

Managing Canada's Park Systems: Exploring Aboriginal Involvement in Canadian National Parks

By

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ABSTRACT

In recent years attempts have been made to bridge Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal interests in the management of Canadian federal parks. In part this reflects increasing recognition of Aboriginal rights to lands and resources, and the need to reconfirm at an operational level the relationship that Aboriginal peoples have to the land (Sherry 1999; Speilmann and Unger 2000; Devin and Doberstein 2004; Battiste 2005; Hawley et al. 2005; Houde 2007). This thesis uses Clark's (2002) policy sciences framework on problem orientation to examine how Aboriginal cultural perspectives can be better incorporated into park management, and how Aboriginal employment opportunities in parks can be increased (as per park policy). Clark's (2002) problem orientation framework offers ways to explore and identify strategies by which policy problems can be improved by accommodating common interests, people's expectations and their preferred goals. The research used a case study approach focusing on Pukaskwa National Park and the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of the Pic River First Nation and Parks Canada representatives. By reviewing the broader literature on policy and planning related to First Nations and Parks Canada and then evaluating that in context of the case study, my research examined the current state of Aboriginal involvement in Pukaskwa National Park and makes recommendations for future improvement in this area. My analysis found that at this time Aboriginal culture is not being well integrated in the park, especially in relation to park programming. Further to this, my analysis also showed that Aboriginal employment levels are at a standstill and there is a desire to see more Aboriginal people in managerial roles within the park. Factors such as competing interests, mandates and timelines have affected the current relationship between Parks Canada and members of the Pic River First Nation. I believe that a significant difficulty lies in establishing an appropriate balance between the priorities of Parks Canada and Pic River First Nation.

Areas of Research: Clark's policy sciences framework on problem orientation, incorporation of Aboriginal knowledge into protected areas, policy and planning, Parks Canada, Pukaskwa National Park, the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Over the past few decades, discussion over how to manage Canadian federal parks has centered on overlapping Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal interests. To date, the inclusion of Aboriginal knowledge within Canada's park system has been largely dictated by the extent to which the federal government formally recognizes Aboriginal rights to park lands and resources (Sherry 1999; Speilmann and Unger 2000; Devin and Doberstein 2004; Battiste 2005; Hawley et al. 2005; Houde 2007). Presently, the incorporation of Aboriginal interests by government agencies such as Parks Canada is haphazard through *ad hoc* programs, rather than as an explicit expression of public policies (Sherry 1999; Houde 2007). This may partially be explained by how park managers understand and interpret diverse values of First Nations people, and how they incorporate those value systems into the management practices of Canada's parks.

Incorporating Aboriginal interests into park management and development is becoming common as increasing pressure from documents such as the "World Conservation Strategy" (IUCN 1980), "Our Common Future" (WCED 1987), "The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development" (UNCED 1992), "The Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development" (WSSD 2002) and "The Future We Want" (UNCSD 2012) have confirmed the relationship that Aboriginal communities often have with the land, and in many cases this includes protected areas. A well-known Canadian example of how Aboriginal interests have been incorporated into protected areas is the creation of the Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve in the South Moresby area of the

Queen Charlotte Islands in British Columbia. The Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve was created in response to pressure from the Haida Nation to halt proposed logging in the area (Devin and Doberstein 2004). This agreement between the Haida Nation and Parks Canada is virtually unique in its provision for a framework to make consensus-based decisions, and also promotes the preservation of Haida culture for the benefit of future generations (Devin and Doberstein 2004).

Another recent example of an agreement that incorporates Aboriginal interests occurred in Pacific Rim National Park Reserve. In this case, Parks Canada signed an agreement on January 30, 2012 with four Maa-nulth First Nations to cooperate in the planning and management of the national park reserve (Parks Canada 2012). The First Nations involved in the agreement will have the opportunity to voice their concerns and provide advice to the Canadian Minister of the Environment on issues related to the management of the national park reserve (Parks Canada 2012). The agreement between Parks Canada and the four Maa-nulth First Nations outlines the acknowledgment to work together towards building stronger economic development opportunities for the communities and to develop and enhance relationships between the two groups (Parks Canada 2012).

A similar situation occurred in Australia where a local Aboriginal group reclaimed ownership to a section of a national park (Parks Australia 2013). In this case the Aboriginal group was granted title to a portion of the land in Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park (Parks Australia 2013). Interestingly the Aboriginal group agreed to lease the land back to the Australian government to be managed as a national park with an acknowledgment to maintain traditional cultures and heritage (Parks Australia 2013).

These examples illustrate the growing trend to specifically integrate Aboriginal interests into park policies, planning, and management.

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

The creation of protected areas in Canada can be detrimental to Aboriginal interests unless it is based on a common understanding and mutual goals that reflect both western and Aboriginal beliefs (Sherry 1999). Historically speaking, the establishment of Canada's parks systems has meant that Aboriginals have lost access to traditionally occupied landscapes due to the increased imposition of regulations within the national park system (Sherry 1999; Speilmann and Unger 2000).

The purpose of this research is to understand how Aboriginal communities and cultural values can be better incorporated into park management, and how Aboriginal employment opportunities can be increased at Pukaskwa National Park. Clark's (2002) problem orientation within her policy sciences framework will be used as an evaluation tool. Clark's (2002) problem orientation seeks to identify and resolve policy problems and create workable solutions by taking into consideration peoples' expectations, their preferred goals and common interests. This thesis will contribute knowledge about the role that Aboriginal knowledge and involvement can play in park management and planning by focusing on the conditions necessary for ensuring mutual understanding and common expectations between First Nations and Parks Canada. My research will examine the current state of Aboriginal involvement in Pukaskwa National Park, as well as evaluate and make recommendations for future improvements in this area. To do this the research will review the broader literature on policy and planning related to First

Nations and Parks Canada, and then evaluate that in the context of a case study. This case study focuses on Pukaskwa National Park on the north shore of Lake Superior, Ontario and the Ojibways of Pic River, whose reserve neighbours the park, and who historically occupied the park area.

This study aims to answer the following research questions:

Question 1: What current policy and planning opportunities do First Nations people have with Pukaskwa, and how effective are they?

Question 2: What mechanisms are in place to facilitate communication between park planners and First Nations at the park and how effective are they?

Question 3: Would it be beneficial to the park, the First Nation, and the local economy to involve First Nations further?

Question 4: How does the Pukaskwa case study compare to the Policy Sciences framework on problem orientation?

Question 5: How can Aboriginal involvement be better incorporated into park planning and legislative policy in the park?

In addition to contributing knowledge about the role that Aboriginal knowledge and involvement can play in park management and planning, this research will investigate how mutual expectations are met between First Nations and Parks Canada. Clark's (2002) problem orientation framework will be used to develop an effective problem solving strategy. Topics that were discussed during research are as follows: economic development, increasing the overall Aboriginal perspective in park management, differing views of the land, resistance to the use of Aboriginal knowledge,

conflicts over land ownership, governance, timelines and competing interests and mandates.

1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

Aboriginal interests in land use planning can be accommodated through greater economic development opportunities. These opportunities include such things as giving first priority to Aboriginal-controlled businesses to take on park contracts, or the design and development of visitor services that promote Aboriginal cultural awareness and joint tourism promotion (Gladu et al. 2003). Such economic development opportunities offer Aboriginal people a place to practice and share their cultural traditions among each other and with non-Aboriginals (Gladu et al. 2003). By encouraging activities within the park that promote Aboriginal economic growth there is a greater chance for Aboriginal influence in park development (Langdon et al. 2010).

Additionally, the cultural survival of many Aboriginal communities can be supported through policy initiatives that emphasize the ecological integrity of a protected area and the surrounding landscape (Gladu et al. 2003). Parks have undergone a significant shift in values since their early beginnings. Previously, recreational values and opportunities were considered a high priority, whereas today changes to the National Parks Act has placed increasing emphasis on preserving the ecological integrity of protected areas (Sandilands 2009; Murray 2010). By placing greater emphasis on ecological integrity, the well-being of protected areas such as parks will be maintained. For Aboriginal people, traditional activities such as hunting, fishing and trapping “are

central both to cultural maintenance and to the resilience of the domestic economies of many Aboriginal communities” (Gladu et al. 2003, 28).

Canada’s park system can play a leadership role in building stronger partnerships with Aboriginal groups who often have been excluded in the past. One of the core challenges to increasing Aboriginal involvement in park management and planning will lie in the ability to bridge common interests and objectives in a manner that is both respectful and beneficial to all the parties involved. In light of Parks Canada’s value shift away from recreation, it seems opportune to identify and address some of the underlying issues and concerns related to Aboriginal involvement in Canada’s national parks.

1.3 TERMINOLOGY

Before discussing the challenges associated with Aboriginal involvement in park management in Canada, it is necessary to employ a standard terminology to discuss and understand Aboriginal involvement in this sector.

Aboriginal Knowledge

Aboriginal Knowledge is knowledge that “includes the cultural traditions, values, beliefs, and worldviews of local peoples as distinguished from Western scientific knowledge. Such local knowledge is the product of indigenous peoples’ direct experience of the workings of nature and its relationship with the social world. It is also a holistic and inclusive form of knowledge” (Dei 1993, 105).

Aboriginal People

Aboriginal People often refers to “the descendants of the original inhabitants of North America. The Canadian Constitution recognizes three groups of Aboriginal people – Indians, Métis and Inuit. These are three separate peoples with unique heritages, languages, cultural practices and spiritual beliefs” (INAC 2010).

Anishinabe

The “Anishinabe (sometimes known as the Ojibway or Chippewa) are a First Nation people, many of whom live in the U.S. states of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and in the Canadian provinces of Québec, Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan” (Oxford American Dictionary 2012).

First Nation

First Nation is a frequently used term “that came into common usage in the 1970s to replace the word ‘Indian’, which some people found offensive. Although the term First Nation is widely used, no legal definition of it exists. Among its uses, the term ‘First Nations peoples’ refers to the Indian peoples of Canada. Some Indian peoples have also adopted the term ‘First Nation’ to replace the word ‘band’ in the name of their community” (INAC 2010).

Indigenous

Indigenous is a synonym of the word Aboriginal. According to the United Nations “Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form, at present, non-dominant sectors of

society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system” (United Nations 2004).

Ojibway

The word Ojibway is a synonym of Anishinabe. It can also mean “original people”. “Traditionally, each Ojibway tribe was divided into migratory bands. In the autumn, bands separated into family units, which dispersed to individual hunting areas; in summer, bands gathered together, usually at fishing sites” (Encyclopedia Britannica 2012).

1.4 OVERVIEW OF THESIS

This thesis is structured to address the research questions through a review of the literature and a qualitative case study-based examination of the role that Aboriginal knowledge plays in park management and policy planning at Pukaskwa National Park. Chapter 2 presents a review of the academic literature on policy and Parks Canada. Chapter 3 provides a review of the analytical frameworks of the study and also includes a discussion of the policy sciences. Chapter 4 focuses on the methodological approach that was chosen for this study. Chapter 5 details the Aboriginal relationship with Pukaskwa National Park by looking at the history and evolution of national parks as well as focusing on the historical background, governance, culture and the park’s relationship with neighbouring First Nations. Chapter 6 presents the results of the case study by applying Clark’s problem orientation framework. Chapter 7 offers solutions to help bridge the two groups’ interests. Lastly, Chapter 8 summarizes the thesis, discusses the

usefulness of Clark's framework and situates the results by discussing possible areas of future research.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON POLICY AND PARKS CANADA

This literature review has three sections. The first section familiarizes the reader with the broad concepts and definitions surrounding Aboriginal knowledge. Secondly, the divide between indigenous and scientific knowledge is identified and discussed. This is important because this study aims to understand how western and Aboriginal knowledge can be integrated in management and planning. The third section of the literature review discusses the challenges associated with integrating divergent knowledge into management and planning and highlights present opportunities for the inclusion of Aboriginal interests into parks and protected areas.

2.1 DEFINITION OF ABORIGINAL KNOWLEDGE

In order to explore how Aboriginal knowledge could be used more effectively in parks, it is first necessary to understand what defines this form of knowledge. Many academics have attempted to employ a working definition of Aboriginal knowledge. For instance Fikret Berkes, a leading scholar in the field of Traditional Ecological Knowledge, describes it as a “cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment” (Berkes 2008, 7). This definition has been, and continues to be, used to describe Aboriginal knowledge in many academic journals. Much of the reason for why this definition is so widely used within the academic community is because the literature on the topic predominantly deals with the similarities and

differences between western scientific knowledge and indigenous knowledge (Johannes 1989; Williams and Baines 1993; Berkes 1999). However, this definition is ill suited to understand how Aboriginal knowledge can be used in park planning as it merely provides a categorized context in order to understand Aboriginal knowledge more broadly.

Indigenous knowledge is another term that is often used interchangeably with traditional ecological knowledge within the academic literature. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) defines Indigenous Knowledge as knowledge that “represents the accumulated experience, wisdom and know how unique to cultures, societies and or communities of people, living in an intimate relationship of balance and harmony with their local environments” (CIDA 2002, 3). Warren et al. (1995) describes Indigenous Knowledge as referring to just the local knowledge of indigenous peoples, or knowledge of particular cultural groups.

However a more appropriate way to define this type of knowledge is to understand it as including “all types of knowledge about the environment derived from the experience and traditions of a particular group of people” (Usher 2000, 185). Usher (2000) goes further in describing four categories to understanding Aboriginal knowledge and how it relates to the environment. The first category focuses on rational knowledge about the environment and looks at how and why things work (Usher 2000). An example could include “indicators of ecosystem health, such as the appearance or behaviour of animals” (Usher 2000, 186). Usher’s second category deals with knowledge surrounding the use of the environment and is defined as “factual knowledge about past and current use of the environment....or other statements about social or historical matters that bear on the traditional use of the environment and hence the rights and interests of the local

aboriginal population” (Usher 2000, 186). The third category focuses on cultural values about the environment and lastly the fourth category looks at the whole knowledge system more broadly (Usher 2000). For this research I will be focusing on Usher’s second category because it deals with understanding Aboriginal knowledge through a historical context and in turn how this type of knowledge can be applied to understanding environmental use in park planning and management.

2.2 THE ‘DIVIDE’ BETWEEN INDIGENOUS AND SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

One of the biggest challenges facing the use of Aboriginal knowledge in modern day park planning is the perceived dichotomy between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal perspectives on Aboriginal knowledge. Western culture demands rigorous attention when gathering, collecting and analyzing information, which is deeply rooted in empirical scientific methods (Agarwal 1995). Western knowledge is “guided by empirical measurements and abstract principles that help order the measured observation to facilitate the testing of hypothesis” (Agarwal 1995, 421). Aboriginal knowledge, on the other hand, “is the accumulated knowledge and understanding of the place of human beings in relation to the world in both an ecological and spiritual sense” (Hobson 1992, 1). This very different approach to understanding the natural world has created much misunderstanding for scientists and researchers, as well as Aboriginal people. All too often these two knowledge bases appear to be in competition with one another and more often than not, western science wins because it is regarded as a superior knowledge. This is because the former is thought to capture reality through empirical observation while Aboriginal knowledge is predominantly shaped by perceptions (Agarwal 1995), although

these perceptions are often based on extensive observation by multiple experienced people over long periods. Further, scientific knowledge is generally the type of knowledge granted authority because it is the type used by the authorities in decision making, as a result of our society's colonial history.

When highlighting the differences between these knowledge bases we must first examine the term Aboriginal knowledge more closely. Interestingly, Aboriginal knowledge and its related terminology all stem from western academia, rather than from Aboriginal peoples, which is one of the reasons why Aboriginal people object to its use in describing their own knowledge system (McGregor 2009). Also the very tools that are used when working with Aboriginal knowledge derive from western practice (McGregor 2009). For instance attempting to capture the Aboriginal language in written word is often compromised because there is such a high diversity of Aboriginal languages and this makes it very challenging to translate words and concepts from one language to another (Ryan 2007). As a result, even our limited understanding of Aboriginal knowledge is influenced by our own deeply-rooted western beliefs (and prejudices) about the subject matter.

One way of comparing these two knowledge systems is to recognize that “indigenous knowledge is concerned primarily with those activities that are intimately connected with the livelihoods of people rather than with abstract ideas and philosophies” (Agarwal 1995, 422). In contrast, “western knowledge... is divorced from the daily lives of people and aims at a more analytical, and abstract representation of the world” (Agarwal 1995, 422). Oral traditions often have many different levels of meaning and purpose. These traditions can inform us about the environment and resources, but they

can also offer a deeper understanding about spirituality and ideological structures as well (Berkes 1999). One problem that exists between the two knowledge systems is that non-Aboriginals often only focus on the ecological or economic issues rather than the spiritual lessons. Immediately, one can see that each system represents a profoundly different approach to viewing the world, even if they are both motivated by the same desire to understand it.

Virtually all societies, whether Aboriginal or modern, try to make sense of the natural world around them (Gadgil et al. 1993). Western societies tend to view humans as being apart from, and above, the natural world whereas indigenous societies place greater emphasis on the seamless integration of natural physical entities and a spiritual essence (Freeman 1992). Such concepts are often described by anthropologists as being ‘animistic’; that is, all beings possess a consciousness and are animated with a spiritual essence. This distinction between the two societies has contributed to the success that western societies have had in manipulating the environment due to our philosophical perspectives that view people as being above the natural world (Gadgil et al. 1993). Given these differences, trying to integrate these two sources of knowledge into contemporary park management practices can be a challenge.

2.3 ABORIGINAL KNOWLEDGE, POLICY AND PLANNING

The incorporation of Aboriginal knowledge into park management and planning is not being done on a consistent basis. This is partially due to the length of time it takes to implement effective change. Currently this type of change is very hard to undertake from both a political and economic perspective because Aboriginal knowledge and its use

requires long term commitments, and the development of meaningful and long lasting relationships (Manseau et al. 2005). On top of this a change in process is often required at both the provincial and federal level, which can in turn make changes to authority and decision making abilities (Manseau et al. 2005). In the park management sector, old ways of doing things and the inability to see the need to change are some of the challenges which still hinder legislative changes (Devin and Doberstein 2004).

As Aboriginal people have become involved in land use planning and parks management, Aboriginal knowledge has emerged as important because it offers a means of expressing and sharing cultural identity and multi-dimensional Aboriginal relationships with the land (Faulstich 2000). Beliefs around taking only what is needed are directly linked to Aboriginal spirituality and intangible values in the land (Faulstich 2000). Yet despite the success of conservation projects that incorporate Aboriginal beliefs there is still a widespread perspective that views Aboriginal peoples as ‘primitive polluters’ (Faulstich 2000). Faulstich (2000) suggests that this perception of Aboriginal people is based on the view held by environmentalists who see wilderness as untouched landscapes and regard any human presence within that landscape with disdain. This mistaken and prejudicial view has led some scientists and professionals to disregard the contribution that Aboriginal knowledge can make to addressing today’s environmental problems.

2.4 ABORIGINAL KNOWLEDGE IN PARK MANAGEMENT

In order to understand how Aboriginal knowledge is used in park management, it is important to review how parks are traditionally managed. Parks Canada’s approach to

managing its national parks has focused on natural resource conservation and on improving visitor satisfaction (Zorn et al. 2001). This approach was not designed to accommodate the interests of Aboriginal groups. Furthermore, because these “policies provide overall direction, and not strict guidelines, there are inconsistencies and a predictable gap between emerging concepts, recent policies and park practices” (Zorn et al. 2001, 354). As a result, government agencies usually disregard the use of Aboriginal knowledge and do not appreciate how it might be applied to environmental management.

A more enlightened appreciation of Aboriginal knowledge would recognize that it could complement scientific knowledge- the predominant knowledge system used in natural resource management (Devin and Doberstein 2004). One area where Aboriginal knowledge is being used effectively and alongside current scientific knowledge is in the Aboriginal Forestry sector. With increased participation of Aboriginal peoples, offering their perspectives deriving from traditional belief systems, community oriented forestry management plans have been subtly transformed (McGregor 2000; Parson and Prest 2003). One interesting example that highlights Aboriginal involvement in the forestry sector is the John Prince Research Forest. The John Prince Research Forest is an example of a research forest that is jointly managed by Aboriginal peoples and the University of Northern British Columbia (John Prince Research Forest 2013). Although this research forest is managed as a working forest it is done in an environmentally sustainable way that compliments Aboriginal traditional land stewardship practices (John Prince Research Forest 2013). By incorporating Aboriginal traditional land stewardship practices in the management of forests the traditional value system of Aboriginal peoples is upheld (Parson and Prest 2003).

2.5 JUSTIFICATION FOR ABORIGINAL KNOWLEDGE IN PARK MANAGEMENT

One of the main reasons for advocating for the use of Aboriginal knowledge in park management is the fact that the current model of how a park functions does not take into consideration the Aboriginal people, who were here before European settlers arrived (Devin and Doberstein 2004). Up until now, management by Aboriginal peoples has rarely been considered alongside western beliefs about natural resource management (Keith 1994), although Aboriginal values often place greater emphasis on recognizing the relationships and connections between living things and their environments.

There are three benefits to incorporating Aboriginal knowledge into park management. The first benefit is that it may improve our understanding of the environment. There is a growing public demand for more stringent and comprehensive policies to protect the natural world for future generations (Sherry 1999). In park management, the recognition of Aboriginal knowledge could potentially reinforce the ecosystem view, which acknowledges the relationship that humans have to their surrounding environment (McGregor 2009). By integrating the knowledge of Aboriginal people with that of our own scientific experts, the result can be an improved and more nuanced understanding of the environment (Nadasky 1999).

The second benefit that can arise from incorporating Aboriginal knowledge into park management is an improved working relationship with local communities. By utilizing both non-scientific knowledge and Aboriginal knowledge, the understandings and recommendations created will have greater long term value (Mackinson and Nottestad 1998). Improving working relationships would also likely lead to a greater

appreciation for parks. In terms of how this can relate to park management, the Aboriginal people who are and will be directly influenced by the decisions of management will not only feel that their recommendations are being taken into account, but they will also develop a new appreciation for the protection of the resource (Mackinson and Nottestad 1998). By creating an environment that bridges both knowledge bases there will ultimately be more appreciation and respect for the values of Aboriginal peoples and park managers, since they are more likely to feel that their belief systems are being respected and upheld.

The third benefit to incorporating Aboriginal knowledge into park management is the increased understanding of the historical and spiritual significance of an area. Currently mapping and documentation approaches to Aboriginal knowledge often fail because they are unable to accurately describe the cultural importance that environment plays to Aboriginal peoples (Natcher 2001). This is because Aboriginal knowledge transmission is often a very technical process that involves the documentation and collection of information that initially has no formal structure (Mackinnon et al. 2001). This particular type of knowledge is oral in nature and is often handed down over the span of generations. This is a concern for many Aboriginal people as they are reluctant to risk their information and knowledge being distorted or misused by another culture.

2.6 EFFECTIVENESS OF ABORIGINAL KNOWLEDGE

The effectiveness of incorporating Aboriginal knowledge into park management will be largely determined by the willingness of Aboriginal peoples to be involved in the process. Many Aboriginal people already believe that their traditional knowledge is being

misused by outsiders, however limiting access to Aboriginal knowledge could jeopardize opportunities that Aboriginal people have in fulfilling their right to self determination (Devin and Doberstein 2004). Many current management institutions still value Aboriginal knowledge only for its utilitarian values and the notion of keeping information for spiritual reasons is unlikely to be understood from a western management perspective (Devin and Doberstein 2004). Interestingly, “eurocentric thinkers dismissed Indigenous knowledge in the same way they dismissed any socio-political cultural life they did not understand: they found it to be unsystematic and incapable of meeting the productivity needs of the modern world” (Battiste 2005, 2).

The window of opportunity is also closing, because in many Aboriginal societies social position and age tend to play a very important role in whether or not Aboriginal knowledge is possessed by certain individuals (Devin and Doberstein 2004), and there is a trend that a lot of Aboriginal knowledge is not being passed down. Since Elders are generally the custodians of Aboriginal knowledge and this knowledge is rarely written down, much important information is being lost because it is not being transferred to future generations. This is because many of the youth that live in Aboriginal communities have left behind their traditional lifestyles and live in a world where there is not a lot of practical use for traditional knowledge, and in some cases knowledge holders do not deem the youth to be appropriate recipients for some knowledge (Devin and Doberstein 2004). Other factors that have contributed to the loss of this knowledge base have been:

“the persistent and aggressive assimilation plan of the Canadian government and churches throughout the past century, the marginalization of Indigenous knowledge in educational institutions committed to Eurocentric Knowledge, and the losses of Aboriginal languages and heritage through modernization and urbanization of Aboriginal people have all contributed to the diminished capacity of Indigenous Knowledge” (Battiste 2005, 2).

These factors have all contributed to a growing loss of this type of information over the last few generations.

2.7 AREAS WHERE ABORIGINAL KNOWLEDGE IS NOT BEING USED

2.7.1 Park Planning

Canada's parks system is one of the oldest in the world, yet little change has occurred in the way that parks are operated. Park employees often receive little direction when it comes to dealing with First Nations issues, because over the years they have strictly been dealt with at more senior managerial levels (Spielmann and Unger 2000). As a result, employees responsible for day-to-day operations have little to no training regarding incorporating Aboriginal environmental knowledge into park planning and management (Spielmann and Unger 2000).

Progress is being made as some parks throughout Canada are beginning to see the value of incorporating Aboriginal environmental knowledge into the overall management of its protected spaces. This desire for increased Aboriginal representation within protected areas stems from a global movement that highlights the importance of self-sufficient communities, the need to protect diminishing resources, and to establish sound management practices that better reflect Aboriginal values (Sherry 1999; Faulstich 2000). Within Canada this has become increasingly evident with an increase in the number of cooperative partnerships such as Tsleil Waututh Nation and BC Parks, the creation of Qikiqtaruk Territorial Park in the Yukon, and the development of Torngat Mountains National Park in Labrador (Canadian Parks Council 2011).

Tsleil Waututh First Nation and the province of British Columbia signed a collaborative management agreement that gives both the province and Tsleil Waututh First Nation active participation in the planning, management and operation of Indian Arm Provincial Park (Canadian Parks Council 2011). Under this agreement a park management board that consists of equal representation from both the province and the First Nation was formed to integrate BC Parks ecosystem based management approach with Tsleil Waututh First Nation's land stewardship values (Canadian Parks Council 2011). Qikiqtaruk Territorial Park on the other hand was established as a result of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement and is co-managed by government and Aboriginal communities (Canadian Parks Council 2011). Torngat Mountains National Park, located in Northern Labrador, is another example of a co-management regime that brings together Aboriginal partners and governmental officials (Canadian Parks Council 2011). It was established in 2005 and interestingly it is the first co-operative management board in Parks Canada that has an all Inuit board (Canadian Parks Council 2011).

These case studies are not the norm within Parks Canada, as many First Nations groups are still not involved in park planning and management because Parks Canada still does not effectively integrate Aboriginal communities (Sherry 1999; Spielmann and Unger 2000; Dempsey and Dearden 2004; Battiste 2005). Other factors contributing to ongoing tensions between Aboriginal communities and Parks Canada include the emerging business oriented approach to running parks (Spielmann and Unger 2000; Dempsey and Dearden 2004; Langdon et al. 2010) and exclusion of Aboriginals from their ancestral lands (Sherry 1999; Faulstich 2000; Battiste 2005). This serves to highlight the urgency for change in the way that parks are managed in Canada. By

changing the way in which parks are currently managed there is a greater opportunity for Aboriginal involvement. According to the World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA) and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) increasing Aboriginal involvement in park planning, policy development, and employment would benefit society as a whole (Gladu et al. 2003). The reason for this is that it will help to further understanding between cultures, acknowledge the history of the landscape, improve equity for Aboriginal groups and secure the preservation of wild spaces which represent our shared heritage (Gladu et al. 2003).

One of the reasons why there is a lack of Aboriginal involvement in park planning is because the current system is ‘top down’ in its approach and this has led to outdated policies which disregard or minimize the relationship between Aboriginal people and parks (Dearden and Rollins 2009). Current parks policy rarely assures Aboriginal peoples a meaningful voice in park management and planning (the northern territories being an exception) nor does it guarantee their continued use of park resources (Dearden and Rollins 2009). For instance section 12 of Canada’s National Parks Act states that

“the Minister shall, where applicable, provide opportunities for public participation at the national, regional and local levels, including participation by aboriginal organizations, bodies established under land claims agreements and representatives of park communities, in the development of parks policy and regulations, the establishment of parks, the formulation of management plans, land use planning and development in relation to park communities” (Canada National Parks Act 2012).

The way the policy is written has had a negative effect on the overall involvement of Aboriginal groups (Dearden and Rollins 2009).

The National Parks Act can be interpreted in a variety of ways and there are sections within it which do not provide adequate guidance on how to proceed in partnership with Aboriginal groups. There is also confusion over the extent of Aboriginal rights within Canada's park systems. Many park planners and managers feel that the way in which the policy is written only guarantees Aboriginal people the right to 'participate' in decision making without having the ability to veto any decisions that significantly and adversely affect their interest (Dearden and Rollins 2009). As a government agency, Parks Canada receives its direction at the highest level from the Minister of the Environment (Parks Canada Agency Act 1998). The Minister of the Environment is responsible for "areas of natural or historical significance to the nation, including national parks" (Parks Canada Agency Act 1998). Following this the park manager is responsible for overseeing the day to day operations of the park (Dearden and Rollins 2009). However, the park manager still must "comply with any general or specific direction given by the Minister" (Parks Canada Agency Act 1998).

The ongoing confusion lies in "the failure to agree on a practical (and durable) definition of "consultation"" (IUCN 2000, 66). This is because the government views consultation as meaning the inclusion of a wide range of opinions whereas Aboriginals see consultation as a process of seeking direction for implementation (IUCN 2000). An example of this can be seen in Wood Buffalo National Park, where the many competing interests from stakeholders, Aboriginal groups and government objectives have created a

situation where a consensus in management decisions are often hard to achieve (IUCN 2000).

On top of this policies and guidelines are laid out in the form of national management plans which are usually developed by government employees who have very little practical experience in the daily operation of a park (Marsh and Hodgins 1998). This has resulted in a park system that is out of touch with local realities. Concerning First Nations, this is particularly a problem since there is very little consultation with First Nation communities in either the design or application of these management plans (Marsh and Hodgins 1998). As a result, this type of approach leaves no room for the acknowledgment of the other culture's belief systems.

2.7.2 Park Design

Another key area of contention is the general lack of Aboriginal involvement in park design. Often, park managers do not bother to ascertain whether or not First Nation groups would want to express their cultures through park design, even though some of the ideas put forward would be very easy to accommodate. For example, “smudging at the entrance to a park; four sacred colours (architecture or signage); and entrances from the east” (Spielmann and Unger 2000, 481). These and many other ideas could be easily addressed if park managers would be willing to work with First Nations on creating new policies that address cultural issues and needs (Spielmann and Unger 2000).

Park design is very stagnant and in some areas has remained the same since the early establishment of parks. At present very little consideration and thought is given to including Aboriginal ways of thinking about the environment into the design process

(Spielmann and Unger 2000). As a result many Aboriginal people feel their history and backgrounds are not being adequately respected at the park level. By including Aboriginal knowledge in park design Aboriginal people will feel much more inclined to take a vested interest in the future of parks (Spielmann and Unger 2000). This will also help to lessen tension and conflict between both park managers and First Nation groups.

In order for this process to change there needs to be more of a willingness to cooperate with different groups of people using or associated with our parks. Change will only occur when all of these individuals with their respective backgrounds place emphasis on valuing information from one another (Marsh and Hodgins 1998). This exchange of ideas will help to further open communication lines and also to build a common understanding of different terminology and concepts (Gertsh et al. 2004). Anything which helps to foster mutual understanding can only strengthen and build greater trust between First Nations and park administrators.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS

3.1 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Literature from the policy sciences and governance form the analytical frameworks for this research.

3.1.1 Policy

Within the natural resources field there are many misconceptions surrounding policy. Clark (2002) argues this is because people often equate policy with a plan or mission or that people simply view policy as synonymous with politics. Whatever the reasons, Clark (2002) stresses that care should be taken when using the term. Policy can be seen as “a social process of authoritative decision making by which the members of a community clarify and secure their common interests” (Clark 2002, 6). Policy-making can be seen as a complex process often because it can involve multiple levels of government, many different actors and it takes place over long time spans (Sabatier 1999). Given the complexities surrounding this, frameworks have been developed to understand and analyze the policy process. The following section focuses on the policy sciences.

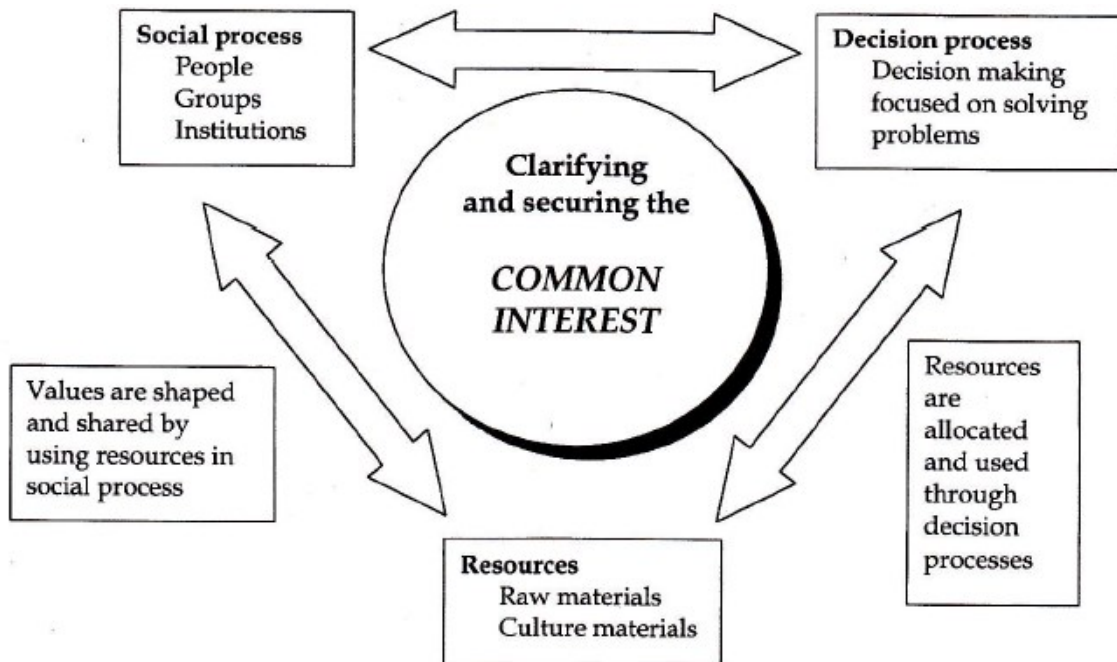
3.1.2 Policy Sciences Framework

Academic literature on the policy sciences is vast and is continuing to grow (Sabatier 1991). Many of the conclusions that have emerged from this policy literature stress the need to understand the policy development process as a subsystem with many different actors and interests groups rather than as a single institution (Jones 1975; Kingdon 1984; Sabatier 1991). This is because much of the research that has been done

to date has not looked at the policy process over any significant length of time (Sabatier 1991). In order for the policy process to be useful, one must understand that many of the natural resource problems we are facing today involve significant amounts of uncertainty (Clark 2002). This is because there are many different variables at play when it comes to the conservation and management of natural resources, such as the changing way in which people view the world around them and individual beliefs and perspectives (Clark 2002).

Clark (2002) argues that whatever solutions people decide on taking to solving resource problems must reflect not only technical considerations, but also social, political and institutional considerations as well. This helps to accurately portray the whole problem and contributes to better management decisions. Since the policy process involves many different variables it is often hard to come up with a clear definition of the policy process itself. One way to understand the policy process is to see “policymaking as a sequence of many actions by many actors, each with potentially different interests, information, roles, and perspectives” (Ascher and Healy 1990, 159). Clark (2002) argues that the policy sciences not only study knowledge that is useful within the policy process, but also knowledge of the process itself. The policy sciences then are “a set of integrated concepts or conceptual tools for framing thought and action and for guiding analysis in the resolution of any problem” (Clark 2002, 4). By understanding the policy process in this way, natural resource professionals can use the policy process to map out categories to help understand policy problems more generally (Clark 2002).

Figure 3.1: A Generalized view of the policy process



Source: Clark 2002

One of the benefits to understanding and using this framework is that natural resource practitioners will be able to think critically about the connections between the different components (Clark 2002). By thinking about all the different factors involved in a specific problem there is a greater chance for success in solving a problem because more emphasis is being placed on critical thinking. On top of this, participants have a greater likelihood to exercise influence and power over different policy outcomes and the result will be a greater success rate for better management strategies (Clark 2002).

The framework itself considers three different elements in the examination of any given problem: contextuality, problem orientation and lastly multiple methods (Lasswell 1971). Contextuality not only requires understanding the context of the problem, but also focuses on mapping the decision making process (Lasswell 1971). Problem orientation looks at understanding and analyzing a problem fully (Clark 2002). Lastly multiple

methods should be used to gather and interpret information in order to successfully carry out decisions (Clark 2002). A more thorough examination of problem orientation is discussed below, as this is the part of the framework on which this thesis focuses.

3.1.3 Problem Orientation

Problems are often seen simply as undesirable circumstances that require solutions (Dery 1984). For many, public programs actually end up accomplishing very little because they often propose strategies and solutions without fully analyzing and understanding the problem (Ascher and Healy 1990; Clark 2002). Problem orientation within the policy sciences framework stresses the need to define a problem before devising a solution (Clark 2002). Clark (2002) and Lasswell (1971) describe a strategy that requires understanding five intellectual tasks in order to solve any problem. These tasks are (Clark 2002, 87):

- *Goal Clarification*: What goals or ends does the community want? Are people's values clear?
- *Trend Description*: Looking back at the history of the situation, what are the key trends? Have events moved toward or away from specified goals?
- *Analysis of Conditions*: What factors, relationships, and conditions created these trends?
- *Projection of Developments*: Based on trends and conditions, what is likely to happen in the future? Is the likely future the one that will achieve the goals?
- *Invention, evaluation, and selection of alternatives*: What other policies, rules, norms and procedures might move toward the goal?

These five intellectual tasks of problem orientation assist in defining and resolving problems. Clark (2002) argues a problem exists when there is a discrepancy between goals (what ought to be) and trends (what is). Therefore a complete understanding of a problem should include taking into consideration the causes and consequences of the trends, as well as a selection of alternatives to deal with the problem fully (Clark 2002).

3.1.4 Criticisms of the Policy Sciences Framework

Arguably one of the biggest criticisms of the policy sciences framework is the decision process wherein a policy is proposed, examined, carried out and finally evaluated (deLeon 1999). During the 1970's and 1980's Lasswell's framework was considered by many to be the textbook policy process, however Nakamura began questioning this process, arguing that the different stages of the policy process such as policy formulation, implementation and evaluation have very different interpretations for the different actors that utilize them (Nakamura 1987).

Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier (1993) argue that another major criticism in regards to this framework is the lack of a casual theory, indicating that the framework itself does not adequately show how one variable interacts with another. However this criticism was recognized early on by (Lasswell & Kaplan 1950) and has been further discussed by Brunner (1991) and deLeon (1999). Brunner (1991) points out that the decision process is simply one component of the policy sciences framework and should not be looked at in isolation. On top of this Brunner (1991) argues that the entire purpose of the policy sciences framework is not prediction, but rather to utilize the central theory in order to better understand a specific policy context and to provide further insight into that context.

3.2 GOVERNANCE

Like the policy sciences, the concept behind governance has grown to include a wide variety of literature (Abrams et al. 2003; Francis 2003; Graham et al. 2003; Brunner et al., 2005). The term itself has varied meanings, but as a general rule of thumb governance is about “the interactions among institutions, process and traditions that

determine how power is exercised, how decisions are taken on issues of public and often private concern, and how citizens or other stakeholders have their say” (Abrams et al. 2003, 11). Ostrom (2005) defines institutions as being governed by formal or informal rules. At its very core, governance is about power, relationships and overall accountability (Graham et al. 2003). Stoker (1998) argues that no one actor has all the necessary information that is often required to deal with the complex problems surrounding governance. Recognizing this, Graham et al. (2003) developed a set of nine characteristics for understanding good governance: public participation; the application of the rule of law; transparency in decisions; responsiveness; consensus-oriented decisions; equity and inclusiveness; effectiveness; efficiency; and accountability. These nine principles for good governance as Graham et al. (2003) suggests should be grouped under five categories in order to be considered for use in a protected areas context (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Governance Principles

Combined Categories	Basic Governance Principles
Legitimacy and Voice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public participation • Consensus orientation
Direction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategic vision, including human development and historical, cultural, and social complexities
Performance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsiveness to stakeholders • Effectiveness and efficiency
Accountability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accountability to the public and stakeholders • Transparency
Fairness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equity • Rule of Law

Source: Graham et al. 2003

Abrams et al. 2003 also suggest that this concept of governance can be applied when categorizing different types of governance for protected areas (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Governance types of protected areas

Governance Types	Examples
Government management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National or provincial/state agency • Local/municipal government • Delegated management
Multi-stakeholder management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaborative management • Joint management
Private management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individuals • Not for profit organizations • For profit organizations
Traditional community management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indigenous peoples • Traditional communities

Source: Abrams et al. 2003

These types of governance can prove useful in terms of deciding how one goes about trying to address problems surrounding protected areas. More often than not governance examines which actors have influence and which actors make the final decisions on issues related to protected area management (Abrams et al. 2003). The principles of good governance can be looked upon as a clear goal that natural resource managers should strive for.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

When studying and documenting Aboriginal knowledge there are a number of different theoretical approaches available to researchers. This is because the subject matter is diverse and there are a number of different terms that can be used to describe human and environmental interactions. For this research grounded theory was used as the methodological framework to study Aboriginal knowledge.

4.1 GROUNDED THEORY

Grounded theory assumes that the past is important, and tends to not make prior assumptions (Gray 2009). It is defined as a theory which is “discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon” (Strauss & Corbin 1998, 23). The research itself should begin with a defined purpose, however the researcher should be aware that the purpose may change or be modified during the research process due to changing experiences (Gray 2009). McGregor (2000) suggests that grounded theory is an appropriate choice for research involving natural resource practitioners as it is compatible with interdisciplinary study. Since grounded theory is a general methodology it does not require the use of interpreters to translate the research, as the research findings are easily understood and applicable (McGregor 2000).

Norager (1980) argues that grounded theory tries to create links between both the social context and the research being done. This type of theory is important when dealing with indigenous groups and their respective communities because it tries to link the past

with the present. This approach has been widely documented in research conducted with Aboriginals. A few examples include Aboriginal community health issues (Bisset et al. 2004; Oulanova and Moodley 2010; McCullough and Farahbakhsh 2012), natural resource management (Shaffer 2010; Hatton-MacDonald et al. 2013) and sustainable forest management (McGregor 2000; Sherry et al. 2005). McGregor (2000) in her investigation into Aboriginal participation in Ontario forest management planning utilizes the following characteristics to explore the compatibility of grounded theory research with an Aboriginal worldview. These characteristics are as follows:

- *Inclusiveness*: Grounded theory is primarily concerned with data; none are excluded from the analysis.
- *Wholeness*: Grounded theory analysis concerns itself with understanding and explaining relationships and connections, a key component of wholeness.
- *Experiential Learning*: Grounded theory prides itself on its attention to the experiences of the subject, but just as important are the experiences of the researcher.
- *Relevance*: Because the use of grounded theory requires that conclusions be drawn from the available data without discarding data which do not "fit" some previous theory, grounded theory ensures that findings will have relevance to the "real life" situation being studied. Grounded theory does not require "ideal conditions" to function; rather it is meant as a tool for explaining real human circumstances.
- *Change*: As those circumstances change, the findings of grounded theory can be modified to incorporate the new information.
- *Inquiry without Prejudgment*: Finally, the defining characteristic of grounded theory is that it is not reliant on previous theories for analyzing data. As stated, this is ideal for investigations in an Aboriginal context. It is also consistent with the Aboriginal pursuit of knowledge in which judgment is withheld until patterns begin to emerge (McGregor 2000, 31).

This theory proved useful in my research as it allowed for collaboration and understanding between myself, park managers and the First Nation community. On top of this, it also allowed for the dominant themes to emerge from the data and was a useful tool to understand the many issues that exist in Aboriginal and governmental

relationships. This type of research is important when conducting research in an Aboriginal community, because historically Aboriginal peoples have viewed research with disdain and distrust as it has always come from a place of politics and colonialism (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999). For many Aboriginals:

“the word itself, ‘research’, is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world’s vocabulary. When mentioned in many Indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful...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 people” (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999, 1).

In order to bridge the gap and further relationship building, researchers need to set aside their own personal agendas and work with local communities to determine a research program that best suits the individual community (Simpson 2001). In addition, (Simpson 2001) researchers need to continually ‘check’ themselves and examine their own personal biases and belief systems and be willing to learn from others.

4.2 SITUATING THE RESEARCHER

We owe the Aboriginal peoples a debt that is four centuries old. It is their turn to become full partners in developing an even greater Canada. And the reconciliation required may be less a matter of legal texts than of attitudes of the heart. (Romeo LeBlanc, February 23 1996)

I was born and raised in the nation’s capital and grew up in a household with family that embraced the pursuit of education. From my earliest childhood memories, post secondary education was discussed and approached as a way in which you can expand your knowledge base and acquire the necessary skill set that can help with future

employment. That being said I also grew up with open minded parents who saw the value in letting their children experience the world around them before making any drastic decisions in regards to schooling.

Prior to attending University, I went to public schools, after which I took a year off and went backpacking across Europe and North Africa. That gap year gave me plenty of time to contemplate the kinds of things that I would like to do in the future, and it played a major part in my decision to return to school and pursue my undergraduate degree in international development and environmental studies at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Throughout the four years of my undergraduate studies I took a wide range of courses and encountered such things as international politics, environmental law, gender and development and anthropology.

To help fund my education I took jobs in the field of outdoor education in the summer months. I worked as a natural heritage education coordinator for Ontario Parks for eight years in different parks, including in Northern Ontario. During this time, some of the most rewarding experiences came from working with local organizations and communities.

Work often focused on a variety of things such as the preparation and presentation of park newsletters, the development of park educational programs and special event weekends, the recruitment of staff and the development of outreach programs. It was during this period when I came face to face with the true reality of ‘on the ground’ park management and the relationship that northern Ontario parks have with their local Aboriginal communities. The disconnect and lack of community consultation is highly apparent in the education sector and Aboriginal heritage and experiences were rarely, if

ever, discussed in association with park policies. This influenced my desire to return to school to pursue a graduate degree that studied these issues.

Although my education falls into a predominantly Western way of knowing, my upbringing and life experiences have played a large role in the way I see the world around me, and how I situate myself within it. I have always been interested in exploring the connections that exist between people and the natural world and this research project satisfies my desire to learn about this connection through an Aboriginal context. I do recognize however that I will never reach a complete understanding of Ojibway heritage and ways of knowing. As a non-Indigenous university researcher my background almost certainly contributed towards certain biases. On top of this, the short time frame of the project contributed to my difficulty of overcoming my position as an outsider. Having said that, my hope is that by choosing to pursue this research from a grounded theory approach and by applying a First Nation perspective to the realities of park management, this study will be able to contribute knowledge and further understandings about the current state of Aboriginal involvement in Canadian parks.

4.3 COMMUNITY LIAISONS

An integral component of the success of this research project was the valuable contribution and input from local community liaisons. This research would have proved much more difficult without the overall knowledge and expertise from the community liaison. For this research the community liaison acted as the go-to person for both myself, as well as those members of the community who participated in the project. Additionally, a community liaison proved to be a great asset in scheduling the most

convenient times to visit the community and by providing information on people within the community with whom I should speak. Also, by having a community liaison, the Aboriginal community was much more willing to form a relationship with me and candidly discuss their experiences – both positive and negative – about the park. This was directly a result of the community liaison helping to develop trust and a partnership between myself and the community. For this project, Juanita Starr was the community liaison for the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation. Juanita has been working for the Lands and Resources Department as a Government Relations Officer for a number of years. The amount of information and number of interviews that were conducted would not have been possible without her valuable assistance, guidance and support.

4.4 COMMUNITY VISITS

A number of visits were made to the community throughout the project. In early August 2012 a preliminary visit was made to create an introduction between myself, Juanita Starr and some of the members of the current parks committee. This visit proved an excellent way to help build and strengthen relationships, discuss topics and styles for the interviews and retrieve information related to the ongoing relationship between the community and Pukaskwa National Park. Two additional visits were made from November 2012 to July 2013 to conduct interviews, hold project meetings and discuss project updates. A final visit was also made to present the results of the thesis. These visits allowed for follow up information and also offered me the opportunity to continue to strengthen my relationship and trust with the community. The visits also allowed me to

see the community and the park in different seasons which helped to give me different perspectives on some of the issues which exist between the community and the park.

4.5 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

When it comes to collecting and analyzing data from an Aboriginal knowledge holder there are a number of different methods which can be utilized, including semi-directive interviews, focus groups, questionnaires and facilitated workshops (Huntington 2000). Used in combination, these methods help to increase understanding between both the researcher and First Nation's different cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, they allow the researcher to gain access to a local knowledge base through collaboration and mutual understanding.

The semi-directive interview allows for participation and discussion; however the scope and nature of that discussion follow the participant's train of thought (Huntington 2000). The questionnaire can be a useful tool if the researcher already knows the information that they want to collect and they simply want to compare results (Huntington 2000). Facilitated workshops are a great method to employ when a researcher is trying to interpret existing information so they can better understand the complexities surrounding a particular issue (Huntington 2000). Lastly focus groups can provide great insight to existing problems while at the same time bringing two groups together to find common understanding and to set priorities (Huntington 2000).

To fulfill the research objectives laid out in Section 1.1, a case study strategy was adopted. The case study approach can be used in a number of different ways such as project design and implementation, policy analysis and by focusing on the relationships

between different organizations (Yin 2003). The case study approach is also a particularly effective research method for gaining a holistic understanding of an otherwise complex phenomenon (Yin 2003). By choosing Pic River First Nation and Pukaskwa National Park as my case study I was able to examine the current state of Aboriginal involvement within the park and evaluate and make recommendations for future improvement in this area. In addition the case study allowed me to explore the different themes and concepts in an in-depth manner rather than gaining a brief overview of the problem. Case studies prove to be beneficial as they often explore different ideas by attempting to answer the 'how' and 'why' questions (Yin 2003). This research project used a primarily qualitative approach. According to Kenny (2004) qualitative research is best suited to Aboriginal communities because it seeks not only to understand why things happen, but how things happen. By focusing in on 'how' things happen often the historical implications of colonization can be revealed (Kenny 2004). I selected a qualitative approach to not only gain insight into the how and why questions, as they are less conducive to a questionnaire style format, but also to gain insight and probe one case study more deeply and situate that particular case study within the literature.

The main method used to gather and collect data for this project was through semi-structured interviews. Interviewing is a relevant form of qualitative research for Aboriginal communities as the collection of data is gathered from person to person interaction, and often from people who are engaged in the topic under study (Kenny 2004). Also the use of interviews is highly appropriate when trying to determine or examine particular feelings or attitudes about a topic (Gray 2009). Furthermore, interviews are generally one of the best methods to use when dealing with open-ended

questions, since they permit new topics to be pursued as the interview develops (Gray 2009). The use of semi-structured interviews also allows for the probing of viewpoints and opinions when the researcher is interested in having the respondents expand upon their answers (Gray 2009).

Making use of the methods by Huntington (2000) all interviews were recorded using a digital audio-recorder. The benefit of recording interviews was that more focus was given to the participant and less time was being spent taking down notes on what they were saying. Also, when the researcher spends more time taking notes manually there is often less interaction between the researcher and research participant, and this can hinder relationship building. Most of the interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 1 hour. The interviews were transcribed verbatim, and participants were given the option to review their transcripts.

By choosing Pic River as a case study I was able to further examine the topic of Aboriginal involvement in park management. My interviews were aimed at determining the individual goals of the community and the park, and also sought to evaluate solutions that can bridge both parties' interests by using Clark's (2002) problem orientation framework. At the preliminary visit in early August 2012 pre-determined topics and questions (see appendix 5 & 6) were discussed and prepared to keep interviews on track and to ensure that specific information relevant to the project was gathered. Topics included the incorporation of Aboriginal knowledge, economic development, employment, differing views of the land, and competing interests and mandates. These topics were designed to help investigate how mutual expectations can be met between First Nations and Parks Canada, by giving me a better understanding of the problem and

the people involved in shaping it. By gaining a better understanding of the problem I was able to utilize Clark's (2002) problem orientation framework to develop an effective problem solving strategy. I was aware, however, of the weaknesses that can constrain such research that include poorly worded questions, response biases, risk of leading questions, and the inaccuracies associated to poor recall (Gray 2009). All efforts were made to minimize these weaknesses by targeting my interviews directly to those involved in the case study. Knowledge of Pic River's relationship to Pukaskwa National Park was a critical criterion for the selection of the research participants. Limitations of the research included the brief period of time spent out in the field and the small number of interviews that were conducted. It can also not be assumed that the information identified by the interview participants are applicable to all members of the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation. This limitation was overcome by selecting and interviewing community representatives who specifically had the knowledge about the community's relationship with Pukaskwa. This limitation was further reduced by leaving the identification of the First Nation participants to Juanita Starr, a Pic River community member and the community liaison for this project. Juanita's background in the Lands and Resources Department made her the desirable candidate for selecting participants.

A total of six semi-structured interviews were conducted with seven individuals. The breakdown includes: two members of Chief and Council, two members of the parks committee, one member of the Pic River First Nation, one Parks Canada acting superintendent and one Parks Canada project manager. In total five of those individuals were First Nation members and two were non-Aboriginal park personnel. The respondents that were interviewed for this project were chosen because of 1) their

willingness to participate and 2) their ability to be able to answer the questions related to the project through their roles in the relationship between the park and the local community. Three in person interviews were held with members of the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation as the community is within driving distance of Thunder Bay. One of these interviews involved two participants. Three telephone interviews were also conducted. The park personnel both requested a telephone interview due to time commitments and the distance involved. One First Nation participant also requested a telephone interview due to not being able to make the scheduled in-person interview date.

4.6 DATA ANALYSIS

In grounded theory the research is complete when no new categories or relationships emerge from the data (Gray 2009). For my case study grounded theory methodology was a useful way of interpreting the data. Bernard (2006) suggests breaking the mechanics of grounded theory down into six steps. They are as follows:

- (1) Produce transcripts of interviews and read through a small sample of text.
- (2) Identify potential analytic categories – that is, potential themes – that arise.
- (3) As the categories emerge, pull all the data from those categories together and compare them.
- (4) Think about how categories are linked together.
- (5) Use the relations among categories to build theoretical models, constantly checking the models against the data – particularly against negative cases.
- (6) Present the results of the analysis using exemplars, that is, quotes from interviews that illuminate the theory (Bernard 2006, 492).

To reach ‘theoretical saturation’ (Gray 2009) and to gain a solid understanding of the participants’ responses I read through the interview transcripts several times. All the interviews were transcribed from the recording device and totalled 60 pages. I used a combination of *open coding* and *axial coding* (Gray 2009) to examine the qualitative data

and to determine the existence of patterns and trends. First I reviewed the information from the data by highlighting key phrases and words. Following this I categorized them into major themes to determine connections. The themes that emerged from the data were then grouped into categories reflecting six obstacles that prevent the use of Aboriginal knowledge in park management. These obstacles not only represent the dominant themes that ran throughout the raw data, but they are also instrumental in helping to address the research questions of how Aboriginal involvement can be better incorporated into park planning. These themes and obstacles are discussed later in chapter 6. Once the data was compiled, an overall analysis was conducted using Clark's (2002) problem orientation framework. Quotes from the data were used to support the analysis and compared to the theoretical foundations outlined in the literature review (Yin 2003). Conclusions were then drawn to develop an effective problem solving strategy.

4.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The selection of participants is a critical component as research participants need to be identified reflecting on their knowledge about the subject. Huntington (2000) argues that the idea of chain referrals (snowball sampling), with each research participant putting forth a new name, should be utilized as it allows a researcher to evaluate those names for their completeness, as eventually no new names will appear. Since this project was collaborative with the First Nation community, the community liaison helped to determine the appropriate members of the community to interview based on her work and community involvement with the park.

Ethical considerations are another critical component to research involving First Nations. Research ethics when dealing with human informants, particularly members of Aboriginal communities have become extremely important since the publication of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Kenny 2004). Great attention has been placed on the creation of respectful ethical practices that help safeguard Aboriginal interests. For this project, ethical consent was granted by Lakehead University's Ethics Board prior to the project (see appendix 1). As part of this process, Pic River First Nation was asked whether or not they have their own ethics board approval process. They responded that at this time no ethics board exists within the community. However a research agreement was signed with the community that offered a detailed explanation of the project (see appendix 2).

Respect, however, was the most important ethical principle as it is often tied into one's own individual character. Larose (2009) argued that institutional requirements and one's own methodologies are often seen as the biggest impediments to creating respectful relationships. University traditions and protocols, although a necessity for this type of research, can sometimes get in the way of forging a meaningful and long-lasting relationship. This was all too apparent at my initial meeting with members from Pic River where it was made clear that having someone's word was just as important as having a signed piece of paper.

Written and oral consent were sought from all key participants. Participants for the project were contacted either by telephone, email or letter. During the initial contact in early spring 2012 the community received a summary of the proposed project as well as an explanation that participation within the project was voluntary and that research

participants were free to leave at any point in the study (Tri-Council Policy 2010). The Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation gave prior and informed consent by sending a letter of support for this research. Additionally, a research agreement was signed by the community before research began, which outlined the nature of the study, its purpose and procedure as well as the researcher's commitments to the community.

Oral consent was asked of the First Nation group as it is culturally appropriate to seek approval from them this way. Piquemal (2001) explains that often researchers focus on an initial contractual relationship instead of continually seeking consent throughout the entire research process. This idea is crucial as it will continually allow the participants to have the opportunity to reflect upon their contributions and thus it will ultimately give participants a way to approve the entire process. Piquemal (2001) also asserts that this process allows for mutual understanding and collaboration between both community members and the researcher. By collaborating on the project with Pic River, and through the efforts of the community liaison person to facilitate introductions and set up project meetings, oral consent was continually sought throughout the duration of the project.

CHAPTER 5

ABORIGINAL RELATIONSHIP WITH PUKASKWA NATIONAL PARK

This chapter presents the overall context within which Pukaskwa National Park is situated. The chapter is broken down into two parts. The first introduces Pukaskwa National Park, and includes elements such as the regional environment, development of the park, governance and the park's perspective on the relationship it has with the local Aboriginal community. The second section describes the context of the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation and the park.

5.1 PARKS AND ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

The history of the relationship between North America's parks and protected areas and the local Aboriginal communities that call those lands home has been a tumultuous one (Notzke 1999). Much of this is based on the historical implications of nation state building and the realization that early (and in some cases, recent), protected areas were developed without consultation and consent from local Aboriginal groups (Peepre and Dearden 2002; Neufeld 2008). Historically, national parks have been places within Canada that have been set aside to be free from resource harvesting and human occupation (Peepre and Dearden 2002). In Canada the concept of a national park closely mirrors the international definition of a national park, which describes national parks to be "relatively large land areas...not materially altered by human exploitation and occupation" (IUCN 1980). For instance the Canadian state uses the establishment of parks and protected areas to define a national cultural space (Neufeld 2008). This cultural space often highlights and promotes national values and beliefs about an ideal future and

encourages culturally relevant identities (Neufeld 2008). This model has traditionally not recognized Aboriginal rights or the aspirations of First Nations communities who have historically occupied the areas around national parks (Peepre and Dearden 2002). By adopting and utilizing this definition of a park many park policies have disrupted the traditional lifestyle and activities of local communities. The next section offers a brief history of the relationship between Canada's national park system and Aboriginal people.

5.1.1 Origins of Parks in Canada

The early origins of protected areas and national parks in Canada can be traced to the early establishment of Banff National Park. Interestingly two Canadian Pacific Railway employees ended up discovering mineral hot springs, which they hoped they could profit from (Speilmann and Unger 2000). However once the federal government became aware of the plan, they had the land designated as a reserve and set aside for public use as a recreational resource (Spielmann and Unger 2000). This set the stage for the evolution and growth of national parks in Canada.

Similar stories played out with the development of Wood Buffalo and Riding Mountain National Park (Kopas 2007). When Riding Mountain National park was created, the Keeseekoowening First Nation was forcibly removed from their traditional hunting grounds by government officials in order to have their lands included inside the park boundaries (Kopas 2007). These cases effectively illustrate how local Aboriginal groups have been excluded from the decision making process and often ended up experiencing a loss of their traditional subsistence activities as a result of park designation (Marsh and Hodgins 1998; Peepre and Dearden 2002; Dearden and Rollins

2009). With the establishment of park boundaries, Aboriginal people have experienced severe consequences, including displacement from their homeland (Sherry 1999).

5.1.2 Northern National Parks versus Southern National Parks

Parks Canada has established northern national parks in an entirely separate way from its southern counterparts. Southern national parks were established during the colonial period in a vastly different social and constitutional situation (Fluker 2009). In contrast, northern national parks have been established under a more balanced political relationship (Murray 2010). Other reasons that distinguish northern parks from southern parks include the preservation of ecological integrity (Sadler 1989; Dearden and Rollins 2009; Fluker 2009; Sandilands 2009; Murray 2010), the establishment of comprehensive land claim agreements (Senate Committee 2001), the potential for visitor use and the difficulty associated with accessing those areas (Murray 2010). As previously discussed the primary role for the early establishment of national parks was colonial (Fluker 2009, Sandilands 2009). The discovery of hot springs in Banff National Park initiated the establishment of the national park movement, and the area was promoted by the Canadian Pacific Railway as a scenic destination (Fluker 2009). The federal government encouraged this movement further as the railway enabled the country to be linked from east to west, and by 1930 fourteen parks had been designated (Fluker 2009).

The second era of parks (1914-1945) was highlighted by preservationist ideas surrounding the promotion of tourism and recreation (Fluker 2009; Sandilands 2009). This era began under J.B. Harkin, the first Parks Commissioner, who dedicated parks to Canadians for their use and enjoyment (Fluker 2009). The preservation era (1945-1985) soon followed, and during the 1970's the national park system was developed to

represent distinct natural regions with the country (Murray 2010). However changes to the National Park Act placed increasing emphasis on preserving the ecological integrity of protected areas (Sandilands 2009; Murray 2010). This change is by far the biggest factor in the differences associated between northern and southern national parks.

The ideas surrounding ecological integrity and the idea of “wilderness” have led to the disparity in how Aboriginal rights have been acknowledged in older and newer parks (Sadler 1989; Hayes and Allen 2007). Sandilands notes that “as ideas of nature have shifted in relation to tourism, economic development, wildlife management and cultural heritage, parks have been subject to a variety of different ‘nature’ agendas, of which ecological integrity is only the most recent” (Sandilands 2009, 162). Increasing emphasis on preserving ecological integrity has created a restrictive approach to park management and a unitary management system in southern national parks (Senate Committee 2001). In contrast northern national parks have taken an entirely different approach to park management.

Interestingly, the application of parks policy in northern national parks has been highlighted by Parks Canada’s desire to build long lasting relationships with Aboriginal people (Senate Committee 2001). In Canada, comprehensive land claim agreements between Aboriginal peoples and the government have been a key factor in the establishment of northern national parks (Senate Committee 2001; Murray 2010). Through land claim agreements, Aboriginal people are free to exercise their traditional activities within a protected area (Murray 2010). What is unique to the establishments of northern national parks through these agreements are the management boards that oversee the parks. These boards are often comprised of representatives from both

government and local Aboriginal communities (Murray 2010). On top of this, land claim agreements often ensure economic opportunities for local Aboriginal communities (Murray 2010). It is these opportunities that make northern national parks unique from their southern counterparts.

For Aboriginal peoples northern national parks offer the potential to provide employment and contract opportunities (Murray 2010). Visitation is not as high in many northern national parks due to the remoteness of the areas and the difficulty associated with accessing those areas (Senate Committee 2001; Murray 2010). Since the majority of northern national parks are remote and difficult to access, Aboriginal peoples feel that Parks Canada's emphasis on ecological integrity and conservation is not as applicable because lower visitation is less likely to affect the 'ecological integrity' of the parks (Senate Committee 2001). For Aboriginal peoples in these areas, the establishment of national parks are a means to encourage economic opportunities (Senate Committee 2001).

Through comprehensive land claim agreements Aboriginal peoples and Parks Canada have been able to set up co-management systems in northern national parks. In contrast, a co-operative approach to park management and planning has been taken in southern national parks. The differences associated with co-operative and co-management regimes have created challenges that hinder the implementation of joint park planning and management (Senate Committee 2001). This is largely due to the differences of the words themselves. Co-management denotes an equal partnership whereas co-operative leaves final decision making authority in the hands of one group, in this case Parks Canada (Hayes and Allen 2007).

Examples of co-operative systems include Thousand Islands National Park which has set up a co-operative approach to the management of the local environment with the Mohawks of Akwesasne (Parks Canada 2013). Pacific Rim National Park, where management works with the local Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations on long term sustainable use of natural and cultural resources within the park (Parks Canada 2013). And lastly Bruce Peninsula National Park, which works with the Saugeen Ojibway Nations on joint natural resource inventory and knowledge associated with species at risk in the park (State of the Park Report 2010).

What Makes Pukaskwa Different?

Pukaskwa National Park is unique in that it is the only wilderness national park in Ontario that is not scheduled under the Canadian National Parks Act. To date the province of Ontario has six national parks; St Lawrence Islands National Park (1904), Point Pelee National Park (1918), Georgian Bay Islands National Park (1929), Pukaskwa National Park (1971), Bruce Peninsula National Park (1987) and Fathom Five National Marine Park (1987) (Parks Canada 2013). Out of these six, the park most like Pukaskwa is Bruce Peninsula National Park which forms the core of the world biosphere reserve. Bruce Peninsula is also currently not scheduled under the Canadian National Parks Act and the memorandum of intent to create the park was signed during roughly the same time period (Parks Canada 2013). However Bruce Peninsula is vastly different as the park is in the heart of a world biosphere reserve that designates it a place of global significance, resulting in more than 200,000 park visitations each year (State of the Park Report 2010).

Due to the high level of visitation at Bruce Peninsula, the preservation of ecological integrity is a top priority. Pukaskwa on the other hand receives far fewer visitors each year and therefore it is less likely that visitation at the park will affect the park's overall ecological integrity (Senate Committee 2001). Also because Pukaskwa is currently not scheduled under the Canadian National Parks Act, park management cannot use that legislation if an infraction occurs within the park's boundaries. As a result Pukaskwa makes a good case study as it is a park which is currently caught between northern and southern philosophies surrounding park management and planning.

5.1.3 Aboriginal Context

In order to understand the complex issues that arise with First Nations access and rights to resources, one must first recall how First Nations are defined within Canada. In Canada "Aboriginal peoples" is the term which is often given to define the original peoples of this country and their descendants (Langdon et al. 2010). However, Booth and Skelton (2004) argue that it is important to recognize that First Nation peoples are all very different from one another and display unique languages, customs, histories and cultures from one another. Furthermore "lumping all Canadian First Nations into a single group is as inaccurate, and misleading, as lumping the Scots and Poles together as 'Europeans'" (Booth and Skelton 2004, 81). In order to accurately understand land and resource issues from a truly Aboriginal perspective there has to be an acknowledgement that each First Nation is culturally unique from one another (Booth and Skelton 2004).

Since the Constitution Act of 1982, the Canadian government legally recognizes three groups of First Nations: status Indians, Inuit, and Métis (a person of historically mixed Native and European blood) (DINA 2002). What is important to realize here is

that “only legally recognized First Nations hold claim, in the government’s view, to rights to natural resources” (Booth and Skelton 2004, 82). All others who claim Aboriginal descent only have the rights of other Canadians (Booth and Skelton 2004).

Another important point to recognize is First Nations’ rights to resources and access to resources are two entirely different issues (Booth and Skelton 2004; Langdon et al. 2010). Table 5.1 highlights some key federal legislation that is important in understanding the legality behind First Nation’s rights and access to resources. Today Aboriginal title and rights are understood by most academics as originating from First Nations being present prior to European arrival on this continent (McNeil 1997; Nadasdy 2002; Booth and Skelton 2004; Langdon et al. 2010).

Table 5.1: Key Federal Legislation involving First Nations rights and access to resources (adapted from Booth and Skelton 2004, 85)

Legislation	Date	Outcome
The Royal Proclamation	1763	First identified ‘Aboriginal title,’ which First Nations hold through use and occupancy.
The British North America Act	1867	Federal government became responsible for First Nation peoples and reserves.
The Indian Act	1876	It was the first consolidated Act which determined who could be recognized as a First Nation by the government.
The Constitution Act	1982	This Act recognizes Métis and Inuit as falling into the category of ‘Aboriginal peoples of Canada’. Also Section 35 constitutionally guarantees Aboriginal and treaty rights of First Nations.

Beginning with the Supreme Court of Canada's ruling in the 1973 Calder decision, whereby Canadian law acknowledged Aboriginal title to land, there have been many other rulings which have helped to define the relationship that exists between Canada and its Aboriginal peoples (Langdon et al. 2010). Other noteworthy cases include *R. v. Delgamuukw*, *Taku River Tlingit First Nation vs. British Columbia*, *Mikisew Cree First Nation v. Canada* and *Haida Nation v. British Columbia* (Boone 2003). Many of these court cases addressed a number of issues related to Aboriginal title, treaty rights, duty to consult and subsistence rights (Peepre and Dearden 2002).

Treaties have been another perplexing issue that has helped steer the direction and the relationship that currently exists between the Canadian government and First Nation peoples. In the most generic sense, treaties are seen as legally binding agreements which exist between governments (Booth and Skelton 2004). There are two forms of treaties; historical treaties and modern treaties (Booth and Skelton 2004). Historical treaties are treaties that were signed prior to 1924 and are between First Nations and Great Britain (Booth and Skelton 2004). Modern day treaties, occurring since 1974, are the result of comprehensive land claim settlements with First Nations whose rights have not been addressed by treaties (Government of Canada 2013). Modern day treaties are seen as a very significant turning point for First Nation people as they are often seen as the first recognition of viewing First Nations as sovereign nations (Booth and Skelton 2004).

One major source of conflict and tension which has surrounded the issue of treaties deals with the differing perspective in the way the Canadian government and First Nations people have interpreted the concept of a treaty (Booth and Skelton 2004). From

the perspective of the federal government, treaties meant the extinguishment of Aboriginal title to the land (Booth and Skelton 2004). Currently there is much debate as to what the treaty process and the treaties themselves meant for the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, however many scholars believe that the concept of property which is so prevalent in our society is simply a foreign notion to First Nations, and that many First Nations argue that the land was never owned by them, so therefore they could never sell it (Nadasdy 2002; Booth and Skelton 2004; Battiste 2005; McGregor 2009).

What is accepted is that following the Constitution Act of 1982, Section 35 officially protects Aboriginal and treaty rights in law, and recognizes that First Nations have rights to access and use resources and that derived from traditional practices (Booth and Skelton 2004). Following the Constitution Act, national parks which have been established since 1982 have tried to take a cooperative approach in working with Aboriginal peoples (Langdon et al. 2010).

One example of this can be seen by the creation of Parks Canada's Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat (AAS) in 1999 which provides leadership and guidance in respect to building meaningful working relationships with Aboriginal peoples (Langdon et al. 2010). Some of the main tasks of the AAS are to support the development of policies and guidelines which enhance and further the relationship building process (Langdon et al. 2010). More recently Parks Canada identified in the 2009-2013 Parks Canada Corporate Plan that:

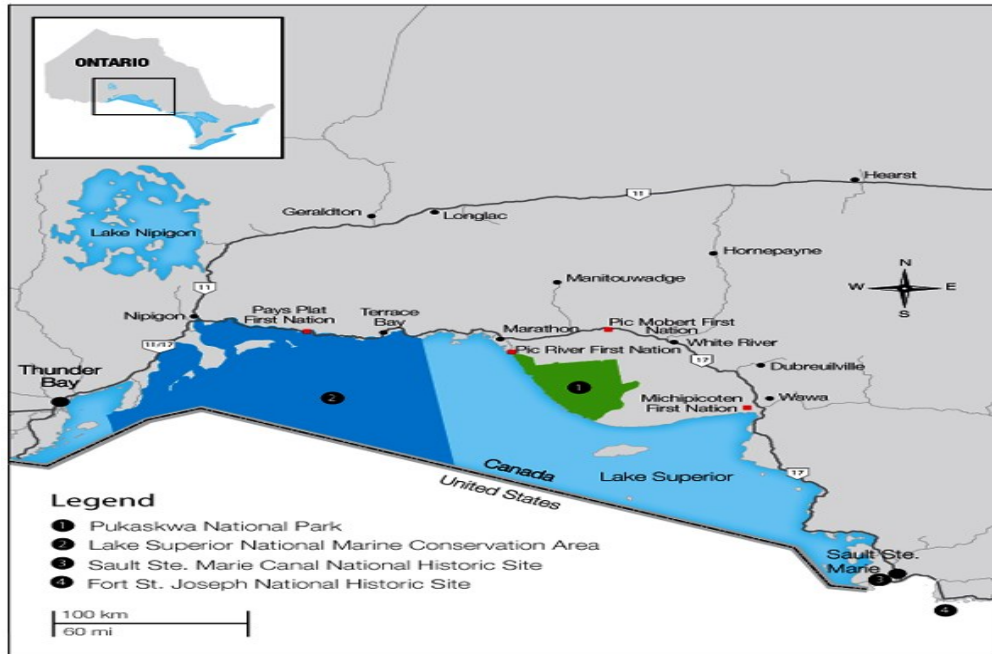
“Parks Canada will develop a framework to engage Aboriginal peoples in the planning and management of heritage places it administers. As part of this framework, Parks Canada will establish Aboriginal advisory relationships in various locations across the organization, guided by the unique legal and cultural contexts of the different Aboriginal groups, by 2013” (Parks Canada 2010).

The significance of this statement makes clear Parks Canada's corporate desire to build long term relationships with Aboriginal people. It does not, however, address the steps that need to be taken by managers in order to ensure that Aboriginal people have a voice in the decision making process (Langdon et al. 2010).

5.2 PUKASKWA NATIONAL PARK

Pukaskwa National Park is the only wilderness national park in Ontario. It protects approximately 1878 square kilometres of Lake Superior shoreline (Parks Canada 2011). Pukaskwa is located approximately 288 kilometres east of Thunder Bay and 400 kilometres west of Sault Ste. Marie (Parks Canada 1981). The park is considered to be part of the central boreal uplands and is a typical example of Canadian Shield topography, as it is characterized by rounded hills and is relatively uniform upland (Parks Canada 1981). The park's landscape consists of deep indented bays and high rocky cliffs that jut out from the Lake Superior shoreline (Parks Canada 1981). Marathon is the closest town, situated approximately 24 kilometres to the north of the park (Parks Canada 1981).

Figure 5.1: Map of Pukaskwa National Park



Source: Parks Canada. How to Get There. Accessed July 10, 2013 from, <http://www.pc.gc.ca/pn-np/on/pukaskwa/visit/visit1.aspx>

5.2.1 Dominant Flora and Fauna Species

The tree species in the park include black spruce, jack pine, white birch, balsam fir, trembling aspen, red maple, yellow birch, white pine and tamarack (Parks Canada 1981). One of the reasons for the wide variety of tree species is because Pukaskwa National Park is located in the transitional zone between the Boreal and Great Lakes forest regions and the St. Lawrence forest region (Parks Canada 1981). The park is also home to species of arctic alpine plants which are usually found closer to Hudson and James Bay; however it is believed that they are able to survive in the park because of the cool microclimatic conditions which are produced by Lake Superior (Parks Canada 1981).

Boreal faunal species dominate the park ecosystems, and include woodland caribou, moose, white-tailed deer, black bear, marten, mink, beaver, lynx, and the grey wolf (Parks Canada 1981). The woodland caribou is considered to be the rarest mammal currently found within the park boundaries. The park is the most southerly edge of the caribou range as there are virtually no caribou left south of Agawa Bay on Lake Superior (Parks Canada 1981). Factors such as altered predator-prey dynamics, predator access, human disturbance, habitat loss and small population effects all play a role in limiting the caribou population within the park (Parks Canada 1981).

5.2.2 Park History and Land Use Activities

The entire region of Lake Superior was opened for active trading in the seventeenth century (Parks Canada 1981). The first trading post was established by the French and was located at the mouth of the Michipicoten River in 1725 (Parks Canada 1981). By 1780 a post was built at the mouth of Pic River just north of the park (Parks Canada 1981). This post became part of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 and was in operation until the late 1880s (Parks Canada 1981). The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway also played a key role in opening up the area along the north shore of Lake Superior (Parks Canada 1981). Between the periods of 1883-1885 the population of the town of Marathon was estimated at 12,000 persons and was booming due to railway construction in the area, but it was subsequently deserted upon completion (Parks Canada 1981). Logging has never had a significant impact on the park, in part due to the rugged terrain and the type of logging that was done in the area (Parks Canada 1981).

5.2.3 Park Governance

The Pukaskwa area was first identified as a potential national park in the late 1960s, however it was not until July 13, 1971 that a memorandum of intent to create the park was signed by Canada and the Province of Ontario (Parks Canada 1981). Although the park is managed by Parks Canada, it is currently not scheduled under the Canadian National Parks Act. At this time there is ongoing litigation between the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation and the Government of Canada. This is because the park falls within the area that the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation are currently claiming in their land claim.

The management of parks in Canada is governed by Parks Canada's guiding principles and operational policies. Currently the overall purpose of Parks Canada is:

“to fulfill national and international responsibilities in mandated areas of heritage recognition and conservation; and to commemorate, protect and present, both directly and indirectly, places which are significant examples of Canada's cultural and natural heritage in ways that encourage public understanding, appreciation and enjoyment of this heritage, while ensuring long-term ecological and commemorative integrity” (Parks Canada 1994, 13).

Since Pukaskwa is still managed by Parks Canada it does still follow one of the agency's main objectives which is “to protect for all time representative natural areas of Canadian significance in a system of national parks, and to encourage public understanding, appreciation, and enjoyment of this natural heritage, so as to leave it unimpaired for future generations” (Parks Canada 1994, 25).

5.2.4 Relationship of the Park and First Nation Community

When it comes to Aboriginal interests within Canada's national parks, it is the Government of Canada's policy to negotiate comprehensive claims which are based on traditional use and occupancy of the land (Parks Canada 1994). The Pic River First

Nation and Pukaskwa area fall into the Robinson Superior Treaty for the Lake Superior region which extends from Batchawana Bay to Pigeon River on the north shore of Lake Superior (Boone 1994). The treaty was signed in Sault St. Marie on September 7, 1850 (Boone 1994). According to this treaty, the Aboriginal people:

“freely, fully and voluntarily surrender, cede... forever, all their rights, title and interests in the whole of the territory for a one-time sum of two thousand pounds of good and lawful money of Upper Canada to them in hand paid; and for the further perpetual annuity of five hundred pounds” (Robinson Superior Treaty 1850, 1).

Aboriginal people were still granted permission to exercise their traditional rights such as hunting, fishing and trapping within the area (Boone 1994). The Aboriginal perspective on this situation however is vastly different. According to Pic River First Nation the area in and around Pukaskwa was not ceded to the British government because there was no representative from the band at the signing of the Robinson Superior Treaty (Boone 1994). At this time there is an ongoing land claim negotiation currently taking place between the Federal Government and the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation.

5.3 PIC RIVER FIRST NATION

The Pic River First Nation is located on the north shore of Lake Superior at the mouth of the Pic River. This area was originally a strategic location within the water transportation network as access can also be gained to northern lakes and farther afield to James Bay (Ojibways of Pic River 2011). As a result the Hudson’s Bay Company operated a trading post in the area until the late 1800’s (Ojibways of Pic River 2011). The reserve -- legally named Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation 192 -- consists of a total registered population of 1,106, of which approximately 519 live on reserve (INAC 2012).

The people of Pic River are Anishinabe which is an Ojibway term meaning “the people” or “original people” (Richmond-Saravia 2012). The Ojibway are part of a much larger language group of First Nation people who are known as the “Algonquin” linguistic family (Warren 2012). The original home range of the Ojibway people stretched from the northern plains to the southeast shores of the Great Lakes (Warren 2012). Historically four distinct groups of Ojibway people; the plains Ojibway, the northern Ojibway, south-eastern Ojibway and south-western Ojibway have been distinguished by location and adaptation to varying conditions (Warren 2012).

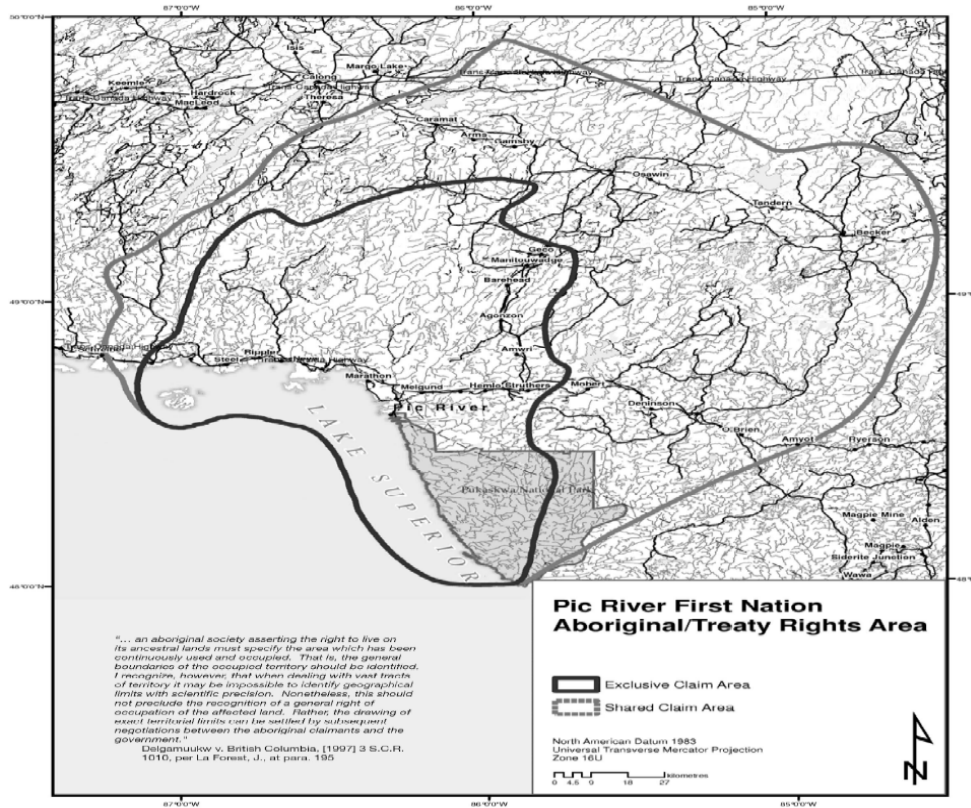
The Pic River First Nation fall into the northern Ojibway category and identify themselves as indigenous peoples to this area. Martin-Hill (2008, 9) defines an

Indigenous person:

“as someone who a) was born into the Lands with which she/he maintains an intimate and spiritual relationship; b) belongs to a distinct linguistic cultural group, c) has maintained a collective oral memory reaching as far back as creation; d) has unique customs and ceremonies that sustain her/his cultural survival and well-being; and e) has maintained the view that Elders are the knowledge carriers and cultural historians.”

Pic River First Nation is a treaty reserve, however it is not included in the Robinson Superior Treaty. The traditional territory of Pic River First Nation extends from the southern boundary of Pukaskwa National Park along the north shore of Lake Superior to Schreiber as well as extending inland past the Trans Canada highway (Ojibways of Pic River 2011). The community itself is governed by a chief and council who assume the responsibility of a local government authority (NOSM 2012). The Lands and Resources Department deals specifically with issues related to Pukaskwa, and its members are in the beginning stages of creating a park advisory committee to oversee negotiations with park management (Ojibways of Pic River 2011).

Figure 5.2: Map of Pic River First Nation Reserve



Source: Ojibways of the Pic River. Map of Traditional Territory. Accessed July 10, 2013 from, http://www.picriver.com/files/Pic%20ATR%20Area_Delgamuukw%20Note.pdf

CHAPTER 6

APPLYING THE PROBLEM ORIENTATION FRAMEWORK

This chapter begins by summarizing the main themes that were raised in the interviews. Below is a table that outlines the dominant themes, the number of interviews that mentioned each specific theme, whether the theme came from existing literature or community interviews and which themes fall under each *trends* or *conditions* (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Summary of Themes Raised in Interviews, Categorized as Trends or Conditions

Themes	Number of Interviews that Mentioned Theme	Number of First Nation Participants who Discussed Theme (n=5)	Number of Park Participants who Discussed Theme (n=2)	Theme: Literature vs. Interviews	Trend or Condition
Economic Development	6	5	2	Literature and Interviews	Trend:1
Employment	6	5	2	Literature and Interviews	Trend: 2
Traditional Activities	6	5	2	Literature	Trend:1
Aboriginal Knowledge in Park Management	6	5	2	Literature	Trend: 2
Robinson Superior Treaty	6	5	2	Literature	Trend: 3
Timelines	6	5	2	Interviews	Condition:1
Work Environment	5	5	1	Interviews	Condition:2
Lack of Cultural Sensitivity	4	5	0	Literature	Trend:1
Gazetting of Park	4	3	2	Interviews	Trend:3
Discrimination	4	5	0	Interviews	Trend: 4
Park Management Plan	4	3	2	Interviews	Condition:1
Parks Working Group	4	3	2	Interviews	Condition:2
Cooperation Agreement	3	2	2	Interviews	Condition:1

The themes above are arranged in descending order, starting with the most commonly referenced issues- notably in all six interviews. Out of the thirteen themes that were mentioned during the interview process the first two listed in the table came from literature on the topic and community interviews. These two themes were Economic Development and Employment. There were only four that came from existing literature, (those which were specifically queried during the interviews). These are Traditional Activities, Aboriginal Knowledge in Park Management, the Robinson-Superior Treaty, and Lack of Cultural Sensitivity. Seven themes emerged from the community interviews done with First Nation participants and park personnel. These are Timelines, Work Environment, Gazetting of the Park, Discrimination, the Park Management Plan, the Parks Working Group and Cooperation Agreement.

Next the chapter addresses the first four steps of Clark's (2002) problem orientation framework. The four steps are *goal clarification*, *trend description*, *analysis of conditions* and *projection of developments*. These steps will be discussed in sequence starting with goal clarification. Clark (2002) argues that in order to clarify common goals it is necessary to first understand that each individual or group will often have conflicting goals and demands. Below is a table that identifies goals of Pic River First Nation versus Parks Canada's priorities surrounding those goals and areas of overlap between the two groups (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Goals of Pic River First Nation versus Parks Canada’s Priorities around those Goals and Areas of Overlap

Goals: Pic River First Nation	Parks Canada’s Priorities	Areas of Overlap
<p>1. Increase the Aboriginal Perspective</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • recognition of history and culture • respect for historical rights • respect for tradition and knowledge <p><i>Cultural Sensitivity</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • respect for language • less discrimination • ensure viability of culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ensure the ecological integrity of national parks • facilitate visitor use • protect and promote natural resources • identify potential programs for cultural interpretation and education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • facilitate implementation of Aboriginal knowledge • Increase cultural interpretation and education
<p>2. Economic Development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • economic diversification <p><i>Meaningful Employment</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • respect and uphold ministerial commitments • maintain Aboriginal employment at 50% • Increase number of Aboriginals in managerial roles <p><i>Shared Revenue</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community self-reliance <p><i>National Forum in Park Management</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formal relationship with Parks Canada 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • economic self-sufficiency • maintain Aboriginal employment at 50% • Increase visitor use • Ensure that local histories are respected 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase and facilitate visitor use • Continue to maintain Aboriginal employment at 50% • Identify appropriate visitor opportunities • Improve working relationships

In this study two main goals emerged from the themes and were identified and discussed by the First Nation community. They are as follows: goal 1) increase the

Aboriginal perspective and goal 2) increase economic development. Both of these goals also help to highlight Pic River's desire to maintain and restore elements of their traditional lifestyle. The two main goals also have italicized subgroups within them that discuss the practical issues and larger issues affecting how the park is currently run and the ongoing relationship between the park, the community and the surrounding landscape.

6.1 CLARIFYING GOALS

In order to reconcile the differences between the interests of Parks Canada and those of the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation, it is first necessary to clarify the main goals of the two groups. Several factors contribute to the divergence in interests, however the most notable deal with the differences in perceptions surrounding the decision-making process and Parks Canada's mandate. Parks Canada's interests in land and resources primarily lies within the area that has been determined as a national park by the scope of their mandate. This limited scope has resulted in Parks Canada having very little influence or interest in activities that exist outside the park's boundaries. In contrast, the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation have expressed their interests in land and resources throughout their entire traditional territory. This factor has led to the uncertainty surrounding management decisions of natural resources between the two groups.

Despite the geographic boundaries of their mandate, Parks Canada holds ecological integrity as one of their main priorities. This priority is meant to solidify and protect the integrity of national parks for future generations. As a result, the principle of ecological

integrity has often been used by Parks Canada to support the status quo in terms of management decisions and practices, despite Aboriginal opposition to some decisions (Clark et al. 2007; Hanna et al. 2007; Dearden and Rollins 2009). In summary, this has contributed to something of an impasse. On the one hand, the interests of Parks Canada have generally involved maintaining the status quo and ensuring that they retain their decision making authority. On the other hand the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation have prioritized maintenance and restoration of elements of their traditional lifestyle and securing opportunities for economic development. Consequently, resolution of this impasse involves identification of the common ground between the two groups.

6.1.1 Goal 1: Increase the Aboriginal Perspective

It can be generalized that most Canadians are ignorant of the history of Aboriginal people as discrete entities long before the establishment of European colonial settlements. There is a predominant assumption among many Canadians that Europeans initially arrived on this continent to find an untamed wilderness (Battiste 2005). This limited understanding of the historical knowledge and cultural differences between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals has contributed to the overall lack of awareness of the Aboriginal perspective. One First Nation participant when discussing this point said: “All these changes if you look at them and put them together, they are all slowly eroding the fact that Aboriginals need to assert their rights. My grandchildren will probably have no rights. We need to stop and say you know what, we have to take a stand now. We have to stop sitting in the back seat” (First Nation # 1).

All of the First Nation respondents that were interviewed expressed a desire to see an increase in awareness on the part of Parks Canada of the historical and cultural ties that

the community has had to the land surrounding Pukaskwa National Park. One community participant noted: “Our people used to live whether it be across the Pic River, or along the Pic River and also up to the inland lakes” (First Nation # 2). Further to this the participant also said: “Many years ago before the park was... they used to log down there at the river there and the Anishinabe used to have dog teams and I guess they had a trail and they would go in not too far off the coast and that was how they would travel back and forth to the camps at that time” (First Nation # 2).

Increasing the historical and cultural awareness between the two groups would go a long ways in helping to build and maintain relationships between community members and park staff. Community members would like to see more appreciation and acceptance of the Aboriginal perspective on the part of Parks Canada, as many feel it would help improve the overall representation of Aboriginal knowledge within the park. When discussing this point one First Nation participant said:

“I think holistically in terms of having a bigger picture, they have some information but there are times they need to look at the whole picture. The physical, spiritual and emotional aspect to Aboriginal knowledge. You can’t just sit there and put a teaching on a piece of paper and stick it on the wall. You have to have more interaction, engagement and involvement” (First Nation # 1).

6.1.2 Need for Cultural Sensitivity

Cultural sensitivity was another top priority which was mentioned by all five First Nation participants during the course of interviews, see Table 6.1, and it was also identified as an important issue in the literature. This issue seems to be closely tied to obtaining meaningful employment in the park. During discussions surrounding the level

of employment for members of the Robinson Superior Treaty Group (RBSTG) within the park, it was also mentioned that language barriers have played a key role in whether or not members of the Robinson Superior Treaty Group can gain higher paying jobs.

According to the State of the Park Report (2008) language barriers have played a role in preventing First Nations from advancing to higher paying jobs.

There is also a need to see an increase in cultural connections between Aboriginal staff and non-Aboriginal staff. More community members would like to see Anishinabe heritage and culture represented a bit more during the daily operations of the park.

Another community member said: “If your management and you say I want to do more cultural based stuff, let’s do smudging everyday or even before we have our staff meetings give a prayer type thing, but it always seems to be when there is something like that happening it would be First Nation staff” (First Nation # 5). Increasing cultural connections between Aboriginal staff and non-Aboriginal staff does occur in other parts of the country. For instance the Government of Nunavut has laid out an Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) and cultural immersion day’s directive which aims to incorporate Inuit societal values into work environments. In a Government of Nunavut news release this directive is meant to provide “GN employees a hands-on educational experience to learn about Inuit traditional knowledge through different tasks and activities, namely land survival skills and traditional teachings and stories” (Government of Nunavut 2013).

Bilingualism was a major theme within this category that was closely tied to increasing overall cultural sensitivity and has been a major cause for concern among members of the community. Higher paying jobs often require the knowledge of French, and many of the community members feel this is an unfair burden to place upon them.

One First Nation participant said: “We are struggling to keep our own language in our community, let alone French as well so we can gain employment at the park” (First Nation # 1). Another community participant noted that much more emphasis is placed on Aboriginal people having to learn French rather than on non-Aboriginal people at the park having to learn a bit of Ojibway by saying: “How does that work when you have three quarters of the staff that can’t say bimose kinoomagewnan. Like that is a priority” (First Nation # 5). Further to this point this participant said: “If you are there working you should know how to spit those words out just like good morning, hello, bonjour. I’m not French, but I had to learn French. So if you want their staff to learn French, then they should learn the teachings of First Nations as well” (First Nation # 5).

Also during discussions surrounding bilingualism participants noted how the job ads vary from province to province across the country. It was said that: “When we went to another park in BC, we happened to look at a job offer description and no where on that description was bilingualism mandatory. And here it is listed in the job posting” (First Nation # 1). Another community member referred to the bilingualism clause as discriminatory. This participant said: “In a sense we could call it discriminating against the Anishinabe. Why don’t they just have English and Ojibway. So we tried to tell them and we tried to get them to eliminate that clause. No they couldn’t do it. They don’t do it down there in BC so why the hell do they do it in Pukaskwa National Park?” (First Nation # 2).

6.1.3 Goal 2: Increased Economic Development

The second goal mentioned during discussions was the need to see an increase in the number of economic development opportunities within the park that the community could participate in. One park management participant noted that: “The Park is often looked at more from that angle as to what economic development opportunities are there for the communities. And that has gone even as far as looking at hydro development proposals within the park” (Park Personnel # 3). A few of the community members wished to see an increase in the development of such projects because of the overall potential it can offer to both the community and the park. One First Nation participant said: “The opportunity for economic development there is just phenomenal you know hydro, wind power, solar, tourism and so on. There is so much more potential” (First Nation # 2).

Currently however, these economic development opportunities are being overlooked as they do not match with the parks idea’s surrounding ecological integrity. As one First Nation participant stated: “Well within the park system there is not a broad range of economic development, it’s mainly the preservation of the land as it is. To go and look at the hiking trails and the visitor centre you know” (First Nation # 6).

6.1.4 Need for Meaningful Employment

Adequate employment opportunities were cited as being one of the top priorities for the community at this time. One park management participant noted that: “One of the unique things about Pukaskwa is that we have agreements with the local First Nations that a minimum of 50 percent of our employees are members of the Robinson Superior Treaty Group” (Park Personnel # 3). This agreement to employ 50% of the park workers

from the Robinson Superior Treaty Group was one of the ministerial commitments which were made with the establishment of the park (State of the Park Report 2008). Although it has helped to improve the relationship between the park and the community, there still remains an underlying tension between the two groups as some members of the community feel the 50% employment is a 'loose' term, which is not always strictly applied when maintaining Aboriginal employment in the park.

One community member said: "With the federal government cutbacks that happened in April, we have a lot of community members that went from full time to seasonal. And that was a lot of stress, because here we are trying to get meaningful employment not just seasonal work. Actual fulltime employment" (First Nation # 1). Further to this point it was also noted that: "If you look at the value of the permanent positions, the indeterminate positions you know, those are that's where I feel there ought to be movement" (First Nation # 6). Many community members stressed the need to see an increase in the types of jobs that are offered to the members of the Robinson Superior Treaty Group.

Although the current employment ratio is around 50% for members of the Robinson Superior Treaty Group, this ratio includes student positions, seasonal and contract positions (State of the Park Report 2008). One First Nation participant said: "You know we are supposed to be at 50-50 for RBST and 50-50 for non-Aboriginal people and it seems to me that non-Aboriginal employees were a little slightly more up than the people from RBST" (First Nation # 7).

According to a park management participant it was noted that: "Seasonal positions can be anywhere from 4 to 10 months. So in terms of which positions First Nations

occupy...some are occupying 4 month, 6 month, 7 month and 10 month” (Park Personnel # 3). Further to this point, it was noted by a First Nation participant that the workforce inside the park: “Went from a staff of 70 people to just under 30 people. When they include 50 percent, they include summer student jobs and seasonal jobs. To us that is not meaningful employment” (First Nation # 1). It was also noted by another community member that: “At one time when the park first started they had journeymen electrician, journeymen mechanic, and they had this superintendent that looked after all those programs. That got eliminated. A lot of those guys got cut” (First Nation # 2).

When discussing employment levels for the community one community participant said: “You know just because they are employed does that mean we are incorporating the whole concept of the cultural values of the Anishinabe in Pukaskwa National Park” (First Nation # 6). One issue raised within this context was the need to see an increase in the number of Aboriginal people that occupy managerial roles within the park. Several community members commented on feeling that there has to be more of a willingness on the part of Parks Canada to see that these roles can get filled by members of the Robinson Superior Treaty Group. When discussing this issue one community member said: “They don’t see that they are counting bodies instead of terms. And I think that is one of our biggest beefs, is that there isn’t a place for someone to move up into management role” (First Nation # 5). Another community member followed up by saying: “We might have only 1 or 2 managers that are Aboriginal working down there” (First Nation # 7).

6.1.5 Need for Shared Revenue

The idea of having shared revenue between both Pic River and the park was another point which was highlighted during discussions with community members. The

community would like to see more projects that can be developed between the park and its members to increase overall revenue. When discussing the idea of shared revenue a few participants brought up the idea of having a hydro site within the park as they felt that it would allow for more revenue which could be then shared with the community.

When discussing this one First Nation participant said:

“There are a lot of parks in Canada that do have hydro sites in the park. Shared revenue with Parks Canada. Projects like that would only benefit the park.

Funding gets cut and every year it goes down, but if they have their own source of revenue imagine how good that park could be. There ability to go green, hire more staff, more opportunities” (First Nation # 2).

Currently members of the Robinson Superior Treaty Group do not have to pay to be at the park. This has led a few community members to believe that one of the reasons why so little attention has been given to increasing revenue between the two groups stems from the park knowing they cannot collect any revenue from RBST members. One First Nation participant when discussing this point said: “If you think about it, if that park was filled with RBS they would have no revenue. From a business end of things that is probably one of the reasons why they don’t promote it, because parks are in a business to make money” (First Nation # 1).

6.1.6 Need for National Forum in Park Management

Developing a national forum for park management within Parks Canada was another important priority. Two participants thought that the development of a national forum would provide First Nation communities with a template of the types of things that

work best and can be done between their communities and Parks Canada. One community participant said:

“I talked about how every First Nation that is near a park should have a big committee, a national committee or forum right across Canada. And we should get together to talk about these issues that First Nations are having with the federal government or the province. I think to me it is an important concept to have all of these parks sitting on traditional territory and it seems like every community has a different issue. To have some kind of national forum would be perfect in managing Parks Canada. Then you would know exactly if it is a theme right across Parks Canada” (First Nation # 2).

Having a national forum would also help to ensure that the issues that Aboriginal communities feel are important would have a greater chance of getting addressed if it appeared that those issues were being faced by other First Nation communities across the country. Currently there are issues in regards to how Aboriginal concerns get addressed by Parks Canada. Often times Aboriginal issues are not dealt with at a higher level and this left one First Nation participant wondering:

“How can it be internally changed? Not only in Parks Canada, but at a higher level because it just seems that when a decision needs to come from one of the parks it goes from one level to the next level to the next level. So you are going through three levels just to get a simple answer. How can that be addressed on a higher level and even a political level?” (First Nation # 1).

Developing a national forum would help Parks Canada overcome the institutional inertia it currently seems to be facing in incorporating First Nation culture and recognizing local histories in its overall operations.

6.2 TREND DESCRIPTION

The second step to Clark's (2002) problem orientation framework is *trend description*. Describing trends is an important step in the problem orientation framework as it allows us to not only examine how past events and decisions have affected people's preferred goals, but also if any disparity exists (Clark 2002). Trend description is about analyzing what has happened historically to affect the particular problem and whether or not those historical trends have affected the achievement of the goals (Clark 2002). Clark (2002) suggests the step of examining trends is crucial in order to determine what choices to make in the future.

6.2.1 Trends

The dominant themes that arose from the transcripts were then grouped into six obstacles that prevent the use of Aboriginal knowledge in park management. Out of these six, four of the obstacles can be classified under *trends* in Clark's (2002) problem orientation framework. These four obstacles appear to be the key issues that describe the history of the situation to date. The first of these obstacles are the cultural differences that exist between Aboriginals in the community and park staff. The second of these obstacles is the overall resistance to the use of Aboriginal knowledge. In addition to that, the third obstacle pertains to issues surrounding conflicts over land ownership and lastly the fourth obstacle is governance.

6.2.2 Trend 1: Differing Views of the Landscape

The three themes that fall under this trend are titled traditional activities, lack of cultural sensitivity and economic development. It could be argued that the biggest challenge is the cultural differences that the community and park staff face when trying to identify common ground. One of the reasons for this is the unique way in which Aboriginals identify their relationship with their surrounding landscape. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) describes Aboriginal peoples' relationship with the land as "both spiritual and material: the basis of subsistence livelihood and the foundation of communities, but also the means of affirming the community's connection to the past and securing the future of the culture and the society" (RCAP 1996, 448). RCAP describes how "land is often central to Aboriginal identity and beliefs as it is considered to be a living entity and not just a subsurface of the earth" (RCAP 1996, 436).

6.2.2.1 Cultural Views of the Land

The way in which many Aboriginals view the landscape plays an important role in trying to determine and identify what priorities are most important for individual First Nation communities. For many Aboriginals, national parks are seen as special places that often hold significant spiritual meaning. When discussing this point one First Nation participant said: "I think the whole concept of the park across the country is intertwining in special places that Aboriginal people inhabited. Particularly by the waters and rivers" (First Nation # 6). Another First Nation participant when discussing the history of Pic River and how First Nations used to live said: "Some used to live up in Calada Lake... and further north. And that's how they used to hunt, fish and trap and make a living. And I'm talking about years and years before industry really came around and invaded our

territory” (First Nation # 2). Further to this point, when discussing Pukaskwa’s spiritual significance and people’s visions at different sites within the park, this participant said: “They had these visions. They see the spirits and they kept coming and they talked to those spirits and they told them what those sites were. And so they are powerful sites. They are really powerful and really sacred” (First Nation # 2).

Competing world-views, values and ideas in regards to how Aboriginal knowledge should be incorporated into policy, management and practical activities in park management, particularly in relation to national parks appeared to be a dominant theme within the interviews. For many Aboriginals the very idea of setting aside a piece of land and then prohibiting activity on that land is a foreign concept and goes against many Aboriginal peoples’ beliefs about the relationship people have with their ancestral land (Berkes 1999; Sherry 1999). According to one interview participant, many of the local community members feel a sense of alienation from their ancestral homeland due to the restrictions Parks Canada places on access to the park. In the words of one community member when asked to elaborate on this sense of alienation experienced by the community:

“The park is gated after October and after that we can’t access it. To me it feels like trespassing or something like that. But people shouldn’t feel that way. If people want to go and hunt then they should be able to access it, but they are like ‘no it’s a safety issue’. We understand the concept of safety, we understand the concept of protecting and preserving, but to what degree do we have to give up our rights to do that?” (First Nation # 1).

6.2.2.2 Pic River's Relationship to the Land

Also mentioned was a lack of awareness by park staff of the unique cultural relationship the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation have with the surrounding area. Initially, there seems to have been a difference of opinion in regards to the unique individuality of the local First Nations in the area. Within the area that surrounds both Pukaskwa National Park and Pic River there are four dominant First Nations groups: The Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation, Pic Mobert First Nation, Pays Plat First Nation and Michipicoten First Nation. When discussing the current relationship surrounding the park and the community in this aspect, one community member said:

“One of the things we found at the very beginning was they kind of wanted to bunch us all together with all the other communities. They kind of wanted to put us... you know to form some kind of advisory group, comprised of everybody right. Pic River had initially decided not to do it because we felt we had our own opinions” (First Nation # 1).

Autonomy is a very important issue for the community of Pic River as many of the community members feel that they have a unique relationship to the park itself. As one community member pointed out the park: “It’s like literally right next door to our community” (First Nation # 1). A park management participant said: “Pic River certainly due to its location is certainly one of the larger players at Pukaskwa” (Park Personnel # 3). Another park management participant also stated that: “We are geographically the closest and Pic River certainly wanted to have the greatest amount of consultation” (Park Personnel # 4). At this time other First Nation groups in the area are not as actively

involved in discussions with park management. When discussing this point one park participant said:

“We hope to have committees set up with, we have identified four communities; Pic Mobert, Pic River, Michipicoten and Pays Plat as our communities that we have the closest working relationship with. So we have put out that offer to all the communities to develop a closer working agreement with them. Some have indicated that they are not interested with it at this time” (Park Personnel # 3).

These points lead into the next discussion surrounding overall resistance to the use of Aboriginal knowledge.

6.2.3 Trend 2: Resistance to the Use of Aboriginal Knowledge

Two themes fall under this trend and they are Aboriginal knowledge in park management and employment. During discussions with the community, one of the dominant themes that emerged was the park management’s resistance to the use of Aboriginal knowledge. This resistance was particularly prevalent in areas such as species management and the park’s interpretive programs.

6.2.3.1 Knowledge of Species and Ecosystems

The resistance to the use of Aboriginal knowledge appears to be at the ‘operational’ level where there is a failure on the park’s side to apply and utilize this form of knowledge. This theme was particularly prevalent surrounding ideas and values about appropriate management of species within the park’s boundaries. One First Nation participant explained that knowledge surrounding species; particularly species at risk like the woodland caribou, is often brushed aside. This person noted: “We have provided information, but we don’t know to what extent they take it” (First Nation # 1).

Discussions surrounding reintroduction and translocation of species at risk have been a cause for concern as well for community members. When describing the protection of the current herd of caribou, one First Nation person noted: “What are you trying to do? Just let it be. We have another Elder who is really peeved about the translocation from Pic Island or Slate Island into the park. He says all you are going to do is just going to feed the wolves” (First Nation # 2). Elaborating further another community member said:

“You are just going to alter the system that is already in place. Like in native culture belief... is that from the Elders that I have heard is that the environment has a way of correcting itself. Everything works in balance and if you translocate animals...what’s going to happen. You are going to bring in other animals - wolves, predators all that other stuff. And that also is not good for moose and other things. You are just disturbing the whole ecosystem balance” (First Nation # 1).

6.2.3.2 Incorporation of Aboriginal Knowledge into Park Interpretive Programs

Another area where the community feels the park has been reluctant to use Aboriginal knowledge has been in overall park programming. This is not to say that the park does not have programs that utilize Aboriginal knowledge, one example being the recreation of an Anishinabe camp. The park has also utilized Aboriginal knowledge in its hiking trails, specifically the Bimose Kinoomagewnan trail. This trail takes visitors around Halfway Lake and depicts the Seven Grandfather Teachings that explores stories from local Ojibway Elders (Parks Canada 2013). The issue, however, for many of the participants is the relevance of the information being used. When discussing the park’s

use of First Nation community members in its programs, one First Nation participant expressed concern by stating: “I don’t know realistically how detailed they [the park] have utilized them to again enhance more cultural movement within the fundamental principles of their interpretive unit” (First Nation # 6). When asked to further elaborate on whether or not the park actively engages community members to incorporate Aboriginal knowledge this participant said:

“Not to my knowledge. Although they profess to say that they are doing wonders with culture and whatever there in the park. I believe that may just be good talk, but realistically its not a detailed issue of the cultural connection that ought to be happening in Pukaskwa and the 700 square miles of land that they have gotten from Ontario and Canada to create the park” (First Nation # 6).

Further to this, the majority of people interviewed expressed a need to involve Aboriginal knowledge into more of the park programs. When discussing whether or not the park incorporates Aboriginal knowledge one First Nation participant said: “I’m going to have to say not as much as it used to be” (First Nation # 5). Another First Nation participant felt that the only reason the park tries to incorporate Aboriginal knowledge is because of the duty to consult. This participant said:

“Why wasn’t Aboriginal knowledge collected earlier. You know the park had more than enough capacity in the 1970’s to establish that. Why now? Because of court legislation, court rulings that are saying they have to do it. The only reason they are collecting Aboriginal knowledge is because of the duty to consult and to accommodate. To me that seems unfair that they would do that. It’s almost like a planned strategy” (First Nation # 1).

Further to this, another First Nation participant also mentioned how some programs, such as art in the park, do not seem to involve First Nations the way they should. The participant went on to say: “We have...totally valuable artists here in the community and they have never participated in the art in the park programs” (First Nation # 5). Art in the park is a program that provides visitors with an opportunity to meet different artists from across Ontario (Parks Canada 2013). Artists provide visitors to the park with on-site workshops that include such things as basket weaving, photography sessions and painting with watercolours (Parks Canada 2013). Another community participant expressed a desire to see Aboriginal content taking more of priority throughout the park by saying: “The lands that were taken from the Robinson Superior Treaty area to create this national park, there was then this importance to make sure that Aboriginal content be a priority in there because it’s a promotion by the native people in terms of what is fundamentally a priority for the visitors that come” (First Nation # 6).

6.2.4 Trend 3: Conflict over Land Ownership

Another key obstacle mentioned in the interviews is associated with the different perspectives on who has jurisdiction and ownership over the land. One of the central issues is the tension related to the balance of power and who has decision- making authority and control over the land. The two themes that fall under this trend are the Robinson Superior Treaty and Gazetting of park. One community member was quick to mention that: “Technically we still adhere to the fact that we were not a signing authority at the treaty” (First Nation # 1). The treaty in question being the Robinson-Superior Treaty. The Robinson-Superior Treaty was signed in 1850 and according to Pic River

First Nation no representative from the band was at the signing. The park also acknowledges this point as one park management participant stated:

“Pukaskwa does fall within the traditional territory of a few First Nations. We fall within what is called the Robinson Superior Treaty Group, which I guess from the government’s point of view includes 13 First Nations groups in the area. We do have several of those First Nations that have indicated that they did not sign that treaty” (Park Personnel # 3).

What is unique to the existing relationship between Pukaskwa National Park and Pic River is the fact that the park is not officially designated as a national park. The reason for this is because the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation are currently in a land claim negotiation. This point was highlighted very early on in discussions with members of the community. One of the reasons for this is the ongoing litigation currently taking place between the community and the Government of Canada. Interestingly, as one park management participant said: “There are lot of misconceptions out there that it is still provincial land and that it is not really transferred over, but it is, in fact, owned and managed by Parks Canada” (Park Personnel # 3). Further to this point one park participant noted: “In 1978 the land was transferred and Canada accepted the land as federal land and Canada chooses to manage that land as a national park” (Park Personnel # 4).

Presently the park is not scheduled under the Canadian National Parks Act which means that if an infraction occurs within the park, charges cannot be laid under the National Parks Act. Instead the park would have to use other federal statues to fall back on if they needed to lay charges. The reason for Pukaskwa not currently being scheduled

under the Canadian National Parks Act stems from the fact that the park falls within the area that the community of Pic River is claiming in their land claim. As a result of the increasing recognition of Aboriginal rights to ancestral lands the community places great emphasis on highlighting this point wherever possible in public documentation surrounding the park. One First Nation participant said: “You know throughout that 700 square miles there is a lot of native involvement in that park such as hunting, fishing, trapping and that. So you know we were there before the park happened” (First Nation # 6). Further to this it was also said: “Its important to keep it clean and green, but it is also more important to have some input on the cultural values that the Elders supposedly feel is important to keep solid and that program to make it known that yes the Ojibways of the area loaned that land to Parks Canada for their programming” (First Nation # 6).

6.2.5 Trend 4: Governance Authority

Lastly the issue of governance plays a key role in the balance of power and who has final authority in decision-making. The theme included under this trend is titled discrimination. For many members of the community, active participation and adequate representation are some of the best ways to have community voices, opinions and concerns heard. As one community participant said: “If we don’t start actively taking more control of our land, especially in our territory, then a lot of it will fall through” (First Nation # 2). This lack of decision-making authority has become a major source of tension as many community members feel that their voices simply aren’t being heard by park staff. One community member summed this point up briefly by saying: “Technically we are only giving advice, we are not actually making decisions” (First Nation # 2). Further to this point a community member when describing the issue of control stated: “If

they say no, they say no, they don't give you any very much of an explanation because there is no leeway to do things" (First Nation # 2).

6.3 CONDITIONS

The third step to Clark's (2002) problem orientation framework is *analysis of conditions*. Analyzing conditions is meant to assist in analysis of factors that contributed to past events and decisions and why the trends have taken place. This step is important because it focuses attention on why the trends occurred in the first place (Clark 2002). Out of the six obstacles that prevent the use of Aboriginal knowledge in park management (Table 6.1), the final two can be classified under *conditions* in Clark's (2002) problem orientation framework. These *condition* obstacles appear to be factors that have affected decision-making and also help to describe the relationship between the four obstacles that fall within the *trends* category. The two obstacles that fall under the *conditions* category are timelines and competing interests and mandates.

6.3.1 Condition 1: Timelines

Competing timelines from both the community and the park is a major obstacle that has negatively affected both use of Aboriginal knowledge in park management, and the on-going relationship between the two groups. The three themes that fall under this condition are the park management plan, timelines and cooperation agreement. The differing perspectives on appropriate timelines are largely due to the two groups' thoughts surrounding the idea of how a park should be managed. As one park participant

noted: “Parks Canada would like to follow a timeline, and timelines have been developed out of what Parks Canada needs” (Park Personnel # 4).

The main factor mentioned as to why there is such a wide discrepancy between the two groups on timelines goes back to the difference between Western and Aboriginal culture. Another First Nation participant noted: “They [the park] are always talking about deadlines and all that, and we just can’t meet them. Not as quick as they want. You know it is very difficult, it is a process that we go through; it’s not us that really makes that decision a final decision. It’s up to our leadership, our council” (First Nation # 2). When asked what the community would rather see in place for the park another community participant said: “Well maybe a time schedule should be created and a realistic time schedule, you know?” (First Nation # 6).

One community member wished to stress the need for more understanding on the part of Parks Canada in this area. This member said: “I think a lot of times they need to understand that there is a process for which we have to go through” (First Nation # 1). Further to this point it was also said that: “It’s an employment they have to get. They’re results based. Us, we don’t operate on that manner” (First Nation # 1). These members expressed concern for the need for better understanding between the two cultures as this is one of the main areas where there seems to be a break down of communication between the community and park staff.

This issue is not completely one sided as the park also feels that the vast differences between the two cultures has resulted in slower decision making processes between the two groups. During discussions with park personnel one participant said: “It took us a couple years to get an agreement to just agree to do a cooperative management

agreement” (Park Personnel # 3). Furthermore, another parks management participant noted that: “Communities sometimes need different timelines. They want us to come at different times or they need more time because they want you to engage other members of the community” (Park Personnel # 4). Due to the amount of time that it often takes to come to some sort of formal agreement between the two groups, the park has found it difficult to fully incorporate Aboriginal knowledge into its management practices. When discussing the difficulty in fully incorporating Aboriginal knowledge in association with developing a cooperative management agreement, one park participant said: “We have been so immersed in just trying to agree to do it that it has been hard to” (Park Personnel # 3).

6.3.2 Condition 2: Competing Interests and Mandates

One obstacle that has affected the use of Aboriginal knowledge in management decisions is the competing interests and mandates of the two parties. The two themes that fall under this condition are the parks working group and working environment. The competing interests and mandates of the two groups can be broken down into two distinct subheadings. They are as follows: preservation of ecological integrity and insufficient support for the inclusion of Aboriginal knowledge.

6.3.2.1 Preservation of Ecological Integrity

Differing ideas about the very nature of a park have affected the decision- making process between the two groups. Parks Canada’s mandate to preserve ecological integrity has meant that some of the interests important to the community of Pic River have had to take a back seat. For instance, collaboration between the two groups is mainly on natural

resource management within the park. One park management participant said: “Certainly we have wanted to collaborate with the local Aboriginal group, but to come up with concrete examples... it’s been more around I guess cooperative activities and shared learning” (Park Personnel # 4). One First Nation participant touched briefly on collaboration by saying: “I have been approached by park employees with participation just in particular projects though, so their prescribed burn. They would like to know the specifics about Aboriginal Knowledge in the areas of where they are doing their projects” (First Nation # 1). Since collaboration between the two groups has mainly been around natural resources it has ended up preventing the two groups from coming closer to an adequate compromise on their respective interests. From the community’s perspective economic development is high on the list of priorities, however as one park participant noted: “That doesn’t always match with a wilderness environment and trying to maintain that wilderness environment” (Park Personnel # 3).

6.3.2.2 Insufficient Support for the Inclusion of Aboriginal Knowledge

Adequate support for the inclusion and incorporation of Aboriginal knowledge is often hard to find as one park management participant said:

“Internally to Parks Canada we don’t have at the national office level, we certainly have support from Aboriginal Affairs, but we don’t have that same support filtered down at the site level. So it depends on site managers, for example, to be doing a lot of this while at the same time maintaining operations at the park” (Park Personnel # 3).

Obstacles affecting the level of support were said by the park management participants to be time and resources, which are often very hard to find when trying to maintain daily operations of a park.

This concept has been particularly challenging for the community as many of its members feel they are unable to adequately practice their traditional activities within the park. This is especially important when understanding that more often than not traditional knowledge systems, such as Aboriginal knowledge about the use of the environment do require the practice of traditional activities in order to preserve and maintain that particular knowledge base (Langdon et al. 2010). Even though community members are allowed access to practice their traditional activities within the park, one community member was quick to state that: “There are so many restrictions. They are always on you” (First Nation # 2).

When discussing this issue in relation to park programming one First Nation participant was quick to point out that there is not enough funding from the park to bring in more First Nation people for Aboriginal tourism programming. This participant said: “A lot of people won’t do things for free especially when it costs, like they have to travel or get supplies” (First Nation # 5). Incorporating Aboriginal knowledge in this sector within the park has been a challenge, as one community member mentioned how the park tends to “look at the dollar value more than anything instead and Parks Canada, like the biggest thing more than ever is that you want that visitor to walk away with a memorable experience” (First Nation # 5). Many community members feel frustrated due to what they perceive to be a lack of action on the part of the park in incorporating Aboriginal knowledge. Another First Nation participant felt that the park spends too much time

intending to utilize people from the community and not enough time actually incorporating those people. This participant said: “What is the purpose then of spending a lot of time taking pictures and simply saying, hey we are doing our thing when in fact maybe they are not doing enough” (First Nation # 6).

6.4 PROJECTING DEVELOPMENTS

The fourth step to Clark’s (2002) problem orientation framework is *projection of developments*. This next section outlines projected developments between the two groups in an attempt to not only document the interests of the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation, but also to initiate a dialogue to try and identify common ground between the community and park staff. To do this, this section clarifies factors that need to be addressed in order to strengthen the relationship between the two groups. The idea behind projecting developments is to try and determine the likelihood that all parties involved will realize their preferred goals (Clark 2002). If the projected developments show that people’s preferred goals are not being achieved then a final step must be taken which is to *invent solutions* (Clark 2002). This last task in Clark’s (2002) problem orientation framework is discussed in the following chapter. It should be noted that projecting future developments is risky when dealing with complex issues such as the relationship that currently exists between the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation and Pukaskwa National Park. Several of the community representatives who participated in the interviews identified three major factors that need to be addressed in order to improve upon the relationship between Parks Canada and Pic River First Nation. This includes

recognition of history and cultural understanding, incorporation of Aboriginal interests and an increased role in management decisions.

6.4.1 Factor 1: Recognition of History and Cultural Understanding

Suggestions to enhance Parks Canada's awareness of the history that Pic River has with Pukaskwa would initially involve improving upon the park management's understanding of the Ojibway people who have traditionally occupied the area. This would include enhancing the park's understanding of the history of the Ojibway people before the establishment of the park, and the history and role that the Ojibway people have had in shaping the ecosystem. As one community participant said: "This is our land. This is our home country and we have been here for thousands and thousands of years and there is proof with that Mackenzie highway that they found, with those ancestral artefacts" (First Nation # 2). This participant went on to say: "Those artefacts are 10 thousand years old. There is genuine proof that we were here first. Older than what they previously thought" (First Nation # 2).

This First Nation participant was referring to the archaeological work that is currently underway a few kilometres northeast of Thunder Bay due to the four lane development of Highway 11/17. To date some of the artefacts that have been retrieved have included over 100 projectile points which have dated as far back as 9,000 years (Agora Newsletter 2010). The Mackenzie site's location which overlooks Lake Superior and the Mackenzie Valley suggests that the area was a good place for human habitation as it is a natural gathering place for large game and other animals (Western Heritage 2013).

On top of this many of the community members felt that more emphasis needs to be placed on the recognition of Aboriginal heritage in park programming. One First Nation participant said: “People are so textbook and I think this is our time to educate people like and to have a better understanding of us as First Nations people. Like this is who we are. We don’t live in tepees, we do have cable, we do have cell phones” (First Nation # 5).

The second step, arguably the most difficult for Parks Canada, would be to recognize the overall existence of Pic River’s culture and its continued existence today. To date the park has been trying to make improvements within this area as one park management participant said: “For Pukaskwa one of those 3 things we said we were going to focus on was building our relationship with First Nations” (Park Personnel # 3). This second step could potentially create a dilemma for park management as the acknowledgement of Pic River’s culture today could set a precedent that might undermine decision making authority. Additionally, the acknowledgement of Pic River’s culture could open the doors for further discussions around Pic River’s practice of traditional activities within the park.

6.4.2 Factor 2: Incorporate Aboriginal Interests

The second factor which was mentioned by community representatives in the interviews was marginalization of Aboriginal interests. One community participant when highlighting this point said: “They [the park] seem more concerned with the general public versus our own membership. And our concerns...they seem to be down at the bottom” (First Nation # 2).

One example mentioned during the interviews was the differing views between Pic River and park officials on how long community members can stay and camp within the park. When describing the situation it was noted that the “the park has policies to stay in the campground and stay a certain length of time” (First Nation # 2). However the community feels that their members should be allowed to stay for as long as they like. One First Nation participant said: “It is our homeland...you should be able to stay there as long as you can, as long as you don’t pollute anything” (First Nation # 2).

Another important point that was mentioned during the interview process was the need to put Aboriginal interests ahead of the interests of visitors. Many of the community members feel that the designated campground area at the park is simply not large enough to accommodate everyone. One community participant said: “The campground area is not big enough for both our membership and the visitors that go down there. They are going to have to expand somehow” (First Nation # 1). Further to this it was also noted that “not everyone camps in tents anymore you know and there are a lot of upgrades that need to be done” (First Nation # 1).

During the interview process many community members felt a contributing factor to the increase and marginalization of Aboriginal interests rested in not really having their voices heard by park personnel. When discussing the relationship between the community and the park one First Nation participant very bluntly said: “I think the relationship has been broken for awhile and I think everything is at a standstill” (First Nation # 5). When asked why they feel that the relationship is so broken the participant noted: “Because you know a lot of management comes and goes and transitions and there are people coming in and coming out” (First Nation # 5). Another First Nation participant

when asked whether or not they felt park staff would listen and implement their ideas said: “We have had troubles with that department before. I don’t know whether it is just a matter of mismanagement or miscommunication” (First Nation # 7). This participant also went on to say: “The park has its own way of doing stuff, managing” (First Nation # 7). The constant turnover of park personnel has undoubtedly contributed to this feeling of not having opinions heard.

6.4.3 Factor 3: Increase Role in Management Decisions

The third factor mentioned was the need to further increase Pic River’s role in management decisions. Several participants indicated that in order for Pic River to be provided a role in planning and management, effective communication must be ensured between the two groups. When describing such communication breakdown, one community participant said:

“It is their obligation to listen to us and our ideas. But implementing them sometimes to me feels questionable. I don’t know if they have to go through a process... or they can’t make a decision based on the recommendation we put forth. There seems like there is a lot of hesitation. And I know there are times we question things... but it just seems like we keep talking about the same things over and over again. And if we are talking about the same things over and over again than there is nothing really getting done” (First Nation # 1).

Another participant felt that a more formalized relationship, such as a co-management agreement, would help to ensure that Pic River’s views and opinions would be considered and respected in the decision-making process. Effective and open

communication has been a struggle between the two groups when trying to come to adequate arrangements surrounding the park. Currently the two groups “are in the middle of negotiations that will eventually lead to a cooperation agreement” (First Nation # 1). One First Nation participant said: “I think there has to be consultation between both parties and that has to be ongoing. Both park and First Nations, I guess mainly Pic River, they both have to be consulting with one another on a regular basis in order for these kinds of programs to continue” (First Nation # 7).

These negotiations have not been without difficulty as one community member noted: “In a recent meeting, it came to light that Parks Canada had a different definition of co-management and cooperation. I guess the language and the open communication was a point there” (First Nation # 1). The three factors discussed above seem to suggest that Parks Canada needs to recognize the long history of Pic River First Nation, the relative recent history of Aboriginal marginalization and work to overcome that recent history. However in order for effective shared decision- making to become a reality, both Pic River and Parks Canada will have to come to a shared view on what the objectives should be for Pukaskwa National Park.

By understanding *trends, conditions, and projected developments*, solutions can then be devised to see whether or not people’s preferred goals can be achieved (Clark 2002). The task then is to find common elements between the preferred goals and then turn those common elements into viable solutions. The next chapter recommends solutions to help the two groups negotiate an amicable compromise.

CHAPTER 7

NEGOTIATING SOLUTIONS

Solutions to park-related conflicts are often resolved through the creation of partnerships between park management and local communities. For the most part these partnerships attempt to involve local communities by providing local communities an opportunity to have their opinions expressed in decision making, by trying to improve cultural awareness between park management and local communities, and lastly by trying to jointly agree on the needs and wants of the parties involved. Partnerships such as these do have the capabilities of helping to reconcile the interests of park management with Aboriginal communities. However, in order for this type of partnership to succeed both park managers and Aboriginal communities need to reevaluate their perceptions of national parks. The section below provides recommendations on viable solutions to help the parties succeed in building a stronger partnership.

7.1.1 Goal 1: Solutions for Increasing the Aboriginal Perspective

Several possible solutions to increase the Aboriginal perspective within the park were discussed and highlighted during the interview process. One solution focused on how to better incorporate the Aboriginal perspective into park programming. One First Nation participant suggested that: “ They could put a prospector tent in there and utilizing that cultural interpreter to the fullest extent, bringing the language in there, having more cultural programs in there to have a better understanding of us” (First Nation # 5). This participant also suggested that the park could benefit by: “Just bringing Elders in to share stories and having that cup of tea with them and learning about medicine and learning

about the history of Pic River” (First Nation # 5). Community members felt that having more cultural awareness displayed within park programming and development would go a long way in helping the park gain a better understanding and appreciation for the community of Pic River.

Open communication was another solution that was recommended during the interview process. One community participant suggested this type of communication could come in the form of having: “More consultation meetings that could take place and also more face to face meetings to try and raise Aboriginal issues” (First Nation # 7). Another First Nation participant said: “I just think that maybe communication is really key, so open communication. I think it needs to be actually heard, you can sit there and no pun intended take notes and stuff like that, but are you really going to hear what I’m saying?” (First Nation # 5). The key to having such open communication would rest in making sure that both parties fully understand the concerns, needs and wants of the other party. One First Nation participant said:

“You really need to focus on this is what were feeling, and this is our issues and concerns, and working together from that, and how do we get from here with these concerns to solutions and how we are going to implement them and work together as a team. And no I in team, just team, together and done respectfully” (First Nation # 5).

Another means to increase the Aboriginal perspective within the park was fuller incorporation of the Aboriginal language into programming. Some participants felt that this would help to improve mutual respect between the community and park management. As one community participant said:

“Incorporation of language. I know some of the other parks that we visited, all of their signage throughout the entire park is first they had the Aboriginal language and then second they had the English and the French. And it’s not just that it’s based on priority, it’s that they were respecting the fact that they were in traditional territory” (First Nation # 1).

This could be a starting point for both parties as this was also highlighted during discussions with park management. One park management participant said:

“One of our main signs, one coming in and one leaving that says thank you, merci and meegwech, so we have certainly tried to incorporate the Aboriginal language. We are using the Ojibway place names, so we are using that as the main name and then the common name. We are just starting to reintroduce the Ojibway names again. That’s one of our biggest priorities to try and get the language back into our products” (Park Personnel # 3).

Lastly one community member felt that the park should make sure that they continue to work closely with individuals from the community to help ensure that each parties issues and concerns continue to get addressed. During discussions surrounding this point one community participant said:

“Some detailed explanation in terms of what specifics would they like to have incorporated and basically they ought to ensure that they will have an individual from the community who could then transfer, translate that to the Elders of the community and from that process than the Elders could then relate clearly what they feel is important for the interpretive process in the park” (First Nation # 6).

7.1.2 Solutions for Cultural Sensitivity

Recommended solutions for improving overall cultural sensitivity within the park included providing park staff with appropriate training about First Nations culture, and continuing to have more face to face meetings between park staff and community members. One First Nation participant said: “I think they need to come here and they need to learn and they need to ask questions respectfully” (First Nation # 5). Further to this the idea of having staff workshops to help improve cultural sensitivity was also suggested during discussions. This participant went on to say: “Workshops. They do training every year, so even part of training or even during their staff meetings you can put in or block in, even if its like what’s a ½ hour right? Like once a month block these in. Like I know it’s a little bit harder in their peak season rather than their off season, but why not? And it should be mandatory training” (First Nation # 5).

Increasing the number of meetings between both parties was also recommended as a way to help improve cross cultural awareness. One community participant said: “Having more face to face meetings there with both parks and First Nations to try and promote these ideas” (First Nation # 7). When discussing this point this participant also noted: “I guess the best way of doing it is to keep those kinds of things open, so that you know both parties are at least sitting down and listening to one another” (First Nation # 7).

7.1.3 Goal 2: Solutions for Increasing Economic Development

Economic development has and continues to be a top priority for community members, and many offered suggestions on how to incorporate this priority into the park.

One cost-effective suggestion was a meeting to review past discussions about improving economic development within the park boundaries. One First Nation participant suggested: “I think there ought to be a cordially session between management and the council to look at really what has been talked about, what has been attempted and what achievements have been made” (First Nation # 6).

One of the first ideas mentioned by participants was the building of a park play structure within the main campground. As one community participant said: “You go there and there is nothing for your kids to do. And at least if there was a playground you would know where your kids would be at...if you want people to come and spend their money there then you need a little bit more, you need to start looking at families instead” (First Nation # 5).

Another suggestion was the development of cabins within park boundaries that could be rented out to park visitors over the course of the operating season. This suggestion was linked to strategies for generating more revenue for both the park and the community. One First Nation participant said:

“Cabins, like you know develop that. Pukaskwa is so huge and you see a thumbprint of what Haitie Cove is. If you could develop a little bit more down the coastline and put your cabins in there, that would totally, those things would be gone. They would be rented all summer and have like all the amenities. You could do the reservations for that or even have that First Nations owned” (First Nation # 5).

Including tourist’s points of interests within the park was also another suggestion that was offered during the discussions. One community member said: “Tourists just go to

one spot. Why can't you open tourist's spots throughout the park? Why not open station campgrounds along the coastline. Even little kids think Pukaskwa is just the campground" (First Nation # 1).

Although many of these suggestions would go a long way in improving overall visitation and visitor experience and help to improve the cultural ties to the local community, realistically they may not be feasible at this time. Interestingly one community member said: "I really don't see any way that we can benefit economically from the park you know for both the park and the First Nations" (First Nation # 7). Arguably the biggest factors that affect the likelihood of these suggestions being implemented are money and the preservation of the ecological integrity of the park.

One low-cost suggestion would be the rejuvenation of the coastal hiking trail and the designated canoe routes within the park. One First Nation participant said:" The biggest asset it would have there without spending a whole lot of money would be to try and rejuvenate that so... business can start picking up again" (First Nation # 7). During discussions surrounding improving the economic development opportunities within the park, this participant also said:

"What sort of factors affect that I don't know. I don't know if it's the price of gas, or if people are scared to travel anymore, or you know my observation was that when 9/11 happened... business started and tourism started to drop off. And I don't know if that had a big snowball effect and whether it caused what it is today. Maybe its how people are traveling. So yes you could start building cabins and stuff like that and that all costs money and stuff like that, but I just don't see that happening. To try and promote what they already have and do it in more of a

pristine manner, and you know promote the trail as a world class trail again and also you know like try and rejuvenate, try and rejuvenate the coastal canoe route again” (First Nation # 7).

7.1.4 Solutions for Meaningful Employment

The issue of adequate and meaningful employment was and continues to be a top priority for community members. A few solutions which were discussed include making sure that Aboriginal employment is maintained at 50% and also making sure more opportunities are available for Aboriginal people to move up into managerial roles within the park. When discussing the park’s commitment to maintain Aboriginal employment at 50% one community participant noted: “I think if they are going to do 50 percent than you have to make sure that it is the real 50 percent, not Parks Canada Agency 50 percent, but the real 50 percent that you are taught in grade school” (First Nation # 5). Some community members felt that there has been a discrepancy in the past between the way Parks Canada counts ‘bodies’ and the way in which the community views those bodies. Currently First Nation employees occupy many seasonal jobs within the park, however the permanent managerial jobs are usually held by non-Aboriginal people.

Making sure that more opportunities in managerial roles are given to Aboriginal people has been another priority for the community. Several participants highlighted this desire throughout discussions. One First Nation participant said: “We would like to see more Aboriginal people in management positions. That would be a great way to kind of promote Aboriginal knowledge into park management issues” (First Nation # 7). Another community participant stated: “You want to see some First Nation’s management down there more than anything” (First Nation # 5). However that being said another First

Nation participant was quick to say: “Some may not want that opportunity to move up you know and that’s okay, but then at least an opportunity should be given to those that have the skills and the capacity to be managers that ought to be attempted” (First Nation # 6). Currently there is strong desire from the community to see Aboriginal people move up into managerial roles within the park, however it is also an area that still requires further work between both parties. Issues such as English-French literacy and the absence of professional managerial training have prevented the promotion of local Aboriginal workers into managerial roles.

7.1.5 Solutions for Shared Revenue

Recommendations on how to improve or increase shared revenue between the two groups continues to be a challenge. The idea of shared revenue between both parties and the advancement of economic development often went hand in hand during discussions. One of the challenges associated with shared revenue is directly tied to the resource capacity of the park at this time. When discussing this point, one community participant said: “Well actually that is a hard one because first of all you know it’s only a small park with very limited facilities” (First Nation # 7). Another community participant was quick to say: “They don’t even make coin down there, like seriously they don’t, but if I think of how they can increase revenue down there it could be a big thing” (First Nation # 5). When asked to elaborate on how to go about increasing revenue this participant suggested: “A First Nations crafts or you know like that kind of stuff down there and you know where they would be able to have ice and all that other stuff” (First Nation # 5). Although a good suggestion, the resource capability of the park at this time may not provide for such a store in the near future.

7.1.6 Solutions for Developing a National Forum in Park Management

A few community members thought that the development of a national forum across Parks Canada would not only help to improve the working relationship between First Nations communities and Parks Canada, but it would also offer First Nations communities an idea of what types of things have worked best in different situations across the country. One community member thought this type of idea would be great as people would be able to see: “what worked, what didn’t work and then you could bring that back here” (First Nation # 5). However the development of a national forum would be tricky as each situation between Parks Canada and First Nations is entirely separate from one another and may not be applicable across all park-First Nation conflicts.

The solutions discussed above could go a long way with helping to improve and restore the relationship that currently exists between the community of Pic River First Nation and park management at Pukaskwa National Park. The benefits to the community are two fold. First off many of these solutions would enable the community to reaffirm their role in the management of the land and resources within their traditional territory. Secondly many of these solutions would also help to ensure that the communities views and opinions are heard and expressed in the decision making process.

These solutions also offer benefits to the park; however they appear to be much more subtle in nature. Further inclusion of First Nation cultural ties to the area in park programming would enhance and improve overall visitor experience and satisfaction. By utilizing the skills and the knowledge of the local Aboriginal people the park can make more informed management decisions. Furthermore by involving the local Aboriginal

people in the decision making process, less conflict would arise as both parties would be taking a shared responsibility in decisions that affect the park.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The primary objective of this research is to examine and understand how Aboriginal cultures can be better incorporated into park management at Pukaskwa, and how Aboriginal employment opportunities can be increased. Using Clark's (2002) policy sciences framework on problem orientation I have been able to explore some of the ways in which policy problems can be identified and resolved through creative solutions that take into account people's expectations, their preferred goals and common interests based on a case study with the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation and Pukaskwa National Park.

This section re-visits the five research questions in order to answer them specifically and direct the reader to the areas in the paper where they have previously been discussed.

What current policy and planning opportunities do First Nations people have with Pukaskwa, and how effective are they?

The current policy and planning opportunities that First Nation people have in Pukaskwa are not as effective as First Nations people would like them to be. Chapter 6 discusses the current opportunities that First Nation people have in relation to the case study and also addresses factors that would help to improve relationships between First Nations and park personnel. Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature on policy and Parks Canada, by familiarizing the reader with the broad definitions surrounding Aboriginal knowledge, discussing the current divide which exists between indigenous and scientific knowledge and highlighting the present opportunities for the inclusion of

Aboriginal interests in parks and protected areas. In this case study the main opportunities for collaboration that First Nations people had were in relation to preserving the ecological integrity within the park. These opportunities included collaboration on natural resource management such as prescribed burns and knowledge on species at risk.

What mechanisms are in place to facilitate communication between park planners and First Nations at the park and how effective are they?

Currently park planners and members from the First Nation community facilitate communication through a parks working group. Obstacles that have affected communication between the groups have been competing interests, mandates and timelines. Chapter 6 examines these obstacles by using Clark's (2002) problem orientation framework.

Would it be beneficial to the park, the First Nation, and the local economy to involve First Nations further?

As presented in Chapter 7 the First Nation community would benefit from being more actively involved with the park as 1) they would be able to reaffirm their role in the management of the land and resources within their traditional territory and 2) community views and opinions would have a greater chance of being heard through the decision making process. The park would benefit from involving First Nations as the inclusion of First Nation cultural ties to the area would not only enhance and improve park programming but also overall visitor experience and satisfaction.

How does the Pukaskwa case study compare to the Policy Sciences framework on problem orientation?

By utilizing Clark's (2002) policy sciences framework on problem orientation the Pukaskwa case study explores some of the ways in which policy problems can be identified and resolved through solutions that take into consideration, people's expectations, their preferred goals and common interests. Chapter 3 provides information on Clark's (2002) problem orientation framework and Chapter 5 provides information on Pukaskwa National Park.

How can Aboriginal involvement be better incorporated into park planning and legislative policy in the park?

Aboriginal involvement can be better incorporated into park planning and legislative policy in the park by improving overall cultural awareness, creating partnerships that give local communities opportunities to have their opinions expressed in decision making, and by jointly agreeing on the needs and wants of all parties involved. Chapter 7 provides recommendations on viable solutions and lists ways in which Aboriginal involvement can be better incorporated into park planning and legislative policy in Pukaskwa.

My research with both members from the community of Pic River First Nation and park personnel from Pukaskwa National Park underline some of the current obstacles that undermine mutual understanding between First Nations and Parks Canada. A significant challenge is striking an appropriate balance between increasing the amount of Aboriginal culture represented within the park, while at the same time recognizing that at this time Parks Canada and the First Nation community have different priorities. I

conclude that at this time Aboriginal culture is not being well integrated in the park, especially in relation to park programming. I also conclude that Aboriginal employment is at a standstill and there is a desire to see more Aboriginal people in managerial roles within the park. I further argued that competing interests, mandates and timelines between the two groups have affected mutual understanding and the overall relationship that exists currently between Parks Canada and the First Nation community.

Three factors have affected the current relationship between park personnel and the Ojibways of Pic River. They are recognition of history and cultural understanding, incorporation of Aboriginal interests and an increased role in management decisions. The Ojibways of the Pic River would like to see the park enhance its understanding of the history of the Ojibway people before the establishment of the park, and the history and role that the Ojibway people have had in shaping the ecosystem. Further to this, community members felt that a contributing factor to the marginalization of Aboriginal interests rested in not really having their voices heard by park personnel. Effective and open communication between the two groups will be a contributing factor to seeing members of the Pic River community being provided a role in planning and management.

At this time solutions that can easily be addressed by both parties include; continuing to work closely with one another to ensure that each parties interests, issues and concerns are identified; ensuring open communication which would help to improve cross cultural awareness and providing appropriate training for park staff about First Nations culture. Other solutions which were identified by Pic River included making sure the park maintains Aboriginal employment at 50 percent; allowing First Nations the opportunity to move into managerial roles; and the rejuvenation of the coastal hiking trail

and the designated canoe routes within the park. However, these solutions are all aimed at increasing the economic development opportunities for Pic River and may take more time to address due to the resource capacity of Pukaskwa at this time.

The intent of this paper was not to determine the future outcome of the relationship between Pic River First Nation and Pukaskwa National Park. This paper documents the relationship between Parks Canada and Pic River First Nation in respect to Pukaskwa National Park. To do so it reviews the competing and underlying interests of Parks Canada, the current relationship that exists between Pukaskwa National Park and Pic River First Nation, the historical context surrounding the conflict between the two parties, current obstacles affecting the incorporation of Aboriginal culture within the park and potential solutions to reconcile the competing viewpoints of Pic River First Nation with Pukaskwa National Park. I do acknowledge however that only a partial understanding of the existing relationship between Pic River First Nation and Pukaskwa National Park was obtained from this research.

Further research into the obstacles that affect the incorporation and use of Aboriginal knowledge within park management could provide insight into understanding how realistic expectations can be met between Parks Canada and First Nation communities. This could ultimately allow for an increase in the development of creative strategies to overcome these problems. Also, further research which looks at the efforts to reconcile the interests of Pic River First Nation with Pukaskwa National Park could be done which could include looking at the historical significance of the area to the Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation and the perception and attitudes of Canadians towards the incorporation of Aboriginal knowledge within Parks Canada. Lastly more

research in detailing the different social and decision making processes that occur between Parks Canada and First Nations communities could help in improving our understanding of the ongoing conflict between these groups.

Clark's framework on problem orientation proved to be particularly useful for understanding how to negotiate realistic options and solutions for Pic River First Nation and Pukaskwa National Park. All too often the past is ignored and one of the benefits to this framework was the step by step guide it provided that focused on trying to understand the problem fully before trying to determine solutions. This framework was also useful at helping to provide realistic outcomes for the two groups, as it offers reasonable and practical ways to clarify common interests. However, in practice this type of approach may not reach its full potential as there could be a difficulty in trying to turn the suggested solutions into concrete actions.

It is hoped that this paper will contribute to providing Pic River First Nation and Pukaskwa National Park with a better understanding of one another while at the same time detailing the goals and interests of the two groups.

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APPENDIX 1: Research Ethics Approval

Lakehead

UNIVERSITY

Office of Research Services

August 16, 2012

Tel 807-343-8934
Fax 807-346-7749

Principal Investigator: Dr. Martha Dowsley
Student Investigator: Shannon Farr
Geography
Lakehead University
955 Oliver Road
Thunder Bay, ON P7B 5E1

Dear Dr. Dowsley:

Re: REB Project #: 20 12-13 / Romeo File No: 1462705
Granting Agency: N/A
Granting Agency Project #: N/A

On behalf of the Research Ethics Board, I am pleased to grant ethical approval to your research project titled, "Managing Canada's Park Systems: Exploring Aboriginal Involvement in Ontario Provincial and National Parks".

Ethics approval is valid until August 16, 2013. Please submit a Request for Renewal form to the Office of Research Services by July 16, 2013 if your research involving human subjects will continue for longer than one year. A Final Report must be submitted promptly upon completion of the project. Research Ethics Board forms are available at:

http://research.lakeheadu.ca/ethics_resources.html

During the course of the study, any modifications to the protocol or forms must not be initiated without prior written approval from the REB. You must promptly notify the REB of any adverse events that may occur.

Completed reports and correspondence may be directed to:

Research Ethics Board
c/o Office of Research Services
Lakehead University
955 Oliver Road
Thunder Bay, ON P7B 5E1
Fax: (807) 346-7749

Best wishes for a successful research project.

Sincerely,



Dr. Richard Maundrell
Chair, Research Ethics Board

/scw

Lakehead Research...CREATING THE FUTURE NOW

955 Oliver Road Thunder Bay Ontario Canada P7B 5E1 www.lakeheadu.ca

APPENDIX 2: Research Agreement

Managing Canada's Park Systems: Exploring Aboriginal Involvement in Ontario Provincial and National Parks

Research Agreement

Date: July 12th 2012

The Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation agree to participate in the named research project with the following understandings:

1. The purpose of this research project, as discussed with and understood by the community of Pic River First Nation is:

The purpose of this research is to understand how Aboriginal culture can be better incorporated into park management and how Aboriginal employment in parks can be increased. I believe that the information gathered through this research will contribute knowledge about the role that Aboriginal involvement can play in park management and policy planning by describing the conditions that are necessary to implement these kinds of mechanisms into the daily operations of Canada's parks. My research will examine the current state of Aboriginal involvement in Canada's parks as well as evaluate and make recommendations for future improvement in this area.

2. The scope of this research project (that is, what issue, events or activities are to be involved, the methods to be used and the degree of participation by community residents), as agreed by the researchers and the community are:

This study will involve two sets of interviews, first with aboriginal community members and a second with park superintendants or assistant superintendants. A meeting will take place with Juanita Starr (Government Relations Officer) and the parks committee to decide with them the topics of the interviews and the style of interview they prefer (ie. group, individual, formal, semi-formal) as well as deciding if they want interviews recorded and made available to the community or to participants. The committee will also decide the appropriate course of action for recruiting research participants. As a member of the interview group participants will be asked a series of questions that should take no more than 1-1.5 hours. Interviews will be conducted wherever participants feel most comfortable. There are no right or wrong answers.

3. Community training and participation and sharing of information, as agreed, are to include:

The development of this project is based on sincere communication between community members and the researcher. All efforts will be made to incorporate and address local concerns and recommendations at each step of the project. A mid-way meeting will be set

up to check on progress and discuss any issues arising as well as a final meeting will be set up where results will be presented to whomever the community decides they want the information presented to (ie. to parks committee, community at large, local school). The committee will also decide what other deliverables are desired such as a written report/summary or whole thesis.

4. Information collected is to be stored in these agreed ways:

The data from this project will be securely stored at Lakehead University under the supervision of Dr. Martha Dowsley.

5. Informed consent of individual participants is to be obtained in these agreed ways:

For this proposed study potential participants will be informed of the study via an information letter which clearly describes the purpose of the study. The information letter will be sent to research participants via email at which time they will sign and return it to provide a digital signature as confirmation. On top of this all research participants will be asked to sign a participant consent form indicating that they have read and understood the explanations about the study, its purpose and its procedures. At the beginning of the interview the researcher will read the information letter and permission consent form to the research participants.

6. The names of participants and of the community are to be protected in these agreed ways:

At the initial meeting the parks committee will also be asked to decide whether they want participants to remain anonymous (name would not be revealed to anyone else in the project or the public) or if they wish that their name be given if any direct quotes are used from the interview. If a participant wants to make some comments off the record, this will be noted. The participants will be given the opportunity to review their interview and may indicate if they wish to change their anonymity at that time. Prior to the participant interviews, candidates will be asked to sign a consent form indicating that they have read and understood the explanations about the nature of the study, its purpose, and procedures.

7. Project progress will be communicated to the community in these agreed ways:

Project progress will be communicated via email, at the project's halfway meeting or through telephone correspondence.

Funding, benefits and commitments

Funding

The project is not funded by a granting agency. The main researcher has received only funding in the form of a graduate assistantship for this research project.

Benefits

The main researchers wish to use this research project for their benefit in the following ways:

Research from this study will be presented in an academic thesis, and may be communicated in academic articles. A short summary of study results or the complete thesis will be sent to research participants upon request.

The benefits likely to be gained by the community through this research project are:

The benefit of the research is 1) Pic River can have a copy of the document, 2) better working relationships may come around as a result of discussions, 3) Pic River will have a voice in critiquing both park management structures. Also participants may learn about Aboriginal involvement in park management and how to get involved in incorporating it within a park. It is hoped the thesis will influence park management to better incorporate Aboriginal perspectives.

Commitments

The community's commitments to the researchers are to:

- Recommend capable and reliable community members to collaborate in this project.
- Keep informed about the progress of the project, and help in leading the project toward meaningful results.

The researchers' commitments to the community are to:

- Inform the community about the progress of the project in a clear, specific, and timely manner.
- Act as a resource to the community on any project-related questions.

The researchers agree to interrupt the research project in the following circumstances:

- If community leaders decide to withdraw their participation.
- If the community leaders believe that the project will no-longer benefit the community

Signed by:

Date: July 12th 2012

Date:

Community:



(Signature of Main Researcher)

Name: Martha Dowdley
Position: Associate Professor,
Geography & Anthropology



(Signature of Community Contact Person)

Name: Juanita Starr
Position: Government Relations Officer



(Signature of Student Researcher)

Name: Shannon Farr
Position: Master's Student

APPENDIX 3: Letter of Information



Department of Geography

Tel (807) 343-8357

Fax (807) 343-8380

geography.lakeheadu.ca

Letter of Information

Title of Research: *Managing Canada's Park Systems: Exploring Aboriginal Involvement in Ontario Provincial and National Parks*

Student Investigator: Shannon Farr
Master of Environmental Studies (Northern Environments and Cultures) Candidate
Geography Department
Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Ontario
Email: sfarr1@lakeheadu.ca
Phone: 807-285-0799

Academic Supervisor: Dr. Martha Dowsley
Geography Department
Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Ontario
Email: mdowsley@lakeheadu.ca
Phone: 807-343-8430

Dear Potential Interview Participant:

Introduction:

We invite you to take part in research being conducted by Shannon Farr, a graduate student at Lakehead University, as part of her Master's of Environmental Studies degree. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw from this study at any time. The study is described below. This description tells you about the risks, inconvenience, or discomfort which you might experience. Participating in this study might not benefit you directly, but we might learn things that improve relationships between aboriginal groups and parks. You may discuss any questions you have about this study with Shannon Farr, or her supervisor, Dr. Martha Dowsley (see contact information below).

Purpose of Study:

The purpose of this research is to understand how Aboriginal culture can be better incorporated into park management and how Aboriginal employment in parks can be increased. The study is called *Managing Canada's Park Systems: Exploring Aboriginal Involvement in Ontario Provincial and National Parks*. I believe that the information gathered through this research will contribute knowledge about the role that Aboriginal involvement can play in park management and policy planning by describing the conditions that are necessary to implement these kinds of mechanisms into the daily operations of Canada's parks. My research will examine the current state of Aboriginal

involvement in Canada's parks as well as evaluate and make recommendations for future improvement in this area

Study Design:

This study will involve two sets of interviews, first with aboriginal community members and a second with park superintendants or assistant superintendants. Interviews will be digitally recorded and transcribed. Prior to beginning the interview each participant will be asked to consent to having their interview recorded. The transcripts of these interviews will be analyzed by Shannon Farr using computer software to find common themes among the responses. Results will be presented in an academic thesis, and may be communicated in academic articles. A short summary of study results may also be sent by email to you and other study participants upon request.

Who can participate in the study:

You may participate in this study if you are a representative of a First Nation community or an employee of a park. Only people over the ages of 18 are asked to participate at this time.

Who will be conducting the research:

Shannon Farr is the student investigator for this project. She will conduct the interviews, and analyze the results. The Academic Supervisor (Dr. Martha Dowsley) may be called upon to assist with the analysis portion. In all cases, confidentiality will be preserved.

What will you be asked to do:

As a member of the interview group you will be asked a series of questions that should take no more than 1-1.5 hours. The interview can be conducted wherever you feel most comfortable. There are no right or wrong answers.

Possible Risks and Discomforts:

This study is expected to involve minimal risk. There is a potential risk of negative employment consequences as the study invites employers to be critical of their employees. Participants are asked to keep this in mind when deciding whether to participate and whether they want their comments to remain confidential. You may also experience some distress while talking about frustrating experiences. If you feel discomfort at any time, you may decline to answer any questions and you may withdraw

from the study at any time.

Possible Benefits:

The benefit of the research is 1) the community can have a copy of the document, 2) better working relationships may come around as a result of discussions, 3) the community will have a voice in critiquing both park management structures. Also participants may learn about Aboriginal involvement in park management and how to get involved in incorporating it within a park. It is hoped the thesis will influence park management to better incorporate Aboriginal perspectives.

Compensation:

There will be no monetary compensation for participating in this study.

Confidentiality:

Prior to the interview you will be asked to sign a form indicating you understand the project. You will be asked to decide whether you want to remain anonymous (your name would not be revealed to anyone else in the project or the public) or if you wish your name to be given if any direct quotes are used from your interview. The data from the project will be securely stored at Lakehead University under the supervision of Dr. Martha Dowsley.

Questions:

If you have any questions about this study, please do not hesitate to contact Martha at (807)-343-8430, or mdowsley@lakeheadu.ca. Her address is Department of Geography, Lakehead University, 955 Oliver Road, Thunder Bay ON, P7B 5E1. You may also contact the Lakehead University's Research Ethics Board at (807) 343-8283. Or write to them at Office of Research at Lakehead University, 1294 Balmoral Street Lower Level 0001, Thunder Bay ON, P7B 5E1
Phone: 807-766-7289 Fax: 807-346-7749.

Thank you for discussing this project with us and considering participating in it.

APPENDIX 4: Consent Form



Department of Geography

Participant Consent Form

Tel (807) 343-8357
Fax (807) 343-8380
geography.lakeheadu.ca

Title of Research: *Managing Canada's Park Systems: Exploring Aboriginal Involvement in Ontario Provincial and National Parks*

Student Investigator: Shannon Farr
Master of Environmental Studies (Northern Environments and Cultures) Candidate
Geography Department
Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Ontario
Email: sfarr1@lakeheadu.ca
Phone: 807-285-0799

Academic Supervisor: Dr. Martha Dowsley
Geography Department
Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Ontario
Email: mdowsley@lakeheadu.ca
Phone: 807-343-8430

My signature on this sheet indicates that I agree to participate in the study called "Managing Canada's Park Systems: Exploring Aboriginal Involvement in Ontario Provincial and National Parks" supervised by Martha Dowsley of Lakehead University and it also indicates that I understand the following:

1. I have received explanations about the nature of the study, its purpose, and procedures.
2. I am a volunteer and can withdraw at any time from the study.
3. There is no apparent risk of physical or psychological harm. There is the unlikely possibility that a question asked may make me feel uncomfortable, but I may choose not to answer any of the questions at any time. Also there is a potential risk of negative employment consequences as the study invites employers to be critical of their employees. You are asked to keep this in mind when deciding whether to participate and whether you want your comments to remain confidential.
4. The data I provide will be securely stored.
5. I have the right to anonymity or to have my name associated with quotes. (select one below).

I wish to remain anonymous (my name will not be publically associated with any information I provide).

I wish to have my name attached to direct quotes from my interview.

Signature of Research Participant

Date

Signature of Researcher Obtaining Consent

Date

955 Oliver Road Thunder Bay Ontario Canada P7B 5E1 www.lakeheadu.ca

APPENDIX 5: Interview Guide for Aboriginal Representatives

1. Can you tell me a bit about your community? (How large is it, what languages are spoken, its history, what treaty category Pic River falls under?)
2. Can you tell me about the history of the park?
3. (Defining Aboriginal knowledge: For starters there are many different ways to define Aboriginal knowledge and a lot of the reason for this is because the literature on the topic predominantly deals with the similarities and differences between western scientific knowledge and Aboriginal knowledge (Johannes 1989; Williams and Baines 1993; Berkes 1999). For the purpose of my research Aboriginal knowledge includes “all types of knowledge about the environment derived from the experience and traditions of a particular group of people” (Usher 2000, 185). This can also include spiritual or ideological understandings about the environment as well (Berkes 1999) Further more it also includes “factual knowledge about the past and current use of the environment and any other statements about social or historical matters that bear on the traditional use of the environment and hence the rights and interests of the local Aboriginal population” (Usher 2000, 186).
4. Have you, or anyone you know been approached by the park asking you to help integrate Aboriginal knowledge into the park’s management practices?
5. Can you tell me a little about that experience? How were you approached? What interactions did you have with the park? How did you feel about it?
6. Does the park use Aboriginal knowledge at all? In what ways?
7. What factors do you feel are the most important for successful incorporation of Aboriginal knowledge and successful collaboration?
8. How does the community interact with the park now? What forum do you have to tell them things? Do you feel the park staff would listen to your ideas and try to implement them?
9. Do you see yourself ever collaborating with park staff on incorporating your Aboriginal traditional knowledge into the park? Why or why not? (Do people’s attitudes play a role?)
10. Based on your experience and understanding, what areas do you feel that incorporating Aboriginal knowledge can be most useful? (park policy, resource interpretation, restoration, cultural programs)

11. How is the park doing on a scale of 1-10 in incorporating Aboriginal knowledge into policy and management practices? Why?

12. How do you think your traditional knowledge can be represented in the park?

APPENDIX 6: Interview Guide for Park Employees

1. Can you explain to me a little about your position? (probe question: is it a supervisory role, a policy setting or enacting position)
2. How long have you worked for the park service? What has your career path in the parks been? (to understand background)
3. Can you tell me a bit about your park? (How big, number and type of staff, classification ie: wilderness, waterway ect.)
4. Does the park you are involved with have any special significance to any First Nation group in the area or do you think lands you manage have been previously occupied by an Aboriginal group? I'm asking because I understand that the national parks system has been increasing their links to Aboriginal groups in recent years (Parks Canada, 2011) and I am interested in understanding your parks' experience in this area.
5. Do you collaborate with any of the local Aboriginal groups on managing natural resources within the park?
6. What has been your experience working with the local Aboriginal population?
7. (Defining Aboriginal knowledge: For starters there are many different ways to define Aboriginal knowledge and a lot of the reason for this is because the literature on the topic predominantly deals with the similarities and differences between western scientific knowledge and Aboriginal knowledge (Johannes 1989; Williams and Baines 1993; Berkes 1999). For the purpose of my research Aboriginal knowledge includes "all types of knowledge about the environment derived from the experience and traditions of a particular group of people" (Usher 2000, 185). This can also include spiritual or ideological understandings about the environment as well (Berkes 1999) Further more it also includes "factual knowledge about the past and current use of the environment and any other statements about social or historical matters that bear on the traditional use of the environment and hence the rights and interests of the local Aboriginal population" (Usher 2000, 186).
8. Have you ever incorporated Aboriginal knowledge about the use of the environment into any management projects?
9. If Yes, can you briefly describe the project/s?
10. Who initiated each project?
11. What was the motivation to incorporate this form of knowledge?

12. What was the role of Aboriginal knowledge in this project?
13. Can you describe the process of acquiring this form of knowledge? Who did you have contact with within the Aboriginal group? Was it a difficult process?
14. Does your department have any official policies regarding the park's interaction with Aboriginal groups or the use of Aboriginal knowledge?
15. Did you encounter any obstacles or problems from your department in incorporating this form of knowledge into management practices? What were the obstacles?

Do you think the park would benefit from further incorporation of Aboriginal knowledge? If yes, what do you think needs to happen to make the incorporation of Aboriginal knowledge probable?

16. Would you make a management decision based on Aboriginal knowledge?
17. How is your park doing on a scale of 1-10 in incorporating Aboriginal knowledge into policy and management practices? Compared to other parks you are familiar with. Can you tell me about parks that you consider are doing it better than your park? What do they do differently/how is their situation different?
18. Are there any policies and planning opportunities that First Nations peoples could participate in?
19. What mechanisms are in place to facilitate communication between the park and First Nations peoples?
20. Are these mechanisms effective? Why or why not?