the Yukon and pertinent information from other regions.

> **Recommendation 12: Develop a central resource library to house information pertinent to the functioning of RRCs and to co-management practice in the Yukon.**

This has been discussed and the YFWMB office has been identified as a potential location for this library. To date, nothing has been organized but this should be a priority as RRCs become more involved in co-management and more RRCs are established. The information housed in this central library could eventually be added to the central website being designed by YTG so communities could immediately access this information at any time.

Communication between the technical workers and community members should also be enhanced. The need for training and education for RRC members was addressed in the section related to participant skills. However, government technicians also require training in how to communicate with average citizens. This includes skills in plain language writing and public presentations. This training should be provided by the different government agencies to ensure their representatives are effective co-management participants.

> **Recommendation 13: Training programs for government workers in basic communication and presentation skills should be developed and implemented.**

8.3.2 Community-based Initiatives

8.3.2.1 Actions

Renewable resource issues used to be identified by a central government authority and then presented to the community after management initiatives had already been developed. This does not happen as often under the new co-management system. Wildlife management plans are an example of how communities now drive the processes for both issue identification and problem solving. Forestry is not always as inclusive, although with the development of more community-based forest management plans this could change.

Community Involvement and Consultation

Community involvement in resource management usually begins with the RRCs. They act as the first point of contact and help organize community consultation strategies that are relevant to their communities. Public meetings and information sessions are the preferred methods of both the ARRC and the TRRC to help educate the community on different resource management issues. Surveys are used by both RRCs to collect information from community members regarding their perceptions of resource management and to help identify issues. Planning workshops have been successfully used to include community members in the development of resource management plans. When issues have been controversial or difficult, sub-committees comprised of different community members have been established to deal with these issues. Special interest groups, such as Yukon Conservation Society, Yukon Outfitters Association, Yukon Fish and Game Association and Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society have been included in the community consultations in both regions. Members of the RRCs indicate they are beginning to see changes in resource management as a result of community involvement.

> *I feel like we are some gopher in a hole in the road and there are government trucks going this way and First Nation trucks going that way and we kind of stick our head up and say, "Oh, by the way..." and hold up a stop sign. And all of a sudden, they all slam on the breaks and say "What?! Who is that?" "It's the resource council." "What the heck are they doing here?!" So they drive around. They make little changes. As long as there is money to fund it, it will be part of the way that governments operate. It will just be the way things are done. (RRC member)*

Overall, the approaches to community involvement in both Teslin and Haines Junction are adequate, considering the lack of financial support and limited experience of both councils. For the most part, residents appear to be taking a more active role in the decision-making process.

> *The community I believe has become empowered. They realize that they have the opportunity to shape the decisions for the land that they never had done. Ten years ago, people never showed up to a public meeting because they thought no one would listen to them anyway. Now people show up and they come loaded with their opinions and loaded with questions. And that's great. I might not agree with them, but they want to participate and they want to shape their future. (FN government representative)*

Over consultation was identified as a major concern in both communities. Community consultation on a variety of issues is becoming commonplace, especially as more processes such as land use planning are initiated. Many of these processes (wildlife management, forestry planning, protected areas, land use planning, development assessment process) overlap and have some influence on the other processes being carried out. At present, there is no coordination of

these different planning initiatives because they are all conducted by different governments and various departments. Community consultation may not appear to be a problem to a single government agency (i.e. Department of Renewable Resources) that deals with a single resource (i.e. wildlife), but the community must constantly respond to the consultation demands of each agency. This can lead to burnout and frustration for community-members. Each planning or management process has different objectives, but these groups should be working together to coordinate their efforts and try to find ways of collaborating on related topics. This could help reduce the number of consultative processes and residents may be more willing to get involved.

Recommendation 14: Land and renewable resource management initiatives should be coordinated to reduce the amount of community consultation and to avoid duplication between these processes.

This would require increased communication between government departments and other land and resource management organizations. This could be addressed through annual meetings between these agencies to identify consultation requirements and potential areas of collaboration. Coordination could help reduce costs and avoid duplication in the different processes.

The manner in which public meetings or workshops are conducted should also be examined. Confrontations are commonplace at these meetings, especially when the topic being discussed is controversial. Depending on the issue, it may be appropriate that RRC members facilitate these meetings. Training and education opportunities to ensure RRC members are familiar with meeting facilitation been addressed in previous sections. However, when the potential for conflict is great, an independent facilitator may be a more appropriate choice. This is done already by both the ARRC and the TRRC and it appears to be an effective approach. An independent facilitator can help maintain a positive process and keeps the discussion on track. At present, there is one trusted and well-liked facilitator in the territory who is often used by the RRCs. However, once all 14 RRCs have been established, it will be impossible for one person to carry out all the facilitation needs in the Yukon.

Recommendation 15: Identification and training of facilitators should be a priority before community consultation processes are expanded any further.

A list of other qualified facilitators in the Yukon could be drawn up and distributed to all the co-management partners to inform them of the various facilitators available and their specific skills or background. Facilitation courses and workshops are currently held at Yukon College's Whitehorse campus. These training opportunities are also extended to the communities, but only in a limited way. Training rural residents in these skills should be emphasized, as facilitation will only become more important as these different community-based processes are initiated.

Use of Local Knowledge

Local knowledge is recognized as an important part of renewable resource management by all Yukon partners. The conference on using traditional knowledge organized by the YFWMB in the spring of 1998 helped explain how this information can be used effectively. Today, when local knowledge is available, it is used in developing recommendations and plans. However, partners do not always have access to this information. Part of this is due to confusion over ownership or copyright. In the past, local or traditional knowledge from First Nation communities has been gathered by southern researchers and used without recognition or consultation with the communities. This has created mistrust and many First Nation governments are now very protective of this information. Both the CAFN and the TTC expressed concern over the sharing of this information and indicated they needed to develop guidelines for its use. According to other partners, this is an issue with almost all First Nation governments at this time. This issue needs to be addressed in order for true cooperative management to move forward in the Yukon.

Recommendation 16: Common guidelines for the collection, storage and use of traditional or local knowledge should be developed for all Yukon First Nations.

This should include specific topics such as appropriate software to be used, standardized waivers for interviewees, a framework the information gathering process, storage facility regulations and copyright guidelines. The YFWMB has struck a sub-committee to examine how traditional knowledge is used in fish and wildlife management. They are currently working with CYFN and YTG. This working group could develop guidelines for the use of traditional or local knowledge.

In addition, the collection of local and traditional knowledge should not be the exclusive responsibility of First Nation governments. Although some traditional knowledge is sensitive and should be maintained by the First Nation, the different co-management partners could share the collection of local or land-based knowledge that does not have distinct cultural ties. First Nation governments may not have the time or resources to collect information required by the many different management initiatives. If the information is needed, but the First Nation cannot provide it because of different priorities, the information should be collected by another agency with the approval of the First Nation.

Recommendation 17: Responsibility to collect local knowledge should be shared by all management partners.

This can also assist different agencies develop an understanding of the community context and local concerns. It may also help foster communication skills and trust between communities and different co-management partners. At present, YTG is beginning to collect some of this local knowledge, but only on a very limited scale.

First Nation government representatives indicated a lack of qualified staff is a problem. Yukon College's Renewable Resource Management program does produce qualified renewable resources staff. However, the training is limited as it is only a two-year program and it does not address all renewable resources issues. For example, forestry is not a major component of the program. As forestry becomes more of an issue in the Yukon, it is important residents are given the opportunity to develop the skills required to manage this resource.

Recommendation 18: A forestry program should be developed through Yukon College as a compliment to the present Renewable Resources Program.

People with advanced training in areas such as biology or forestry are rare in the Yukon's First Nation communities. However, residents with an understanding of both local and scientific knowledge are extremely valuable in the new co-management system.

Recommendation 19: Youth should be encouraged to explore the possibility of a career related to renewable resource management.

This does not mean other programs that support the continuation of traditional knowledge and culture should no longer be supported. Both are critical to the continuation of First Nation society. However, the settlement of land claims has established a new regime and certain requirements must be met. Having members who are comfortable with both science and traditional knowledge will only be an asset for First Nation governments.

Use of Scientific Knowledge

The use of scientific knowledge in renewable resource co-management in the two Yukon communities included in this project is well established. The fact both communities have a regional biologist who is available to answer questions and are able to work directly with the RRC and the First Nation government helps in the sharing of scientific knowledge. There is no equivalent position in the forestry section. However, these relationships may be fostered once a community-based forest management plan is established or once devolution of forest management responsibility is completed. Comments made by participants related to the communication of scientific knowledge indicate more emphasis should be placed on training scientists in the use of plain language and presentation skills. This issue is already addressed under the communications section of these recommendations.

The increasing workload of regional biologists could potentially degrade the quality and quantity of scientific knowledge available to the community and other co-management boards. As more claims are signed and more RRCs are established, regional biologists will be expected to

take on more responsibilities. Good communication and strong relationships between the regional biologist and the communities they serve is essential to maintaining trust between the co-management partners. If regional biologists are not able serve these communities to their satisfaction, this trust can be eroded.

Recommendation 20: The regional management section of YTG Renewable Resources should receive additional support as more land claims are settled.

This may not require the creation of additional jobs as certain positions at Whitehorse headquarters could be shifted to the communities. Decentralization may not be popular with some employees, so this could be done over time. A large number of Renewable Resources employees will be retiring in the next decade and this may provide an opportunity to shift some of these positions out into the communities when they are filled. It may also be appropriate to look at this shift as a long-term plan as many RRCs and First Nations require a few years to establish themselves after the settlement of land claims and regional support may not be required immediately.

The constraints and decision-making aspects of co-management in the two communities meet the standards established in the evaluative framework. Both communities have demonstrated their dedication to ensuring all the major stakeholders and decision-makers are involved in the process. The establishment of limitations prior to a decision-making process is of some concern. However, it appears these parameters continue to be flexible and if all parties are involved in a consensus-based approach, trade-offs can be used to find an approach everyone can agree to.

8.3.2.2 Effectiveness

Ecosystem-based

The co-management initiatives that have been developed in the two communities reflect the components included in the discussion related to ecosystem management theory developed by R.E. Grumbine. By including residents, the notion of humans being part of nature is addressed. These are local people who have a direct connection to the surrounding environment. They have personal knowledge of the surrounding area and ecosystem functions. They also have some understanding of the impacts of their activities. Including these people in management decisions allows for greater knowledge and perhaps more careful approaches to resource management.

> *I told that guy who came up here for parks, you come up here representing the rest of Canada, but the rest of Canada doesn't have to live here. They don't realize how tied we are to the land, and that includes them. Just because they buy stuff in the store doesn't make any difference. Their stuff still comes from the land. If you are here to protect the land it is very frustrating, because most people look at it and say, what can I get out of it? How can I load my pockets? But for me, my pockets could be*

empty, but if I have trees and a good life, that to me is being as rich as having pockets full of money. A lot of people tend not to see that. (FN government representative)

In addition, creating management plans that include all wildlife or forestry values within an area, such as the plans being developed in the two communities, meets the requirement for an inclusive approach to management. Collaboration between these different planning groups, as recommended previously, will only enhance this integrated approach. In addition, the use of traditional territories as management units creates large, but defined areas to work with. The inclusion of adjacent First Nation governments or communities whose traditional territory overlaps with the planning area helps expand the boundaries and ensures that all groups understand the initiatives being developed in nearby traditional territories.

Risk

Neither the Teslin or Haines Junction communities are comfortable taking large risks with their local resources. In almost every example collected for this project, the communities always supported a very conservative approach to resource use. This may be related to the stable economies in these two communities. Neither community is in a poor economic state that may push them to take bigger risks for their resources. This may change. At present, industry pressure is not a major concern, although forestry is quickly becoming an issue. This may create more pressure for development as some local people see the opportunity to make money from large logging operations. However, this is not a major concern at this time. Instead, both communities appear to be firmly in support of careful and sustainable economic development.

Monitoring is an important part of all the management plans developed for wildlife and forestry management that were reviewed for this project. The respective governments who usually share management responsibilities are carrying out this monitoring. These management plans are to be reviewed every few years and it is the responsibility of the RRC to ensure all partners are fulfilling the actions they agreed to complete for the plan. Depending on the information gathered and the results of new management approaches, these plans will be adapted to ensure the resources are being managed to the best of the partner's abilities and community values continue to be included.

Conflict

Conflict has created many problems for the community-based process in both Teslin and Haines Junction. Conflict between communities and government is no longer as serious of an

issue. However, conflict between residents appears to be a growing concern. By bringing communities into the decision-making process, there is no longer a removed entity that can be blamed if people are not happy with an initiative or an outcome. Although this type of conflict is a problem in the Yukon approach to co-management, relationships within a community do not need to be destroyed. The recommendation to educate community members on the true role of the RRCs could hopefully alleviate some of this conflict and reduce misunderstandings. In addition, attempts to include vocal residents or local organizations in all stages of planning and decision-making can help reduce conflict. Training residents and using independent facilitators at public meetings and planning sessions will also help reduce this conflict by keeping discussions on topic and controlled.

> **Recommendation 21: An independent facilitator should be used at all community meetings and workshops where controversial issues are to be discussed.**

RRCs are often aware which meetings will be more difficult because they know the community and the different factions that may present themselves. RRC members can be used to identify specific meetings when a facilitator would be appropriate. This is already being done for both forest management and wildlife planning. The costs of a facilitator should be paid by the proponent of the co-management initiative and should be included in project budgets.

Community Support

The problems illustrated in the evaluation of community do not appear to significantly affect the success of co-management in the Yukon. Community support for management initiatives will hopefully increase as the different management partners become more familiar with their roles and begin collaborating on more high-profile projects. Recommendations to increase community understanding of the co-management process may also help. Reducing the number of consultative processes may also help reduce local frustrations and create a more positive attitude towards consultation in the communities.

Government Support

Almost every person interviewed for this project identified a lack of government support for the co-management process as a major problem. This is even perceived to be a problem by people working within these governments. For the most part, upper level bureaucrats and centralized government offices were most often targets of the complaint. However, if this discontent continues, it could seriously undermine the co-management process in the Yukon, as it

will only lead to increased mistrust and frustration. Communities and First Nation governments have had to resort to legal threats at times in order to make the government listen to their concerns and take them seriously. However, this cannot be done for every issue. It would be very costly and time consuming. In the end, it would also most likely add to the breakdown of the system.

There is no obvious way of addressing this concern based on the current government structure. However, the possibility of change may lie the devolution of renewable resource management from the federal to the territorial government. This devolution of power is scheduled to happen in April 2001. Renewable resource management will potentially be restructured under this program and instead of having all government employees working out of a head office, regional managers will be hired for each community and they will coordinate all local resource management activities (B. Pelchat pers.com). This new approach could bring government accountability down to the community level. However, until devolution happens this can only be a speculation. In the absence of any clear understanding of how resource management will look after devolution, the creation of a regional forest management position may help alleviate some of the frustration related to poor government support and assist in fostering stronger relationships between this particular management agency and the communities.

Recommendation 22: Forest managers should be hired for each region, as already defined by YTG's Department of Renewable Resources.

This will require additional funding for the federal forestry department and subsequently YTG once devolution happens. However, this position is necessary if true co-management is to be successfully implemented.

8.4 Implications for Co-management Practice in the Yukon

Yukon land claim agreements are formal, legally binding pieces of legislation passed by the Canadian parliament. Co-management of renewable resources is a result of these agreements. Both the federal and the territorial government legally has the responsibility to manage lands and resources within the territory, but they have now signed contracts that demonstrate they are willing to share this responsibility with First Nation governments and local communities. The Umbrella Final Agreement (UFA) outlines many different resources that must now be managed cooperatively. This project has focused on the renewable resources of wildlife and forests. However, the experiences of the different partners involved in the cooperative management of these resources could potentially be extended to other topics.

Since the final agreements can only be changed with the consent of all the original signatories, changing these agreements is very difficult. It was not possible to foresee how every clause of the agreement could be implemented. As a result, many of the problems related to the claim must be addressed to the extent possible under the current framework. Certain issues, such as limiting the number of RRC members or specific details related to their responsibilities can be negotiated within individual claims in the future. However, other issues such as developing collaborative relationships between RRCs or other governments will have to be done on an informal basis without specific recognition within the claim. If this is to happen, all partners will have to have a cooperative attitude and be willing to adapt the original intent of the final agreements to reflect current realities.

> *Some of the structures that we have put into the claim are useless. Some of the concepts and the principles we have put in there don't work. Half of this land claim agreement is not being put into effect because it doesn't work. A lot of things that are based on someone else's model and that we have found we don't want to use... The First Nations through the negotiations made sure that the Sparrow Principle that was established by the Supreme Court of Canada was respected. But at the same time, we live in the communities, and we live with our neighbors and we wanted to make sure they also had opportunities. (FN government representative)*

There are many problems with the current renewable resource co-management process in the Yukon, but it is definitely not a failure. In many cases, it improves and expands the co-management approaches developed under other land claims agreements. This is a very new approach to management for people in the Yukon. Five years is not a very long time. Much of the frustration and confusion expressed by the project participants can be attributed to the slow learning curve associated with these new organizations and processes. The co-management process should be continually evolving and adapting to new knowledge. This is happening in the two communities involved in this study. They are learning by doing, which is helping them form a process that reflects the realities each communities.

Although co-management in the Yukon is a direct result of First Nation land claims agreements, local non- First Nation people have also benefited from the new process. Despite the problems related to co-management in the Yukon, it should be recognized as one positive example of how communities can come together and manage resources.

> *When you first heard about co-management, people thought it was just going to be strictly aboriginals and other governments co-managing, but it provides an opportunity for non-aboriginal people in the community to be a part of the decision and making process and recommending things. So in some ways, it's worked out better than a lot of us envisioned. (RRC member)*

Yukoners may only be able to see the faults in the Yukon process because they do not see what is occurring in other regions of the world. By giving community members a meaningful role to play in co-management, the Yukon is embarking on an experiment in democracy and sustainable development.

> *Most people are always pissed off because they are only ever given a pretense of power. If you give them authentic power, they usually don't abuse it. There is a leader from Champagne Aishihik.... He said when he used to fly in a helicopter and someone else was flying it, he'd sit there feeling really comfortable. He was in this machine that would convey him from here to there and he had a lovely view. When he first learned to fly and was in charge of the controls, he said he felt like he was hanging in mid-space from a rotor. So the sense of responsibility changed completely. The sense of awareness, the amount of attention he was paying. What he was saying was when you give people the power to do something, which they get from these kinds of cooperative management boards, then they actually do care. They are not pretending to care. They are not throwing rocks, because they don't have anyone else to blame anymore. Cooperative management gives people a place, ordinary people. (RRC member)*

If one looks beyond the local conflicts, the problems with collecting local knowledge or the limited government support, the uniqueness and the international significance of the Yukon approach to renewable resource management becomes apparent.

The communities of Haines Junction and Teslin should not be used as a measure to determine the success of co-management in other Yukon communities. The purpose of this project was simply to highlight their areas of concern and their successes so they could be used to improve the co-management process in their communities and to provide information that could be used by other co-management bodies in the Yukon. However, the experiences of each community will be different. Issues will be given different priorities and personalities will affect the approach taken to co-management. The only true measure of success will be the ability of the community and the different partners to work together and ensure a healthy environment for future generations of Yukoners.

> *As people work together more and more, you start to erase the racial boundary that exists between governments. You have a government that is basically white and a First Nation government that is basically native and there is that split. It's partly a way of healing that split, by having people work as a team or partners. The whole claims process was an adversarial process, but now we are sort of have to get passed that and start working together. (FN government representative)*

8.5 Conclusion

Developing an evaluative framework that would capture the complexities of the co-management process in the Yukon posed a significant challenge to this research. Instead of being able to focus attention on a single board or organization, many different partners had to be

included in the project. In the Yukon, co-management does not necessarily happen at the RRC level. Co-management is what happens when the different partners work together to agree on a management plan or a strategy. Therefore, it was important to examine how these plans are developed and how the community is involved. Two communities were included in the case studies, although only one was approached initially. In retrospect, including both communities provided a richer understanding of how co-management is working. The UFA does present a standard framework for how these groups should work. But, because it is only a framework, the details related to the implementation of these agreements and processes are different in each region. In the case of Teslin and Haines Junction, each community is at a different stage of developing co-management and comparing or contrasting their experiences provides useful information.

The evaluative framework proposed in this project differs from previous frameworks (Chambers 1999, Roberts 1994, Morgan 1993) in that it attempts to focus attention on the effectiveness of co-management as an approach to renewable resource management. The notion of power sharing and the details of operations are important to consider. However, these points should be secondary to the quality of decision-making and the success of the process. Therefore, instead of focusing on quantitative date, this project focused on qualitative information. This is a more subjective approach, but it allows for the inclusion of the opinions and perceptions of co-management participants and can help paint a clearer picture of the processes successes and weaknesses. The small number of participants in this project did not allow for a clear statistical breakdown, as the sample sizes would be too small to be useful. Instead, all interviewees were included as one large sample and their opinions were not broken down into source categories. This did not create an understanding of how individual agencies perceive co-management in the two communities, but it did allow for a rich and diverse view of the entire process.

A general conclusion of this project is that community involvement does lead to a higher quality of resource management. Many of the issues discussed under the effectiveness heading of the evaluative framework illustrated the successes of this approach. The quality of the decisions made through this process is its greatest achievement. By including local residents, community values can be reflected in the decisions being made. In the Yukon, where many people still enjoy some elements of a "bush" lifestyle, the careful management of the environment is a priority. Only through careful management will resources remain for future generations. In addition, the tendency to take fewer risks and to include a variety of knowledge bases appears to lead to a more sustainable approach to development. These communities are not preservationists. They believe in using their resources. However, they also want to continue to enjoy the way of life they are

accustomed to. That requires trade-offs. In the two communities involved in this project, that trade-off appears to be a rejection of large-scale industry and resource extraction.

There are people who criticize the co-management process in the Yukon, but it is much better than the situation enjoyed by communities in other jurisdictions, especially those without comprehensive land claim agreements. First Nation self-government is a fact in the Yukon. Community involvement in decision-making is legislated. Although people may fight over how it is to be done, there is a framework already in place that can help make these things happen in a meaningful way. The Yukon is one area where land claims have been settled and First Nation people do not make up the majority of the population. Southern Canada can learn from this experience. While B.C. residents fight over land claim settlements in their province, they only have to look to the Yukon to see how these agreements can work.

> *There has always been hard feelings and people who think there shouldn't have been a land claims settlement, but those people are living in the past. It's legal and they are a government and they have to work with them. If they are not working together, then they are just doing a disservice to themselves. You have to share... Their motto was "together today for our children tomorrow" and that's true. Even the resource council, we are there to protect treasures for our grandchildren. You have to think of future generations, because if we don't, who will? (RRC member)*

The settlement of land claims has marked a new era in the Yukon. For the first time, the rights of certain segments of society are not being debated. There has been an agreement and now everyone must move on. The quality and support of the decisions made through co-management partnerships illustrates the true success of the collaborative process evolving in the territory. The path the Yukon follows must now be shared in order to ensure a sustainable future for everyone. In the words of First Nation elder Roddy Blackjack, "Let us not walk down the path one behind the other. Let us walk side by side together" (A Shared Journey, Video #6, 1996). First Nation and non-First Nation people must learn to walk together. This is only the beginning.

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Personal Communications

Mike Crawshay, Chair, Alsek RRC, November 17, 1999.

Denny Dennison, Vice-chair, Teslin RRC, March 23, 1999

Harvey Jessup, Harvest Biologist, YTG, July 28, 1999

Lawrence Joe, Director of Lands and Resources, CAFN, July 14, 1999

Neil Morehouse, Director, Forest Management, INAC, September 17, 1999

Brian Pelchat, Director, Regional Management, YTG, June 17, 1999

Mike Robinson, Executive Director, Arctic Institute of North America, December 14, 1999

Barney Smith, Public Involvement Biologist, YTG, July 28, 1999

Hugh Taylor, Director, Lands and Resources, TTC, July 26, 1999

Doug Urquhart, Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board, August 12, 1999

Appendix A: Research Questions

Background

Tell me a bit about your self: how long have you been in the Yukon? What is your occupation? Did you have any previous experience with resource management? Co-management? Has your background helped you in your current position? How?

Formation

Why did the co-management process start in your community?
What was it like to get organized? What type of guidance/instruction were you given? Was there an implementation strategy for you to follow? Has your organization changed in any way since the co-management process began?
Co-management in the Yukon is different from other jurisdictions in that it focuses on a resource council made up of regular citizens instead of government representatives. Why? Does it work?

Organization

Composition

What is the role of the RRC? How are council members chosen? How long do members sit on the board? What is the turn-over rate? Is it hard to find people to sit on the council? Are you happy with the number of members on the council?

Participant skills/education

What skills should council members have? What have you learned since becoming involved in this process? Have you received any special training?

Authority

How much authority does the council have? Should it have more or less authority?

Funding

How are your operations funded? Are you paid? How? Is the funding/pay adequate? Do you have enough employees to do your job?

Accountability

Who is the council accountable to? Should the council be elected? Why or why not?

Governments

What is the role of government in this process? Which employees deal with co-management issues? Is this in addition to other responsibilities? Do you have enough employees? Have new positions been developed? Have employees received additional training for this process?

Stakeholders

What role do stakeholder organizations play in resource planning and management?

Operations

Meetings

How often to you meet to discuss management issues? Who attends these meetings? How are these meetings structured? Do you feel that they are effective?
How often do you meet with other partners? Stakeholders?

Secretariat

What is the role of the secretariat? Is the secretariat well supported? What skills make a good secretariat?

Expectations

How much time do you spend on council/management work each month? Has it changed since you first got involved? Are you comfortable with your present workload?
Does the council have enough time to consult the community? Do governments respond to your recommendations in a timely fashion?

Research/Access to Information
Do you have the means to conduct research to answer questions you may have regarding management issues? Is there anywhere else you can get this information? Is it easy to get? Have you conducted any research as a result of the co-management process? What was it? Was it successful?
Government: Has co-management changed your approach to research? Why or why not?
Communication
How is information shared at your meetings? Is it easy to understand the information being presented? Do you have much contact with other jurisdictions? Contact with other RRCs?

Actions

Community Involvement and Consultation
How do you consult other community members on management issues? Is it effective? If yes, why? If no, how might they be improved? Do you use a facilitator? Why or why not?
Local *Knowledge*
How is it gathered? How is it communicated (partners/community)? Is it effective? If yes, why? If no, how might it be improved?
Scientific Knowledge
How is it gathered? How is it communicated (partners/community)? Is it effective? If yes, why? If no, how might it be improved?
Decision-making
How does your group make decisions about positions or issues? Is this an effective way to make decisions? How are decisions made at planning sessions? Is this an effective way to make decisions?

Effectiveness

What types of issues have been dealt with in your community through the co-management process? How were they dealt with? Quickly/effectively?
Do you think the decisions that are made through this process show a concern for the environment? Why? Is this different from the way decisions were made before?
Are decisions made through this process supported by your community? Why?
Do the decisions made through this process take into account or incorporate other local issues? Is this different than the way decisions were made before?
Has this approach changed community attitudes toward resource management in any way? If yes, how? If no, why?
Has this approach changed the type of conflicts within the community?
Does the government support initiatives proposed through this process? Has the way government works in the territory changed in any way to reflect this new style of management?

Attitudes

Who benefits from co-management? How does the existing process compare to your original expectations of co-management?
What do you see as problems or areas of concern? Would you improve the process in any way?
Do you feel the goals of your organization are being met? What do you think is the most successful aspect of co-management in the Yukon?

Appendix B: Interview Consent Form

Title of Research Project:
An Evaluation of Renewable Resource Co-Management in the Yukon

Investigator:
Kelly Hayes, University of Calgary, Faculty of Environmental Design

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, please ask. Please take the time to read this form carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

This project will examine the co-operative management of renewable resources in the Yukon as it has developed since the settlement of land claims in 1995. The purpose of this research is to identify strengths and weaknesses of current methods and provide recommendations for future management to relevant agencies. Through your personal involvement with co-management in the Yukon, you have been identified as a potential participant in this study. This project will pose no risk to you in any way.

The primary investigator, Kelly Hayes, will conduct one to two hour interviews with each of the consenting participants. During each of these interviews, several topics related to the project will be raised for discussion. You will be free to speak on each of these issues in whatever manner you choose. You also have the right to refuse to answer any questions. If you do not feel comfortable taking part in an interview, alternative methods of participation may be discussed with the investigator.

All interviews will be recorded and will be transcribed for analysis. Each interview will be given a code so names will not be directly attached to the transcriptions. All of this information will be strictly confidential and will not be shared with anyone other than the primary investigator. The names of participants will not be used in the final document. General references to your affiliation (e.g. Resource Council, First Nation, YTG, NGO) will be used only with your consent. Cassette tapes and transcripts of interviews will be securely stored in the primary researcher's office, which is not open to public. This data will be destroyed two years after project completion. All interested participants will receive a copy of the final report, including the recommendations developed by the primary investigator.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time. Your continued participation should be as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation. If you have further questions concerning matters related to this research, please contact Kelly Hayes at (867) 393-4554. If you have any questions concerning your participation in this project, you may also contact the Environmental Design Research Ethics Committee, Prof. Theresa Baxter at (403) 220-7741.

Please indicate if I may use general references to your affiliation in the final document: ☐ Yes ☐ No

Participant	Date
Investigator/Witness	Date

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.