

**ON HAIDA TERMS
SELF-DETERMINATION AND LAND USE PLANNING
ON HAIDA GWAIH**

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ABSTRACT

In December 2007, the Council of the Haida Nation (CHN) and the Government of BC ratified a Strategic Land Use Agreement for Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands) as a result of “government-to-government” negotiations. The highlights of the Agreement include an increase in co-managed protected areas, a decrease in the annual allowable cut, and the adoption of “ecosystem-based management.” Given that Indigenous peoples have experienced social and environmental injustice related to resource management, it is important to analyze the movement of power through this innovative planning process. Drawing on my interviews with CHN politicians, I evaluate the planning process and outcomes privileging Haida perspectives. By strategically performing their self-determination, the CHN reoriented the planning process to reflect Haida goals in ecological governance with a focus on transforming relationships. However, throughout the process the CHN also encountered the reification of dominant power-knowledge relations that constrained opportunities available to the Haida Nation.

DEDICATION

This thesis is specifically dedicated to the Haida Nation, but I hope that it will be useful to First Nations in Canada more broadly.

The research was undertaken in the spirit of cultivating cross-cultural, community-university engagement and in the interest of fostering a sustainable, inclusive, and just environment.

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Introduction

Indigenous peoples¹ consistently articulate that access to, and the stewarding of, traditional territories and natural resources are critical for meeting socio-economic, cultural, and spiritual needs and are integral to self-determination. As such, Indigenous peoples seek strong roles in decision-making pertaining to their territories and livelihoods. Land use planning is instrumental to the development and implementation of systems of environmental management and resource extraction, yet historically Indigenous peoples have been predominantly excluded from, or marginalized within, environmental planning and ecological governance. This exclusion often results in the imposition of resource management regimes with rigid physical and discursive boundaries. As new ontological orientations to the environment replace Indigenous ones, Indigenous communities are frequently displaced, and/or restrictions and prohibitions are imposed to regulate acceptable behaviour on their territories. Globally, this has inflicted deleterious impacts on people's livelihoods and the cultural institutions in which environmental relationships are produced.

As recognition of Indigenous rights becomes more widespread, conservation organizations, development agencies, and governments are increasingly adopting the language of Indigenous "participation" and "empowerment" in planning, and popularizing the "decentralization" of resource management (Lane 2003; Zimmerer 2006). Some contend that Indigenous peoples in settler states such as Canada are engaged in emancipatory planning in

¹ I use the term "Indigenous" to refer to Indigenous people in international contexts, but also to refer to the Haida (some CHN members expressed preference for this term). The United Nations defines Indigenous peoples as communities, peoples, and nations who have historical continuity with pre-colonial societies. "Aboriginal" refers to people of Indian, Metis, and Inuit descent in the Canadian context. "First Nation" has no legal definition, but technically it does not include Metis or Inuit peoples, although it is used to replace "Band" in naming communities. I use "Aboriginal" to describe an Indigenous identity in Canada and First Nation(s) to refer to communities of people with Aboriginal identities in Canada, which is a more inclusive use of the term.

which the goal is to “transform the structural dimensions of oppression” (Lane and Hibbard 2005, 172). However, participatory processes are undermined by exclusionary practices that constrain or disadvantage Indigenous involvement in decision-making. Additionally, when powerful, non-Indigenous actors determine the *means* of Indigenous participation within external planning processes and management institutions, unequal power relations are reinforced—rather than rearranged. In these ways, Indigenous peoples continue to experience marginalization, which restricts efforts of cultural revitalization, environmental stewardship, community economic development, and self-determination.

Contrary to the prevalent conservation ideal that ascribes a pre-modern and intrinsic preservation ethic to Indigenous peoples, Indigenous peoples have actively managed, harvested, worked, altered *and*, in many cases, preserved landscapes throughout their histories (Berkes 1999; Braun 2002; Krech 1999; Peacock and Turner 2000; Turner *et al.* 2000): oral history and evidence of anthropomorphically shaped ecosystems confirm that Indigenous peoples have modified landscapes over the millennia (Anderson 1996; Ford 2000; Nicholas 1999; Turner 2005). The persistent belief that human habitation and use of the environment precludes the possibility of conservation stems from a Eurocentric, Enlightenment-era discourse in which “Nature” is positioned outside of human culture. This ubiquitous belief is part of a discursive practice that rationalizes an exclusionary model of environmental management wherein Indigenous systems of land use are relegated to a pre-modern past (in which Indigenous peoples were seen to be living in a state of nature) (Braun 2002; Harris 2004; Willems-Braun 1997). This conservation discourse contributes to “fortress conservation,” which encloses ecosystems within rigid discursive and physical borders forming “islands of nature” in a sea of development and industrial activity (Neumann 2005; Zimmerer 2000).

While this divisive practice has become naturalized as a key model of ecosystem management, social constructivists argue that “Nature” is a discursive construction that powerfully shapes human-environment relationships and orders environmental knowledge (Braun and Wainwright 2001; Castree 2001; Escobar 1998). Thus, some forms of ecological knowledge and practices are legitimated and valued while others subordinated (Zerner 2000). For example, Eurocentric discourses that separate culture from the environment have garnered sufficient legitimacy to produce “effects of truth” that perpetuate dominant power relations in environmental access and control (Braun and Wainwright 2001; Foucault 1994a, 119). This represents the triumph of privileged expressions of rationality over Indigenous worldviews that encourage a symbiotic relationship with the environment. It is within exclusionary forms of environmental management—symptomatic of larger processes of colonization and capitalism—that this thesis locates the social injustice and colonialism of Indigenous exclusion, displacement, and marginalization in environmental planning and management.

One promising and innovative example of Indigenous participation and self-determination in land-use planning, conservation, and resource management is unfolding on Haida Gwaii, or the “Queen Charlotte Islands,” off the central/north coast of British Columbia (BC), Canada (Appendix A: map). In December of 2007, the leadership of the Haida Nation—the Council of the Haida Nation (CHN)—and the Government of BC (the Province) ratified a comprehensive “Strategic Land Use Agreement²” for Haida Gwaii. This land and resource management plan is the result of six years of participatory planning, which included input from residents of Haida Gwaii, environmental groups, and the forest industry. The Land Use Agreement for Haida Gwaii is one of a few “legacy” resource management plans that involve a

² In provincial planning lexicon Strategic Land Use Agreements are also referred to as “land use plans,” and “land and resource management plans,” or LRMPs.

jointly hosted planning process. At the outset of the planning process the Haida Nation asserted that they require a central role in planning and management on their traditional territory, consequently refusing to participate as a stakeholder—the way the Province had envisioned. Instead, the CHN declared they would co-chair the planning process with the Government of BC and all decisions would be made jointly on a “government-to-government” basis (Beldessi 2007; Guujaaw 2007).

The highlights of the “Haida Gwaii/Queen Charlotte Islands Land Use Agreement” include a significant increase in co-managed protected areas—with special provisions for Haida harvesting—including the formal protection of all the areas the Haida previously declared as protected; a significant decrease in the rate of logging; and the adoption of “ecosystem-based management,” an approach that emphasizes the ecological integrity of ecosystems *and* the economic sustainability of resource-dependent communities. These objectives, and the way in which the two governments reached agreement, positions this joint land use plan at the cutting edge of land use planning and resource co-management with First Nations in BC. However, because the government-to-government negotiations between the CHN and the Province were closed, a comprehensive evaluation of the land use planning *process*, along with an evaluation of the preliminary results—particularly from *Haida* perspectives—is lacking. In this thesis, I begin to fill in this gap by analyzing, in collaboration with the Council of the Haida Nation, Haida perceptions and evaluations of, and self-determination within, the strategic land use planning process for Haida Gwaii.

Focusing on Haida perceptions of the land use plan is important given the extensive documentation of the problems externally imposed regimes of environmental planning and management pose for Indigenous communities. Thus, the innovations in land use planning need to be examined carefully to determine whether they tend to reproduce the documented

inequalities in environmental planning and management; or, alternatively, whether they represent opportunities and successes that other Indigenous communities could potentially replicate, or adapt, on their territories. Uncovering these perspectives in collaboration with Haida politicians and planners ensures a more accurate and insightful contribution to the political ecology of Indigenous peoples in land use planning in BC than one concerned primarily with the provincial government. Throughout this thesis I work with the following themes: the relationship between colonialism and resource management/conservation; processes of territorialization and the performance of sovereignty and nationalism; and Indigenous self-determination and environmental stewardship. I explore these themes through a power-knowledge lens, which I describe at the end of this chapter following a review of the political ecology literature and a detailed description of the research questions. This approach privileges Haida evaluations of this innovative land use plan implemented on their territory.

Background on Haida Gwaii: the Place and People

The information about the physical and human geography of Haida Gwaii is taken from the “Haida Gwaii/Queen Charlotte Islands Land Use Plan: Background Report³” (2003)—hereafter referred to as “Background Report” and ethnobotanist (and adopted Haida member) Nancy Turner’s (2004) *Plants of Haida Gwaii. Diidaa kwaa gwaayaay* is the oldest Haida name for the island archipelago in the northeast Pacific Ocean. This name means the “Islands of the People,” or literally, “out of concealment,” or “the visible world” (Background Report 2003, 3; Turner 2004). In 1787, Captain Dixon re-named the archipelago the “Queen Charlotte Islands” after a ship (Background Report 2003). The Haida were not consulted about this name change

³ The Background Report is an extensive (213 page) report that was written collaboratively by the “Process Technical Team” of the provincial land use planning process with significant input from the Haida Nation

and subsequently have maintained the commonly used Haida name, *Haida Gwaii* (Turner 2004). Haida Gwaii consists of approximately 150 islands; however, Skidegate Inlet and Skidegate Channel connect the two main islands of: Graham Island in the North, and Moresby Island in the south (Background Report 2003; Turner 2004). The archipelago is separated from the mainland by the Hecate Strait, which ranges in width from 50 km at the north end to 130 km at the south end (Turner 2004). Its total land mass is approximately 250 km long and 80 kilometers wide—about 10,000 km² (Turner 2004)—with “4700 km of shoreline and approximately 4000 water bodies of various sizes” (Background Report 2003, 3).

The geological and physiographic features of Haida Gwaii are the result of “volcanic activity, folding, uplift, erosion, sedimentation and glaciation”⁴ (Turner 2004). The geography of the area resembles that of the coastal mainland of BC and southern regions of Alaska; it is known for “mountainous terrain, deep fjords, bog lowlands, temperate rainforests, sub-alpine tundra, and salmon spawning streams” (Background Report 2003, 3). The geography of Haida Gwaii is unique, however, because it partially escaped glaciation during the last Ice Age (Background Report 2003). This, in conjunction with its isolation from the mainland has resulted in a significant number of endemic plant and animal species, which contribute to the unique ecology and biodiversity of the region. It is partially for this reason that Haida Gwaii is referred to as the “Galapagos of the North” (Background Report 2003, 13). However, this biodiversity continues to be threatened by logging that was so extensive in the 1970s and 1980s it resulted in the major Haida blockade on Lyell Island. Industrial logging has continued since this historic event, which lead to the establishment of the Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site over the majority of Moresby Island. Many plant species and plant community types are listed by

⁴ Some of the volcanic rock on Haida Gwaii, thousands of metres thick in places, is over 200 million years old (Turner 2004).

the BC Conservation Data Center as “conservation concerns”—though this list does not sufficiently encapsulate all of the at-risk species (Background Report 2003, 34). The principle threats to biodiversity are logging, the introduction of invasive species (particularly black-tailed deer) and climate change (Background Report 2003).

As the sole Indigenous occupants of Haida Gwaii, Haida territory includes the entire archipelago, the surrounding waters, and extends into the sub-surface area and air space (CHN 2008). The Haida Nation consists of all people of Haida ancestry and every Haida citizen is entitled to harvest resources on Haida Gwaii for cultural, nutritional and commercial reasons within the bounds of the Laws of the Haida Nation (Background Report 2003, 15).

Graham Island, in the north, consists of six villages including Old Massett, Masset, Port Clements, Tlell, Skidegate, and Queen Charlotte City (from north to south). Sandspit is the main village on Moresby Island. Seasonal communities also live on the Yakoun and Copper rivers on Graham Island and Moresby Island respectively. The total population of Haida Gwaii is about 5,000 (Pierre Lefebvre Consulting 2006, i). Approximately 37% of the total population is of Haida or other First Nation ancestry with 80% residing in Old Massett and Skidegate (Pierre Lefebvre Consulting 2006, i). Based on Census Canada data from 2006, the reported population of Masset was 940, while the population of Old Massett, the adjacent Haida community and reserve, had a reported population of 694 in 2006 (Statistics Canada 2008). The other major population centers are Skidegate and Queen Charlotte City on the southern end of the Graham Island. Skidegate is the Haida community and reserve of 781 people and Queen Charlotte City had a population of 948 in 2006 (Statistics Canada 2008). Port Clements (population of 440 in 2006) and Tlell (population statistics are unavailable) are smaller, mainly non-Haida communities located between Skidegate and Masset (Statistics Canada 2008). Sandspit has suffered a major population loss with changes in the forest industry and in 2001 reported a population of 435

(Background Report 2003, 8). The economy of Haida Gwaii is heavily based on the forest and public sectors (Pierre Lefebvre Consulting 2006).

Before colonization and the devastating population decline that ensued due to smallpox epidemics, among other introduced diseases, the Haida lived throughout the archipelago (Appendix B). When the Haida's population base declined from ten thousand to tens of thousands of Haida (population estimates vary widely) to approximately 600 Haida in the late 19th century, the surviving Haida could no longer sustain their village sites. As a result, the survivors living on Moresby Island and the surrounding islands, congregated in Skidegate while the survivors of Graham Island and vicinity regrouped in Massett (Turner 2004). Two dialectics of the Haida language emerged: Skidegate and Masset dialect (Turner 2004). There are two major clans in Haida society: the Raven and the Eagle clans with descent passed through the matrilineal line. Traditionally, Haida Ravens and Eagles could not marry within their clan, and thus unions involved a Raven and an Eagle. As Ghandl, the great Haida mythteller (who shared oral history with ethnographer John Swanton in 1901) explained, the division into Raven and Eagle sides was a "web of reciprocal interrelations...not a social contract; [rather, a] part of the intrinsic structure of the world" (Bringhurst 1999, 67). The Haida are a culturally vibrant nation today and are known internationally for their magnificent art. Having introduced the research and the fieldsite, I now surmise the relevant literature and situate my research within its broader context. I follow this with a detailed description of the research questions, my theoretical framework, and an outline of the thesis.

Political Ecology

My research is strongly influenced by political ecology, a diverse discipline that grew out of society-environment studies explicitly concerned with politics and power in the 1970s. In particular, my theoretical approach resonates with two streams of inquiry in political ecology: “liberation ecology” (Watts and Peet 2004) and “critical political ecology” (Forsyth 2003). These approaches offer conceptual tools for analyzing how power is produced, reified, and transformed through territory and space, with particular attention to marginalized populations. Watts and Peet (2004) advocate for a liberatory political ecology that challenges norms of development, politics, democracy and sustainability, thereby extending a justice-based framework in environmental politics. Other political ecologists have described the approach as one interested in the links between the environment, social movements, livelihoods, economies, and social justice, and how identity politics shape these interactions (Forsyth 2003; Neumann 2005; Robbins 2004).

Similarly, Forsyth (2003, 267), a proponent of *critical* political ecology and of social constructivist ideas about “nature,” encourages an understanding of ecology that is biophysically grounded, socially relevant, and inclusive of diverse expressions of knowledge. Critical political ecology is concerned with the production of knowledge and truth in environmental discourses that affect both environmental management and local populations that experience, respond to, and mitigate environmental degradation in various ways. Forsyth argues that environmental orthodoxies, or meta-narratives concerning environmental degradation, often lead to environmental policies that negatively impact marginalized peoples who are under-represented in policy-making and environmental management (Forsyth 2003). Thus, both streams of inquiry are oriented around a concern for social justice.

Social justice in the context of political ecology refers to the ability of people to access the environmental resources they require for physical and cultural survival and well-being, and to have the ability to participate in decision-making that affects their communities and livelihoods. Thus, “regimes of nature management” must be theorized in relation to social justice and governance (Zerner 2000, 17). In order to link social justice with Indigenous self-determination I find it productive to adopt Nobel laureate and economist Amartya Sen’s (1999) approach to social justice in *Development as Freedom*. Sen (1999, 33) emphasizes that understandings of development must focus on “removing the unfreedoms from which the members of the society may suffer.” Development as freedom entails overcoming unfreedoms—such as poverty, low life expectancy, repressive states, and a lack of opportunities—all of which disproportionately affect Indigenous populations (Sen 1999). In this sense, social justice involves the freedom and capability to embrace opportunity and self-determination, thus moving beyond a limited definition of freedom from various abuses and injustices (Sen 1999).

The social justice of environmental management regimes—including the extraction and protection of natural resources—has begun, at least rhetorically, to be addressed seriously in discourses of Indigenous rights at the international policy level. Indigenous displacement from occupied lands and denial of customary rights disregards international agreements such as the ILO Convention 169⁵ “Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries” (International Labour Organization 2006). This Convention is a declaration of the rights of Indigenous peoples and calls on governments to respect these through a number of principles;

⁵ The ILO is the UN agency that promotes social justice and human and labour rights (ILO 2008). Convention No. 169 was designed to protect the right of Indigenous and tribal peoples safeguard their legal and customary systems regardless of the larger national societies in which they reside (ILO 2008). Regardless of how effective the ILO is in their work with Indigenous peoples, the point is that an international legal declaration, developed by the United Nations, recognizes the cultural and physical significance of the environment for Indigenous and tribal peoples within a legal framework.

however, only nineteen states have ratified the convention—not including Canada (International Labour Organization 2006). Several principles of the Convention are directly related to the environment; for example, Article 15(1) states:

The rights of the peoples concerned to the natural resources pertaining to their lands shall be specially safeguarded. These rights include the rights of these peoples to participate in the use, management and conservation of these resources (International Labour Organization 2006, www.ilo.org/ilolex/cgi-lex/convde.pl?C169).

While the efficacy and impact of such declarations are questionable, the principles of Convention 169 resonate with other demands from important international organizations such as the leading international conservation agency, the World Conservation Union (IUCN)⁶, that has developed five guiding principles for equitable forms of conservation and resource management such as the following (Principle One):

...[Indigenous peoples] should be recognized as rightful, equal partners in the development and implementation of conservation strategies that affect their lands, territories, waters, coastal seas, and other resources, and in particular in the establishment and management of protected areas (Beltran 2000, ix).

The IUCN states that decentralization, participation, transparency, and accountability are fundamental to achieving this principle and recommends the implementation of co-management structures in protected areas where Indigenous peoples are affected, and the reinforcement and extension of co-management where it already exists (Beltran 2000). Similarly, the Wendake Action Plan, which emerged from the Indigenous Peoples Forest Forum of the X11 World Forestry Congress in 2003, points out that Indigenous peoples require funding to support initiatives to develop their own culturally appropriate, community-based, resource management

⁶ "IUCN is the world's oldest and largest global environmental network—a democratic membership union with more than 1,000 government and NGO member organizations, and almost 11,000 volunteer scientists in more than 160 countries...It supports scientific research, manages field projects all over the world and brings governments, non-government organizations, United Nations agencies, companies and local communities together to develop and implement policy, laws and best practice" (IUCN 2008, www.iucn.org/about/index.cfm).

plans. Both the Wendake Action Plan and the IUCN draw on a rights-based discourse that urges the participation of Indigenous peoples in resource management. As such, agreements must be reached with them *prior* to the establishment of parks and protected areas (Beltran 2000; Wendake Action Plan 2003). These international declarations, conventions and plans all share a common message: Indigenous peoples insist that environmental unfreedoms that negatively impact their cultures and livelihoods be replaced with the freedom to participate in environmental management, and to access the environmental resources and territories that are fundamental to self-determination, the respect for human and Indigenous rights, and a mandate of social justice.

Political Ecologies of Conservation

A strong area of inquiry in political ecology focuses on the relationships between social justice and local livelihoods, and oppressive and/or colonial environmental management systems or regulations; in particular, the effects of conservation practices. The literature review reveals environmental struggles that involve Indigenous peoples and conservation have been documented and analyzed in greater breadth and detail within the context of marginalized continents (for example on: *Africa* see Neumann 1998, Schroeder 1997, Schroeder and Suryanata 2004, Young et al. 2001; *Latin America*: Brown 2006, Sundberg 2006; and *Southeast Asia*: Li 2004, Roth 2004, Schroeder and Suryanata 2004, Vandergeest and Peluso 1995) than in the context of privileged countries such as Canada. However, there is a broadening stream within political ecology and geographical studies interested in resource conflicts (particularly forestry) with attention to First Nations politics in BC (for example: Blomley 1996; Braun 1997 and 2002; Clapp 2004; Kuehls 2002; Notzke 1995; Reed 2007; Rossiter 2004; Shaw 2004; Umeek of Ahousaht 2002). My research on Haida Gwaii contributes to the scope of this area of scholarship. In this literature review I focus on three recurring social injustices, or environmental unfreedoms,

prevalent in the political ecology literature that focuses on conservation and resource management: community displacement and dispossession, prohibitions and regulatory frameworks that restrict environmental access, and ecological implications. I address the BC/Canadian area of political ecological engagement towards the end of the chapter.

Displacement

Strict conservation regimes based on the wilderness ideal reinforce the separation of humans from “Nature” that leads to the dispossession, and/or the forced relocation of local populations (Chatty and Colchester 2002; Holt 2005; Neumann 2005; Pinder and Pretty 1995). Mandatory evacuations are often enforced in order to enclose protected areas devoid of humans (Neumann 2005). In fact, when the first National Park was inaugurated in Wyoming (Yellowstone National Park) in 1872 the Indigenous nations living in the area were forcibly driven out by the U.S. military, which then assumed control over the area (Morrison 1993 in Chatty and Colchester 2002; Sherry 1999). Imperial powers, namely Britain, then exported this model of conservation to their colonies in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Canada (Chatty and Colchester 2002; Nash 1982; Stevens 1997). States around the world, but particularly in marginalized countries within Asia and Africa, have repeatedly displaced local and Indigenous peoples to make way for conservation projects without sufficient provisions to ensure their livelihoods⁷ (Brockington *et al.* 2006; Chatty and Colchester 2002; Pinder and Pretty 1995). Canada is not exempt from this critique: in the 1930s the Keeseekoowenin⁸ Nation was evicted

⁷ For numerous examples from around the world see *Conservation and Mobile Indigenous Peoples: Displacement, Forced Settlement, and Sustainable Development* (2002) edited by Chatty and Colchester.

⁸ The source Parks Canada uses for this info (Peckett 2000) claims it was the Saulteaux people who were evicted from their reserve in 1936 when the National Park took over control of the land. In 1939, Peckett states the homes of 24 people were burned. Parks Canada claims the “establishment of the National Park further displaced First Nations from the Riding Mountain territory” (Parks Canada 2004, www.pc.gc.ca).

from its traditional territories after homes were burned down to make way for Riding Mountain National Park (Parks Canada 2004; Sherry 1999).

Displacement and inadequate resettlement schemes heavily impact the livelihoods of Indigenous and nomadic peoples. This occurs when conservation initiatives sever, or limit the relationships communities have to ecosystems thus making it difficult for communities to access the resources on which they depend for survival (Chatty and Colchester 2002).

Restrictions and Enforcement Regimes

The imposition of conservation enclosures and associated restrictions delimiting the parameters of acceptable behaviour initiates conflicts over access to common property resources such as firewood, building materials, foods, animals, pasture, water, medicines and cultural sites (Neumann 2005; Pinder and Pretty 1995). Restrictions on hunting, trapping, and harvesting—integral livelihood components for many Indigenous communities—also contribute to the severance of cultural traditions.

Conservation initiatives represent a form of territorial control that figures prominently in state formation and nationalism, disciplinary power, and the governance of political subjects. Neumann (2005, 122) explains that modern conservation is deeply entwined with a process of state making that reinforces the separation of “society from nature, wilderness from civilization, conservation from development.” Governments utilize an array of techniques in nation building that include the assertion of territorial control over natural resources through surveillance, inventorying, zoning, and mapping—particularly of forested lands (Neumann 2004 and 2005). Vandergeest and Peluso (2001, 267) coined “political forests” to describe lands that states claim as sovereign forests as part of a discourse of state property and “the institutionalization of forest management as a technology of state power.” This is applicable to the BC context where the

majority of forests and undeveloped regions are discursively constructed as Crown, or public, land. Some authors argue that enforcement of conservation enclosures and related regulations authorizes and extends the state's ability to survey and discipline; furthermore, multinational conservation groups often work with, or fund, coercive states under the pretext of "urgency" to conserve natural resources (Chapin 2004; Peluso 1993; Sundberg 2006). In parts of the world, states deploy corporeal, disciplinary, and military tactics to patrol the boundaries of acceptable behaviours in coveted regions (Holt 2005; Peluso 1993). In one of the most extreme examples, Nancy Peluso (1993) documents "coercive conservation" strategies in Kenya and Java where Indigenous and nomadic communities were forcibly displaced and relocated to small reservations that transformed their livelihoods. In addition, heavily armed conservation "SWAT" (Special Weapons and Tactics) teams were deployed to regulate acceptable behaviour in the new protected areas as hunting and other harvesting activities were outlawed (Peluso 1993).

In a somewhat parallel process in BC, Canada, early settlers and colonists reallocated natural resources within new arrangements of capital, property, and law and began to impose limitations on First Nations' uses of natural resources they had been sustainably managing for centuries. For example, as fisheries became increasingly valued in BC, colonists imposed nets of regulations and restrictions on First Nation communities—sometimes using violent force—that radically transformed their relationships to this integral food source (Guujaaw 2007; Harris 2001; McDonald 1994; Menzies 1994). For example, In the 1800s, on the Skeena River, an imperial gunboat policed the waters to ensure the Tsimshian Nation's compliance with fishing regulations, which limited their harvests (McDonald 1994). At the time, the Tsimshian were resisting the infringements of cannery gillnetters on their waters (McDonald 1994). In the late 1800s a Tsimshian village was bombed to ruins by a Department of Indian Affairs vessel in the ultimate act of disciplinary control. This same boat later patrolled the canneries, escorted by a "force" in

order to further assert the definitive authority of the Crown (McDonald 1994, 159). In 1908, an Order of Council privileged the surveying gaze of the colonial government by requiring First Nations to report on the details of their catch (McDonald 1994). This was to ensure compliance with the government limit on the amount of food fish that could be taken and the restricted times when subsistence fishing could occur (McDonald 1994). Conflict over fishing regulations that limit First Nations' harvests in BC have resulted in two court cases at the Supreme Court of Canada: 1990 *Sparrow Decision* and the *Van der Peet Trilogy* in 1993. Conflicts over harvesting quotas and techniques continue to trouble many First Nations in Canada such as the Mi'gmaq Nation's violent encounter with the Department of Fisheries and Oceans in 2000 (Obomsawin 2002).

First Nations in Canada have thus been subjected to state tactics to patrol the borders of acceptable behaviour in regions that are discursively reterritorialized as Crown land, or leased to resource corporations. In addition to social injustices and the unfreedoms Indigenous and nomadic peoples have experienced through their exclusion from various modes of resource management, there are also a significant number of documented examples where the exclusion of Indigenous peoples from protected areas has had profoundly impacted ecosystems.

Ecological Impacts

It has been demonstrated that ecosystems may deteriorate and undergo negative impacts or collapse when the human component is removed from the larger system (Neumann 2005; Chatty and Colchester 2002). Indigenous peoples and ecosystems have co-evolved over millennia in a dynamic and interactive process. For example, the wilderness of present-day Yellowstone National Park looks extremely different than the ecosystem the U.S. government intended to

enclose and protect over a century ago.⁹ As in many other cases of Indigenous systems of land use and resource management, the symbiosis of these systems with the environment is so seamless that they have often gone unseen, or ignored, so that the area could be claimed as empty, un-worked, and thus open for development; or, alternatively, desired landscapes have been constructed as “wild,” “pristine,” and in need of protection. Increasingly, however, scholars are revealing that ecosystems are extremely dynamic, have long histories of alteration by humans, are constantly changing, and are never “naturally” static. Moreover, in many situations, Indigenous peoples have sustainably managed and cared for landscapes through the use of controlled burning, harvesting, and replanting/propagating (Kohler-Rollefson 1993; Peacock and Turner 2000; Striplen and DeWeerd 2002). Thus, when the human element of the ecosystem is divorced from its web of relations, ecosystems often undergo profound ecological transformations.

Research reveals that the ecological success of protected areas is often undermined or sabotaged when the support of local communities has not been earned (Chatty and Colchester 2002). For example, Maasai pastoralists in Kenya collaborated with poachers to kill endangered animals in protest of the affront to their culture and livelihoods—the result of their shrinking territories, and the imposition of hunting regulations in the name of elephant conservation and national parks establishment (Peluso 1993; Pinder and Pretty 1995). Other acts of resistance as a response to repressive parks legislation and enforcement policies include arson to large areas within parks as well as insurgence movements, and other forms of active and passive resistance (Agrawal 2005; Theodossopoulos 2002; Pinder and Pretty 1995). Sometimes these acts of resistance and sabotage to conservation goals are the result of coercive conservation programs administered through repressive states and their conservation partners. Coercive conservation is

⁹ The present-day Yellowstone is far more forested and dense than the plains ecosystem that the original inhabitants of Yellowstone maintained at a lower successional level through the use of fire as a management tool.

aggressive and does not foster productive relationships among groups of people with clashing interests and ideologies, nor does it contribute to raising the living standards of the poor and disadvantaged; ultimately, it can negatively impact or directly undermine conservation goals.

Innovations in Land Use Planning in BC

Cultural geographers writing on the environmental history of BC describe how provincial land use planning evolved out of management and extraction regimes established during the colonial era. Upon European settlement, the forests, fish, and minerals—so richly distributed throughout the province—were re-framed as highly valuable commodities within a capitalist ideology of progress and industrialization (Grek-Martin 2007; Harris 2004; Hayter 2003; Rossiter 2005). A Lockian discourse on property was influential during the settlement of BC in mid to late 19th century; since colonists deemed that “Indians” were not sufficiently or appropriately utilizing the land, their own input of labour enabled settlers to replace Indigenous customary rights with private ownership arrangements (Harris 2004; Tully 1993). First Nations, in what became the province of British Columbia in 1871, were displaced from their territories, and beginning in the mid 19th century, moved to reservations that totaled only about one third of a percent of the province’s total land mass—an exponential reduction of First Nations’ pre-contact territories (Harris 2004). Land use policies were established through colonial governments that contributed to the removal of First Nations from valuable resources so that these commodities could be more easily accessed (Harris 2004). Thom Kuehls (2002) argues that as European settlers delegitimized Indigenous customary land uses, they simultaneously subjected Indigenous communities to European notions of sovereignty. Over a century later First Nations in BC are still rebounding from this major restructuring in property law and resource user rights. While outright and abject

colonial practices have diminished, First Nations continue to struggle for more control on their territories and to assert their self-determination, thereby revitalizing their cultures in doing so.

In BC, innovations in land use planning with First Nations were catalyzed by the unrest in Clayoquot Sound—Nuu-chah-nulth territory, on the west coast of Vancouver Island. Beginning in the 1980s and 90s, the so-called “war in the woods” riveted the BC public as the local and the global became politically engaged in processes of mapping and new flows of knowledge and capital (Braun 2002; Hayter 2003 and 2004; Rossiter 2004). The controversy over logging in old-growth ecosystems in Clayoquot Sound instigated the conflict. In 1989, the BC government established a stakeholder process to develop a sustainable land use plan for the region. Ultimately, the process was unsuccessful. After three years stakeholders were still unable to formulate a common vision (Friends of Clayoquot Sound 2008; Pralle 2006). In response, the provincial government announced the Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision whereby 33% of the land base in Clayoquot Sound would be protected (doubling the existing protected area land base) while 62% would be open for logging (Friends of Clayoquot Sound 2008; Pralle 2006). Because of the perceived inadequacy of these concessions, several months later a mass blockade took place on Meares Island to protest logging and nearly 900 protesters were arrested in the largest act of civil disobedience in BC’s history (Pralle 2006). The Nuu-chah-nulth Nation also rejected the Land Use Decision since they were not consulted; instead, in 1994 they negotiated an Interim Measures Agreement with the Province that stipulated a government-to-government relationship, the devolution of control over decision-making to the local level, and the establishment of the Central Region Board (CRB) (CRB 2008). The “mission” of the CRB (2008, www.centralregionboard.com/mission.html) is to:

- “provide[] opportunities for First Nations consistent with aboriginal resource uses and heritage, and considers options for treaty settlement”
- “conserve[] resources in Clayoquot Sound and promote [] resource use that supports sustainability, economic diversification and ecological integrity”
- “encourage[] dialogue within and between communities and reconciles diverse interests”

As a joint management process, the CRB Board of Directors is composed of five members and one co-chair appointed by the Government of BC, and five members and one co-chair appointed by the Nuu-chah-nulth (CRB 2008). In 2000, a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve was established in Clayoquot Sound with the support of the Nuu-chah-nulth, and the provincial and federal governments (Clayoquot Sound Biosphere Reserve 2008). The Biosphere Reserve adopted the Nuu-chah-nulth “philosophy of *Hishuk ish ts’awalk*, or ‘everything is one,’” as a “guiding principle” (Clayoquot Sound Biosphere Reserve 2008, www.clayoquotbiosphere.org). This concept emphasizes the significance of the “interconnections within and between ecosystems” (www.clayoquotbiosphere.org). The adoption of this concept as a management philosophy not only centers Nuu-chah-nulth ontology, but also promotes sustainable communities and economies, and healthy ecosystems (Clayoquot Sound Biosphere Reserve 2008). The political events surrounding the environmental politics of Clayoquot Sound set a precedent for land use planning and co-management in BC that would influence several other major land use decisions in BC.

The Central and North Coast of BC, labeled the “Great Bear Rainforest” by environmentalists, is another site of intense environmental conflict and change (Rossiter 2004; Clapp 2004; Shaw 2004). The area encompasses seven million hectares of land, representing one of the largest, contiguous sections of temperate rainforest remaining on the planet (Rainforest Solutions Project 2008a; Shaw 2004). Environmental groups claim that this strip of rainforest,

between the northern tip of Vancouver Island and the southern border of Alaska (including Haida Gwaii) has roughly the same surface area as Switzerland (Rainforest Solutions Project 2008a). The forests are home to endangered species such as grizzly bears, eagles, wolves, and the elusive, yet celebrated, Kermode Bear¹⁰, or “spirit bear” (Hoberg *et al.* 2004). The area is also home to over 20 First Nation and non-First Nation communities (Hoberg *et al.* 2004).

In 1995, five major conservation organizations banded together under the “Rainforest Solutions Project” (RSP) in order to slow down and, in some regions, halt logging of old-growth ecosystems. What was unusual, however, was that the RSP explicitly recognized the pressing need for social and economic development amongst coastal First Nations and sought a resolution that would take these needs into consideration (Rainforest Solutions Project 2008b; Shaw 2004). In 1997 two forestry blockades, one of which was a joint action between the Nuxalk Nation and environmentalists, halted logging operations for several weeks (Rainforest Solutions Project 2008b). Also in the late 1990s, environmentalists launched an international markets campaign in which they raised consumer awareness about the ethics of buying old-growth timber products, and threatened major purchasers of Great Bear Rainforest wood with mass consumer boycotts (Rainforest Solutions Project 2008b; Shaw 2004). In response to these actions, the “Joint Solutions Project” was convened to create a space for negotiations between environmental organizations and logging corporations (Rainforest Solutions Project 2008b). First Nations were not involved in these discussions—they formed their own organization.

¹⁰ This is a white sub-species of the black bear.

The Coastal First Nations is an organization of First Nations whose traditional territories encompass BC's Central and North Coasts as well as Haida Gwaii (Coastal First Nations, 2008).

These First Nations¹¹ banded together to create the "Turning Point Initiative"¹² in 2000 which,

was created with the conviction that if a conservation-based economy is to succeed, our active and meaningful participation is essential. We believe that the people who best know, use, and protect biodiversity are the First Nations people who live in these magnificent forests and waters (Coastal First Nations 2008, www.coastalfirstnations.ca).

However, the Coastal First Nations alliance continues to work towards the full participation of their communities in the "conservation economy" with the stated goal of improving socio-economic conditions and ensuring the ecological integrity of terrestrial and marine ecosystems (Coastal First Nations 2008). After several "historic" agreements between First Nations and the Province, both parties worked jointly on a government-to-government basis to complete two land and resource management plans (LRMPs): one for the Central Coast and one for the North Coast (Integrated Land Management Bureau 2007a). The joint management team is currently implementing the recommendations of the plans including the creation of new co-managed protected areas and conservancies, and a switch to ecosystem-based management over the operating area. Some groups, notably the Rainforest Solutions Project, have expressed concerns over delays in implementation of the land use agreement (Rainforest Solutions Project 2008b).

Canada is not the only privileged and wealthy country undergoing a shift in approaches to environmental management that recognizes the importance of Indigenous participation in planning processes and increasingly values Indigenous perspectives. However, various appraisals of the success of such planning processes are in circulation. For example, Berke *et al.* (2002) and

¹¹ The nations that form the membership of the Coastal First Nations include the following Naitons: Wuikinuxv, Heiltsuk, Kitsoo/Xaixais, Holmalco, Gitga'at, Haisla, Metlakatla, and Council of the Haida Nation (Coastal First Nations 2006, www.coastalfirstnations.ca).

¹² It later became known as "Coastal First Nations" and Guujaaw, the President of the Haida Nation, is also the president of the association.

Lane (2003) have described recent planning processes in New Zealand and Australia respectively and have found that resource planning with Indigenous peoples has involved significant challenges and barriers for Indigenous peoples. These include limited roles and capacity within Indigenous communities. Furthermore, Indigenous peoples have experienced difficulties in having their knowledge and Title recognized as valid and legitimate (Berke *et al.* 2002; Lane 2003). Memon *et al.* (2003) discuss the advances Maori tribes in New Zealand have gained in managing their fisheries in accordance with customary values and practices, in part through co-management agreements. However, the authors point out that these advances are limited when the New Zealand government is compelled to balance Maori aspirations with other, more economically and politically dominant non-Maori stakeholders (Memon *et al.* 2003). Coombes and Hill (2005) also prescribe a cautionary approach when praising co-management structures such as those in New Zealand because of the equity of such structures and the reluctance of some Maori to participate in co-management due to past grievances with the state. For these reasons, it is important to approach an evaluation of co-management structures and joint land use planning processes with a critical eye.

Research Questions and Conceptual Tools

My research explores a localized expression of planning and managing protected areas and natural resources: the Province-led “strategic land use planning” process on Haida Gwaii, BC. As demonstrated in the previous section through the political ecology literature, resource management practices that exclude or marginalize Indigenous peoples have devastating social, cultural and environmental impacts while reproducing dominant power relations that constrain opportunities for Indigenous peoples. Given this history, what does it mean when Indigenous peoples resist and reform state land use planning processes that have in the past excluded their meaningful participation and direction? What are the political implications for Indigenous self-determination when such interventions are staged? This research project is interested in examining these questions through the unique and significant case of the Haida Nation’s participation in land use planning on Haida Gwaii. In particular: how does the Haida leadership evaluate the land use planning process and its outcomes on their traditional territory of Haida Gwaii? In order to understand Haida perceptions of the land use plan I interviewed Haida political leaders and surveyed planning documents, newspaper/magazine articles, media releases, and associated websites. Additionally, I interviewed the Province’s negotiators and staff to gain a deeper understanding of the power relations that influence this relationship.

Angle of Vision

My research is situated at the intersection of multiple bodies of knowledge, notably: political ecology, resource management, and post-colonial studies. *Power* is the nexus that links these disciplines together. The convergence of First Nations' self-determination movements with new approaches to environmental management, and discourses of knowledge surrounding land use is an important locus of modern politics that requires greater attention and theorization—especially from Indigenous perspectives. While other studies have preceded and significantly informed this one (particularly Braun 2002), my research is committed to privileging Haida experiences and perceptions. Using critical theory to deconstruct and displace a Eurocentric approach to knowledge production and political inquiry, I shift the angle of vision away from a focus on the Haida's relationship to state power. Alternatively, I center the angle of vision, as much as is possible within the confines of my identity, towards a focus on the practices of empowerment and repression that characterize the Haida's self-determination as they interact with the Province. As a person of European descent this technique inevitably involves a politicized process. I attempt to navigate this ethically by being transparent about my positioning and by communicating the contexts out of which different practices and strategies I discuss emerged. In other words, I examine the on-the-ground strategies the Haida are utilizing and translate the significance of these tactics into a study of political ecology using a Foucauldian approach to power analysis. This type of work is of particular relevance in British Columbia, a site of intensive resource extraction, and of environmental and Indigenous self-determination and conflict. These, frequently clashing, environmental interactions unfurl in a unique political

climate with regards to the continued settlement of First Nations' land claims.¹³ The Council of the Haida Nation (CHN) has seized this locus of political turbidity to challenge dominant discourse on land use planning and environmental politics on Haida Gwaii while concurrently re-centering Haida goals and a Haida worldview in ecological governance. Thus, my decision to privilege and center Haida perceptions and experiences in the research reflects the CHN's political strategy in land use planning.

The primary theoretical approach I utilize for analyzing the politics of land use planning on Haida Gwaii is built using Michel Foucault's elaboration of "power-knowledge" and "discourse." These theories are useful tools for transcending the limited view of power as a something that can be quantified, possessed, and pitted against other forms of power.

Basically power is less a confrontation between two adversaries or the linking of one to the other than a question of government. To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others (Foucault 1983, 221).

This definition of power enables a more relevant and interesting understanding of the shifts in environmental governance on Haida Gwaii than a political analysis of attrition allows. This is important because my research reveals that the land use planning process on Haida Gwaii is much more than a struggle for territorial control or sovereignty. By regarding the negotiation and planning structure as a question of governance involving forces of enablement and restraint rather than a confrontation of power, it is possible to avoid an overly deterministic way of viewing planning with few possible outcomes.

Rather than solely fighting for greater political power in relation to the Province, the Haida Nation is focused on transforming *relationships* and creating *space* for Haida ways of knowing and being, thereby expanding the opportunities available to them through planning.

¹³ With the exception of the fourteen Douglas Treaties on Vancouver Island and Treaty 9 in northern BC, First Nations living in BC prior to European settlement did not sign early treaties "ceding" their territories to British control.

Relationships the Haida are cultivating and transforming include: human relationships to ecosystems and natural resources; relationships involving the forest industry (these include the relationships between industry and global capitalism, between local socio-economics and profit generation, and between extraction and sustainability); relationships between and among diverse island communities; and the relationship between the Haida and the Province. The CHN is utilizing the space they are opening through land use planning to engage in a comprehensive and collaborative visioning process that is changing the way business is done on the islands, how decisions are made, and who receives the benefits of those decisions. In these ways, power is as much an enabling and creative relation of force as it is one of repression. This is useful for shifting away from an approach that is primarily concerned with the Haida's subordination within a victimization discourse at the behest of neo-colonial powers. This is commensurate with Harris' (2004, 179) suggestion to move away from a focus on the complexity of colonial power (as he claims the post-colonial literature tends to do) and instead to "look inside the complex to establish how particular powers operated and to what particular effect."

As opposed to viewing power as something that can be accumulated and wielded, Foucault argues that power takes the form of "endless networks and circulations," and "is exercised from innumerable points" (Farrell Fox 2003, 82). In other words, power is dispersed, decentred and plural (Farrell Fox 2003). While Foucault perceives power as inextricably connected to coercion, discipline and normalization, he also emphasizes an understanding of power that surpasses a purely juridical conception connected to repressive effects, which is a "wholly negative, narrow, skeletal conception of power" (Foucault 1994a, 120).

On the contrary, Foucault (1994a, 120) argues that

what makes power hold good; what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no; it also traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network that runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression.

Applying a Foucauldian understanding to environmental politics on Haida Gwaii is useful for understanding how strategic land use planning in BC—the way the Province intended it—operates as a hegemonic discourse premised on a regime of truth that, regardless of its veracity, has garnered sufficient legitimacy to render other discourses subsidiary. Foucault encourages us to determine the most immediate and local power relations at work that produce the discourses that are then used to reproduce dominant power relations. The plurality and multiplicity of points of resistance present throughout matrices of power produce cleavages in the social body and disrupt the functioning of powerful discourses (Foucault 1995). As Hubert Dreyfus (1996, 3) explains, an appreciation of Foucault's conceptualization of power is better grasped when we think of how the “everyday practices of individuals and groups are coordinated so as to produce, perpetuate, and delimit what people can think, do and be.” This is applicable to understanding how power shapes the contours and horizons of land use planning: for example, what counts as knowledge, truth, and reason; or, moreover, what is up for discussion in the first place. Through the institution of planning, both the CHN and the Province produced new discourses of environmental management on Haida Gwaii and new discursive objects such as the Strategic Land Use Agreement and other planning documents. These discursive objects have become privileged locations from which enunciations about environmental management are accepted as legitimate even though many of the ideas are based on Haida ontology and have been in circulation for centuries. This shift is a function of power-knowledge. By unpeeling the layers of

complexity surrounding power-knowledge and discourse in land use planning a nuanced appreciation of the Haida's self-determination in planning is possible.

Foucault argues that power and knowledge are not limited to their ideological binds and interests:

... The problem is not just to determine how power subordinates knowledge and makes it serve its ends or how it superimposes itself on it, imposing ideological contents and limitations. No knowledge is formed without a system of communication, registration, accumulation, and displacement that is in itself a form of power, linked in its existence and its functioning to other forms of power. No power, on the other hand, is exercised without the extraction, appropriation, distribution, or restraint of a knowledge. At this level there is not knowledge [connaissance] on one side and society on the other, or science and the state, but the basic forms of "power-knowledge" (Foucault 1994b, 17).

Thus, power and knowledge, inextricable from one another, are joined in discourses such as provincial land use planning and in epistemological approaches to knowledge production. Examining the intricate relationships between power and knowledge also contributes to a productive analysis of how knowledge and truth are produced and contested in various institutions and processes. Moreover, the crux of power and knowledge has been central to processes of colonization, an overarching theme in this thesis. When examining the institution of strategic land use planning in BC, with attention to First Nations' perspectives, it is critical to excavate the matrices of power that have shaped Indigenous-state relationships post colonization as these significantly inform the present opportunities.

Despite Foucault's firm, yet self-aware, positioning within European discourses and history, the tools he developed are transferable to other contexts and have been taken up by Indigenous scholars in various contexts (for ex. see Smith 1999¹⁴). This is partly because

¹⁴ This is particularly significant since Linda Tuhiwai Smith is extremely critical of Western researchers and Western knowledge practices. Though Foucault did not explicitly create theory for use by "feminist or postcolonial causes" it has nevertheless been useful to these movements (Racevskis 2005). For example, though Said had a mixed intellectual appreciation of Foucault throughout his life, Foucauldian notions significantly inform his development of *Orientalism* (1979). By the end of his life Said admitted that he had

Foucault helped to advance a “micro-logical strategy of political struggle designated to recover autonomous, local and marginal discourses, knowledges and voices suppressed through totalizing narratives” (Farrel-Fox 2003, 120). While I have found Foucauldian theories to be excellent tools in this regard, I have been careful not to displace Indigenous voices in favour of Foucauldian analyses. Thus, I draw most consistently on my interviews with CHN leaders and Haida sources and narrow my use of Foucault primarily to understanding how processes, institutions, bureaucracies and discourses function.

misunderstood Foucault in a few important ways and resolved his intellectual conflict with the French theorist (Racevskis 2005).

Thesis Outline

This thesis is organized in five chapters. In the first, methodological chapter I discuss Indigenous critiques of research and situate my own research within an ethical framework before moving on to discuss the specific methodologies I used. In this manner I weave in self-reflexivity and reflect on the importance of *process* in research. The second chapter involves a multi-narrative historical account that traces the emergence of contemporary land use planning from its colonial origins. I argue that this is a crucial step for understanding Haida perceptions of, and experiences within, land use planning as viewed through a power-knowledge lens. In this chapter I draw on a variety of academic sources in conjunction with Haida voices to portray the territorial effects of power on the landscapes and peoples of Haida Gwaii. The third chapter involves a discussion of the successes, from Haida perspectives, achieved through the land use plan: notably, the challenge to state sovereignty; the centering of Haida ontology; the preservation of ecological integrity and of cultural heritage; the switch to ecosystem-based management; and the cultivation of an ecologically sustainable, local economy. In the final chapter, I address in detail the two key challenges, again, from Haida perspectives, in land use planning: organizational capacity and the government-to-government process, both of which significantly involve power-knowledge relations.

I conclude that the land use planning process on Haida Gwaii is a successful expression of Haida self-determination that significantly re-shaped land use planning on Haida territory within more ethical arrangements of power and participation. Concurrently, it is valuable to discuss the ways in which the potential of land use planning is constrained by hegemonic regimes of truth that remain deeply implanted in the rationality of the Nation state and the social construction of “Crown” land.

Chapter One
Methodology I: Transforming Indigenous Critiques into Ethical Practice

Positionality

Paulette Regan (2005, 7) argues for the importance of “unsettling the settler within” by acknowledging ancestral histories of colonization—and the continued benefits to non-Indigenous peoples as a result—and moving towards “critical inquiry, reflection, social action;” ultimately seizing “history as a catalyst for change.” Within my Masters research I am committed to this unsettling process while contributing to anti-colonial research about environmental politics in BC. I have strived for the respectful and appropriate nature of my research by studying Indigenous critiques of “Western” research paradigms. A methodological orientation that is self-reflexive, attentive to power relations, and committed to anti-oppressive praxis is vital when generating research regarding First Nations’ knowledge and experiences. Aware that theory has often had an oppressive effect on Indigenous peoples (Smith 1999), I recognize the hypocrisy of strengthening skills in support of social justice through institutions that remain, in some ways, colonial embodiments of exclusionary education (Tagore 2006).

My analysis of land use planning on Haida Gwaii is primarily interested in how power-knowledge relations shape spaces of opportunity; thus, it is critical that the *methods* of the research are aligned with an anti-oppressive approach. Firstly, it is important to reorient the principles of research away from a Cartesian apprehension of a self-transparent subject. Secondly, an approach that is concerned with self-knowledge, and knowledge of a particular community as described by members of that community, entails epistemological de-centering. The privileged gaze of the Western researcher, as a *knowing* subject, is displaced by the understanding that

knowing is both relational and contingent. Just as, throughout my thesis, I privilege Haida perspectives and ways of knowing in land use planning, in this methodology chapter I engage Indigenous critiques of the Western research paradigm.

I am convinced of the importance of responding to issues Indigenous scholars and communities have identified as guiding concepts for respectful research. Through a “participatory action,” or “community-based,” orientation to research I have embraced a definition of “researcher,” not as “expert” producer of knowledge, but rather as “facilitator” of collaborative knowledge production. Guided by the research participants, participatory researchers provide a valuable service to communities and organizations that may lack the capacity or expertise to undertake research initiatives that would benefit their work, or their organization. This chapter is organized in two sections: first, I discuss Indigenous critiques of “Western” research and then demonstrate how participatory action research (PAR) is responsive to these critiques; secondly, I discuss the personal, political, and challenging experience of transforming theory into ethical practice.

Indigenous Critiques of Western Research

A growing body of literature authored by Indigenous scholars and researchers working with Indigenous communities is concerned with the ethics and politics of academic research practices involving Indigenous peoples (for example: Castellano 2005; Kovach 2004; Little Bear 2000; Menizes 2001; Nadasdy 2003; Pidgeon and Hardy Cox 2002; Smith 1999; St. Denis 1992). I focus on four major criticisms found throughout this literature, which include: the use of research as a tool of colonialism, the marginalization or exclusion of Indigenous epistemologies and knowledge, the subordinate integration of Indigenous knowledge into privileged discourses,

and the restriction of Indigenous control over research programs that involve or impact their communities.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), in the important book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, attacks what she characterizes as the dominant, Western research paradigm and the machinery of colonialism and imperialism that perpetuates it while reifying its privileged position in knowledge production. For Smith, a Maori scholar and activist, research is far from a depoliticized quest for knowledge. *Decolonizing Methodologies* is infused with the dichotomy where research is characterized as a conflict between a Western, knowing subject and an Indigenous research object, out of which knowledge is extracted for academic studies claiming to generate knowledge about Indigenous peoples. Smith's work is a required text—as a reactionary and polarizing critique that is often cited in the literature—for researchers who work with Indigenous communities; however, Smith offers this book to Indigenous peoples in the spirit of “researching back,” a research paradigm in which the researcher challenges colonizing forces while supporting community efforts towards self-recovery (Smith 1999, 7). By situating her work this way she compels non-Indigenous researchers, regardless of their ethics and values, to wonder if there *is* any way to work with Indigenous communities that could have positive outcomes. Smith (1999, 1) argues that that “the term ‘research’, is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world’s vocabulary,” and one that conjures bad memories and distrust:

The ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world’s colonized peoples...It angers us when practices linked to the last century, and the centuries before that, are still employed to deny the validity of indigenous peoples’ claim to existence, to land and territories, to the right of self-determination, to the survival of our languages and forms of cultural knowledge, to our natural resources and systems for living within our environments (Smith 1999, 1).

Smith applies Edward Said's arguments in *Orientalism* to understanding the evolution of Western research practices. Said (1978) describes the emergence of a colonial discourse in the mid-eighteenth century that characterized the West as rational, virtuous, mature, moral and *normal*, while simultaneously ascribing inferior characteristics such as irrational, depraved, fallen, childlike and *different* to all that was Other, or not itself—that is, the exoticized and pathologized Orient. He argues that Europe *created* the Orient, the Oriental, and the world s/he inhabited while simultaneously producing a self-image constructed of internalized, binary distinctions (Said 1978). As a result, the Orient and Orientals—Indigenous, exoticized and colonized peoples and their environments—became objects to judge, study, represent, and discipline (Said 1978). Indigenous peoples became *objects* of Western knowledge while their own knowledge was repressed (Smith 1999). In these ways, research has been utilized as a tool of colonialism whereby Eurocentric representational practices were combined with the privileging of Eurocentric discourses and ways of knowing that justified (or at least normalized) Indigenous displacement from their territories and the application of colonial legal and administrative systems.

The second issue of concern to Indigenous critics of academic research regards the lack of respect for the processes of knowledge production, and ways of knowing practiced by Indigenous communities.

Marlene Brant Castellano (2004, 102) argues,

just as colonial policies have denied Aboriginal Peoples access to their traditional lands, so also colonial definitions of truth and value have denied Aboriginal Peoples the tools to assert and implement their knowledge.

Similarly, Julie Cruikshank (2001, 390) points out that Western-trained scientists often perceive Indigenous, or local, knowledge as mythic; that is, “vague, subjective, context-dependent, and open to multiple interpretations.” This has often led to the discrediting of local discourses or

experiences resulting in community disempowerment (Ansley and Gaventa 1997). Conversely, Indigenous people are likely to characterize science as similarly “illusory, vague, subjective, context-dependent” (Cruikshank 2001, 390). This paradox illustrates how “effects of truth are produced within discourses that, in themselves, are neither true nor false” (Foucault 1994a, 119). That “marginal” knowledge systems are required to submit under—and rendered *compatible* with—the culturally sanctioned, dominant power-knowledge regime is symptomatic of a stratified matrix of unequal power relations. For example, the perceived utility of marginalized knowledge systems such as “traditional ecological knowledge” (TEK) is closely linked to value-laden ideas about truth and legitimacy, which in turn are shaped by power relations. This has had forceful implications for Indigenous peoples who have been subjects of Western inquiry for centuries—and, as such, subjected to numerous, inaccurate, and damaging representations. Moreover, the growth and success of colonial discourse about Indigenous peoples has shaped contemporary receptivity to epistemologies and ontologies that are foreign to dominant regimes of rationality and truth.

A third, central issue to critiques of the dominant, Western research paradigm criticizes the practice of disaggregating and selectively assimilating Indigenous knowledge into Western regimes of knowledge; playing into a process of “extraction, appropriation, distribution, or restraint of a knowledge” whereby privileged discourses and epistemologies *displace* and *replace* culturally-embedded knowledge systems (Foucault 1994b, 17). For example, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries the first generation of traveling ethnographers, observed and analyzed complex cultures of the Pacific Northwest coast. These early anthropologists, who were greatly influenced by the structuralism of Franz Boas, extracted information they judged to be the essential “truths” to each culture and then rearticulated these decontextualized fragments within a pre-existing and compartmentalized narrative to produce authoritative texts about Indigenous

cultures (Briggs and Bauman 2004; VanMaanen 2004). Colonial administrators were then able to utilize these anthropological accounts of exotic, or Othered, cultures to displace oral history in disputes regarding title to land and Indigenous rights (Nurse 2004).

In a more contemporary example, Paul Nadasdy (1999; 2003) discusses the politics of knowledge translation and transfer in his work that examines the ways in which complex systems of “traditional ecological knowledge” (TEK) are decontextualized, reduced, and appended to scientific resource management systems in a supplementary fashion that frequently results in the distortion of Indigenous knowledge. Thus, Nadasdy argues that an appreciation for TEK by bureaucrats and scientific resource managers is proportionally related to the perceived ability TEK has to bring new “data” to state-centric, scientific resource management regimes. In a highly politicized process it is usually TEK that is integrated into scientific resource management—not the other way around (Nadasdy 2003). Because the integration of TEK relies on the institutional practices of bureaucratic management, “the process of knowledge integration and co-management ends up taking for granted existing aboriginal-state relations and perpetuating (rather than transforming) unequal power relations” (Nadasdy 2003, 369). Correspondingly, Arun Agrawal (2002, 291) argues that the popularization of Indigenous knowledge databases requires generalization and that “statements that are successfully particularized, validated, and generalized become knowledge by satisfying a particular relationship between utility, truth, and power.” The extraction and categorization of Indigenous knowledge is part of a “process of scientisation” that necessarily discriminates between knowledge systems that are perceived as useful or irrelevant (Agrawal 2002).

The fourth commonly stated Indigenous critique of Western, or “outside,” research is addressed by Castellano (2004, 103) who argues that “research under the control of outsiders to the Aboriginal community has been instrumental in rationalizing colonialist perceptions of Aboriginal incapacity and the need for paternalist control.” That power-knowledge relations shape the production and legitimation of particular types of knowledge production while discrediting epistemologies perceived as unconventional or “non-scientific” is a common line of argument both in participatory action research and in Indigenous critiques of “Western” and positivist research (Kovach 2005; Martin and Mirraboopa 2003; Smith 1999). In the above quote, it is suggested that some researchers make assumptions about Indigenous capacity in ways that re-frame research as capacity building projects that are best managed by those qualified by academic institutions. This could have a double effect of further marginalizing Indigenous ways of knowing while sanctioning unethical research methodologies that attribute weak roles for Indigenous peoples who might otherwise control, or significantly inform relevant research projects. Smith (1999) contests the ethics of research agendas that utilize Indigenous knowledge without prioritizing beneficial outcomes to the community. Similarly, Paulo Freire (2002) believes that emancipation from oppressive systems occurs through a process of “conscientization” whereby the oppressed recognize their oppression and then lead the movement for self-recovery and liberation. Aside from these four philosophical disagreements with the ethics and intentions of Eurocentric research agendas, Indigenous critics also consistently critique positivism.

Indigenous Critiques of Positivism

Smith, and many other theorists critiquing “Western” ways of knowing tend to isolate positivism as one of the key philosophies where oppressive forms of knowledge production are located. Positivism originated in the mid 19th century in the work of French sociologist Auguste Comte. Comte described the history of thought as a progression through three stages: religious, metaphysical and scientific and he prescribed norms for how thinking, or methods of thought, should proceed (The Oxford Companion to Philosophy 1995, 705). In this way, Comte had little respect for his non-European contemporaries because he believed in a teleological societal progression through the *theological* (beliefs in gods and spirits), the *metaphysical* (the Scientific Revolution) and the *positive* stages of existence. This latter and most “pure” stage of existence is the point at which explanations are confined to the “expression of verifiable and measurable correlations between phenomena” (The Oxford Companion to Philosophy 1995, 145). One of the outcomes of positivist theory was the belief that “the individual, like society, must learn in one inevitable fixed pattern” (The Oxford Companion to Philosophy 1995, 145).

Despite the seeming obsolescence of a strict adherence to positivism in research, from the Indigenous literature it is clear that positivist assumptions remain a significant concern at the ontological and philosophical levels and play a role in Indigenous mistrust of research. Smith (1999, 42) claims that “positivism takes a position that applies views about how the natural world can be examined and understood to the social world of human beings and human societies.” When positivism is singled out in Indigenous critiques of Western science and research it is generally done through the contrasting of “Western” and “Indigenous” worldviews that give rise to, and arise out of, different cultural orientations that in turn shape ethical and moral systems, and ideas about truth. The perceived disjuncture between epistemological orientations arises out

of the differentiation between beliefs about what constitutes knowledge: for example, the scientific method and empiricism as opposed to oral history and spirituality.

Smith attributes the objectification of research participants to positivist philosophies that perceive research to be an objective, value-free and neutral process for observing, and generating knowledge about, complex social phenomena. Lacking reflexivity, this approach tends to under-value the significance of research methodology and the influence of institutional conventions on the production of knowledge (Kovach 2005; Smith 1999). Cruikshank (2001, 391) explains, “oral traditions are more transparently reflexive than science, which often seems more likely to bury its assumptions and be less self-consciously aware of the institutional history of its practices.” That Western researchers often fail to see how their biases and experiences inform their research is a prevalent Indigenous complaint of Western research (for example see Little Bear 2000).

Parallel or Clashing Paradigms?

Writers on the topic of Indigenous peoples and research, or knowledge production tend to perpetuate generalized distinctions between Western and Indigenous ontology and epistemology. As such, it is important that researchers are attentive to these definitions because they offer insights into how value is accorded, and which methods of inquiry are appropriate in different cultural contexts. Even so, it is striking how homogenizing and general these distinctions are and the facility at which boundaries are invoked to enclose each paradigm. It is more productive to think of these ontologies as focused expressions on either end of a spectrum (though even a spectrum is too linear as it does not account for the dialectical interaction between paradigms). Indeed, to assume a bounded and cohesive nature of “Indigenous” and “Western” paradigms is at odds with the ways in which hybrid identities of researchers generate embodied worldviews that

are often contradictory and complex.¹⁵ As such, a nuanced perspective attentive to the embodiment of worldviews is a more honest portrayal of the lenses through which researchers, of all ethnicities/nationalities, generate knowledge about the world. Furthermore, the reduction and rather crude classification of the astounding diversity of Indigenous *and* European nations and ethnic groups into two broad categories of “Indigenous” or “Western” is problematically oversimplified and essentialist.¹⁶ Nevertheless, there is consistency between accounts in the literature, particularly by Indigenous authors, regarding these supposedly inherent cultural differences at play in knowledge production and worldview formation. The act of differentiating Indigenous and Western ontologies and epistemologies is sometimes an act of Indigenous resistance and an assertion of cultural reclamation and self-knowledge.

Castellano (2004, 102) declares there are essential, or inherent differences between Indigenous and Western ontologies that affect research:

A fundamental issue is the need for Canadians to recognize that Aboriginal cultures were vibrant and distinctive not only in the beginning but remain so today. Though bruised and distorted as a result of the colonial experience, inevitably changed by time and new circumstances, even in danger of extinction in some important dimensions such as language, nevertheless a fundamentally different world view continues to exist and struggles for expression whenever Aboriginal Peoples come together.

¹⁵ For example, Indigenous academics trained in Eurocentric institutions, but who retain their ties to, and practice their Indigenous culture, are likely influenced by both “Western” and “Indigenous” values and epistemologies. Or, as a personal example, though I am of European descent and have been trained in Eurocentric institutions I do not feel that the representations of “Western” practices of research resonate with my values, or my orientation towards research.

¹⁶ I would like to clarify, however, that I am not at all denying cultural differences. I believe people have the right to identify with, practice, and celebrate whichever culture, or cultures, they choose in a way free from persecution or discrimination. I also want to clarify that I do not believe that the majority of Indigenous peoples have been assimilated into the dominant, colonizing, or settler, cultures and as such it is easy to understand why an “Indigenous” identity would be celebrated in spite of colonizing state tactics to discipline and manufacture governable subjects. What I am saying is that it is more fruitful to honestly examine the political and socio-cultural consequences of cultural interaction in a history replete with violence and conquest, as well as resistance and resilience. As such it is useful to move away from monolithic identities like “Western” and “Indigenous” because these identities dilute and essentialize cultural difference and diversity. I am not convinced of the viability of strategic essentialism as a political tactic.

Similarly, Little Bear¹⁷ (2000, 77) argues that “one of the problems with colonialism is that it tries to maintain a singular social order by means of force and law, suppressing the diversity of human worldviews.” Other common portrayals of Western epistemology in the Indigenous literature include: reliance on the scientific method and empiricism, a Cartesian influence that contributes to a mechanistic and reductionistic view of the universe, a focus on the individual, and an emphasis on objectivity (Castellano 2004; Hoare *et al.* 1993; Kovach 2005; Little Bear 2000; Martin 2003; Smith 1999). Additionally, Indigenous concerns about research include inappropriate requests for self-disclosure, a failure to follow Indigenous protocols, and a lack of redeeming social value of the research (Castellano 2004; Kovach 2005; Pidgeon and Cox 2002; Smith 1999; St. Denis 1992). Indigenous academics emphasize that Indigenous peoples must have shared control over the research agenda, the dissemination of knowledge, and the right to protect or conceal their knowledge (Castellano 2004; Kovach 2005; Smith 1999; St. Denis 1992). In contrast to “Western,” and positivist research Indigenous academics typically characterize Indigenous ontology as fluid, non-linear, and relational with a focus on cultivating ethical relationships with all living beings (Castellano 2004, Kovach 2005; Little Bear 2000; Martin 2003).

Transforming Critique into Ethical Practice

Aboriginal communities insist the integrity and accuracy of research cannot be protected solely by Western methodologies, but instead, “they must be tempered by methodologies that are compatible with Aboriginal methods of investigation and validation” (Castellano 2004, 113). Participatory action research (PAR) is a research approach frequently endorsed by Indigenous critics of Western research (for example see Kovach 2005; St. Denis 1992). By embracing an

¹⁷ Little Bear is the former Director of the American Indian Program at Harvard University.

approach to research that is concerned with *mutual* discovery and reciprocity—as guided by the priorities and visions of research participants—participatory action research helps researchers to avoid the perpetuation of colonial power-knowledge relations critiqued so heavily in the Indigenous literature.

Participatory action research¹⁸ is focused on cultivating respectful and ethical behaviour and building relationships based on trust, reciprocity, and commitment. Research focuses on community concerns, interests and goals as defined by participants. Ideally, research participants are involved throughout the research process; for example: defining research objectives and questions, selecting methodology, gathering and analyzing data, presenting results, and distributing benefits (Cheadle 1996; Pidgeon and Cox 2002; St. Denis 1992). By providing training or mentorship opportunities for interested research participants, capacity building and skills training are ancillary outcomes that can be assets (and participation incentives) to communities and organizations (Cheadle 1996; Hoare *et al.* 1993; Pidgeon and Cox 2002). Flexibility is designed into the research project, as well as adopted by researchers and participants to enable a dynamic research process that is interactive with, as opposed to isolated from, influential forces and changing contexts¹⁹ (Pidgeon and Cox 2002).

Participatory research developed during a pivotal era in the history of social research in which methodology and epistemology were debated, and inequalities challenged, in the research

¹⁸ Green *et al.* (1995, 54-55) note that the array of names for participatory research reflect the different disciplines from which they emerged. Some examples include: conscientizing research, emancipatory research, and participatory rural appraisal. Community Based Research (CBR) is another term commonly used in the literature. The authors also note that while action research was initially not explicitly interested in power-knowledge relations as was PAR, by the time the article was written the two were almost interchangeable (Green *et al.* 1995).

¹⁹ For example, researchers may begin by working on one project with a community, and end by working on one that is quite different (Kurelek 1992). The result is that PAR often requires more time (and subsequently funding) to allow for a natural evolution of the research project into the form most satisfactory to the community or participants. Institutional support for this will likely remain lacking until the principles of PAR gain more widespread popularity with funders and university administrators.

context (Green *et al.* 1995). PAR gained widespread notoriety through educators (Kurelek 1992) and by the late 1970s it was in use throughout the world (Green *et al.* 1995). In North America, PAR created opportunities to work with marginalized groups such as First Nations (Hall 1993 in Green *et al.* 1995, 56). PAR has also been a useful tool for First Nations re-gaining control over health and economic issues (Jackson 1993 in Green *et al.* 1995, 56). Many advocates of PAR argue that the methodology developed out of the critique (so ubiquitous within Indigenous authorship) of unequal relationships between researchers (those who ‘create’ knowledge) and researched (‘sources’ of knowledge). Participatory action researchers recognize that researchers have a responsibility to ensure that research has tangible benefits for community partners or generates knowledge around inquiry related to community-identified concerns.

Much of the literature celebrates participatory research for its focus on empowerment and consciousness-raising (Hoare *et al.* 1993; Kovach 2005). St. Denis claims that, “community-based participatory research offers a way for First Nations communities to gain more control over their lives and, in gaining that control, to exert the power needed to effect decisions regarding their lives (St. Denis 1992, 70). As Cahill, exclaims, PAR is committed to “creating conditions for social change to be used by the community for their own purposes” (2007, 360). Participatory action researchers align themselves with their research participants in an act of solidarity and work with the community or participants towards the accomplishment of identified goals—ultimately, working themselves ‘out of a job’ (Caine 2007; Cheadle 1996; Hoare *et al.* 1993; Kurelek 1992). Recognizing the situated nature of knowledge creation, PAR practitioners are able to work through unequal power relations to build anti-oppressive techniques into their research practice. In this way the development of personal ties to the community and the issues at stake are recognized, rather than pushed aside under the pretext of objectivity (Hoare *et al.* 1993; Kurelek 1992).

There are three key aspects of PAR that resonate with Indigenous calls for the transformation of dominant power relations in academic research: recognition of the political nature of research, the importance attributed to ethics and the fostering of respectful relationships with research participants. Participatory action researchers recognize that communities are not homogenous or static entities, but are diverse and possess their own hierarchies of power and oppression. This insight encourages participatory researchers to be attentive to the *political* nature of participation and representation within and across communities. Even the act of selecting a “community” with whom to do research is fraught with politics and power, as is ensuring the free and open participation of those who wish to be involved. For example, a research team that recently conducted a PAR project with multiple Aboriginal service providers and agencies in BC states that

...in Participatory Action Research, the who and the how of participation is never innocent or purely process driven, but rather always already power-full. These power relations have significant implications for the way that we should understand ethics as relational processes in research with Aboriginal and other indigenous peoples (Berg *et al.* 2007, 396).

Because power relations infiltrate all forms of research relationships, ethics and intellectual property rights for Indigenous peoples are central to the types of *relationships* PAR fosters. That many First Nations have their own internal research protocols to guide research in their communities expresses the politicization occurring within contexts of Indigenous self-determination. To illustrate the attention to ethics in PAR (in a non-Indigenous situation), Caitlin Cahill (2007, 360) describes a PAR project with youth participants that explored participatory ethics as a “relational praxis, specifically outlining the epistemological orientation of participatory action research as an ‘ethic of care.’” PAR helps to actualize and ground “abstract ethical principles” embraced by Institutional Review Boards “in terms that are meaningful to the community” (Cahill 2007, 360). Attention to ethics in PAR thus poses significant challenges to

traditional research around concerns with the generation of data for an expanding body of knowledge that does not necessarily benefit those who 'supply' the data. Part of ensuring ethical practice is working with communities in ways that support community-identified needs and goals, thereby increasing the relevance and practical utility of the research.

Participatory research methodologies are concerned as much with the process of doing research as they are with the results of research (Kovach 2005, Hoare *et al.* 1993). Researchers need to create respectful conditions in which participation is possible and risk to participants is minimal. To achieve this, symbiotic relationships are ideally cultivated amongst researchers and participants. By encouraging dialogue, feedback, and reflexivity (Pidgeon and Cox 2002), participatory researchers engage in conflict prevention and resolution. Cathy Kurelek (1992, 85), an anthropologist who worked with the Innu in Labrador during the late 80s and early 90s, came to realize that "for an outsider, to do effective *participatory research* you need to get to know the people with whom you work and allow them to know you." Kurelek discovered that the longer she worked with the Innu community, the more successful the participatory research became. In PAR literature, the fostering of long-term relationships is promoted where productive partnerships have been established between researchers and communities or organizations (Cheadle 1996). Fostering long-term relationships helps to alleviate community "burnout" from research (another issue cited in Indigenous critiques of research: for example, see Martin and Mirraboopa 2003). Building productive relationships between "outside" university researchers and communities (especially in cross-cultural contexts) requires long incubation periods to earn trust and become familiar with the issues and history surrounding the research context. Hence, PAR encourages researchers and communities to maximize the returns on investments into research partnerships when such partnerships have been successful.

In conclusion, Indigenous academics and their supporters have demonstrated how colonial-era research involving Indigenous peoples exploited and oppressed Indigenous communities. This has resulted in a suspicious and cynical attitude towards Western research among Indigenous communities. Participatory Action Research is an appealing methodology to activists and those concerned with social justice, as well as to Indigenous critics of positivist principles underlying Western research. PAR is concerned with the *process* of conducting research, emphasizing flexibility, openness, power-sharing and reciprocity, and empowering research participants to influence the research agenda. I will now move into a discussion of my own experiences working from within a PAR approach on Haida Gwaii with a focus on reflexivity, power, and the political nature of research and knowledge collaboration.

Methodology II: PAR in an Indigenous Context: Negotiating Power, Privilege, and Self-Determination

When I first approached my Masters research I was keen to explore the dimensions of First Nations' satisfaction with a land-use plan and multi-use conservation scheme on the central and north coast of BC: the "Great Bear Rainforest." The landmark agreements among First Nations, the Government of BC, large environmental groups, and major logging corporations represented the culmination of over a decade of environmental conflicts and campaigns, and international media attention in this contentious region. My interest was piqued by a coastal First Nation's publicly scathing critique of the land-use plan in which it claimed that its voice was marginalized and silenced. X Nation's²⁰ expression of resistance resonates with studies in political ecology that problematize resource management regimes on Indigenous territories.

In this chapter I intended to employ a narrative format to reflect on my experiences of working with PAR for the first time. While it was the Haida, and not X Nation with whom I ended up working, I originally wrote the first half of the chapter as a reflection on the challenges and process of forging a research relationship with X Nation. The purpose of doing this was three-fold: first, it allowed me to situate myself in my research process in a transparent and self-reflexive manner; secondly, it enabled me to honestly illustrate the challenging and, at times, emotionally taxing process involved in PAR; and thirdly to use this as a space to share—with permission—X Nation's insights into the difficulties of forging effective, respectful, and inter-cultural research partnerships. I found this latter aspect fascinating because of the way in which the X Nation's insights and cautionary approach to working with me closely mirrored Indigenous critiques of Western, positivist research outlined in the previous section. The X Nation's position

²⁰ The First Nation I am referring to has requested anonymity.

affirms that Indigenous critiques of research highlighted in the literature *are* a powerful factor affecting cross-cultural research partnerships with X Nation today. My experience with the Haida Nation, by contrast, illuminates the heterogeneity of experiences with research collaborations among First Nations. Moreover, approaching this chapter in this way is aligned with the values of PAR by paying respect to the process, and the dynamics involved with challenging dominant forms of institutional knowledge production. While some geographers (ex: Rose 1997) criticize this process for being overly attentive to the role of the individual self in research—an extravagance enabled by privilege—following Donna Haraway (1991), I believe PAR and feminist critique are the best methods we have for recognizing the partiality of multiple perspectives involved in knowledge creation.

I was obligated to exclude this self-reflexive section when the research representative of X Nation unexpectedly withdrew consent to be quoted, in addition to the issues of X Nation to be discussed at all—despite anonymity. While I respect the decision to withdraw, it is a major loss of insightful information that might have helped other researchers and First Nations to develop more effective research partners for First Nations. It also highlighted the difficult reality of putting PAR into practice in an Indigenous context as a non-Indigenous researcher. The excluded material encapsulated the culmination of intensive email conversations over a four month period with the X Nation representative who deals with requests for research involving their community, or happening on their territory. The unexpected disintegration of this exploratory research partnership exemplifies the unpredictability of participatory research. Though in the end a research partnership was not viable with X Nation, on a number of fronts, my intention was to document the power relations that traversed institutional, political, and cultural constructions in ways that both enabled and constrained the relationship building process.

When I first asked the representative of X Nation for permission to discuss the process of forging a research relationship with them, I obtained preliminary consent to do so with the understanding that the representative would review the section prior to publication. I was under the impression that I would have the opportunity to respond to X Nations' concerns and feedback in order to maintain confidentiality and ensure the accuracy of the discussion. Upon reading the draft section of the chapter, the representative of X Nation emailed me saying they were withdrawing their consent and were no longer interested in participating in my study in any way. The representative suggested the chapter could be risky for the community and that they did not have time to process the writing through their own internal consent mechanisms. I responded immediately to X Nation to affirm I had withdrawn all specific material pertaining to the Nation and the representative; however, I took my time to reflect on the situation before seeking some resolution and clarity around what had gone awry. During this period I received another email from the representative of X Nation in which it was suggested that given my worldview I may not have the ability to understand their reasons for withdrawing from the study, but that I was free to seek a more detailed explanation. When I subsequently inquired into the reasons for withdrawal I received no further communication. I continue to wonder about how I could have done things differently and which aspects of my recounting of the communication process with X Nation instigated the reaction it did.

Forging a PAR Project: Attempt Two

After the attempt to start a PAR project with X Nation I endeavored to create research partnerships with two other NGOs (non-governmental organization) in BC: the Rainforest Solutions Project (www.savethegreatbear.org) and the Coastal First Nations (www.coastalfirstnations.ca) both of which are based in Vancouver, BC. The Rainforest Solutions Project is a coalition of four major environmental non-profit organizations that has played a key role in the negotiations between First Nations, the Province and logging corporations for sustainable solutions on the central/north coast of BC. In the spring and summer of 2007, I was in contact with the Director of Socio-Economics who works with local communities within the Great Bear Rainforest to help ensure the economic and social sustainability of the conservation initiative, and the new “conservation-based economy” (www.savethegreatbear.org 2008). However, the energy surrounding the possibility of a research partnership quickly dissipated as the organization either lacked the capacity or the interest to undertake a research partnership with a graduate student at that time.

I also contacted the Coastal First Nations, an alliance mentioned in the introduction. Despite some preliminary interest on behalf of the organization and numerous attempts to contact the Director, or project staff, no further interest ensued. Thus, actualizing the principles of PAR on the ground became discouraging, frustrating and time-consuming. Though I was not able to co-create a PAR project with a First Nation community, the process of attempting to do so catalyzed personal growth and fostered a respectful approach that in turn contributed to a successful research project involving the Haida Nation.

The Haida Nation

In the spring of 2007, a few months before I arrived on Haida Gwaii, I contacted the Council of the Haida Nation (CHN), the Skidegate Band Council and the Old Massett Village Council (the latter two bands form the leadership of the CHN). In my introductory letter I expressed interest in co-conducting a research project that would address Haida research and capacity needs. Upon arriving on Haida Gwaii in early July of 2007 and visiting the Forest Guardians of the CHN in Masset, I learnt that my expression of interest had been put on the agenda for the CHN Forestry Committee meeting at the end of the month (a closed meeting I was not invited to attend). The Forestry Committee eventually decided that although they were interested in a research partnership they did not have any immediate, or unfulfilled, research needs. Meanwhile, the buzz in the local news was centred on the recently initialed, and controversial if not exciting, land use plan developed by the CHN and the Province. The historic initialing of the Land Use Agreement for Haida Gwaii/Queen Charlotte Islands was a current focus of the CHN's work. Moreover, there were to be six open houses on the proposed land use agreement in the six different villages of Haida Gwaii. Representatives from both the Province and the CHN were to be present along with information displays. I recognized this as an excellent opportunity for research, and as my September return to Toronto loomed, I quickly geared up for conducting field research on land use planning.

Thus, with a new topic and new partnerships in the works, I chose to seek out Haida evaluations of the land use planning process on Haida Gwaii. This approach would enable an exploration of the environmental planning and management regimes from Indigenous perspectives, which could then be situated within the broader context of Aboriginal-state relationships.

The Land Use Agreement Open Houses

In total, I attended four of the six Open Houses. The four I chose represented different island demographics. In the second week of August 2007 I attended the Open House in Sandspit, Queen Charlotte City, Port Clements, and Old Massett. The invitation for the Public Open Houses on the Haida Gwaii Draft Land Use Agreement read

Members of the public are invited to attend open house information sessions on the Haida Gwaii Draft Strategic Land Use Agreement This May 29, 2007 draft agreement was developed by the Council of the Haida Nation (CHN) and the provincial government's Integrated Land Management Bureau (ILMB) to provide high level agreement on protected areas, forest management and implementation on the Islands (The Observer, August 16, 2007).

In a moment of serendipity my research interests intersected with a public forum that hosted representatives from both governments and welcomed community input and dialogue and served as an information hub. The format of the Open Houses was informal and casual, without speeches or presentations. Key aspects of the agreement and the timeline were summarized on presentation boards and about a dozen maps documenting different land uses on the islands were on display along with a proliferation of planning documents. Although the Open Houses were not packed, a steady stream of people passed through each one.

Interviews

During the last few weeks of my field research I interviewed almost all of the key political figures and negotiators from the Council of the Haida Nation and the Government of BC. While I did not conduct a large quantity of interviews, the interviews were carefully selected and represent leadership positions pivotal to the research.

From the CHN I formally interviewed the following people:

- **Guujaaw:** President of the CHN
- **Bill Beldessi:** Project Manager, Land Use Planning Department, Haida Heritage and Forest Guardians Program
- **Kevin Brown:** Assistant Land Use Plan Coordinator, Haida Heritage and Forest Guardians Program
- **Vince Collison:** CHN representative in Vancouver; represented Cultural Tourism in the Community Planning Forum
- **Frank Collison:** Chair of the CHN Forestry Committee; long history of activism and leadership within the CHN and on the Islands

Government of BC interviewees:

- **Lindsay Jones:** Project Director, Strategic Initiatives Division, Integrated Land Management Bureau (ILMB), Ministry of Agriculture and Lands
- **John Bones:** Assistant Deputy Minister, Strategic Initiatives Division, Integrated Land Management Bureau (ILMB), Ministry of Agriculture and Lands
- **Leonard Munt:** District Forest Manager, Ministry of Forests, Queen Charlotte Islands

In addition I interviewed **Dale Lore**, former mayor of Port Clements, and member of the Community Planning Forum (representing the non-Haida community's interests) who also worked in the forest industry most of his life, and is currently employed by the Haida to work on the CHN's acquisition of TFL (Tree Farm License) 39. As someone who played a variety of

different roles on the Islands, Lore was an interesting person to interview as he did not represent either the CHN or the Government of BC.

The interviews ranged from approximately half an hour to two hours, with the majority averaging forty minutes. A template of interview questions guided the interviews with members of the CHN (Appendix C). Utilizing a very similar set of questions in the interview with Lindsay Jones enabled a comparison between provincial and Haida perspectives. With the remainder of participants I designed questions to suit the unique roles that each individual played and their related expertise. I used a mix of open-ended and closed questions and allowed for a varying range of flexibility in the questions, thus enabling interview participants (particularly the Haida) to take the interview in new directions. In the case of Guujaaw and John Bones, each offered their own version of the history of land use planning and contextualized the Land Use Agreement for Haida Gwaii within it. Some Haida interview participants, especially Frank Collison and the anonymous Hereditary Chief (whose interview material is confidential) incorporated story telling into their interviews by describing interesting events or situations and sometimes referring to Haida mythology and history. In the Haida questions I focused on the CHN's sense of satisfaction with the land use planning process and outcome—especially regarding the government-to-government relationship. I also focused on the meaning of the government-to-government process while learning about the process from the Province's perspective. John Bones offered to contextualize land use planning in BC, the rise of Strategic Land Use Planning (and the Integrated Land Management Bureau (ILMB)) and share his perspective on the evolution of land use planning on Haida Gwaii. In Leonard Munt's interview I asked questions pertaining to forestry management and the economic ramifications of land use changes.

Other Methodologies

In addition to conducting interviews with each negotiating team as well as other community members involved in planning, I reviewed an extensive number of planning documents and resources. These included maps of various land uses, background reports, meeting summaries and minutes, news releases, letters of understanding, newspaper and journal articles, published interviews, and the website content of both the ILMB and the CHN, as well as various environmental think tanks and conservation organizations reporting on, or involved with, environmental issues on Haida Gwaii. Examining these complimentary materials enabled a more holistic, comprehensive and historical understanding of the current land use planning process.

Analysis and Dispersal of Information

I used a digital recorder to tape the interviews, which I manually transcribed and then coded using TamsAnalyzer (an NVivo freeware equivalent that works on Macintosh operating systems). This enabled me to organize my interviews thematically, and thereby compare and contrast participant answers. The major themes were: the Haida, the Strategic Land Use Agreement of Haida Gwaii, resource management, and planning. The greatest number of sub-themes were concentrated in the "Strategic Land Use Agreement" code, which I divided into the following sub-themes: certainty, challenges, collaboration, colonialism, conservation, Community Planning Forum, decolonization, economy, ecosystem-based management, forestry, government-to-government, Haida Land Use Vision, implementation, the "New Relationship," outcomes, power-knowledge, status quo, successes, and Title. "Challenges" was such a significant sub-theme that I further divided that into: capacity, community support, implementation, and local governance.

CHN research protocol requires the President of the CHN review parts of the manuscript containing statements by CHN members to ensure accuracy and the suitability of the information to be made public. I received positive feedback from this review; the CHN expressed support for academic studies involving this landmark agreement in Haida history. Following through with the principles of PAR I will ensure the accessibility of my research to interested individuals and communities. Guujaaw has requested that a copy of the thesis be made available through the CHN's website. In addition, I intend to publish one academic article as well as shorter magazine or newspaper articles to make the research more publicly accessible. I will, of course, abide by proper research ethics with regards to confidentiality and due process with the storage and eventual destruction of relevant research material.

Conclusions

In this chapter I employed a narrative approach to reflect upon my experiences negotiating a PAR approach grounded in anti-oppressive practice in an Indigenous context. My research process, as documented here, was challenging. Things did not go according to plan, yet I am tremendously grateful for the opportunity to work with the CHN. Despite the difficulties of researching with First Nations and implementing PAR, I remain committed to this methodology as it is a crucial tool for creating ethical research partnerships that benefit participants. However, my research with the Haida does not meet the criteria of PAR as the CHN and I did not jointly formulate a research agenda. Nevertheless, I gained the support of the CHN to research land use planning on their territory (a crucial step I did not achieve with X Nation). Given that it can be difficult to gain access to First Nation communities of which you are not a member, it is a strength of the research that I was able to carry out interviews with Haida politicians.

The essence of PAR is the focus on the relationships involved in knowledge production, which has been a key source of antagonism between communities and academics in the past. My attention to Indigenous critiques of Western research, combined with my commitment to PAR, enables a suitable approach for a research project concerned with power-knowledge relations. Since my research on land use planning shifts the angle of vision to privilege Haida perceptions, it is important that this paradigmatic shift is reflected in the research methods. Therefore, in this chapter I privileged Indigenous voices on research to discover which aspects of the Eurocentric gaze in research are perceived as colonizing. I now move on to discuss my research featuring insights shared by politicians and planners involved in land use planning on Haida Gwaii. These “inside” evaluations of land use planning enable a thorough examination of the planning process—with a focus on Haida perspectives.

Chapter Two
Colonialism, Settlement, and Shifting Regimes of Resource Management

For over 200 years, Haida Gwaii and the surrounding marine environment have felt the effects of “commodification.” Even after legislative attempts to limit our access to our homes, we continue to approach these issues in a respectful and focused manner. All of Haida Gwaii is our responsibility and, like our ancestors before us, we must ensure that the lands and waters can provide for future generations of all living beings, and that all beings are respected in achieving this goal (Council of the Haida Nation nd).

Current practices in land use planning and resource management in BC should not be interpreted as modern innovations detached from the colonial past, nor are they neutral activities occurring in uncontested spaces. Instead, they are complicated by competing claims of sovereignty over contentious territories and negotiated through networks of power. For the Haida, who possess a much more extensive environmental memory of, and intensive knowledge about, Haida Gwaii than does the Government of BC, the current Strategic Land Use Agreement for Haida Gwaii is the latest installment in a succession of land use and resource management regimes following European colonization. In examining the Haida’s interaction with the state through key political moments in Haida history it becomes clear that the Haida built on earlier successes and struggles to further advance their goals in ecological governance. Thus, when evaluating the land use plan by privileging Haida perspectives and experiences it is critical to also examine its evolution.

Guujaaw, the elected President of the Council of the Haida Nation, whom I had the privilege of speaking with about the land use plan, affirmed the importance of this approach.²¹ Guujaaw commenced our conversation by contextualizing the current land use planning process. However, unlike John Bones, the provincial negotiator in the land use plan who offered a summary of land use planning since the 1980s, Guujaaw's version began with European settlement and colonization. This is indicative of the differing cultural attachments to, and memories of, place as well as discordant historical experiences that frame perceptions of contemporary environmental planning and management initiatives. Despite the Haida's continued bond with the ecosystems of Haida Gwaii, they have had considerably little control over their territory since European settlement.

In this chapter I recount significant events in the environmental history of Haida Gwaii and BC post colonization as these political moments have thoroughly shaped the discursive and environmental terrain of contemporary land use planning practices. Understanding the political struggles the Haida have engaged over their territory enriches the power-knowledge analysis conducted in the following two chapters. To set up this analysis, in this chapter I focus on the challenges to the Haida's self-determination as they relate to provincial planning processes and resource management regimes. I begin by demonstrating how Haida ontology encourages environmental stewardship and sustainable harvesting. Following this I draw on the work of cultural geographers (and others), especially those writing on the BC context, to reveal how European discourse on territory and progress contributed to the displacement of Indigenous

²¹ Guujaaw, who goes by this name only (it means "Drum" and was given to him at a potlatch), was elected to the Council of the Haida Nation in 2000. He had been active with the CHN for decades, however, and is an instrumental figure in the revitalization and preservation of Haida culture. Not only a leader and a renowned carver, Guujaaw is also an activist and played a role in the blockades on Lyell Island in the 1980s. He is of the Raven Clan and was brought up close to the land through the influence of his parents and elders (Guujaaw, Carver nd).

communities. As Indigenous peoples were displaced, in the effort to construct colonial space on Haida Gwaii, so too were traditional systems of resource management. I then discuss three influential events concerning Haida Gwaii in the past 25 years: the Haida blockade on Lyell Island in 1985; the Haida Title Case of 2002; and the Haida TFL 39 Supreme Court of Canada Case of 2004. I conclude with an overview of the provincial land use planning institution since the 1990s with a focus on the Integrated Land Management Bureau (ILMB) in current strategic land use planning practices.

Haida Origins and Ontology

The Haida identify as a land-based culture and claim residency on Haida Gwaii since “time immemorial” (CHN 2008). The forward to the Haida Land Use Vision (HLUV), the document that guided the land use planning process, states:

Our oral history traces the lineage of our families back to our ocean origins. We’ve witnessed the ice age, two great floods, changes in the sea level, the arrival of the first tree and many other earth-changing events. Together with all living things we’ve grown and prospered through the ages, nourished by the wealth and generosity of the ocean around us.

Our physical and spiritual relationship with the lands and waters of Haida Gwaii, our history of co-existence with all living things over many thousands of years is what makes up Haida culture. *Yah’guudang*—our respect for all living things—celebrates the ways our lives and spirits are intertwined and honors the responsibility we hold to future generations (HLUV 2004, 3).

This passage, along with the opening quote, illuminates the Haida’s cultural and historical connection to Haida Gwaii, the “people’s islands,” and their deeply held commitment to environmental stewardship. Thus, the impacts of territorial colonization transcend the corporeal and extend into the discursive and ontological realms as restricted ability to harvest resources from the land coincided with the banning of the potlatch; the fracturing of families and the prevention of speaking Haida through the residential school system; the role of missionaries in

systematic attempts at assimilation; the Indian Act; and the rapid entrenchment of capitalist imperatives. While the disruption of Haida physical and socio-cultural links to the land has continued into the present, the Haida have also transgressed, and continue to transgress, dominant power and knowledge regimes while strategically working inside *and* outside of the state planning arena.

The Strategic Land Use Agreement for Haida Gwaii is being implemented on islands crisscrossed by power struggles, competing expressions of sovereignty, and opposing strategies of territorialization. It is paradoxically suspended between its constitution as a colonial space, and a vibrant Indigenous space. The Haida originated from Rose Spit, or Naikoon Beach (the northernmost tip of Haida Gwaii), where Raven coaxed the first Haida (Haida means “human being”) out of a clamshell. The Haida possess oral histories documenting the coming of “Ice Woman” that coincide with the last period of glaciation dating back about 10,000 years. For millennia prior to the “discovery” of the Queen Charlotte Islands by European explorers in the 1770s (Appendix D), the Haida moved about the islands following the cycles of available food through the seasons (Brown 2007, pers. comm.). The abundance of resources and food supplies was, in part, ensured by Haida ontology, represented by the important concept *yah'guudang*, which dictates respectful relations with all living things. *Yah'guudang* also entails the recognition that “the fate of our culture runs parallel with the fate of the ocean, sky and forest people” (HLUV 2004, 3). The Council of the Haida Nation (CHN) proclaim, “we have always used the land and ocean in careful, cautious ways that provided for present and future generations and protected the ecosystems that sustain us. We focus on what to leave, not what to take” (CHN 2008, www.haidanation.ca).

Some recorded Haida oral history also suggests that the success of the Haida culture is directly related to the mediation of human environmental needs—as opposed to the Haida’s ability to control the environment (see Bringhurst 1999, 68 for a discussion of the Haida myth-teller Ghandl). This environmental ethic of respect relates to the Haida belief in animism. In order to enlist the supportive powers possessed by plants and animals the Haida must conduct their relations to the natural world in a respectful and conscientious manner (Turner 2004). This philosophy clearly contributed to the ability of the islands to support a Haida population of between 10,000 to 60,000 Haida pre-contact (compared to approximately 5,000 people today) without depleting the resources. Additionally, the Haida increased the productivity of certain resources through harvesting techniques (Turner 2004). The Haida evolved with the land and established a wealth of ethnobotanical and medicinal knowledge utilizing the diverse flora of the islands.²² With ingenuity the Haida learnt to survive adverse weather under clothing made of tightly woven cedar bark and took refuge in cedar longhouses and seasonal shelters.²³ Their aggressive warriors, and the practice of slavery, constructed a powerful reputation of the Haida along the Indigenous coast of what came to be BC.

Counter to colonial narratives, by the time Captain George Dixon surveyed and re-named the islands in 1787, the Haida were already a highly developed civilization that had cultivated what would later become a world-renowned style of art (Turner 2004). Yet all of this radically

²² Ethnobotanist Nancy Turner (2004) claims the Haida used, and still use, more than sixty different plant species for health related purposes. “It is impossible to separate the concepts of healing from the concepts of spirituality and the power invested in natural things within the Haida culture” (Turner 2004, 61).

²³ Bill Reid (2000, 131), the famous Haida artist and writer, has pointed out that “here on the coast, it probably wasn’t Eden before the conquest.” Despite the plentitude of life-sustaining resources on Haida Gwaii and the resourcefulness of the Haida, life was full of daily challenges and discomforts. Moreover, the dark, stormy winters spent huddled in ill-ventilated, smoky, and crowded longhouses would have been challenging (Reid 2000).

shifted as Haida culture and land were churned through the machinery of colonialism that critically *depended* on land and resources to fuel its perpetuation. In turn, this propelled the colonial administration to deploy the arsenal of colonial tactics to displace, dispossess, and disempower the Haida in order to make space for a new society that had a very different orientation towards the environment.

Constructing Colonial Space

Post-colonial²⁴ geographies of environmental conflicts are often premised on the belief that territory and space, and their representations, are instrumental to colonialism (Braun 2002, 2002; Grek-Martin 2007; Harris 2002 and 2004; Rossiter 2004). Quite simply, land is the medium in which settler societies constitute themselves and implant their cultures and values; it is the “arena in which the fundamental struggle of colonization occur[s]” (Perry 2001, 124). Through cartographic representations and “other discursive practices that made legible to power a space of administration” (Braun 2002, 45) colonialists produced “imaginative geographies” on Indigenous territory to legitimize European settlement (Braun 2002; Gregory 2001; Said 1979).

The European discourse of progress and enlightenment, reinforced by Social Darwinism, contributed to environmental constructions such as *terra nullius* (or, empty land) along with a discourse of primitivism/savagery, civilization and development, and Western property law (Tully 2000; Buchan and Heath 2006; Harris 2002; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996). Both current and historical habitation of the land had to be erased, or altered to fit into “the privileged discourses of the imperial map” (Ashcroft 2001, 132). This process results in what Braun (1997; 2002) has called discursive displacements, or cognitive failures. Discursive

²⁴ Following Derek Gregory (2001, 85), I am using the term “post-colonialism” here to refer to the task of “recover[ing] the impress of colonialism,” as opposed to suggesting a resolute break from a colonial past.

displacements are indicative of the force of power relations as the Eurocentric view of spatiality, along with settler strategies of inhabitation, transformed the lived reality of colonized peoples through cartographic representation, physical displacement, and processes of reterritorialization.

Imperialist doctrines of land-use were initially entrenched in emerging capitalist imperatives whereby the concept of ‘enclosure,’ which underlined the Western concept of private property, was paramount (Ashcroft 2001; Harris 2002). The rigid, European notion of boundaries was solidified through processes of mapping and naming that consumed and reinvented Indigenous space (Grek-Martin 2007; Harris 2002; Rossiter 2005; Sparke 1998). As Harris (2002, xvii) explains, “one human geography was being superseded by another, both on the ground and in the imagination.” The result was the territorial reorganization, or reterritorialization, of what came to be “British Columbia” at the expense of First Nations. Colonial-era mapping naturalized the displacement of First Nations into legitimate “Native” spaces—reserves, a small percentage of the total landmass of the province (a process of deterritorialization²⁵)—and opened up the rest of BC for settlement and development (Braun 2002; Grek-Martin 2007; Harris 2002). Early geologists and ethnographers also played lead roles in contributing to colonizing discourses that had influential impacts on the patterns of European settlement, attitudes towards Indigenous peoples, and subsequent changes in land-use (Braun 2002; Grek-Martin 2007; Rossiter 2005).

²⁵ Deterritorialization represents the fracturing of Indigenous spatial ordering practices, which are closely linked to social relations and ontology; reterritorialization is the practice of over-coding social and environmental relationships with new socio-spatial arrangements that in turn shift people’s orientations to being.

Haida Perspectives on Colonization and Shifting Regimes of Resource Management

Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) recounts in the “beginning” the Haida numbered in the tens of thousands; by the 1800s, after epidemics originating in Europe (particularly smallpox) swept through the coast, the Haida population dwindled to 600 survivors. Boyd’s (1994) research on smallpox epidemics in BC recounts the abandonment of village sites on Haida Gwaii as survivors grouped together. Reid (2000, 53) exclaims that “in a few short months much of this colorful civilization was swept away, two-thirds of the people dead, villages deserted, canoes rotting on empty beaches” resulting in what Harris (2002, 47) calls “demographic carnage.” Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) believes “it was during that time that colonialism took hold on the island” as imperial land use systems gained influence. By the First World War a concerted effort to log the islands was underway, but “there was no resistance because there were so few people left” and these people were in “survival mode” (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.).

Prior to European contact First Nations developed and maintained complex and sustainable resource management systems based on access and user right systems and regulations that helped to ensure the equitable distribution of resources while preventing overexploitation (Berkes 1999, Harris 2001). However, as land and resources (particularly fish and timber) were increasingly commodified the colonial governments of the time displaced ancient Haida resource management techniques in favour of a system requiring exponential accumulation and profit, and dependent upon wage labour. According to Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.), the emerging colonial regimes of “managing fisheries to depletion and assaulting, rather than managing, the forests” augmented the struggle over resource control on Haida Gwaii.

The 1950s and 1960s marked a time of “rapid expansion and consolidation of British Columbia’s coastal forest industry” (Braun 2002, 30). Though speaking about the experience of the Nuu-chah-nulth Nation on Vancouver Island, Braun’s analysis of the transformation of sacred ecologies into capitalist quanta is transferable to Haida Gwaii.

...Territories...had been rationalized within the regional and global space-economies of industrial capitalism, reterritorialized according to the spatial and temporal logics of “sustained-yield” forestry, and incorporated into forms of economic and political calculation in the interests of corporations, state institutions, and non-Native communities far removed from their villages (Braun 2002, 30).

One of the factors that contributed to this process was the introduction of Tree Farm Licenses (TFLs), which came into effect on Haida Gwaii in the 1960s (Guujaaw 2007). TFLs, which are still fundamental to the forestry industry in BC, enable corporations to lease the rights to timber harvests on designated land in exchange for paying stumpage revenues to the Government of BC. By the 1970s, environmental concerns about clear-cut logging on Haida Gwaii were grave (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). Even loggers began to complain to the political leaders about the industry’s destructive impacts; for example, the devastation of salmon spawning beds and waterways, which are of significant cultural and ecological importance to both the Haida and non-Haida communities (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). Furthermore, Guujaaw explains that by the 1970s nearly the entirety of Haida Gwaii was slated for intensive logging based on the “sustained yield” formula by replacing “all of the ancient forest with an unproven agricultural style rotation” (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). According to Guujaaw (2007), this was the first, official land use plan for Haida Gwaii.

The sustained-yield formula is, in theory, based on a rational planning model whereby the total amount of tree fiber in a forest remains stable by balancing harvesting with forest renewal (either regenerated or reforested) (Braun 2002). This produces what foresters refer to as the 'normal forest' containing a variety of age classes (Braun 2002). In practice this model, intended to ensure a sustainable profit margin, is difficult to achieve because accessibility takes precedence over rotation sequence (Braun 2002)—the CHN refers to this practice as high-grading, particularly in reference to the valuable cedar species. Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) criticizes the sustained-yield model for its focus on immediate and lucrative profit while not ensuring the sustainability of harvest practices on Haida Gwaii. Rather, the sustained-yield formula has resulted in "the dividing of the loot between the friends of the government of the day" (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). Braun (2002, 66) demonstrates that the 'normal forest' "achieved its coherence as an object of state political and economic calculation only through a series of cognitive failures that erased existing forms of Native territoriality." As part of the Royal Commission on Forestry in 1975, then chair of the West Coast District Council of Indian Chiefs, Simon Lucas, stated that "we feel more isolated from the resources to which we have claim than at any time in the past...this is becoming more so" (cited in Braun 2002, 30). The Skidegate Band Council (Council of the Haida Nation) also submitted written and oral statements to the Commission at this time about their dispossession from the land (Braun 2002). However, corporate resource extraction was not the only activity that further alienated the Haida from the land base.

Despite the Haida's strong preservationist ethic, the first protected areas established on the archipelago, Naikoon Provincial Park (1973) and Pure Lake Provincial Park (1981), proved to be troublesome for the Haida as their Indigenous rights were displaced in favour of foreign

conservation methods. As Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) explains, “when a government designated a provincial park, it did it for the tourists and locked out the original people: forbidding hunting, fishing, trapping, or doing anything within it.” Here, Guujaaw is tacitly pointing out the difference between an Indigenous ontology, in which human society and the biophysical world are continuous, fluid, and integrated, and Western conservation science premised on the understanding that nature exists “outside” of society. The Haida perceive the culture and the land as “one and the same” (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). Yet, regardless of, or perhaps *because* of, the Haida’s orientation towards the world, they were squeezed between forces of corporatization on their lands and waters and the implementation of rigid conservation laws—both of which further dispossessed the Haida from their traditional territories.

In the 1970s the Province established new laws that required special licenses in order to harvest food and resources. So, suddenly,

you need a license to hunt, you need a license to fish, you need a license for everything...Our people are getting harassed and brought before the court...On one hand these big companies are wrecking the rivers and on the other hand they’re telling us we can’t fish (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.).

Progressively, the Haida were pushed out of the local fishery as the cost of fishing licenses soared from \$20 to several thousand dollars (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). Other financial barriers included the difficulty of maintaining boats year round when the fishing “seasons” were reduced to two-week openings (as opposed to the Haida’s sustainable harvest distributed seasonally and in rhythm with the salmon’s life cycle) (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). The attempted imposition of hunting and fishing licensing regimes on the Haida catalyzed the politicization of the Haida Nation: “why would we accept licenses from any entity who is spoiling our lands?” (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). Simmering resistance soon began to boil amongst the Haida in the 1970s-80s when the Haida became politicized to “fight back” otherwise, as Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.)

explains, “we can see where we’re going: we’re going to be totally sidelined [while] other people are coming in and making off with the resources.” Guujaaw claims that during this period over 300 barges of logs were removed from Haida Gwaii each year, or, up to 2.5 million cubic metres of wood (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.).

Haida Blockade on Lyell Island

Over the years, the Haida have become adept at challenging the state and (more recently) corporations by engaging two symbiotic techniques of power, which colonial governments had previously used against *them*, albeit in different ways: the discursive power that legitimized the seizure and reterritorialization of their lands, and the corporeal, or physical, force that was used to relocate them to residential schools, onto reserves, to ban the potlatch, and to impose harvesting restrictions. In 1985, the Haida became internationally prominent when elders initiated a logging blockade at Lyell Island (off of Moresby Island) to protest the scale and destruction of clearcut logging that had already deforested much of the islands (Appendix E). The blockading elders sat together on lawn chairs under blankets and tarps to shield the rainy downpour in the middle of an active logging road where they refused entry to loggers over the course of a month (Bear 2003). The elders challenged the rationality of sustained-yield forestry and corporate timber licensing on unceded Haida territory by asserting that they, as elders, had a moral and spiritual *responsibility* to ensure the protection of the ecosystems for *all* future generations. They articulated that it was *their* land to protect; they could remember back to the times before the settlers arrived, let alone the loggers. The Haida leadership, supported by the elders, declared the southern half of Moresby Island area a Haida Heritage Site. The RCMP were instructed to (respectfully) arrest and remove elders from the logging road in a symbolic demonstration of state power (Bear 2003). In total, 72 Haida were arrested (Bear 2003).

The blockade on Lyell Island was a high-impact act of self-determination and an articulation of Indigenous rights and Title after thirteen years of failed negotiations with the Province of BC (CBC 1985). Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) describes this direct action strategy as the only effective option left to the Haida to exercise their cultural and historic authority (which highlights the limitations of the existing model of democracy and queries the extent of Indigenous rights). Blomley (1996) argues that Indigenous blockades usually occur when all other routes of reconciliation are exhausted. For example, it was clear to the Haida that the only way forests would be protected on Haida Gwaii was if the Haida *intervened* to do so (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). Similarly, Miles Richardson, then Chief of the CHN, said to the press prior to the blockade that after more than a decade of unsuccessful negotiations, "we will not be pushed aside in our homelands and told that our interests are not worthy of consideration with all the other interests in this province. If we must take this into our hands, that's what we will do (cited in Lamson 1994, 172). Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) explains that, "for us to have disrupted or stopped an economy that wasn't doing anything for us didn't hurt us at all because we weren't getting anything out of it."

Though tensions peaked between the Haida, loggers (mostly non-Haida), and the provincial government, the blockade created a significant rupture in forest management discourse and catalyzed the creation of the Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve²⁶ and Haida Heritage Site (1,470 km²), established in 1988. In 1993, after nearly six years of negotiations, the Government of Canada and the Council of the Haida Nation signed an agreement whereby both parties agreed to respectful collaboration for the management and protection of Gwaii Haanas, "islands of

²⁶ A National Park Reserve is the designation given to land that is managed under the National Parks Act, with the intention of making it a National Park pending the settlement of outstanding land claims. Members of the First Nations on whose land the National Park is proposed have special rights to harvest in the park that are more liberal than the restrictions placed on a regular National Park.

beauty/wonder” (Parks Canada 2003). Gwaii Haanas is governed by a joint Haida/Parks Canada management board and incorporates different management styles.²⁷ In addition, the Haida are able to harvest resources in a way consistent with “tradition” in the Park Reserve (Parks Canada 2003). Haida Watchmen live in the park seasonally to ensure the protection of Haida heritage sites such as village remains. The CHN and Parks Canada seem to consider Gwaii Haanas a successful example of co-management.

Discursive Power and the Courts: The Haida’s Title Case

Despite the victory at Lyell Island, which culminated in the creation of Gwaii Haanas, it did not solve jurisdictional conflicts over sovereignty on Haida Gwaii, thus differing ideologies of resource management continued to compete for legitimacy. First Nations in BC have two political choices regarding the recognition of their sovereignty: they can enter into the BC Treaty Process and negotiate a final settlement (usually a cash and land combination) in exchange for the extinguishment of their Aboriginal Title; or, they can attempt to prove their Aboriginal Title in court. The latter is an incredibly arduous, lengthy, and expensive process. The Haida Nation is clear that it never ceded Haida Gwaii, and that *all* of Haida Gwaii is its traditional territory. Yet, until the courts officially recognize and uphold Haida Title the Province—on behalf of the Federal Government—is the legitimate and legal purveyor of all business deals on BC’s “Crown” land. As a result, “consultation” processes with First Nations have often been perfunctory rather than structured to create a workable solution outside of the BC Treaty Process. The onus is on First Nations to prove to the courts that their Title pre-existed that of the Crown’s in demonstrable

²⁷ At a public presentation given in the summer of 2007 on Haida Gwaii by a Haida park manager, it was noted that though the Archipelago Management Board is composed of three Haida representatives and three Parks Canada representatives, at the time of the presentation there were actually four Haida representatives since one of the Parks Canada representatives also happened to be Haida.

areas. Consequently, First Nations are disadvantaged from the outset since the legal system privileges the legitimacy of the state (and First Nations' Title claims are an aberrance to state sovereignty). It is paradoxical that First Nations are required to redress their claims in a venue that is premised on the very system of colonial sovereignty they are trying to dismantle, or transform. The Haida are well aware of the paradox; however, they decided that having their Aboriginal Title legally recognized would be beneficial for them (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.).

In 2002, in a direct attack on the discursive rationality and power of the state, the Council of the Haida Nation filed an Aboriginal Title lawsuit in the BC Supreme Court in an attempt to legally establish the Haida Nation's Aboriginal Title to all of Haida Gwaii (including the surrounding waters, seabed resources, and airspace) (*Haida Nation vs. British Columbia* 2004). This was the first Aboriginal Title lawsuit in BC since the 1997 landmark *Delgamuukw Decision* that confirmed the existence of Aboriginal Title in BC (it was not Nation specific).²⁸ According to EAGLE, a Canadian Aboriginal legal organization that played an integral role representing the Council of the Haida Nation in their Title lawsuit,²⁹ no First Nation has successfully proven Aboriginal Title in court (EAGLE 2008). Guujaaw explains that the Haida Title Case was not just to prove Haida Title, "but to prove that the Crown *has no valid title*" (Guujaaw 2007, pers.

²⁸ This court case was significant because it strengthened the language used to describe First Nation entitlement. For example, in the *Sparrow Decision* and the *Van der Peet Trilogy* recognition of First Nation entitlement was limited to Aboriginal "rights" and not "Title" (Dacks 2002). The BC Treaty Commission (2007) states that "Title" is a stronger concept than "rights" since the former denotes commonly held property rights, as opposed to individual decisions protecting "rights" of entitlement to certain things. The *Delgamuukw Decision* was also significant because it ruled that oral testimony is a legitimate way for First Nations to demonstrate the continuity of their cultural connection and Title to the land (Dacks 2002). The Court confirmed that Aboriginal title infers "exclusive" use and occupation of land, which was already protected, at least in writing, in section 35(1) of the *Constitution Act, 1982*. The powerful implication of this decision, however, was muted by the reinforcement of previous court decisions that a right that is not being actively "used," is subject to being legally treated as derelict. Aside from arguments about the state reinforcing its sovereignty through the legal system, Kent McNeil (1999) has also speculated that because Aboriginal land claims overlap, it is necessary that they be fairly arbitrated in the courts.

²⁹ EAGLE no longer plays a former role in the Haida Title lawsuit, but remains very supportive of the case (EAGLE 2008).

comm., emphasis original). In a statement from 2002, Guujaaw declared, “Aboriginal title is a compromise for us. We think we can find a way to live with Canada. What we want to do is clarify our relationship with Canada” (First Nations Drum 2002). The case did not, however, provide the type of clarification the CHN was looking for. In their statement of defense the Government of BC stated “British Columbia does not admit the existence of the Haida Nation” (MacQueen 2003; Tehan 2006, 161).

In the following year, the Province did something unprecedented. It approached the CHN and offered an out-of-court, out-of-treaty settlement of 200,000 hectares of land on Haida Gwaii that encompassed all of the CHN’s declared protected areas and amounted to twenty percent of the Haida’s claimed territory.³⁰ This is a very large offer compared to the five to ten percent that most BC First Nations accept in treaty negotiations (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.; Collison 2007, pers. comm.). The conditions of acceptance required the CHN to drop their Title lawsuit and return to treaty negotiations (Broadhead 2003). The CHN refused the offer, which Guujaaw dismissed as “mischief” asking “why would we give up 80% of our lands?” (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) points out that

the court initially did not say to the Federal Government and the Indians ‘go out and find a treaty that would replace [Aboriginal] title.’ They said, ‘go back and *reconcile* the existence of Aboriginal Title and Crown Title’. So, that’s where we expect to go with it, not to surrender *anything*.

Though the Haida decided to pursue the route of litigation rather than negotiation, ultimately the lawsuit was not successful in the BC Supreme Court. The CHN has temporarily set aside the case while they fundraise the costs of taking it to the Supreme Court of Canada. However, this does not mean that the Haida will stay out of the courts in the meantime; on the

³⁰ This offer was unusual also in that the Federal Government was not involved (and thus fishing rights and marine issues could not be addressed as they fall under federal jurisdiction (SpruceRoots Magazine 2003).

contrary, the CHN found good cause to challenge Weyerhaeuser Co. (a multinational forest corporation) and the Minister of Forests in the Supreme Court of Canada in 2004. Unlike the Title case, this case had a powerful outcome.

The TFL 39 Case

Beginning in 2000, The Haida legally challenged the Minister of Forests' decision to replace Weyerhaeuser's TFL 39 (which covers about one quarter of Haida Gwaii in an exclusive forestry tenure) with Brascan's tenure (in a massive corporate takeover) without consulting with the CHN (EAGLE 2007). The CHN argued that the TFL had been replaced on three other occasions since the Province originally issued the TFL in 1961 without its consent, and since 1994, over their objections (*Haida Nation v. British Columbia* 2004). The CHN argued that logging in this tenure had exceeded sustainable levels for years and that old-growth cedar, integral to Haida culture, is increasingly rare; furthermore, salmon and other fish are negatively impacted from stream damage resulting from logging (EAGLE 2007). Approximately 14 million cubic metres³¹ were logged from TFL 39 *alone* between 1988 and 2002 with an estimated market value of \$1.4 billion and \$256 million in stumpage fees paid to the Province (Gowgaia Institute statistics cited by EAGLE 2007). The rationale of forest management as represented by the activities surrounding TFL 39 involved a discursive displacement whereby the Crown assumed legitimate authority over land claimed by the Haida Nation. However, the CHN consistently revealed this displacement by vocalizing their opposition to logging practices in TFL 39. Guujaaw explains,

³¹ One cubic metre is equivalent to one telephone pole in volume.

...neither the Canadian government, or the BC government or the British before them had a valid claim to these lands. So that's the difference...Every tenure that they've issued has been unlawful and therefore they owe us for every stick of wood that's ever come out of here, and all the damage that they caused (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.).

In response to the CHN's suit the Province argued that it did not have to consult with the Haida because they had not yet "proved" their Title in the courts. When the Haida first challenged the TFL in 1995, the BC Court of Appeal ruled that if the Haida's Aboriginal Title was established then it would constitute an "encumbrance," meaning a legal interest, on the trees and lands of TFL 39. Under the *Forest Act*, a TFL cannot include encumbered lands (EAGLE 2007). Despite Haida requests for consultation, the Province refused to discuss the issue of tenure in preliminary treaty negotiations (EAGLE 2007). This led to the Haida's decision to pursue litigation (EAGLE 2007). Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) explains,

There is a duty to us where the Provincial Government did a lot of things that were quite telling: they said, 'we have no duty, no need to do anything to address *any* interests of these people unless they prove Title, or, unless it's agreed by a treaty.' So basically that was their approach all the way along even though the courts were telling them something else.

In 2002, the Court of Appeal reversed the preliminary decision of the BC Supreme Court and clarified that the government must consult with *and* accommodate the Haida with regards to timber harvesting in TFL 39 *regardless* of whether their Title and Rights have been proved (EAGLE 2007). However, logging continued while the court sessions were in place because of the "claimed potential economic consequences to Weyerhaeuser and others" (EAGLE 2007). For this reason the case advanced to the Supreme Court of Canada for further clarification. In 2004, the Supreme Court ruled that "the government had a moral, not a legal, duty to negotiate with the Haida" including consultations at the strategic level (ex. the transfer of a forest tenure) (*Haida Nation v. British Columbia* 2004).

This court decision, along with the *Taku* case of 2002,³² is a landmark in First Nations' legal history in Canada because it clarified the law around consultation and accommodation. The CHN are currently pursuing a takeover of TFL 39 so that they can be managed at the local level. The implication of the Haida's effective dual strategy of litigation and direct action is the advancement of the Haida's position in relation to the Province regarding planning and environmental governance. The CHN's legal interaction with the state demonstrates the productive aspects of power in which the Haida, as self-determining people, clarified legal discourse thereby helping to legitimize First Nations positions in environmental decision-making. In doing so, the Haida challenged the authority of the provincial government, and complicated land use planning. By rupturing nationalist discourse that stabilizes the centralized institutions of resource management in BC, combined with the assertion of their Aboriginal Rights and Title, the Haida were able to significantly shape the contemporary land use planning process to better suit their aims. A brief overview of the institution of provincial land use planning continues the historic timeline of events pertinent to the territory and resources of Haida Gwaii, and the outcomes of the land use agreement.

The Rise of "Strategic Land Use Planning" in British Columbia

In the early 1990s the provincial government (NDP at the time) established the Commission on Resources and the Environment (CORE), which was given the mandate to work on strategic land use plans for the East and West Kootenays, Vancouver Island, and the Cariboo/Chilcotin (Bones 2007, pers. comm.; ILMB 2006). The need for a participatory planning model like CORE was catalyzed when the momentum of the environmental movement was

³² In January 2002 the BC Supreme Court upheld a ruling that the Province has a duty to consult with First Nations when their decisions may affect Aboriginal Rights and Title. This stemmed from the Taku River Tlingit's legal action over a mining conflict on their territory (EAGLE 2007),

compounded by First Nations' direct action throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Indigenous blockades, sit-ins, and rallies were strong assertions of Aboriginal Title and were aimed at halting specific resource development projects (BC Treaty Commission 2007; Blomley 1996; Hayter 2003). Demands over an inherent right to self-government were debated as First Nations achieved greater political organization at the tribal, provincial, and national levels. However, Braun (2002, 31) contends that "in the 1990s, as in the 1970s, Native communities witnessed landscapes historically tied to their communities remade by industrial forestry, often at an accelerating pace." First Nations were not the only groups upset about this.

Unlike the previous, superficial consultation model used with groups affected by earlier land use plans—wherein the extent of government consultation amounted to retrieving feedback, but not necessarily taking it into account, CORE developed an "interests-based, consensus-seeking model" (Bones 2007, pers. comm.). John Bones, Assistant Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, and one of two provincial negotiators in the Haida Gwaii Strategic Land Use Agreement, explains that CORE changed the planning process to the extent of "insisting that government be just one representative at the table, [which was] totally radical...all of a sudden you're sitting here with the rod and gun club, the forest industry, and there's [only] one person from government" (Bones 2007, pers. comm.) CORE also hired independent facilitators and trained participants in interest-based negotiating (Bones 2007, pers. comm.). Although other planning models soon replaced it, CORE influenced the evolution of strategic planning over the next fifteen to twenty years, as the legacy of interest-based, consensus-seeking negotiations attests. The NDP of the early 1990s also developed the *Forest Practices Code of BC Act*, which contributed to enabling a legal framework around land use plan implementation (Bones 2007, pers. comm.). This act has since been replaced by the, both lauded and criticized, "*Forests, Range, and Practices Act*," and the "*Land Amendment Act*."

According to Bones, there were several problems with the CORE model. Although CORE recognized the necessity of including First Nations in planning, at the time the Province did not acknowledge that First Nations had any rights (Bones 2007, pers. comm.). Thus, First Nations on Vancouver Island boycotted land use planning tables because they did not want to sit at the table as a stakeholder. Towards the end of CORE's short lifespan, Bones (2007, pers. comm.) claims the provincial government realized it needed a common approach to planning so it created the Land Use Coordination Office—of which John Bones was the Director in the late 1990s/early 2000s. However, it quickly transformed into the Integrated Land Management Bureau (ILMB), the institutional body of land use planning in BC today. The ILMB works with other resource ministries to develop policy, coordinate, and support the “completion, approval, monitoring, evaluation and amendment of strategic land use plans” throughout the province (ILMB 2007b, ilmbwww.gov.bc.ca).

When the ILMB took over provincial planning there was interest in doing strategic plans based on the CORE model with the rest of the province. Land and Resource Management Plans (LRMPs), or land use plans, were developed to “address land use conflicts, environmental issues and competition amongst resource user groups” and to establish new parks and protected areas (ILMB 2006, 3). Some specific outcomes of LRMPs include zoning processes that designate and integrate various land use practices. Zoning decisions are informed by socio-economic analysis, government priorities and policies—such as the New Relationship with First Nations—environmental change and opportunities for resource extraction (ILMB 2006). The ILMB purports the benefits of strategic planning are: “improved communication and inter-agency cooperation; increased involvement of First Nations; increased land use certainty for industry; and new legislative tools to benefit threatened and endangered species and improve wildlife habitat” (ILMB 2006, 2). By 2006, 26 LRMPs encompassed over 85% of the province with four

of these awaiting final government-to-government negotiations (including the LRMP for Haida Gwaii) (ILMB 2006, 2).

Resource management plans that are detailed, and focus on smaller landscape units than the broader objectives involved in LRMPs are called Sustainable Resource Management Plans (SRMPs) (ILMB 2006, 3). SRMPs address issues like biodiversity, tourism and timber; however, they involve more detailed objectives for specific aspects of planning objectives than LRMPs (ILMB 2006, 3). At the time of writing, 102 SRMPs were complete and ninety-three more were underway (ILMB 2006, 2). The current, ILMB land use planning process has evolved significantly in how it relates to First Nations. The Haida Gwaii LRMP is grouped together by the provincial government with three other LRMPs in BC: the Central/North Coast; Morice; Sea to Sky; and Lillooet, all of which involve government-to-government negotiations between First Nations and the Province, and have been named “legacy” land use plans because of their historic significance. These negotiations are meant to deliver “mutually supported recommendations to Cabinet and First Nations’ leaders” (ILMB 2006, 4).

From the Province’s perspective the challenges of strategic land use planning include financing, “New Relationship³³” commitments with First Nations, impacts of environmental change, increased extractive and industrial activity, interaction with initiatives designed by the federal government initiatives, as well as new provincial legislation and policies such as the Forest Range and Practices Act (ILMB 2006, 2). The cost of LRMPs, particularly the newer ones that involve First Nations in a government-to-government approach, is noteworthy. In 2003, it was estimated that the Province invested approximately \$50 million on strategic land use plans in the previous decade (ILMB 2006, 6). By 2006, estimates had risen to \$100 million, in part, to

³³ The “New Relationship” is a major provincial policy initiative implemented through Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation. The goal of the policy is to “close the gaps that exist between Aboriginal and other British Columbians” (Government of BC 2008, www.gov.bc.ca/arr/newrelationship).

cover the added costs of working in greater capacity with First Nations (ILMB 2006, 6). Recent land use plans have ranged from \$3 million to \$10 million each and approximately \$60,000 has been spent on each First Nation “engaged” in planning per year (ILMB 2006, 6). Additionally, LRMP implementation and monitoring costs vary between \$100,000 and \$800,000 annually (ILMB 2006, 6).

Conclusion

This contextual chapter traced modern land use planning practices and discourses back to their colonial sources to historically situate the Land Use Agreement for Haida Gwaii and thereby reveal the continuity of settler techniques that displaced Haida resource management systems. I linked colonial narratives about “civilization,” and “progress,” coupled with techniques of displacement and reterritorialization, with Guujaaw’s description of the effects of colonial resource management regimes on Haida culture and the ecosystems of Haida Gwaii. I argued that the production of colonial space and resource landscapes in BC displaced Haida ontology premised on *yah’guudaang*, respect for all living things. By drawing on Haida sources, particularly Guujaaw and the Haida Land Use Vision, I demonstrated that the Haida’s cultural identity, and political sovereignty, is inextricable from their relationship to Haida Gwaii.

A Haida cultural resurgence beginning in the 1980s advanced the Nation’s political position as they combined discursive and corporeal power to attack the rationale of state sovereignty in land use decisions and resource management regimes such as “sustained-yield forestry.” A disruptive blockade on Lyell Island in 1985 led to the establishment of the jointly managed Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site. In 2002, the Haida attempted to prove their Title to Haida Gwaii in the BC Supreme Court, but failed. In 2004, the Haida were victorious when the Supreme Court of Canada clarified the Province has a legal

obligation to consult and accommodate First Nations in land use decisions regardless of proof of Title. I concluded by summarizing the current land use planning process and the role of the ILMB and noted that the land use plan for Haida Gwaii is one of four “legacy” land use plans that involve a government-to-government framework in planning—a significant departure from the stakeholder model of the past.

In challenging the underlying rationale of the Province’ authority in planning and resource management on Haida Gwaii, the Haida consistently destabilized and rendered visible the discursive displacements that have led to their exclusion and subordination in ecological governance. Through direct action and court challenges the Haida asserted their sovereignty to Haida Gwaii and their inherent right to self-determination. This resulted in a rearrangement of dominant power relations in ways that have contributed to the opportunities available to the Haida in land use planning. In the following two chapters I discuss the CHN’s evaluation of the land use plan with attention to, first, the successes, and then the challenges to the Haida’s self-determination in ecological governance.

Chapter Three
Centering Haida Perspectives: Achievements in Land Use Planning

Defining Success

As someone of European descent, committed to shifting the researcher's gaze, it is necessary to take the lead from the Haida when evaluating the land use plan. My research with the CHN illuminates that success, from Haida perspectives, entails removing the obstacles to their self-determination while creating the requisite space to foreground Haida priorities and worldviews in land use planning. Rather than framing their interpretations of success in terms of the accumulation of political power, CHN members emphasized the importance of transforming relationships that determine land use, consequently expanding the breadth of opportunities available to them.

The CHN is currently uninterested in gaining ownership and administrative power over select regions of Haida Gwaii at the expense of relinquishing their Title. Neither is the CHN's position characterized by extremes or absolutes. The Haida are not opposed to non-Haida communities living on island, nor are they opposed to resource extraction. The Haida *are* concerned that the dominant values and rationale that inform ecological governance negatively impact local communities and the environment in ways that erode Haida self-determination and Title. By securing the Haida Land Use Vision as the planning guide, *yah'guudang* was introduced to the non-Haida island community and provincial planners. This is nothing short of an ontological reorientation that advances a sustainable approach to land use by focusing on the cultivation of symbiotic relationships with the environment. In this chapter I discuss the elements of land use planning the CHN research participants perceived as successful with attention to the

productive role of power in facilitating these changes. I also interpret success as the convergence of the CHN's goals in land use planning with the objectives outlined in the Land Use Agreement.

An evaluation of the Agreement that is primarily concerned with the stated outcomes is currently not an appropriate focus since the implementation phase for many of the objectives spans a twenty-four month period. In other instances, while the Agreement has brought about legislative changes that have an immediate effect, it will take time before there is comprehensive information on how they affect different resource user groups and island communities. Alternatively, it is relevant to focus on *how* the CHN reoriented the process of land use planning to facilitate, at least in theory, meeting most of the Haida's environmental, cultural, and economic objectives.

I discuss the notion of "success" in the land use plan from two different approaches. The first and foremost approach is concerned, firstly, with the CHN's political maneuvering that led to a jointly hosted land use planning process and a government-to-government negotiation structure; and secondly, the implications of adopting the Haida Land Use Vision as the planning guide. In the second approach, I examine the success of the land use plan in terms of its proposed ability to meet Haida goals for ecological preservation and restoration, cultural and heritage preservation, a sustainable approach to resource management, and the development of an ecologically and socially sustainable, local economy. I draw most consistently on my CHN interview material to foreground Haida perceptions and experiences. A useful technique for evaluating strategic land use planning is to examine of how it functions as a discourse. It is productive to work with what Said (cited in Racevskis 2005, 86-7) describes as Foucault's "greatest intellectual contribution:" "an understanding of how the will to exercise dominant control in society and history has also discovered a way to clothe, disguise, rarefy, and wrap itself systematically in the language of truth, discipline, rationality, utilitarian value, and knowledge."

By deconstructing and problematizing the Province's orientation to planning, it becomes clear that what is at stake is a particular form of rationality that relies on the discursive displacement of First Nations' self-determination in modern politics. The CHN have consistently drawn attention to these displacements and performed their self-determination throughout the land use planning process. This occasionally ruptures the functioning of provincial planning discourse. The Haida have seized the nascent opportunity within these ruptures to expand the space for their participation and their means of political engagement in ecological governance.

The Discourse of Land Use Planning

Strategic land-use planning is a discourse of knowledge rooted in a rationale that conjures and reproduces the state's authority and power in decision-making over resource management—even on unceded First Nations' territories in BC. Shapiro (2004) alleges that as the contemporary nation-state is increasingly contested, states respond by performing their identities and reinforcing their ontological and practical statuses as nation-states. Sovereignty is thus aptly understood as episodic; it is enacted in “moments of violent enforcement or legal affirmation and counter-sovereign episodes of resistance” (Shapiro 2004, 23). This is a useful orientation to the matrix of power relations at work in land use planning. In this chapter I focus greater attention on the “counter-sovereign episodes” of Haida resistance; although, these are not solely expressed in relation to the state's sovereignty, but are also expressions of Haida being in the world (i.e. they should not be strictly viewed as relational to the state).

The Province's historical role in land use planning is comprised of episodes in which the state reinforces its sovereignty and power within, and through, the institutional edifice of governmental planning departments. In the same manner that citizens are subject to processes of state discipline and normalization, citizens produce the state, thereby reinforcing its legitimacy. Through these forces of enablement the state is continuously endorsed to act as the legal guardian of all unceded territories. To grasp the rationale underlying the discourse of strategic land use planning in BC it is useful to avoid thinking of discourses as uniform and stable, or in terms of acceptance and exclusion; rather, it is productive to think of discourses as a "multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies" (Foucault 1990, 100). Additionally, "it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together" (Foucault 1990, 100). Before moving into a discussion of the tactics the CHN used to destabilize power relations in planning, I deconstruct some of the discursive elements that comprise the discourse of land use planning to reveal the hidden assumptions that lend them credibility, notably the concept of the "public," and "public land."

Mythology of the "Public"

The Integrated Land Management Bureau (ILMB), the provincial institution that manages land use planning in BC, expresses its function in the following way:

Strategic land use planning is a process for determining how our land will be used, both now and in the future. British Columbia's natural resources are, for the most part, public assets - 94 per cent of our land is publicly owned... These natural resources must be well managed to benefit both present and future generations. Strategic land use plans help ensure that resource management decisions take into account the needs of communities, the economy and the environment (ILMB 2007b, <http://ilmbwww.gov.bc.ca>).

When this ideologically loaded statement is deconstructed, it gets to the heart of the matter of planning in BC: *whose* land is being planned, *by* whom, and *for* whom? The myth that 94% of the

provincial land base is public, or Crown, stabilizes an imaginative geography enabled by Indigenous displacement and European colonization and settlement. The durability of this myth contributes to the rationalization of particular relations of power in current planning practices. For example, the Province deems it normal for First Nations to participate in land use planning processes on their traditional territories as one of multiple stakeholders with interests in the land. Additionally, it reinforces the legitimacy of the Province as the arbiter of “Crown” land, which, in turn, is based on a foundational regime of truth about what a nation state is and how it operates. Lane and Hibbard (2005) argue that Indigenous peoples involved in “transformative planning,” challenge the state’s nation-building project because the nation’s imagined community stands on the subjugation or denial of pre-existing Indigenous claims.

Shapiro (2004, xv) argues “historical productions of discourses of knowledge”—such as state sovereignty—“are power-invested enactments [that] produce new discursive objects and new and privileged locations from which speakers can make intelligible and legitimate utterances.” To illustrate, the dominance of state sovereignty facilitates a regime of truth that produces “Crown” land and creates a new, privileged location (ex: the ILMB) from which the Province enunciates decisions about the environment—with traditionally minimal input from First Nations. As such, the Province perpetuates the legitimacy of its sovereignty over land and resources on non-reservation territories regardless of pre-existing land claims. Supplementary discursive objects such as laws and legislation stabilize and protect the Province’s authoritative position in ecological governance.

Rossiter and Wood (2005, 358) argue that the Government of BC attempts to fabricate a neutral political space, which creates economic conditions of business certainty by discursively displacing the reality of outstanding land claims. Informed by a neoliberal rationale, the Province views land use plans as tools for achieving the unhindered flow of capital (by resolving land and

resource conflicts).³⁴ The Province suggests that because the CHN has not negotiated a final treaty (choosing litigation instead) finalizing a comprehensive land use plan with the support of the Haida is a way to ensure conditions of certainty for investors on Haida Gwaii (Bones 2007, pers. comm.).³⁵ As stated on their webpage, the ILMB's (2007c) vision is to provide "world-leading natural resource service delivery that exceeds expectations and provides business certainty for our clients" (ilmbwww.gov.bc.ca). The emphasis is on the business-related advantages of land use plans rather than innovative management philosophies like "co-management" with First Nations, and "ecosystem-based management" (EBM)—with its emphasis on socio-economic *and* ecological sustainability. Shifting relationships in ecological governance are replaced with natural resource "service delivery" for a "clientele" of extractive industries (the ILMB also states it is "client-friendly" in its delivery of information and services) (ILMB 2007c). In the opening quote from the ILMB homepage, natural resources—that is, ecosystem components with tremendous socio-cultural and environmental values—are equated with "assets" (ILMB 2007b). The philosophy of the ILMB, as an institution, reflects the increasingly privatized and neoliberal climate in which environmental decision-making takes place in BC.

The discrepancy between community and ecological sustainability and well-being—key tenets of the land use plan—and economic imperatives further problematizes "public" interests in land use planning. It is logical that the Government of BC, which occupies the difficult position of trying to balance fiduciary responsibilities to industry with its responsibility to First Nations, tends to focus on strategies perceived as amenable to both groups. Therefore, although the Province has legal and policy commitments to First Nations its agenda is set, at least equally, by

³⁴ This leads to a sense of urgency in completing land use plans as soon as possible and was described to me by CHN and provincial representatives.

³⁵ In this way the Province implicitly recognizes the mythology of public, Crown land because they have to make special considerations for First Nations' land claims in order to stabilize the investment climate.

the resource corporations that provide a significant amount of provincial revenue. Thus, discursive elements that compose the discourse of land use planning, such as “public” resources and interests along with neoliberal imperatives, displace Indigenous self-determination in the discourse of land use planning. The Province’s will to govern and exert dominant control in BC society is disguised in these discursive elements and find legitimacy in the language of truth, rationality, and utilitarian value. The CHN is familiar with these tactics and fundamentally challenged the Province’s legitimacy in land use planning the moment provincial planners stepped onto the islands.

Establishment of Land Use Planning on Haida Gwaii

Following its establishment in the early 2000s, the ILMB extended the work of CORE’s interests-based, consensus-seeking land use planning model. At this time First Nations were invited to participate at the land use planning tables along with other “stakeholders” with interests in the land. Stakeholders included everyone from conservation groups, to resource industries, to hunting clubs. This is problematic for First Nations who argue that they have much more than vested “interests” in the land. However, given the preference the ILMB attributes to the resource sector land use planning forums overflow with power-knowledge relations. Braun (2002, 31) claims,

Native voices—if heard at all—have often been incorporated as simply one among many special interests within a system of forest management founded on productions of colonial space in the nineteenth century that separated and segregated Native reserves from Crown lands.

Others argue that multi-stakeholder negotiations exacerbate oppressive relationships when the power relations that shape participation are overlooked (Edmunds and Wollenberg 2002). When John Bones, Assistant Deputy Minister of, and negotiator for, the ILMB, approached the CHN in

the early 2000s, the CHN clarified despite the government's willingness to "engage" with them on a land and resource management plan, they would not participate in a process that would determine the future of Haida Gwaii as a "stakeholder" (Bones 2007, pers. comm.). Relegating First Nations to "stakeholder" status implies they have nothing more to gain or lose in land use decisions on their traditional territories than forest companies, environmentalists, and other resource user groups. Bones (2007, pers. comm.) remarks that at the outset of land use planning the Province did not recognize First Nations' have rights that would place them above a stakeholder roundtable. Consequently, the Haida refused to participate in land use planning as proposed by the Province (Bones 2007, pers. comm.). Bones (2007, pers. comm.) describes the Haida's attitude as, "It's our land...If anyone's going to do a plan we're going to do it."

Government-to-Government

In 2001, a year before the Haida launched their Title case, the CHN and the Province signed an agreement to create a Land and Resource Management Plan that involved a Community Planning Forum that would be interests-based and consensus seeking (stakeholder model). The difference, Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) explains, was that

At the time the Province came to us, we were the only ones actually engaged in real planning. The Province had simply divided the spoils of colonialism amongst their friends and the plunder was still in swing. We had already protected and designated most of the "Protected Areas." In the planning process, we certainly were not going to sit as stakeholders—nor did we. In the end we jointly hosted the process, which was guided by the Haida Land Use Vision.

In a major departure from the vast majority of BC land use plans, the Haida and the Government of BC agreed to a "government-to-government" approach guided by *Haida* land use objectives (Haida Land Use Vision). While the drive for economic certainty on Haida Gwaii, combined with the Haida's reputation as a strong and outspoken Nation, surely contributed to the Province's

agreement to a co-managed planning structure, this re-arrangement of power has significant discursive ramifications. Both governments agreed to the cooperative development of a Strategic Land Use Plan based on the principles of ecosystem-based management.³⁶ Bones (2007, pers. comm.) remarks, “to the credit of the Haida, they were actually ahead of us” when it came to restructuring the governing structure of land use planning.

Guujaaw points out that the Province only had a few available choices given the circumstances: “one was to keep fighting us and the other, simpler, thing for them to do was to go along with us” (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). Guujaaw believes the Province had no choice except to participate in a government-to-government land use plan. Following fifty years of intensive forestry, the Province “logged their whole economic base out from under themselves without planning” (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). Furthermore, the Province realized the Haida were prepared to occupy a position of assertiveness and of conflict in an increasingly supportive local, political climate (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). Guujaaw claims it was the result of “a lot of pushing back” that forced the Province to pursue a different course in resource management and extraction on the islands (2007, pers. comm.).

Nevertheless, Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) believes that the Province did not *want* to move into a government-to-government relationship with the Haida, claiming the Province was a “reluctant customer:” “[The Province] dearly didn’t want to say ‘government-to-government,’ they wanted to say ‘stakeholder’” (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). Given how long the stakeholder model had been in place despite First Nations’ protestations accentuates the significance of this success for the Haida. Kevin Brown (2007, pers. comm.), CHN Assistant Land Use Plan

³⁶ This was not entirely unprecedented. At the same time, the Province was in the process of working on the “legacy” land use agreement with First Nations on the Central and North Coast of BC.

Coordinator, believes that progress is being made and “the fact that [both governments are] actually sitting down and talking is quite a huge step” and must continue.

The intent was for the “Community Planning Forum” (the “Forum”) to reach consensus on their recommendations for the government-to-government negotiations (Beldessi 2007, pers. comm.). However, because the Forum was unable to come to consensus around forestry issues everything in the recommendations report had to be addressed at the government-to-government table (Beldessi 2007, pers. comm.). The following background on the Community Planning Forum, particularly with regards to forestry issues, helps to situate the Haida successes discussed in subsequent sections. Additionally, CHN research participants often linked the capacity building and inter-community collaboration resulting from the Community Planning Forum to their perceptions of achievements in land use planning.

Community Planning Forum

A Community Planning Forum made up the planning table, which was convened in 2003 and terminated in 2005 (see Appendix F: Timeline of Key Events). This ran parallel to the government-to-government partnership established in March of 2003, although the government-to-government negotiations took precedence in 2005 when Forum members had yet to reach a consensus around forestry issues. The Forum was comprised of approximately thirty representatives of diverse interest groups (Broadhead 2005).³⁷ Over the course of a year and a half, Community Planning Forum members attended over forty days of public meetings that

³⁷ The composition of the Community Planning Forum was as follows with the number in brackets referring to the number of representatives for that sector: small business forestry (2); non-timber forest products (2); public interest (2); mineral resources (2); forest-based employment (1); cultural heritage tourism (2); Haida cultural values (2); local government (2); Band Councils (1); Council of the Haida Nation (2); major forest tenure holders (2); Provincial Government (1); terrestrial ecosystems (2); aquatic ecosystems (2); tourism (2) (ILMB 2007d).

rotated between the communities (Broadhead 2005). Dale Lore (2007, pers. comm.), ex-mayor of Port Clements, who represented the non-Haida island residents' interests, estimates that each person involved in the Forum invested 500-1000 hours of work.

In spite of the community spirit fostered through the Forum its irresolution illustrates the challenge of consensus models when participants hold clashing ontologies. According to John Broadhead, a Board Director of the Gowgaia Institute of Haida Gwaii,³⁸

The main bone of contention was logging, and the question at hand was straight forward enough: Can everyone around this table agree on a single plan that will meet community needs, restore environmental well-being, sustain Haida culture and maintain logging industry profits?...The answer of course was no...(Broadhead 2005, www.spruceroots.org/August05/JB.html).

Logging has long been an explosive fissure in the local politics of Haida Gwaii where the intersection of differing values of the forest is extremely charged and has been shaped by a history of extensive (and intensive) logging, direct action, and the opposition of the Haida. Lore (2007, pers. comm.) characterizes the disagreement over logging as the primary cause of the Forum's disintegration. In Lore's opinion the forestry representatives opposed "anything that had *any* implications at all in their harvest level. There was no give at all. None. Not even a willingness to even *entertain* anything else"—even if everyone else at the table supported the alternative (Lore 2007, pers. comm.). Broadhead (2005), along with the majority of interview participants not employed by the Province, characterize the industry-backed preference in the land use plan as "business-as-usual." The forest licensees justified this response by arguing that the existing laws and regulations were sufficient to safeguard the environment and ensure industry profitability, which they equated (many contend, erroneously) with local jobs.

³⁸ The Gowgaia Institute is a non-profit organization based out of Haida Gwaii that has a mandate to promote sustainability on the islands, and create social change through dialogue and empowerment. It also produces the online journal SpruceRoots and signed a protocol agreement with the CHN that emphasizes respect for the Haida as the original inhabitants of Haida Gwaii (www.spruceroots.org/Gowgaia/Gowgaia.html).

The District Forest Manager (Ministry of Forests) for Haida Gwaii, Leonard Munt, believes it was *not* business-as-usual in the forests. Munt (2007, pers. comm.) explains that the forest industry has responsibilities to its employees and that there was never an agreement to halt logging during the land use planning process. He adds it is not the Province's intention to bankrupt companies and that, in fact, forest companies were losing parcels of their TFLs to "Part 13s," which is legislation that enables the removal of land from proposed cutblocks under exceptional circumstances (Munt 2007, pers. comm.). This inconsistency in interpretations of the forest industry's motives and actions is an example of how divisive the issue of logging is for islanders. Broadhead (2005, www.spruceroots.org/August05/JB.html) also characterizes the alternative to the status quo,³⁹ or "business-as-usual," as being supported by nearly everyone *except* industry: 'Option 2' was a recipe for massive change — driven by local imperatives to protect Haida culture, community stability and forest habitat values at risk because of logging. Most of the recipe is presented in the Haida Land Use Vision."

Centering Haida Ontologies: The Haida Land Use Vision

Aside from co-chairing the land use planning process, another of the CHN's critical achievements in the land use planning process was ensuring the precedence of Haida priorities and concerns over the interests of other groups. The CHN and members of the Haida Nation developed and presented the Haida Land Use Vision to the Community Planning Forum in May of 2004 when the Forum—with the exception of industry—adopted the document as its planning guide (Haida Land Use Vision 2004, 6). A Haida orientation to planning frames the issues within Haida ontology and self-determination. The Haida Land Use Vision is built on Haida "objectives

³⁹ Dale Lore, longtime forestry worker, defined the status quo as "the ability to harvest at the traditional levels in the traditional areas as [the licensees see] fit" (Lore 2007, pers. comm.).

and principles” that originate from the Haida’s “Aboriginal rights and title on Haida Gwaii and the resulting responsibilities” (CHN 2008, www.haidanation.ca). For example, the Supreme Court of British Columbia in 1997 ruled that lands in accordance with Aboriginal title must not be utilized in ways that are irreconcilable with the Nation’s attachment to the land, which in turn is the basis of the Nation’s claim to Aboriginal title (restraining modern uses of the land). Thus, the nature of the Haida’s Title depends on the sustainable use of resources consistent with traditional systems of land use and resource management.

The Haida Land Use Vision emphasizes Haida ontology as an appropriate philosophy for guiding human relationships with the natural world based on *yah’guudang*. The CHN declares the Haida Land Use Vision,

reflects our understanding of how things function together and how they have changed through time. It conveys our concern about the damage that has occurred in recent times and addresses the need to ensure continuity and sustainability for the generations to come. In this way, *Yah’guudang* is brought forward in the context of Haida Title (Haida Land Use Vision 2004, 5).

At the beginning of the Haida Land Use Vision (2004, 5) it is proclaimed,

To sustain Haida culture, a land use plan must adequately address certain priorities, beginning with the well-being of the land. We need to clearly understand the changes that have occurred to ecological conditions and our culture, and then provide directions for restoring and maintaining balance.

These statements stress the connection between cultural sustenance and ecological well-being and explain why the Haida require a lead role in planning the future of Haida Gwaii. In the spirit of cross-cultural collaboration the Haida Land Use Vision (2004, 6) also claims,

Finally, this document is based on Haida culture—the land use vision it describes is based on *Yah’guudang*. We appreciate that people from other cultures also have attachments to this sacred place, and seek to work together in harmony and accord.

In planning, the Haida Land Use Vision is an important instrument that functions as a *translator* of Haida ontology for people and planners who are not Haida and do not share a Haida

worldview. It translates Haida ways of knowing and being and articulates them within a document that explains why and how certain relationships with the environment require cultivation or restoration. For example, in Part One of the document, entitled “Well-Being of the Land” six key aspects of Haida relations with Haida Gwaii are highlighted: cedar (*Tsuuacay*), salmon (*Tsiin*), black bear (*Taan*), birds (*Xiit’lit*), plants (*Kil*), and the beach (*Sk’waii*). In Part Two and Three these six facets of Haida culture and ecology are discussed in relation to changing conditions and the official land use planning process. They are the basis for designing a sustainable land use plan (Haida Land Use Vision 2004). To exemplify how cedar, salmon, and plants are linked to what it means to be *Haida*, or human, I summarize how they relate to Haida culture as described in the Haida Land Use Vision.

Cedar, or *Tsuuacay*, appeared on Haida Gwaii approximately 6000 years ago and is integral to Haida culture for spiritual, cultural, economic, and technological reasons: “The renewal and strength of Haida culture is intimately linked to the well-being of *tsuuacay*” (Haida Land Use Vision 2004, 9). Haida approach cedars with respect and gratitude when they harvest bark or k trees. Using selective harvesting techniques, the tree’s, and forest’s, survival is ensured (Haida Land Use Vision 2004). Culturally Modified Trees (CMTs) and old canoe blanks left in the forest represent the “sacred workplaces of [Haida] ancestors” (Haida Land Use Vision 2004, 9). However, the Haida Land Use Vision addresses the serious concern over the continued, rapid diminishment of high quality cedar by over-harvesting (Haida Land Use Vision 2004, 13). The problem is compounded by the destructive impact of grazing deer on forest re-growth (Haida Land Use Vision 2004).

Haidas often refer to themselves as “salmon people.” Salmon, or *Tsiin*, are “integral to all life on Haida Gwaii and to Haida culture” (Haida Land Use Vision 2004, 9). This is expressed in

the placement of the “salmon-trout head design” in the “ovoid joints of other creatures” in traditional Haida art (Haida Land Use Vision 2004, 9). The Haida value *Tsiin*'s primary role in nutrient flows on Haida Gwaii and in local ecology: “Every year the salmon swim into the forest to spawn, carrying in their bodies thousands of tones of nutrients gathered in ocean food webs, back to the land” (Haida Land Use Vision 2004, 9). Additionally, salmon are the most important component of a Haida diet (Haida Land Use Vision 2004, 10). However *Tsiin* are also in decline:

The land and people need more salmon to be healthy...Every year we have to carefully limit our catches in different rivers so as not to endanger them. At times we find there's not enough to go around to provide for the needs of single families, let alone large public feasting...The provincial Forest Practices Code...provides no protection for the thousands of small stream habitats, or the vital headwaters of streams where much logging is happening today (Haida Land Use Vision 2004, 14).

From plants, or *Kil*, the Haida derive medicine, food, teas, pigments, smokehouse materials, weaving materials, tools, musical instruments and ceremonial objects, to name a few (Haida Land Use Vision 2004, 11). A supernatural woman, birds, and animals shared medicinal knowledge with the Haida (Haida Land Use Vision 2004, 10). Plants provide sustenance and materials for tools and fiber essential to Haida life. Since many of these plants grow in the old-growth forests and riparian zones clear-cutting practices have made some plants very difficult to find (Haida Land Use Vision 2004, 15). As certain medicinal plants become increasingly scarce, the Haida are finding they must travel increasingly further distances to locate them (Haida Land Use Vision 2004). Additionally, there is a growing concern over the commercialization of particular plants and the importance of maintaining traditional plant knowledge secret in order to protect it from bioprospecting pharmaceutical industries (Haida Land Use Vision 2004, 11).

In securing the Haida Land Use Vision as the guiding document for both the Community Planning Forum and the government-to-government negotiations the Haida successfully reshaped the discourse of land use planning—and, consequently, the array of opportunities available to

them. As opposed to provincial planning narratives that seek to plan in the best interests of the public while maximizing economic return in increasingly neoliberal terms, the Land Use Agreement for Haida Gwaii is structured around Haida ontology represented in *yah'guudang*. *Yah'guudang* is compatible with ecosystem-based management because it is premised on principles that favour respect, long-term foresight and ecological protection and restoration (for ex: ecological integrity is emphasized over “sustained-yield” forestry). In the Haida worldview ecological health is inseparable from what it means to be Haida, or human. Thus, Haida priorities are jointly pinned to socio-cultural and ecological well-being within a larger movement for Haida self-determination. Bill Beldessi (2007, pers. comm.), Project Manager of the CHN’s Land Use Planning Department, sums up the reception to using the Haida Land Use Vision as the guiding document:

There are some people that are going to say it doesn’t go near far enough; there are some people who will say it’s gone too far. I think the negotiators have done a magnificent job in getting everything we have.

The result of the two key successes described so far, the CHN’s assertion to co-govern the planning process and to center the Haida Land Use Vision, have resulted in greater Haida empowerment—internally, locally, and in their relationship with the Province. This entails re-arrangements of power relations—sometimes, in unexpected ways.

New Constellations of Power

In a joint Government of BC and CHN news release announcing the ratification of the Strategic Land Use Agreement on December 12, 2007, Guujaaw is reported saying,

After 50 years of intensive forestry without holistic planning, this land-use agreement now starts to bring cultural, environmental, and economic interests into balance. It provides a firm footing to take the next steps in reconciliation of our competing yet coexisting Titles” (Ministry of Agriculture and Lands and the CHN 2007).

It is important to stress that though the Haida are seeking greater political control over decision-making on Haida Gwaii, I suggest the Haida are also positioning themselves within an emerging *local*⁴⁰ discourse that moves beyond the transmission of power between the satellites of the two governments and instead connects into local nodes of power within other island communities. The CHN are generous in spirit when it comes to planning for an inclusive and sustainable future for all island residents. All the Haida politicians I interviewed emphasize the CHN’s vision for greater Haida control over resources and local decision-making as part of a larger movement to devolve greater cooperative control in local resource management and island governance.⁴¹ As Vince Collison, CHN representative and member of the Community Planning Forum, stated,

the most important thing to identify within [the land use plan] is that the voice that the Haida have is strong, and locals as well...This is not a strictly Haida agreement, it’s an *islands* agreement... We appreciate that we’re going to be living together [Haida and non-Haida communities]... You know this [non-Haida] community is not going anywhere, nor should they. They have very great passions for this place. I’m not about to be part of something that displaces them; that’s not the way we were brought up...(Collison 2007, pers. comm.).

The devolution of greater political control to the islands is a shared goal amongst the islands’ communities. For the Haida, this is especially significant because they have been, in many ways, excluded from decision-making on the islands since colonial contact.

⁴⁰ I am reluctant to say “post-colonial” because of the ways that colonialism continues to impact Haida communities.

⁴¹ This is evidenced by the signing of Protocol Agreements between the CHN and the municipalities of Masset, Port Clements, and Queen Charlotte City. These Agreements are meant to improve inter-community relationships and enable productive partnerships on local issues. At the time of writing, Sandspit is the only municipality on Haida Gwaii that has chosen not to sign a Protocol Agreement with the CHN.

Brown (2007, pers. comm.) claims that the Haida Nation's voice has been and will be further strengthened through the land use planning process. The Supreme Court TFI 39 victory in 2004 helped to solidify this in terms of legally enshrining the duty to consult with and accommodate First Nations in land use decisions (Brown 2007, pers. comm.). Brown (2007, pers. comm.) notes that this "gives us...the leverage that we require to participate and give a voice in decision making in what goes on here...Before it was always 'this is the way it is, take it or leave it, we're deciding without you.'" Collison (2007, pers. comm.) also conveys that the Haida's voice has become increasingly powerful over the past two decades. He believes the Haida are reaching the "time in our lives when we have this control over the islands and the way the resources are extracted, or the way that they are manufactured" (Collison 2007, pers. comm.). Brown (2007, pers. comm.) and Lore (2007, pers. comm.) both address the fact that Haida Gwaii's remoteness leads to non-local governments and regional districts making land use decisions on Haida Gwaii to which they have no real connection.

It is significant that all CHN representatives discuss the importance of cultivating sustainable communities with a healthy local economy while ensuring the protection of the ecosystems because they are increasingly taking on new and influential roles. For example, the Province invited the Haida to apply for a 120,000 cubic metre annual cut (out of a total annual allowable cut of 800,000 cubic metres) in a designated area to be managed using EBM (Munt 2007, pers. comm.). The CHN has decided to make this an *inclusive*, as opposed to a private, community forest tenure in order to share the profit with other communities. This is symbolic of the willingness of the Haida leadership to embrace a collaborative, inter-cultural future where economic prosperity is understood as a shared goal. The Haida are not discursively ensnared by a colonized mindset that might evoke a sense of reluctance over sharing the concessions they have earned with other communities. On the other hand, a large contingent of the non-Haida island

community is very supportive of the Haida's self-determination (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). A culture of collaboration and solidarity is growing between the Haida and non-Haida island communities (Lore 2007, pers. comm.). This, without a doubt, is enhanced through the creation and strengthening of new relationships and alliances through land use planning.

Haida Goals in Land Use Planning

The second way in which I evaluate the successes of land use planning from Haida perspectives is to demonstrate how the CHN's objectives are reflected in the detailed outcomes of the Strategic Land Use Agreement (Appendix G). The CHN's objectives in land use planning (as stated on the CHN's current website) are:

1. "Protect and restore the land and ocean ecosystems of Haida Gwaii—the basis for Haida culture.
2. Protect and maintain Haida culture for present and future generations, including the full range of our traditional and contemporary uses of the land and ocean.
3. Apply an ecosystem-based approach to the development of the strategic land use plan, and to all activities sanctioned by the plan.
4. Develop an ecologically sustainable, community-based economy for Haida Gwaii that operates within the inherent natural limits of the land and ocean ecosystems that comprise Haida Gwaii, and provides for all residents of Haida Gwaii" (date unknown, www.haidanation.ca).

Echoing these objectives, Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) emphasizes the success of the land use plan should be reflected in the restoration and maintenance of the ecological integrity of the terrestrial and marine ecosystems; that is, keeping "the land and marine area alive." Guujaaw situates this goal within the larger framework of cultural revitalization and inter-generational exchange. Through the plan, Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) believes the Haida are "creating a future where our own kids would know that they could go out and experience the land the way our ancestors had."

The three main ecological successes resulting from the LUP that also satisfy the CHN's goals in planning are: the lowering of the annual allowable cut; an increase in protected areas; and ecosystem-based management (EBM). Although forestry is a very contentious issue on Haida Gwaii, the consensus within my interviews seemed to be overall satisfaction that the land use plan comprehensively sets out adequate measures and objectives to satisfy ecological requirements and human needs. Moreover, the fact that the Haida now play a more official role in environmental management helps to ensure that their interests in the land are respected.

Lowering of the AAC

One of the main causes for celebration for the Haida is the lowering of the annual allowable cut (AAC)⁴² from approximately 1.8 million cubic metres to 800,000 cubic meters (Munt 2007, pers. comm.). However, for the last six or seven years, an average of about 1.1 million cubic metres was actually cut. This discrepancy resulted from the removal of swaths of forests from the operating land base through Part 13s, and because Haida blockades and issues around consultation and accommodation with the Haida lowered productivity (Munt 2007, pers. comm.). The District Forest Manager, Leonard Munt, believes that the land could have sustained an annual cut of one million cubic metres. However, other interview participants express concern that the AAC has not been sufficiently lowered. Partially, this is because so much timber, particularly old-growth, has already been extracted. Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) characterizes the decrease in the AAC as an opportunity "to design an economy through doing more with less wood;" that is, value-added manufacturing.

⁴² According to the District Forest Manager the AAC is a *minimum* cut and companies that cut less than this amount are penalized by the Province under the law (Munt 2007, pers. comm.).

Increase in Protected Areas

The decrease in the AAC is complimented by a significant increase in jointly managed protected areas. Whereas approximately 23 percent of the archipelago (mostly within Gwaii Haanas and Naikoon parks) was previously protected, now a little over 50 percent of the total land mass is protected (Munt 2007, pers. comm.). The areas the Haida previously designated protected areas are now formally protected under conservancy status. The conservancy designation signifies the Haida are able to sustainably harvest resources for cultural purposes including cedar trees and salmon (see Appendix H for Protected Areas maps). All of the new protected areas will be co-managed by the Province and the Haida, as is Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site. The remainder of the island, including the “operating areas,” will be managed using EBM. Because the Haida want a high level of protection and conservation for Haida Gwaii, achieving 50 percent coverage is comparatively high. Munt (2007, pers. comm.) points out that the Rio de Janeiro Summit urged states to preserve 12 percent of the total landmass and that Haida Gwaii has now far exceeded this quota.

Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) confirms that the Land Use Plan is consistent with their approach to Aboriginal Title. He points out that by the time the Haida have made it through the courts and negotiations they do not want to discover that “there’s nothing much left to talk about in the end” (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). He continues to state the CHN’s position is to prioritize looking after the land and culture, and “within that context...create an economy” (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). Similarly, Brown notes that it took the Nisga’a 150 years of work before they settled their comprehensive land claim, and a great deal of damage can be done in that timeframe (Brown 2007, pers. comm.). That half of Haida Gwaii, including all of the Haida’s protected areas, is now protected from the forestry industry is a significant victory for the Haida Nation. Guujaaw shares the following thoughts:

These forests that are 14,000 years old—you know, the trees might be 1000 years old or 500 years old down to one year old, but the forest itself is 14,000 years old⁴³—that's a long time of evolution, and [because of the land use plan] it will continue on that evolution. That's quite an accomplishment.

On the other hand...all that protection is no net gain for our people. That's the way these lands were last year, and twenty years ago, and that's the way they'll be in 20 years...But what we accomplished was preventing there from being a loss. So the gains come in the economic side, the management of the land, and having restored our place, our influence on the land (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.).

Ecosystem Based Management

The land use plan for Haida Gwaii stipulates that the EBM objectives will guide forest planning and harvesting activities with an implementation deadline of 2009. Pending implementation, the EBM objectives laid out in the land use plan, which were initially developed by the Community Planning Forum and further developed and ratified by the CHN and the Government of BC, contribute to all four of the CHN's land use planning. In fact, the four goals of EBM closely mirror the CHN's four goals in land use planning. According to Pierre Lefebvre Consulting (2006, ii) these four principles are:

1. "Protect, maintain and restore ecosystem integrity
2. Maintain spiritual and cultural values in the land
3. Enhance sustainable economic opportunity within the inherent limits of the land to provide opportunity
4. Foster social and community well-being"

The philosophy and approach of EBM compliment Indigenous approaches to traditional resource management that First Nations across Canada used to sustainably manage their territories prior to European settlement (Turner *et al.* 2000). EBM is a management concept that

⁴³ This is extremely old for a BC forest and it is because large areas of Haida Gwaii escaped glaciation during the last Ice Age.

originated, and is being developed, in BC by the Coast Information Team (although similar systems exist elsewhere) and has the goal of balancing economic and environmental sustainability. In the EBM Planning Handbook, the 88 page document outlining and guiding EBM on BC's coast, the Coast Information Team describes EBM as

an adaptive approach to managing human activities that seeks to ensure the coexistence of healthy, fully functioning ecosystems and human communities. The intent is to maintain those spatial and temporal characteristics of ecosystems such that component species and ecological processes can be sustained, and human well-being supported and improved (Cardinall 2004, 5).

EBM is premised on the precautionary principle and requires decisions over which areas and ecosystem components, as determined by an "Ecosystem Spatial Analysis," will be protected prior to extraction of any kind (Rainforest Solutions Project 2008). This analysis is based on all of the available information on a "wide representative sampling of species within an ecosystem," (www.savethegreatbear.org 2008). EBM blends social and economic concerns with environmental priorities, thereby moving away from a human/nature division that results in fortress conservation. Guujaaw notes that EBM is actually quite simple: "can you have an economy without spoiling the land?" (2007, pers. comm.).

EBM is exceptional in that it is concerned with First Nations' rights and Title and recognizes that ecosystems are also *cultural* landscapes to First Nations (in different ways than they are for settler cultures). This is emblematic of an effort to move away from a colonial legacy of resource management in BC that depends on the physical and discursive displacement of First Nations. However, many people, including the majority of my interview participants, note that EBM is vague when it comes to implementation. Guujaaw believes that the success of EBM "will largely depend on the goodwill and commitment of the logging companies and that's why it's so important that we get local control of those Tree Farm Licenses" (2007, pers. comm.). Munt explains that the *Forests, Range, and Practices Act* has devolved the responsibility of monitoring

and compliance with the eleven government objectives to licensees (Munt 2007, pers. comm.). It has been the Ministry of Forest's responsibility to "make sure that [the licensees] live up to their obligations on the land base" (Munt 2007, pers. comm.). However, Munt (pers. comm.) claims that the land use plan "will actually allow us to make legal objectives that the licensees *have* to live up to." Furthermore, Munt explains that the Ministry of Forests is working with the Haida to broaden the monitoring regime so as to include them. This means that once the legal objectives are in place, the forest companies have to develop strategies around the new objectives with a greater focus on community aspirations (Munt 2007, pers. comm.).

Lastly, Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) explains that there are provisions in the plan to use an EBM approach for conserving monumental cedar, seabirds, creeks and other ecological components of special interest to the Haida. For example, there is a *1000* year cedar management plan now in place (pushed for by the Haida). In this sense, Lore (2007, pers. comm.) believes that the plan is proactive rather than reactive. Haida opportunities are left open, rather than closed. As the Haida continue to discover culturally modified trees that need protection, it is beneficial that land use plan is structured so that ecological and management goals must be revisited every so often (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). It was because of the CHN's position in the government-to-government planning process, combined with the role of the Haida Land Use Vision, that the ecological objectives outlined in the land use plan are comprehensive, and responsive to Haida aspirations.

Conclusions

In this chapter I evaluated the achievements of the land use plan based on Haida perspectives and began to demonstrate how land use planning functions as a discourse of

knowledge that depends on the displacement of First Nations. The displacement occurs through a regime of truth that *produces* Crown land on all provincial territory not privately owned, or designated as reservations. This enables the Province to lease out the resource rights to corporations on 94% of BC's territory. In order to attract capital and investment, the Province is obliged to create conditions of economic certainty. Hence, a second displacement occurs as the ILMB privileges economic imperatives and resource service delivery to a corporate clientele over community needs and aspirations, and First Nations' rights. Since territory is fundamental to Aboriginal Title, these displacements restrain Indigenous self-determination by limiting the possibilities available to them.

In the strategic land use planning process for Haida Gwaii, the Haida consistently revealed these displacements while asserting their centrality to decision-making processes pertaining to their territory and livelihood. The CHN understand that their activities on logging roads and in the courts, let alone their avoidance of treaty negotiations, makes the desired resource landscape of Haida Gwaii seem very "uncertain" to government and capital. These political circumstances create an opportunity that the CHN have seized by making itself indispensable to the land use planning process. Not only did they co-host the planning process through a government-to-government structure that elevated them from a stakeholder position, the Haida also succeeded at implementing the Haida Land Use Vision as the planning guide. This has significant bearing on dominant power-knowledge relations because the Haida Land Use Vision is premised on Haida ontology and Haida ways of knowing. These major reorientations in the planning process contributed to the merging of the outcomes of the land use agreement with the Haida's cultural, economic, and ecological objectives.

A tributary of the Haida's achievements in land use planning is that through the Community Planning Forum and the CHN's commitment to the other island communities, a local

narrative on land use is emerging. This narrative calls for the devolution of power to the local level so that islanders have greater control over the future and the economy of Haida Gwaii. The community building exercise inherent to the planning process has demonstrated to islanders that many shared values, and inter-dependencies, bridge the differences between them. This social collaboration will likely benefit the implementation of EBM as communities seek to sustain themselves while exacting a much lighter ecological footprint on the environment. Finally, the Haida's self-determination has been extensively strengthened through land use planning; in part, through the political legitimacy they gained in planning and local governance, but also because the Land Use Agreement expands the range of opportunities available to them. This, in turn, translates into the reinforcement of Haida self-determination.

Chapter Four
The Reproduction of the State: Challenges in Land Use Planning

Defining Challenge

Continuing an evaluation of land use planning on Haida Gwaii, I examine the obstacles that have restrained the Haida's self-determination in the planning process, thereby delimiting the space of opportunity opened through other aspects of the process. Two major challenges the Haida faced in planning relate to organizational capacity and the government-to-government process, both of which revolve around power-knowledge relations. Focusing on these challenges, I illuminate how the Haida's struggle for greater authority within land use planning on Haida Gwaii has encountered effects of domination and the reinforcement of state legitimacy. Observing how power traverses through the discourse and practice of land use planning, I identify where and how Haida self-determination is constrained and how Haida-state relations are aggravated. I address three aspects of capacity—financial, social, and knowledge-based—before addressing challenges with the government-to-government relationship in the second half of the chapter.

Haida Capacity in Planning

Berke *et al.* (2002) link the ability of Indigenous groups to participate in planning and implementation at all stages of the planning process with capacity, or capability. Capacity is closely linked to self-determination because it relates to the ability an organization or person has to carry out activities. Yet capacity is the single most cited environmental concern facing First Nations in Canada (CIER 2005). In 2005, the Centre for Indigenous Environmental Resources (CIER), a First Nation-directed, non-profit organization, surveyed First Nations across Canada to learn what communities reported were the most pressing environmental needs (CIER 2005). The CIER met with 60 First Nations communities, 30 First Nation organizations, and received 91

completed questionnaires across Canada.⁴⁴ “Lack of resources, education, and expertise” was the issue most cited (72 comments) and was divided into sub-themes (CIER 2005, 4). Some of the sub-themes included: general capacity building, poor access to information, lack of training and technical expertise, insufficient funding, and poor relationships with governments (CIER 2005, 5). These findings reinforce the importance to assess the CHN’s organizational capacity since it affects their ability to participate in the government-to-government negotiations with the Province, who obviously has far greater access to resources.

I evaluate capacity, and consequently Haida self-determination, in terms of forces of enablement and restraint. This fosters a more fluid understanding of how power moves through planning than an analysis concerned with the possession of power. Power relations shape negotiations that impact First Nations-related policy and affect the potential of the outcomes. Through my interviews with Haida politicians and planners it is clear that the CHN, though a highly capable and resourceful government, has faced significant capacity-related barriers to their participation in land use planning. These deficiencies include financial, social and knowledge-based dimensions and highlight inequities within the negotiation structure. Interestingly, the Province may not be aware of the capacity challenges the CHN faces because in relation to other BC First Nations the Province perceives the Haida to be advantaged.

Financial and Social Capacity

⁴⁴ The CIER sent the questionnaire to environmental contacts within every First Nation in Canada (CIER 2005).

When questioned about his perception of the CHN's capacity to participate in planning, Lindsay Jones (ILMB negotiator) remarks

in comparison to the other 25 First Nations I've worked with [on the Central and North Coast of BC] their capacity is right up there. And they're very focused on a small area of the Province. So they're able to really zone in, whereas the Province is much more diffuse in terms of its information (Jones 2007, pers. comm.).

In contrast, when I asked CHN politicians the same question they shared many insights into the multiple organizational challenges and barriers they face surrounding funding, expertise, access to information, and power-knowledge relations. If the CHN's capacity is high compared to that of other First Nations in BC it raises concerns regarding the political participation of BC First Nations more generally. When asked whether the CHN has the capacity to participate in land use planning in the way they would like, Kevin Brown (2007, pers. comm.), Assistant Land Use Plan Coordinator (CHN), replies,

No, because [the Province has] all of these different agencies within their government, like the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Forests, where they can [access] everything and have mappers and whatever, and we don't have that. We have a jointly fixed budget, as well as, I guess, the lack of capacity as we are a new, forming government in terms of administration. So that becomes certainly an ongoing challenge.

Aside from funding challenges, Brown (2007, pers. comm.) believes that building capacity requires training and time, but that being on a remote island there are "very few people and limited resources in terms of expertise and money." CHN politician Vince Collison (2007, pers. comm.) explains that the CHN continues to work towards having a high level of social and financial capacity, but that it will take time to acquire expertise. For example, the Haida are taking over files that were previously managed by the Province and require a high level of training (Collison 2007, pers. comm.). It should not be taken for granted that the Haida will be automatically equipped to take over these projects: "we have to instill that training as we're going along because we're creating a governance here that is local" (Collison 2007, pers. comm.).

Brown remarks that though in the long run the CHN can build their capacity, they also need increased capacity immediately, at least “to mirror the Province’s expertise” in order to “have a fair and level playing field” (Brown 2007, pers. comm.). Brown (2007, pers. comm.) clarifies the Province would probably help offset the costs for technical support because it realizes the CHN is a relatively new government with regards to land administration; however, he points out the irony of the situation: it is *because* the Province—and not the CHN—has been reaping the profits of the very resources under discussion that it can afford technical resources that are difficult for the CHN to access (Brown 2007, pers. comm.).

Bill Beldessi (2007, pers. comm.), Project Manager of the Haida Land Use Plan Department, asserts that the CHN does *not* have the requisite funding to carry out their work in the way they would like. He says “we’re usually paid after we do the work...or, the funding comes, but it’s inadequate” (Beldessi 2007, pers. comm.). Several interview participants noted how far the CHN has to stretch itself to deal with the constant flow of issues that require attention. Collison (2007, pers. comm.) explains, “we’re always dealing with one issue after another and it never stops. Political leaders come and go, but the issues remain the same in a lot ways.” Dale Lore (2007, pers. comm.), who was working for the CHN at the time we spoke, understands the CHN is dealing with far more issues than the average person comprehends. One of these issues involves trying to re-formulate their relationship to the forest industry, which is disproportionately resourced compared to the CHN (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.).

Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) claims that “any way [forest companies] want to fight us they have all the resources to do it”—including the ability to derail the land use planning process. Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) believes neoliberal reforms accentuate this inequity. For example, the Province “strengthened the hand of the forest industry” through the *Forest Act* and the *Forests, Range and Practices Act* in a climate of deregulation and voluntary compliance with

environmental standards (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). This results in forest policies that “override any social or ecological values” (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). Because the forest industry occupies a privileged position in ILMB discourse it is able to take advantage of existing power relations that limit Haida capacity in planning, while protecting industry’s profits.

Farrell Fox (2003, 80) argues knowledge involves a relation of force in that “it is always bound up with an attempt to determine the world and others in it in a particular way.” In the previous chapter I demonstrated how the Province’s will to govern influenced practices of knowledge production and a regime of truth in planning. The Province’s deterministic scripting of the Haida as a “stakeholder” involved an enactment of Crown sovereignty that reinforced the legitimacy of the Province as arbiter of “public” land. Relegated to the confines of the stakeholder seat, the legitimacy of the Haida’s claim to Haida Gwaii would have encountered potent forces of normalization that erode Haida self-determination. While the CHN successfully relocated itself from the margins to the center of the planning process, their position in knowledge production has nevertheless encountered the reification of the Province’s dominance in decision-making.

The Province’s grid of intelligibility entails an apprehension of the environment in neo-liberal terms, which depend on the perpetuation of various myths and erasures. This grid of intelligibility has historically normalized the marginalization of First Nations in planning through various constructions. A grid of intelligibility is a discursive structure, or regimes of truth, that shapes receptivity to epistemology and associated worldviews. The Haida also relate to planning through a grid of intelligibility, one molded by a Haida worldview based on ecological stewardship and self-determination. While the land use plan, in some ways, is sympathetic to Haida ways of knowing (ex: the importance attributed to the Haida Land Use Vision), dominant power-relations also undermine Haida epistemology and exacerbate inequality in planning. Two

aspects of this subordination are: access to information, and the relationship between knowledge and “truth.”

Access to Knowledge

Access to relevant information is fundamental to planning processes and is a central component of capacity; yet, despite the successes of the land use plan, lack of accessibility has been a considerable setback for Haida planners. Frank Collison (2007 pers. comm.), Director of the CHN Forest Department, believes all participants of planning and negotiation processes must have equal access to information, and knowledge of what each other is doing. If resources are unequally distributed they must be redistributed fairly (F. Collison 2007, pers. comm.). The problem, he says, is that there is a lack of trust in negotiation processes because the Province has “all that research and all the privilege in behind them. We just don’t have that same privilege” (F. Collison 2007, pers. comm.). According to the CHN, the most notable knowledge gap in planning is a lack of reliable forest inventory information and operating information about the forest licensees, both of which are crucial to making sound forestry decisions (Beldessi 2007, pers. comm.; Lore 2007, pers. comm.). For example, until a few years ago, forest managers on Haida Gwaii were using Prince George’s frozen yield analysis for the Haida Gwaii timber supply area because the Province did not produce reliable data on the islands’ forests (Lore 2007, pers. comm.).⁴⁵

Another example involves the annual allowable cut (AAC)—one of the most contentious issues in the Land Use Agreement for Haida Gwaii. The Province told the Community Planning Forum that the annual allowable cut levels and the tenures were “not up for discussion” because the focus was on the “land” and not on how much was being logged, by whom, and where the

⁴⁵ Prince George is over 700 kilometres away on the mainland.

benefits were going (Lore 2007, pers. comm.). Within the government-to-government negotiations, the logging rate was discussed, however the Chief Forester ultimately decides on AACs in an independent manner. The District Forest Manager conceded that the lowering of the AAC to 800,000 cubic metres was calculated utilizing “misinformation based on our last six years of AAC,” and suggested that the number was “just grabbed” and does not actually have any “basis” (Munt 2007, pers. comm.). These methods of ascertaining an appropriate AAC could be the result of the lack of reliable forestry information.

In addition to major knowledge gaps, nearly all interview participants discussed how forest companies would not divulge critical operating and inventory information to planners (that only they possessed). This occurrence creates a rupture in the “public,” “Crown” land myth central to the discourse of land use planning. Not only is “public” land not Native land, public land is apparently no longer “public” land either. If it were truly public then surely it would be possible to gain access to the forest industry’s detailed operating information on the cutblocks that the Crown, and taxpayer, still owns. Regardless, the Province did not intervene to facilitate this transfer of knowledge; in fact, it is questionable whether the Province even has access to this information.⁴⁶ Beldessi (2007, pers. comm.) elaborates,

Information sharing hasn’t happened; in particular with the information that’s held by the licensees. We wanted...to make sure that we had the right data, especially built into this timber opportunity analysis [to ascertain sustainable cut levels based on inventory], but we don’t have it...It just doesn’t happen.

This concealment of knowledge runs counter to the 2005 Letter of Understanding between the Province and the CHN (that helped to resolve the Haida “Islands Spirit Rising” blockade). In this letter the Province committed to generating missing information for planning in cooperation with

⁴⁶ This is one of the problems associated with the Province’s deregulation of the forest industry. Voluntary compliance for forestry companies to divulge information about their activities means that, in practice, forestry companies are becoming increasingly less accountable to the public.

the CHN (Beldessi 2007, pers. comm.). Foucault (1990, 101) proposes “silence and secrecy are a shelter for power, anchoring its prohibitions.” The forest industry exercises its power through the restraint and distribution of knowledge. This industry’s silence functions as a restrictive force that limits the possible outcomes. The failure of the Province to facilitate this critical knowledge transfer suggests the Province continues to prioritize economic imperatives in land use planning over the cultivation of new relationships. In turn, this contributes to the perpetuation of recurring inequalities. Power-knowledge relations were not restricted to this aspect of planning.

Legitimacy in Knowledge Production

Another aspect of knowledge production entrenched in power relations is the issue of epistemology; specifically, how well Haida traditional ecological knowledge and scientific resource management are integrated. This is an important issue given the documented problems surrounding practices of knowledge integration addressed in Chapter 1. Additionally, in the CHN’s attempt to transform dominant relationships through planning, the CHN seeks to reestablish the legitimacy of Haida knowledge following their exclusion from resource management since colonization. While the new ecosystem based management approach encompasses cultural components of the landscape some CHN members feel Haida epistemology and ontology have not been accorded due respect and legitimacy in land use planning.

Collison (2007, pers. comm.) expresses frustration that Haida ways of knowing are *not* considered to be equally legitimate to scientific resource management despite the incorporation of *yah’guudang* and Haida ways of knowing in the Haida Land Use Vision. However, he notes that the Province has to learn to recognize Indigenous knowledge and to put it on the same level as Western science if they are going to want to have similar agreements with the Haida in the future (Collison 2007, pers. comm.). Beldessi (2007, pers. comm.) also observes that Haida traditional

ecological knowledge and ways of knowing (such as oral history) are not valued as equally legitimate sources of knowledge alongside scientific management in planning. On the contrary, Jones of the ILMB is satisfied about the respect the land use plan accords Haida knowledge:

I can't say how it was built into the process at the table, but much of the zoning comes from those Haida values around culture. And several of the EBM objectives are really cultural objectives, explicitly directed at environmental values. So I would have to say it's a big component of it (Jones 2007, pers. comm.).

It is common for non-Indigenous people to relegate Indigenous knowledge to cultural significance and heritage preservation but not to recognize that traditional ecological knowledge is a complementary episteme for *ecological* management.

Another setback to the respect of Indigenous knowledge is that if the Province does not think that a First Nation is still practicing ancient or traditional ways these customs are no longer deemed valid (Brown 2007, pers. comm). This is troubling because the colonial practices of assimilation have impacted the Haida's traditional ecological knowledge (Brown 2007, pers. comm.). For example, Brown (2007, pers. comm.) remarks that the Church played a major role in the attempt to assimilate the Haida by preventing the practice of Haida culture, including stewardship of the land: "And we were taking care of it, we weren't overusing it or abusing it. So there's a let-down there, for sure." Thus, governments can overlook Indigenous techniques of environmental management if they judge there to be a lack of cultural continuity that would perpetuate those rights. EBM and the management objectives outlined in the land use plan offer promise in this regard; although, it is not imminently clear how *Haida* techniques of resource management will be integrated.

Government-to-Government Negotiations

I have discussed the achievement of the government-to-government planning structure as one of the key Haida successes in the land use plan. In the latter half of this chapter I discuss how, in *practice*, the government-to-government component of planning is the site of many challenges that have limited Haida self-determination, and consequently, the opportunities available to them through planning. The government-to-government negotiations formed the arena in which competing enactments of power and sovereignty were expressed. In the discussion thus far, I have illustrated how the CHN is systemically marginalized in the negotiations because it lacks organizational capacity in the form of funding, expertise, and access to information. I now discuss three dimensions of challenges in the government-to-government planning process on Haida Gwaii: the inconsistency in provincial negotiators, the continued extraction of resources during the planning process, and the politics surrounding the irresolution of Title to Haida Gwaii.

Inconsistency in Negotiations

According to the majority of the Haida politicians with whom I spoke, the Province negatively impacted the government-to-government partnership by frequently replacing negotiators throughout the process—totaling four teams of negotiators, including the former Attorney General, in two and a half years (while the CHN maintained a consistent negotiating team) (Guujaaw 2007, pers. comm.). Beldessi (2007, pers. comm.) claims the inconsistency in provincial negotiators was the “number one problem” in the government-to-government process. It created difficulties for the CHN because as soon as “you thought you were getting somewhere—they’d bring in somebody else” (Beldessi 2007, pers. comm.). Lore empathizes with the CHN, asking

How frustrating do you think it is to continually bring people up to speed? It takes a couple months at least, and you just get them up to speed and then Government recalls them and gives you some strange people you've never met before and you got to do it all over again (Lore 2007, pers. comm.).

This likely taxed the CHN's organizational capacity as limited resources were diverted to recommencing negotiations with new provincial negotiating teams. From his experience as the Mayor of Port Clements, Lore is aware that local leaders often lose credibility when processes are stalled, regardless of whether it is their fault (Lore 2007, pers. comm.). In Jones' view, "[the negotiation structure] was just too unwieldy; these people here were not able to contribute to the same level of capacity and it kind of collapsed [in August 2006]" (Jones 2007, pers. comm.). It is unclear from Jones' statement whose capacity he is referring to. In contrast, Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) comments that the negotiations were not always carried out in "good faith," and that the CHN has "seen a lot trickery." He speculates that this was the Province's own downfall because "honest negotiations would have served them better (pers. comm. 2007). Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) explains

In a lot of those instances, we welcomed the change [in negotiators] because they assigned people that just weren't up to the task, and others who were less than forthright... Maybe some of them were even too honest to be at a table with us. But...it would have been good if they had someone who could have got the job done right from the beginning.

To complicate matters, though the CHN had an internal mandate to negotiate with the Province in the last round of negotiations (Autumn 2006), it became apparent that the provincial negotiators did not have the necessary mandate from Cabinet to negotiate with the CHN: "So, that's when negotiations broke down" (Beldessi 2007, pers. comm.). Beldessi (2007, pers. comm.) explains that when he became the CHN Project Manager in 2005, he asked the CHN and the Province whether they had the mandate to come to an agreement and *both* parties were affirmative (Beldessi 2007, pers. comm.). Thus, he was shocked to find out,

the following year, that the Province lacked a mandate from Cabinet to negotiate (Beldessi 2007, pers. comm.). Subsequently, planning had to be postponed (Beldessi 2007, pers. comm.). Meanwhile, in October of 2006 the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Pat Bell, brought in Lindsay Jones and John Bones as representatives of the ILMB and challenged the CHN to create some agreements with them around multiple objectives in thirty-two days—which they were able to accomplish (Beldessi 2007, pers. comm.). The CHN then requested that Bones and Jones continue on as the provincial land use plan contacts to prevent further changes in negotiators (Beldessi 2007, pers. comm.).

The Legitimacy of Licensees

The second major challenge that undermined the integrity of the government-to-government process according to many CHN interview participants was the perceived continuation of “business-as-usual” by industry while negotiations were in progress. For example, Brown (2007, pers. comm.) believes the negotiations did not have sufficient bearing on the continued destruction of the very forests under discussion during the planning process. He feels that it was a “contradiction of terms” that on the one hand the governments were discussing new protected areas and management techniques, and on the other hand the Province was saying they were obligated by law to accommodate tenure holders (Brown 2007, pers. comm.). Guujaaw (2007, pers. comm.) similarly appraises the government-to-government negotiations claiming the Province resisted the process for two years to “buy time” (in which, presumably, the forest companies could continue to log their tenures) and that they had no intention of actually implementing any of the concessions agreed upon in the negotiations. He continues to argue:

[The Province was] already approving cutblocks that were within the [new] protected areas [during negotiations with the CHN]. So they're ignoring the land use plan, and ignoring the court, and that's when we ended up in the Islands Spirit Rising blockades, which shut down logging and the Ministry of Forest offices for 40 days (Guujaaw 2007 pers. comm.).

This Haida blockade took place in March and April of 2005. It was effective in that the Province and the CHN signed the aforementioned 2005 Letter of Understanding. This Understanding involved the application of "Part 13" status on all Haida designated protected areas (thus removing them from cutblocks) and a promise of an initial payment of a \$5 million share in resource revenue to the CHN upon the execution of this Understanding (Letter of Understanding 2005). The pressure of the blockade on the Province was likely compounded by the fact that the Community Planning Forum was dismantled in March of 2005 due to non-consensus.

That it took a blockade to bring resolution to a land use conflict in the midst of the land use planning process reveals that the government-to-government forum was not a consistently productive space of negotiation. Islands Spirit Rising highlights the limits of the "jointly-hosted" planning process, and demonstrates the Haida's marginalization due to the Province's legal responsibility to forestry corporations. However, the Province also has legal duties to First Nations who possess distinct rights. Thus, the Province is caught in a liminal space between the ILMB's neoliberal provision of resource certainty for corporate clients and collaborative partnerships with First Nations in which their rights are acknowledged over the interests of stakeholders. In the case of the Land Use Agreement for Haida Gwaii, however, the Province reverted to appeasing the logging companies over accommodating the Haida. As a result, the Haida again counter-performed their self-determination by physically impeding economic activities on the islands and thereby jeopardizing the very "certainty" the ILMB attempts to secure.

Jones (2007, pers. comm.), reveals how complicated the situation is from a provincial perspective:

There are, what I would call, third parties who have tenures or licenses from the government. So we have given these third parties rights to do things and we need to be responsible [and] consider their interests in negotiating or reaching agreement with the Haida. And that's a real challenge. So we have, like it or not, licensed out the right to harvest the forests to companies...And if we don't deal with those rights properly they have a right to compensation and other remedies of the courts.

Simultaneously, the Province has policy commitments under the "New Relationship" with First Nations whereby the Campbell government decided to "make a mark and start correcting some of the issues with First Nations on a whole bunch of fronts" (Bones 2007, pers. comm.). This includes developing agreements on shared decision-making with respect to planning and implementation, revenue sharing, and so on (Bones 2007, pers. comm.). Jones (2007, pers. comm.) believes the Land Use Agreement is "a pretty good example of the New Relationship at work." In fact, he believes "there needs to be more, in a way, explicit recognition of the *non-aboriginal communities'* role in it all" (Jones 2007, pers. comm., emphasis added). Overall, the Province appears satisfied with the progress in land use planning with First Nations through the government-to-government framework. However, not everyone in the CHN shares this satisfaction.

In his personal evaluation, Vince Collison (2007, pers. comm.) assigns the government-to-government process in land use planning on Haida Gwaii an overall "D-". As a logging truck loaded with raw logs drives by where we are speaking outside of a community hall, Collison points out that

it's hard to have any kind of positive reaction to that question. I've seen a lot of issues come and go and I've seen a lot of dirty tricks...at the negotiating table: bad faith negotiations and things like that. In the face of all of that you still wind up having to go to that table. You certainly can't *not* go to that table. No matter what happens you have to have faith that there is going to be people with conscience sitting across from you as they negotiate about the lands and waters of this place (Collison 2007, pers. comm.).

Brown (2007, pers. comm.) seems a bit more optimistic about the government-to-government process noting that it has been a "trying" process that could have happened a lot sooner. One of the reasons Collison's perspective is so negative is related to the way he, and I think many of the CHN leaders, situates this process within a social memory of the experience of colonization and the ongoing effects of marginalization. For example, after speaking about the capacity building the Haida have to do internally, he contemplates,

You know, what's kind of interesting and complex about this, is that within all that we're still fighting with all the Provincial Government negotiators and the Federal Government negotiators, all those different negotiators at so many levels. But at the same time we're still reeling from what happened to our people, we're still reeling from all of that history. [...] We're still reeling from the issues that are there...when you've got this in your background, that's not an easy balancing act (Collison 2007, pers. comm.).

In conjunction with a powerful, remembered history of the effects of colonialism on the Haida Nation, the underlying issue of the irresolution of unresolved Title to Haida Gwaii contributes to the tensions in land use planning.

Conflicting Claims of Title

Lastly, the issue of Title on Haida Gwaii underlies *all* of the conflicts within the government-to-government negotiations. Collison (2007, pers. comm.) summarizes, "We continue to advocate that it's Haida land and Haida waters. [The Province] continue[s] to advocate that it's the Queen's...That's where we separate." The issue of Title—as decreed by the Province—is not up for discussion in land use planning: it must be dealt with through the BC Treaty Process. Bones (2007, pers. comm.) explains that the Province maintains legal authority to

issue cutblocks—although it now recognizes it must consult the Haida “if the area is affecting their [Aboriginal] right.” However, Bones (2007, pers. comm.) clarifies that regardless of what First Nations think shared decision-making means—including the notion that “if they don’t like something, they can say ‘no’”—it is ultimately the *Province’s* decision to issue cutblocks. Bones (2007, pers. comm.) elaborates:

If the plan says you can’t do something in this area then it’s clear the Province won’t issue a tenure. If the plan says something could happen until the courts have said that only the First Nation has the right to issue the tenure, the Province still has a legal obligation, and a legal responsibility to make a decision on the tenure...For us we’re trying to identify what shared decision-making means with respect to planning and this [land use plan] is a pretty good example of that.

Thus, ILMB negotiators “have a job of seeing if we can forget about who owns the land...because that’s for another table” (Bones 2007, pers. comm.). First Nations can clarify the extent of their rights through treaty negotiations or a court case, but “that’s not planning” (Bones 2007, pers. comm.). The function of land use planning is to recognize that though both governments claim Title to the land it should be managed so that it does not “get wrecked while we’re fighting over who owns [it]” (Bones 2007, pers. comm.). Similarly, Jones (2007, pers. comm.) explains that land use planning is a process in which both governments, with “unresolved jurisdictional issues over the land...agree that it should either be set aside, or it should be managed in this way.” While this may work in theory, in practice separating land use planning from Haida rights and Title—within the context Haida self-determination—is not feasible, or even logical.

It is for very different reasons that both governments have chosen to strategically work together on the land use plan. The CHN does not approach planning as an activity occurring *outside* of the assertion of their rights and Title. The CHN perform its self-determination in planning to reassert its sovereignty over the land and waters of Haida Gwaii. In the Province’s

view, land use planning is an interim solution for creating economic certainty. In the CHN's view, the land use plan strengthens their Title by protecting and restoring the ecosystems to which their Title depends. Thus, the ILMB's justifications for government-to-government planning are quite different from the ones Collison articulates within a larger vision of what has been, and will be, a constant on Haida Gwaii:

Seeing agreements like this come and go like we have in the last thirty years especially, well, there will be different foes in ten years for us. The common denominator in all of this continues to be the Haidas, and continues to be Haida Gwaii. So you got those two factors that are never going to go anywhere and Provincial Governments that come and go, and Federal Governments that come and go, they're, in some ways, very supportive, but also very much against the Haida Nation. But we have to continue to fight for our rights because if we won't nobody else will (Collison 2007, pers. comm.).

Regardless of power-sharing gestures within the government-to-government process, the Province ultimately maintains veto power over major land-use decisions on non-reservation lands. This will not change until the Supreme Court rules in favour of First Nations. This reality not only undermines the government-to-government relationship, it also re-produces effects of dominance that continue to marginalize the Haida in ecological governance. However, the CHN, which is effective at rendering the discursive displacements inherent to the Crown's legitimacy visible, continues to assert its self-determination on Haida Gwaii.

The two competing, and seemingly mutually exclusive, forms of sovereignty have clashed throughout the land use planning process as illustrated through challenges within the government-to-government framework. While there is a sense on both sides (particularly circulated within the Province) that the government-to-government process has been successful given its challenging nature, CHN politicians articulate there have been significant hurdles in the planning process. Many of these disagreements will continue to play out over the years following the signing of the Land Use Agreement. One of these challenges will be how the Haida and non-Haida island communities continue to develop a collaborative vision for the future of Haida Gwaii; one that

enables the actualization of shared goals and the devolution of greater decision-making power to the local level.

Conclusions

Though the successes of the land use plan are promising and lend credibility to the planning process, the nature and extent of the challenges expressed by the CHN demonstrate it is far from perfect. In this chapter, I illustrated how the Haida's ability to participate in land use planning has been constrained by power-knowledge issues relating to social and financial capacity, access to information, and legitimacy in knowledge production. The government-to-government process was a key source of conflict due to the inconsistency in provincial negotiators, the extraction of resources throughout the planning process, and the irresolution of Title on Haida Gwaii.

The Haida experienced the limitations of their status as a "government" in the co-hosted planning process as the Province repeatedly privileged their responsibilities to the forest industry over their commitments to the Haida. While it is true that that the Province has a legal responsibility to licensees, it is obvious through the discourse of land use planning that the Province's priority is to create a stable economic landscape in resource peripheries like Haida Gwaii. Because authority reverts back to the Province when a compromise cannot be reached through negotiation, the Haida was forced into a position of dissension wherein they found it necessary to blockade economic progress in order for their demands to be seriously considered. This is a clear sign of fatal flaws in the government-to-government structure that revolve around the issue of unresolved Title. However, the Province is clear that the land use planning table is not the venue to reconcile these conflicts; therefore, there is no guarantee that more blockades will not occur in the future. One thing is for certain though. The CHN

will continue to challenge the legitimacy of the Crown, and thereby the effects of dominance, while performing its self-determination.

Conclusion

This study contributes to a specialized area in the political ecology literature on First Nations and environmental politics in BC. This is an important area of study because of the documented injustices Indigenous peoples face (internationally) as a result of their exclusion from planning processes and resource management regimes that impact their territories—and consequently, their cultures and livelihoods. As such, successful examples of collaborative land use planning processes are needed to model new state-Indigenous relationships that transcend the marginalization of Indigenous peoples in ecological governance. This study seeks to understand Haida evaluations of the land use planning process co-developed by the Council of the Haida Nation and the Government of BC. By situating the current political landscape of land use planning within the Haida's historical experience of colonialism, it is possible to appreciate how the discourse of modern land use planning emerged out of a progression of colonial management regimes, which in turn influence Haida perceptions. These imposed systems of land use displaced Haida systems of environmental stewardship and fundamentally altered the Haida's territory while significantly impacting their communities.

Drawing on Foucault's theories of power-knowledge and discourse yields productive tools for excising the dominant provincial planning institution, the Integrated Land Management Bureau. This deconstruction reveals the inner mechanisms that enable a particular regime of truth, and discourse to appear rational and legitimate in planning. After identifying what particular forms of rationality have at stake, it then becomes clear in who's interest certain institutions and processes are established, and with what effects of dominance. Utilizing a Foucauldian power analysis I examined the discursive and corporeal techniques, or enactments, of power the Haida and the Province used to perform their respective expressions of sovereignty. In particular I pay

attention to the ways in which Haida self-determination was enabled and restrained through a network of power-knowledge relations inherent to planning.

The discursive techniques I attributed to the Haida's successes in land use planning include attacking the state's legitimacy through litigation (revolving around Aboriginal Title) and direct action (logging blockades). The CHN's activity in the courts enabled important legal concessions while Haida blockades on the logging roads exacerbated conditions of economic uncertainty. Through challenges such as these, the Haida have consistently revealed the discursive displacements and imaginative geographies (for ex: of "resource" landscapes on "Crown" land) within the discursive rationale of state planning and resource allocation. Additionally, these techniques facilitated the CHN's ability to maneuver itself from the periphery to the centre of authority in planning. This resulted in sufficient momentum for the Haida to reject the weak, "stakeholder" position reserved for them, and instigate a government-to-government relationship in its place. This reorientation is extremely significant because it afforded the CHN the necessary leverage to center Haida goals in land use planning. Notably, the CHN succeeded in authoring a Haida Land Use Vision to guide the planning process.

The totality of these expressions of Haida self-determination accomplished a shift in dominant relationships (ex: Haida-state, Haida-forest industry, Haida-local communities) in ways that are expanding the space of opportunity available to the Haida Nation. This opening includes making space for Haida ways of knowing, and for ecological and cultural preservation. The CHN's successful performance in land use planning accomplished the meeting of all four of its environmental and cultural objectives in planning (at least rhetorically). These accomplishments include an increase in co-managed protected areas (including the formalization of previously Haida protected areas), the lowering of the AAC, the implementation of ecosystem-based management, and the assurance of a Haida harvest for cultural purposes. For these reasons, the

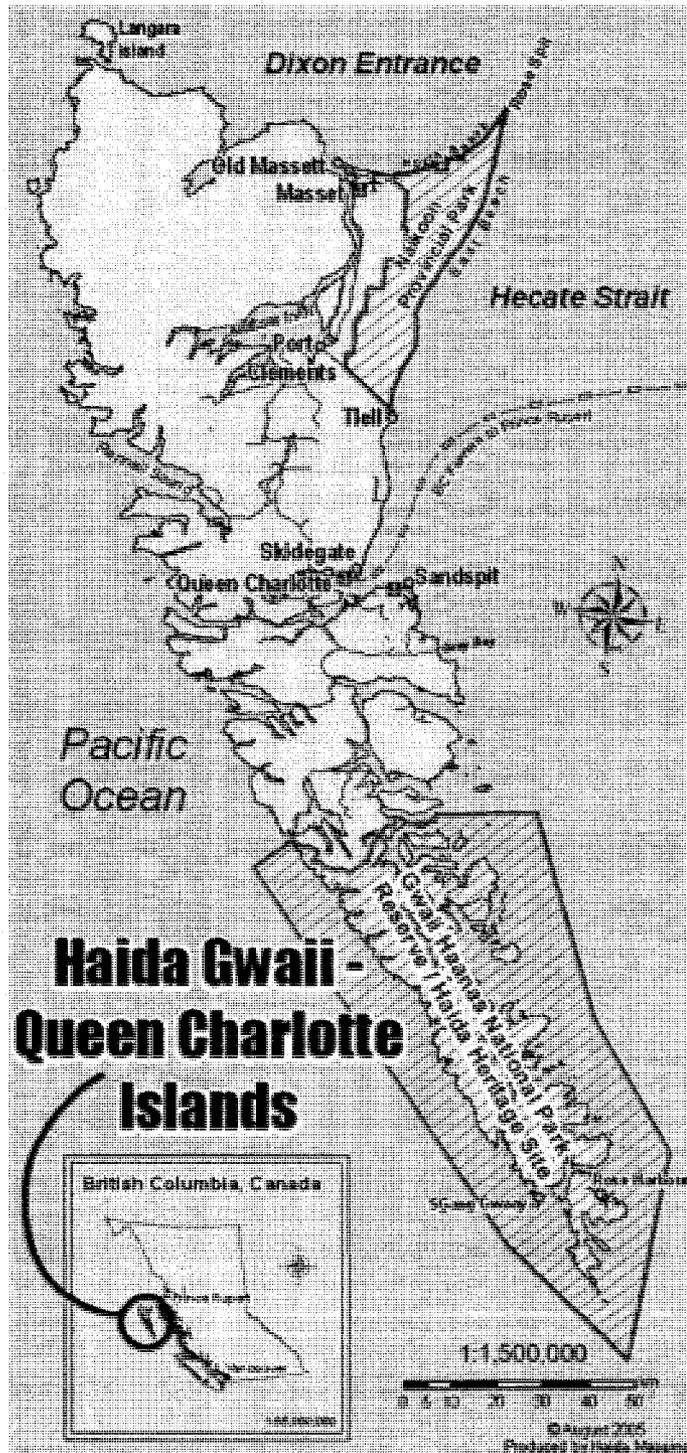
land use plan is a resounding success and has set the tone for future relationships with the Province. It has also set important precedents for other First Nations in BC, and possibly for Indigenous peoples in other parts of the world.

Interwoven with these accomplishments, however, is a thread of challenges that, in various ways, eroded the Haida's self-determination and restricted the space of opportunity available to them. Notably, the Haida encountered effects of dominance throughout the planning process that contributed to the reification of the state's legitimacy as the ultimate decision-maker when consensus is not reached on disputed territories. Firstly, CHN interviewees revealed they lacked the social, financial and knowledge-based capacity to participate in the planning process with an opportunity and advantage that mirrors the capacity of the Province. Instead of facilitating the transfer of critical resources to the CHN, the Province appeared more concerned about its responsibilities to forest licensees. Ironically, the Province's urgency to create conditions of economic certainty on Haida Gwaii in order to maintain investment, urges it to act in the interests of the forest industry. Yet history shows that when the Province listens to its corporate clientele over the Haida's requests for productive dialogue, the Haida immediately destabilize the economic environment thus intensifying the uncertainty. This chain of events occurred *during* the planning process when the Province enabled logging in areas subject to protection through the Agreement. Islands Spirit Rising strongly suggests that the government-to-government relationship was highly deficient in areas where innovative solutions were most needed.

Underlying all of these challenges is the fact that the Haida and the Province have unresolved Title to Haida Gwaii—yet Title cannot be addressed in the planning forum. This poses the question, are the agreements reached through planning treating the symptoms without addressing the root causes of conflict? This is a challenging question because to date the Haida

have pursued litigation over the treaty process. A foreshadowing of long-term uncertainty hovers on the horizon of the Land Use Agreement's future. In the end it may be that the new inter-community relationships fostered through the planning process will succeed in devolving sufficient political power for a new, local governance structure to gather greater momentum and come to fruition. In the meanwhile, there are many lessons in this land use plan that could contribute to ethical, anti-colonial, and empowering conservation schemes and land use plans in other Indigenous territories around the world.

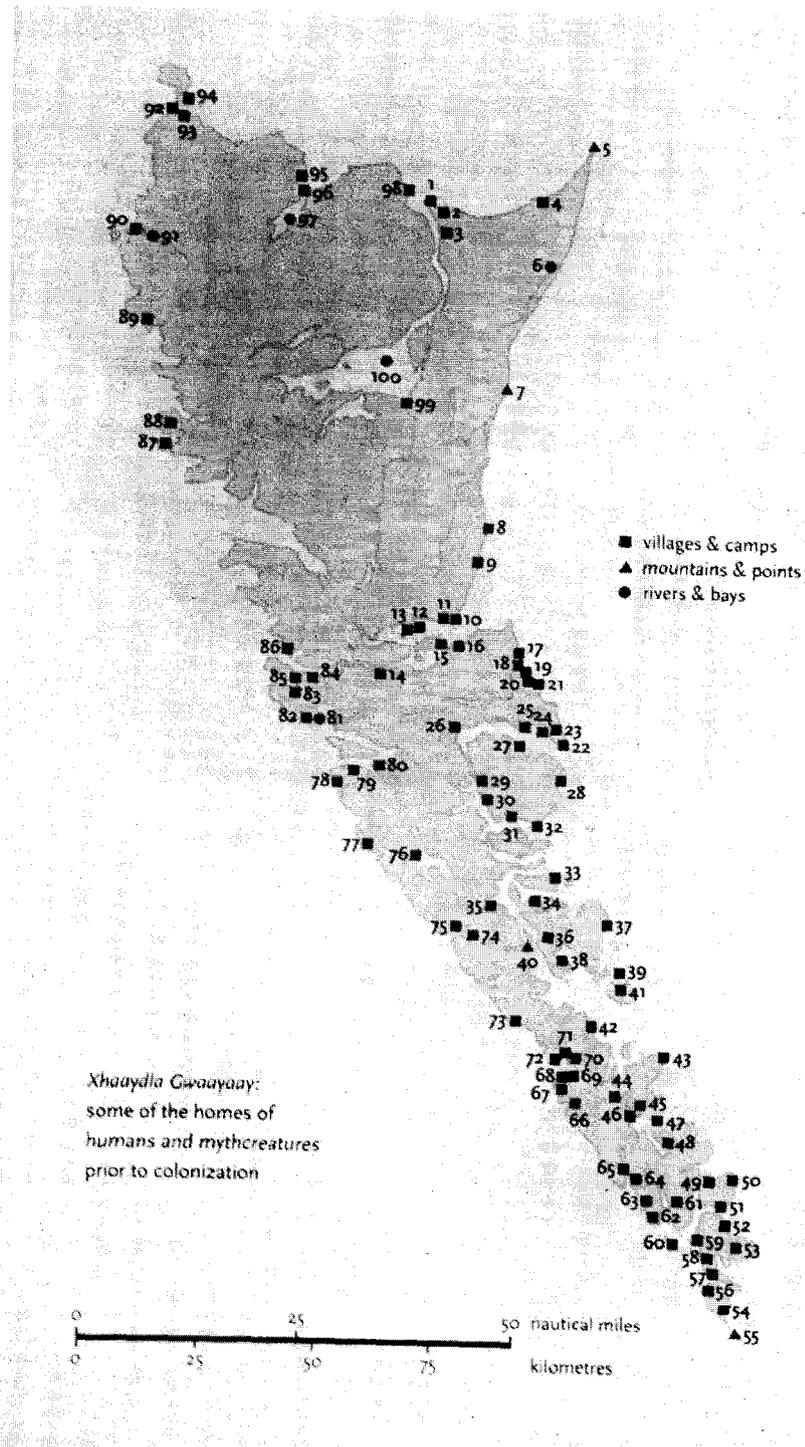
Appendix A: Map of Haida Gwaii



source: Haida Gwaii Tourism Association, 2005

http://www.haidagwaiitourism.ca/haida_gwaii_map_of_the_islands.htm

Appendix B: Pre-Contact Haida Settlements (cont'd on following page)



(source: Bringhurst 1999, 25)

Corresponding Haida Names of Cultural Sites

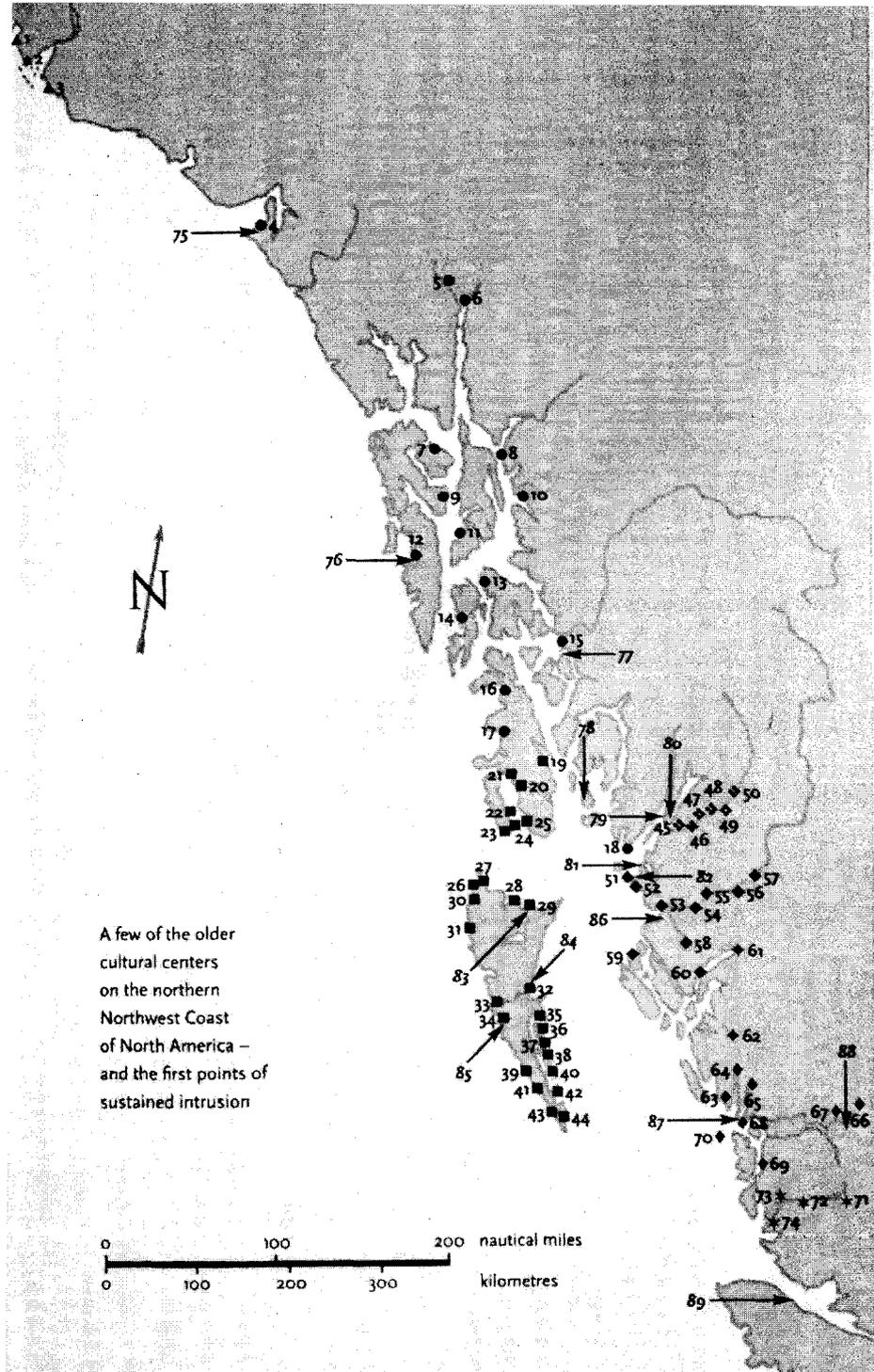
1 Ghadaghaaxhiwaas (Chaw, later called Masset)	31 Xiltsi	67 Kawdas
2 Ghiijaw	32 Singgi	68 Juuqqyuu
3 Qqayaang	33 Ttanuu	69 Yaku
4 Hliiyalang	34 Skkuudas	70 Jiihlinjaaws
5 Naay Kun (House Point)	35 Ttaahldi	71 Chuuski
6 Xhuuya Ghandi (Raven's Creek)	36 Xhuut Ttsiixwas	72 Sghilgi
7 Ghahlins Kun	37 Hlkkyaa (Merganser, later known as Windy Bay)	73 Sqiina [2]
8 Daxwa	38 Gaysigas Qqiiit	74 Cwiitku
9 Hlghaayxa	39 Ataana	75 Ghaw Ghawdagaas
10 Hlghagilda (later called Skidegate)	40 Qinggi	76 Singga
11 Guuhlgha	41 Xhiina	77 Gasindas
12 Gawjaaws	42 Ghaduu	78 Stanhlaay
13 Gaasins	43 Skwaay	79 Saqaaydi Gilgaana
14 Kixhlagas	44 Hlanaaygwas	80 Sqaytaaw
15 Xayna (Sunshine, later called New Gold Harbour)	45 Llaana Daaganga	81 Juu
16 Sqiina [1]	46 Qqiiit	82 Qaysun (later known as Scots Guy's Cove and Gold Harbour)
17 Jughugiiga	47 Xhaagi	83 Niisi
18 Qqaasta	48 Ghaaydi	84 Skuusindl
19 Suuxhans	49 Sqaws Giidawaay	85 Ttsaa'ahl
20 Laanaaya	50 Qayju	86 Guudal
21 Kunji	51 Styuujin	87 Ghattanas
22 Kunxhalas	52 Sindas Kun	88 Sqilu
23 Quughahl	53 Xhyuudaw	89 Tiiyan
24 Hlqiniul (later called Cumshewa)	54 Sqay	90 Ttii
25 Jligwa	55 Ghangxhiit Kun	91 Qqanan Ghandlaay
26 Ghaw Quns	56 Swaanaay	92 Yaakkw
27 Qqaadasghu	57 Saw	93 Kkyuusta
28 Qquuna (later called Skedans)	58 Taada Sttling	94 Daadans
29 Yawgas	59 Sinit	95 Yaa'ats
30 Tlxingas	60 Sghan Gwaay (later called Ninstitins and Anthony Island)	96 Qang
	61 Taajil	97 Naydan Qaahli
	62 Hlghadan	98 Yan
	63 Qayjudal	99 Llaanas
	64 Sttlindighaay	100 Ghawaay Qaahli (later known as Masset Inlet)
	65 Naagas	
	66 Gwaayakanjus	

(source: Bringhurst 1999, 24)

Appendix C: Interview Template for Members of Council of the Haida Nation

1. In your opinion, does the Council of the Haida Nation have the necessary resources (such as funding, employee capacity, access to information, etc.) to participate in the strategic land use planning process with the government at the capacity of their choice?
2. The land use planning process between the Haida and the Government of BC began in 2003 and in May 2007 both parties initialed a strategic land use agreement. In your opinion, what have been the key successes and challenges of the collaborative planning *process* thus far?
3. Do you think the land use planning process will help to open up economic opportunities for the Haida? If so, in what ways? Do you think it will open up economic opportunities in the non-Haida communities of Haida Gwaii?
4. Do you see any limitations of the land-use planning process in terms of its ability to meet Haida environmental, cultural, and economic goals? If so, please explain.
5. Does the recently initialed strategic land use agreement for Haida Gwaii adequately encompass the values and goals of the Haida Land Use Vision?
6. How would you evaluate the “government-to-government” aspect of the negotiations so far?
7. Do you have any recommendations as to how you would like to see collaborative land use planning with the Provincial Government change? Could the process be reformed to better represent First Nations/Haida priorities and process?
8. Do you think that Haida title has been, or will be, affected by the strategic land use agreement?
9. Is there something other First Nations in BC working towards signing strategic land use agreements with the Province can learn from the Haida's experience with land use planning, co-management, and working with other stakeholder groups such as environmentalists, industry, and private landholders?
10. In your opinion, do the Integrated Land Management Bureau and other stakeholders consider Haida knowledge, and ways of knowing (such as oral history, and stories), as a source of knowledge equally legitimate to scientific resource management knowledge within the community planning forum and government-to-government negotiations?
11. “Ecosystem-based management” has been a key concept in the planning process so far and is meant to guide future resource extraction and development in an ecologically sustainable way. What do you think about ecosystem-based management being one of the guiding philosophies for environmental management on Haida Gwaii?
12. What kind of roles, if any, could large environmental groups such as the Sierra Club and Greenpeace play in order to support Haida goals?

Appendix D: First Points of Sustained Intrusion on Haida Gwaii (cont'd on following page)



(source: Bringhurst 1999, 23)

Corresponding Site Names

▲ Eyak villages

- 1 Iiyaaq (*Eyak*)
- 2 Anaʔanaq (*Alaganik*)
- 3 Itl'aandaya
(*Mountain Slough*)

● Tlingit villages

- 4 Yaakwdáat (*Yakutat*)
- 5 Klukwan
- 6 Jilkut (*Chilkoot*)
- 7 Xunaa (*Hoonah*)
- 8 T'aakú (*Taku*)
- 9 Kák'w (*Basket Bay*)
- 10 S'awdáan (*Sumdum*)
- 11 Xutsnoowú (*Angoon*)
- 12 Sheet'ká (*Sitka*)
- 13 KÉix' (*Keke*)
- 14 Kuyú
- 15 Shtax'héen (*Stikine, Old Wrangell*)
- 16 Tuxekan
- 17 Lawáak (*Klawock*)
- 18 T'angaas (*Tongass*)

■ Haida villages

- 19 Kasaan
- 20 Xhaada
- 21 Saqqwaan
- 22 Ghawkkyan
- 23 Kkaykkaanii (*Kaigani*)
- 24 Qqwii Ghandlas
- 25 Hlinqwan
- 26 Yaakkw
- 27 Kkyuusta
- 28 Yan
- 29 Ghadaghaaxhiwaas
(*Ghaw, Masset*)
- 30 Ttii
- 31 Tiiyan
- 32 Hlghagilda
(*Skidegate*)
- 33 Ttsaa'ahl
- 34 Qaysun
- 35 Hlqinul

36 Qquuna

37 Titanuu

38 Hlkkyaa

39 Sqiina

40 Skwaay

41 Yaku

42 Qayju

43 Sghan Gwaay

44 Sqay

❖ Nishga villages

- 45 Gitwinksiiikw
(*Canyon City*)
- 46 Gitlax'aws (*Gitlakaus*)
- 47 Lax Nkit'wah (*Angida*)
- 48 Ay'ans (*Aiyansh*)
- 49 Kwinwo'a
(*Kwunwoq, Gunwa*)
- 50 Gitlaxt'aamiks

◆ Tsimshian villages

- 51 Maxlaqxaala
(*Old Metlakatla*)
- 52 Q'aaduu (*Qqaaduu*)
- 53 Kitsiis (*Gitsees*)
- 54 Kinax'ankiik
(*Ginakangeek*)
- 55 Kit'antoo (*Gitandau*)
- 56 Kitsmqeelm
(*Kitsumkalum*)
- 57 Kitsalaasw (*Kitselas*)
- 58 Kitsaxlaal
(*Gitzaklalth*)
- 59 Kitqxaala (*Kitkatla*)
- 60 Kitqa'ata (*Kitkiata*)

◆ Haisla villages

- 61 Kitamaat
- 62 Kitloop (*Kitlope*)

◆ Haihais villages

- 63 Lhrndu
(*Klemtu, Kitasu*)
- 64 Láiq (*Mussel River*)
- 65 Qínát

◆ Heiltsuk villages

- 66 K'émxk'vitxv
(*Kimsquit*)
- 67 Sxvávviylkv
(*Scowquiltz*)
- 68 Q'íc α Wáglisla
(*Bella Bella*)
- 69 N'xvám'u (*Namu*)
- 70 Yálátli

* Uwikeeno villages

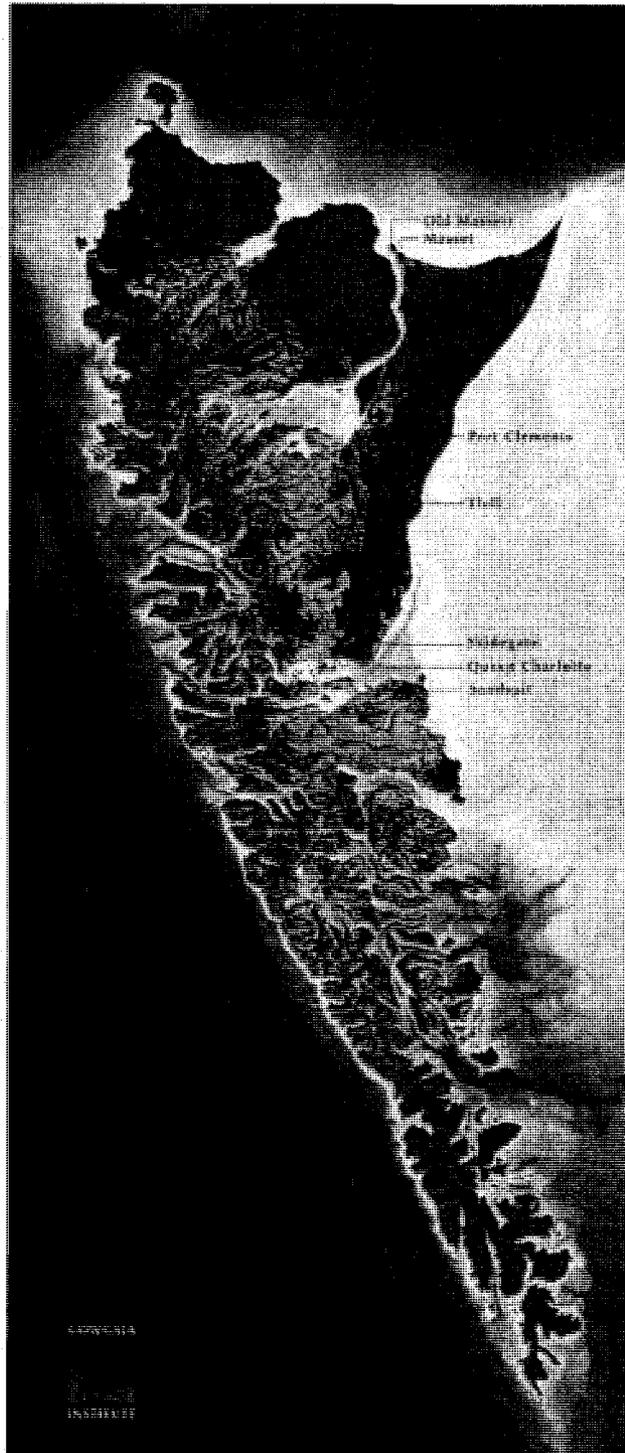
- 71 Núxvants (*Neechanz*)
- 72 K'ítit
- 73 Gídala (*Kiltala*)
- 74 Čádlimbalis

➤ Centers of religious & mercantile intrusion

- 75 Novorossiisk
(1796–1805)
- 76 Novo Arkangel'sk
(1804–)
- 77 Fort Wrangell (1834–)
- 78 New Metlakatla
(1887–)
- 79 Kincolith (1864–)
- 80 Fort Nass (*Old Fort Simpson, 1831–1834*)
- 81 Port Simpson (1834–)
- 82 Metlakatla Mission
(1862–1887)
- 83 Masset (1869–)
- 84 Skidegate Mission
(1883–)
- 85 Gold Harbour
(1851–1854)
- 86 Port Essington
(1871–1964)
- 87 Fort McLoughlin
(1833–1843)
- 88 Bella Coola (1869–)
- 89 Fort Rupert (1836–)
- 90 [300 sea miles south-east of Fort Rupert]
Fort Victoria (1843–)

(source: Bringhurst 1999, 22)

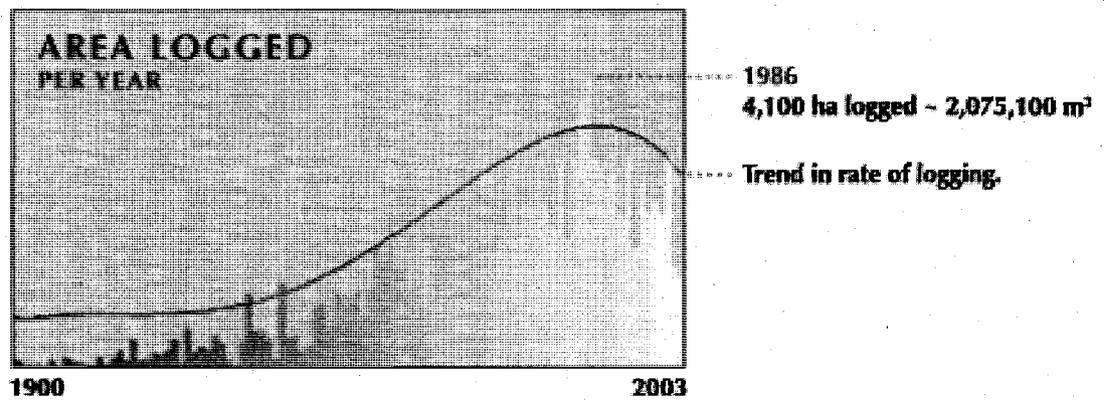
Appendix E: Logging Activity 1900-2004 (cont'd on following page)



(source: Gowgaia Institute 2004: www.spruceroots.org)

Previous page: This is a satellite image that depicts the oldest logged areas in dark orange (1900) and the most recent logged areas in bright yellow (2003) along a spectrum.

Below: Area Logged from 1900 to 2003



(Gowgaia Institute 2004, www.spruceroots.org)

Appendix F

Timeline of Key Events in Land Use Planning on Haida Gwaii (2001-2007)

April 2001: the CHN and the Province commit to the cooperative development of a strategic land use plan, guided by an ecosystem based management framework and a government-to-government process for resolution of issues.

2002: CHN launches Haida Title Case in the BC Supreme Court.

March 28, 2003: Government of BC and CHN sign a framework agreement to co-manage land use planning on Haida Gwaii.

2003: Community based strategic land use planning process commences (Community Planning Forum).

2004: In a landmark decision the Supreme Court of Canada rules that the Haida were not properly consulted and accommodated in the transfer of TFL 39 regardless of the state of their Title.

March 2005: Community Planning Forum is terminated with outstanding recommendations and issues

March-April 2005: Haida stage a blockade called "Island Spirit Rising" to protest ongoing logging during the planning process. It is dismantled after the CHN and the Province sign a Letter of Understanding.

May 2005: CHN and the Province commit to a new approach to land use planning, that maintains the interests of the Island community, connects land and resources to community viability, and reaches completion in a timely manner (based on the Letter of Understanding).

January-August 2006: Government-to-government negotiations between the CHN and Province regarding the finalization of the land use plan.

October 2006: Province and CHN agree to focus efforts on reaching a high-level Land Use Agreement.

December 2006: Haida blockade to halt logging at Crease Creek.

May 29, 2007: Strategic Land Use Agreement initialed by both governments (23 pg document outlining the principles, objectives, and implementation structure).

August 13-18, 2007: Open Houses for the Strategic Land Use Agreement on Haida Gwaii enlist community support and retrieve feedback.

December 12, 2007: Strategic Land Use Agreement signed by Guujaaw and Gordon Campbell.

March 31 2009: Date by which EBM objectives must be fully implemented and operating

sources: Integrated Land Management Bureau and Council of the Haida Nation 2007; Ministry of Agriculture and Lands and Council of the Haida Nation 2007; Integrated Land Management Bureau 2007.

Appendix G

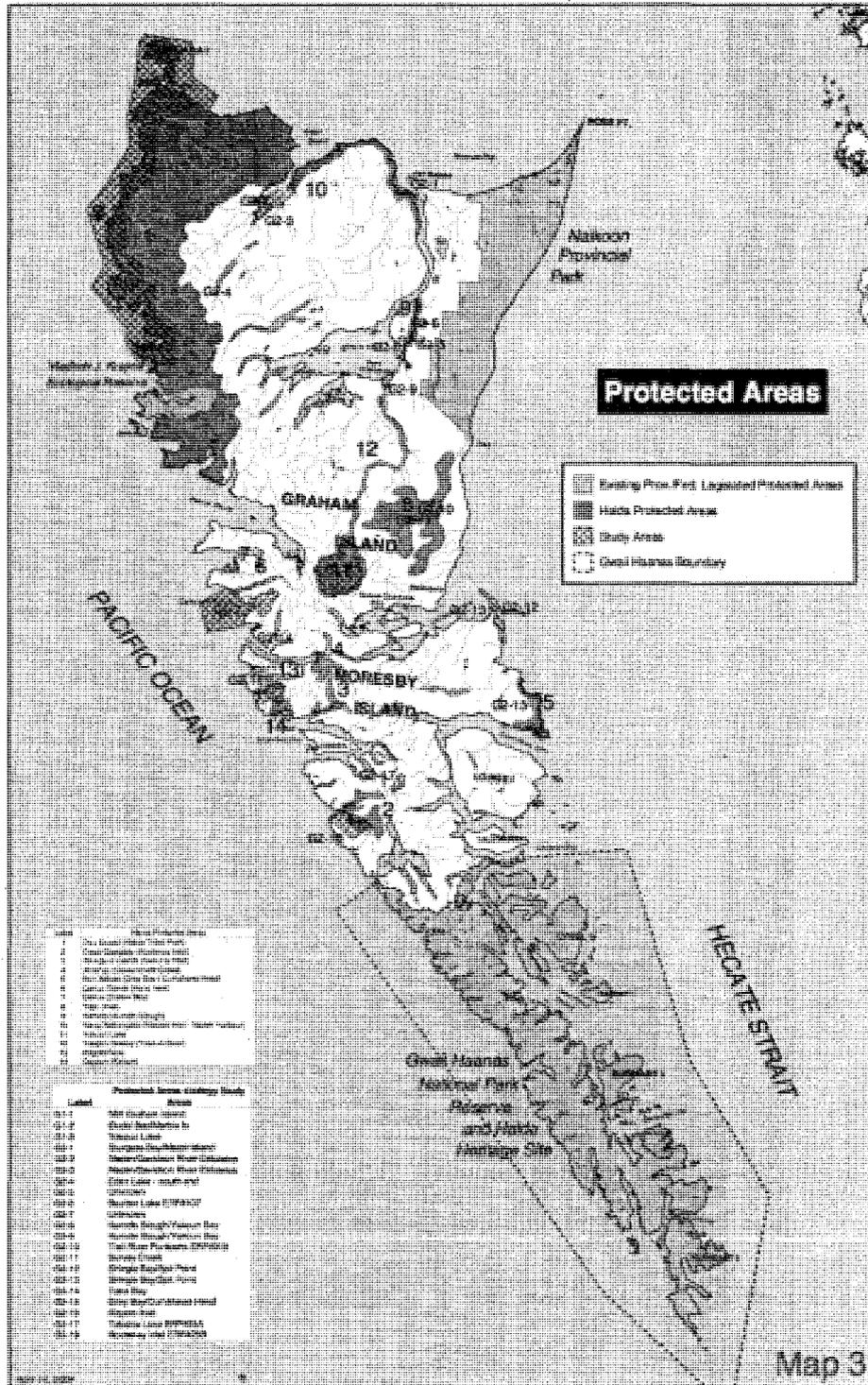
Content Summary of Strategic Land Use Agreement

- Ecosystem-based management (EBM) will guide forest management and extraction and may be amended by mutual agreement. EBM objectives include a variety of ecological *and* socio-cultural attributes and objectives. Ecological objectives include maintaining or restoring the ecological function of hydrological cycles and fluvial units including forested swamps; maintaining representation of different types of old forest ecosystems in the bioregion, including rare and very rare and old forests; identify endangered or at risk species; identify and protect black bear den sites, and Marbled Murrelet and goshawk (both endangered species) nesting sites. The socio-cultural objectives of EBM include identifying and maintaining Haida traditional forest resources and protecting heritage features and monumental cedars (for totem poles and canoes) and yew for Haida cultural use; identify and protect Culturally Modified Trees⁴⁷.
- A commitment to conduct a joint (CHN and Ministry of Forests, but coordinated by an independent facilitator) timber opportunity analysis to identify harvesting potential resulting from the zoning map and EBM objectives and to make adjustments as necessary from the results. Biophysical and economic indicators are being examined.
- The Land and Resource Forum, with membership derived from the Province and the Haida Nation, will implement the plan. They may also utilize the existing North and Central Coast Land and Resource Forum. Implementation tasks, such as designating new Conservancy boundaries (a new protected area designation) are set for 10, 14, and 24 months from the time of Agreement ratification.
- A Plan Implementation Monitoring Committee, with membership drawn from the island community and on-island stakeholders, will advise the Land and Resource Forum on implementation.
- The CHN will participate in the Coast-wide EBM Working Group that focuses on development, refinement, implementation, and monitoring of EBM.
- A Community Viability Study (comprised of Haida and provincial government representatives) will identify key recommendations to be forwarded to the Province for endorsement and implementation. Consultants appointed through a joint Steering Committee will do a background report based on community workshops and interviews that provides a three year plan and recommendations on infrastructure development, sector development, community marketing, and human resource development.

(Integrated Land Management Bureau and Council of the Haida Nation 2007: Information Handout at the Open Houses)

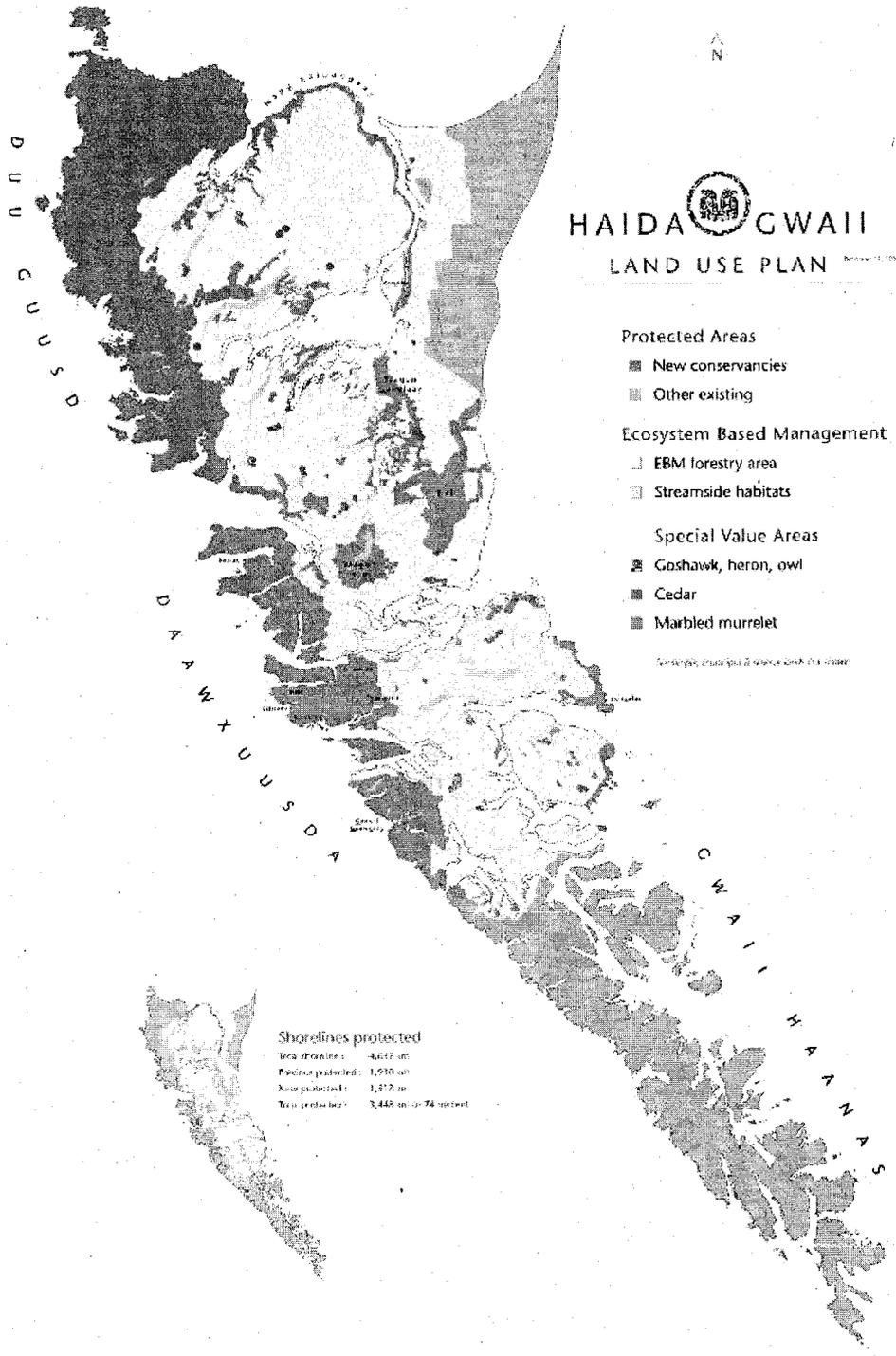
⁴⁷ Culturally Modified Trees (CMTs) are trees that have been culturally modified by First Nations through traditional uses. Most of the CMTs on Haida Gwaii have long strips of outer and inner bark removed (often up to 15 or 20 feet long and a foot wide) for fiber used in weaving and other art forms. Some of these CMTs were modified many hundreds of years ago.

Appendix H: Haida Protected Areas Prior to the Land Use Plan (cont'd on following page)



source: Integrated Land Management Bureau 2007, <http://ilmbwww.gov.bc.ca>

Land Use Zones Post Agreement



source: Integrated Land Management Bureau 2007, <http://ilmbwww.gov.bc.ca>

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