ENABLING COMMUNITY FORESTRY IN NORTHERN ONTARIO

by

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A graduate dissertation submitted in

partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Forest Sciences

Faculty of Natural Resources Management

Lakehead University

November 2017

ABSTRACT

Palmer, L. 2017. Enabling community forestry in northern Ontario.

The forestry crisis that crippled the forest industry in northern Ontario in the new millennium led to a province wide forest tenure reform that created new forest governance institutions and a resurgence of a long-standing interest by communities in community forestry. Although research on this alternative approach to forest management from the conventional command-and-control paradigm has accompanied the global policy trend, this research has been minimal in northern Ontario. The tenure reform process driven strongly by renewed community advocacy for community forests presented an opportunity for this research. This dissertation has four distinct but interrelated components that explore the evolution of community forestry practice and advocacy in northern Ontario using critical qualitative inquiry: 1) Community forestry theory is used to assess the perspectives of northern Ontario communities regarding their visions for the management of their local forests in response to the forestry crisis and forest tenure reform; 2) A complexity lens and theories of community forestry and democratic decentralization are used to evaluate Ontario's forest system from its inception to the present in terms of how, as a social-ecological system that moves through an adaptive cycle, it has embraced community forestry; 3) transformative community organizing theory is used to evaluate the emergence of a community organization that advocates for community forestry in northern Ontario; and 4) an access approach and complexity theory are used in an in-depth exploration of a developing forest governance model proposed as a community forest for implementation under Ontario's new forest tenure policy framework. The research has determined that the new forest tenure system remains deficient in both enabling democratic local forest authorities and in supporting a broader range of forest values than timber alone. Despite the persistent limitations of the forest tenure system, community forestry in the area of forest development in northern Ontario has progressed from a single case in the early phase of the forest system's adaptive cycle to the emergence of multiple regional initiatives in the current reorganization phase that has followed the system's collapse and subsequent reform. A number of community forestry initiatives have been proposed as collaborative models between municipalities and First Nations to foster regional diversification in the forest-based political economy. Community advocacy for community forestry has similarly increased from an early idea to an active movement that includes the emergence of a community organization and social change movement that challenges the assumptions of the dominant forestry system and advocates for community forestry. Access theory has identified tangible economic, social, environmental and cultural benefits that are being obtained by a group of First Nations in the Northeast Superior region of Ontario through the development of a new forest governance model. The main mechanism they have used to achieve these benefits is investment in social relations. Additional mechanisms used are access to capital, labour and knowledge to build capacity and resources to help position the First Nations to assume full responsibility for forest management in the region. A power shift is evident in the region's forest-based political economy that has recognized the First Nations as equals in forest management decision-making. The development of the forest tenure initiative has also resulted in the building of adaptive capacity that has seen transformative and social learning by the other actors.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the many people in northern Ontario from municipalities, First Nations, the forest industry, the Province and more, who participated in my research who are too numerous to mention individually. All of your contributions made this research possible. Core financial support was provided by the Ontario Graduate Scholarship, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and the Faculty of Natural Resources Management, Lakehead University. Major funding for the Public Outreach Workshop and Conference was provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council with additional financial and in-kind support from a number of partners including the Northern Ontario Sustainable Communities Partnership (NOSCP), the province of Ontario government, and Algoma University's NORDIK institute. Travel funding to conduct many of the interviews and attend meetings at Chapleau Cree First Nation was provided by NOSCP with in-kind support from the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources for occasional camping at provincial parks. Thanks to Anna, Julie, Ryan and Nicole for assisting with transcriptions.

Thanks to my committee member Chris Southcott who offered perspectives from sociology. I am indebted to my co-supervisors Peggy Smith and Chander Shahi for your continued support and guidance throughout the years it has taken to complete this endeavour. I always appreciated your patience when I needed to put the research on hold to work. The inspiration for the Public Outreach Workshop and financial support provided by Chander for key aspects of the research and travel to training and conferences were invaluable. Your positive outlook, calm manner and ready smile were always heartwarming and reassuring. Peggy what a journey it has been together through these years: the brainstorming, fundraising and organizing for the workshop and conference, the travels to conferences throughout Canada and overseas and the countless hours working on the book and chapters. Your commitment to transforming the forestry paradigm inspired my work. I have fond memories of the peaceful atmosphere at your dining room table writing, editing and re-editing when you were always a gracious host.

It was most rewarding to work with outstanding colleagues whose innovation and creativity are helping to advance community forestry in Canada. Ryan Bullock, Colin Lachance, David Robinson, and Sara Teitelbaum made important contributions to the book chapters, the workshop and inaugural national conference, and the Northeast Superior ESFL case study. Special thanks go to Ryan for his unwavering leadership to produce our co-edited University of Manitoba Press book and to Colin for crucial contributions to the case study. Sincere thanks to Chief Keeter Corston of Chapleau Cree First Nation for welcoming me warmly to the community and for ongoing support of the research and to Lorraine Wilson of the NSRCF Elders Council for hosting me in her cabin and taking me out on the land.

Many thanks to the other graduate students in the Faculty of Natural Resources Management and the friends who provided encouragement along the way. Maureen Kershaw in particular was a helpful friend when reaching the end seemed daunting. Thanks also to Paul for supporting me by supporting our boys throughout these years.

Although my mother Norma and father Roy are no longer here to see this accomplishment, I am extremely grateful for the opportunities they provided for me to experience the natural world in my early years and the encouragement to pursue my passions. I am thankful for the extensive time and efforts that my sister Gail and brother Kevin contributed to the care of my mother when she became seriously ill in the first year of my PhD program when I had to be far away.

Lastly, but in no way least, my two sons Kyle and Evan deserve the greatest recognition. I began the PhD when you were young teenagers. Now at its completion you are fine young adults doing amazing things in the world. You endured all of the challenges faced through these years—lack of time, financial constraints, worries and travels during my mother's illness and her eventual passing, the move to BC for work before being done, and the many times I felt overwhelmed and unsure if I could ever finish under such circumstances. Thank you for the help you gave to get over these hurdles and your patience and understanding that were so important in seeing me through to success.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Forest management in Ontario, as throughout Canada, has historically focused on

centralized decision-making by provincial governments (the State) and forest tenure

systems that license timber to large forest industries, often foreign-owned, with a focus on

the export of large quantities of low value commodities (pulp, paper, dimensional lumber).

This system, that is a part of northern Ontario's resource-based political economy, has

subjected both the industry and the communities that depend on it to the boom-and-bust

cycles associated with commodity markets. In recent years, this system became

destabilized to the point that it reached a "forestry crisis" that resulted in socio-economic

instability that peaked between 2005 and 2006 in forest-dependent communities

throughout northern Ontario. The crisis, which was part of a national forest sector crash

that saw a loss of 130,000 Canadian forestry jobs (CCFM 2015), is consistent with a

"frontier" staples economy (Howlet and Brownsey 2008) that entrenches a system of

metropolitan-hinterland links in economy and culture (Watkins 1963, Freudenburg 1992)

and de-links local production from local benefits (Patriquin et al. 2009). This condition has

is a consequence of Ontario's long-standing forest tenure system that has excluded citizens

who live in and near the forests from decision-making power. Weller (1977) provides an

account of hinterland politics in Northwestern Ontario related to the extractive resource-

based political economy that prevented local people from controlling their destiny.

The problems associated with Ontario's forest tenure system highlight the need for

a new approach that fosters stability and resilience in communities and forest ecosystems

that make up the overall forest system. The province of Ontario recognized the need for

change in the system and in September of 2009 began an unprecedented process of tenure

reform with stakeholder, public and Aboriginal consultation. While the forest industry lobbied extensively throughout the process for maintenance of the status quo industrial forestry approach, a widespread call arose from communities throughout northern Ontario to accommodate community-based forest management (CBFM) (or community forestry) in a new forest tenure system as a means to foster sustainable, forest-dependent communities (Speers, 2010).

CBFM, a resource-specific approach that falls within the broader paradigm of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM), is a forest governance approach that promotes local control of forest management and conservation of forest ecosystems that local communities depend on to mitigate conflict over forest resources and enhance the well-being of and benefits to communities (Duinker et al. 1994, Nadeau et al. 1999, Baker & Kusel 2003, Teitelbaum et al. 2006). Hardin's (1968) theory of the tragedy of the commons that state or private ownership is necessary to achieve sustainable natural resource management strongly influenced forest management worldwide. However, more contemporary theories and empirical evidence about CBNRM and common property management have challenged Hardin's perspective and support the viability of natural resource governance based on community control if the appropriate institutional arrangements are in place (Ostrom 1990, Agrawal 2001, Ostrom et al. 2002). This evidence has led to the emergence of CBFM as a global social movement and forest policy trend since the 1980s (WCED 1987, White and Martin 2002, Charnley and Poe 2007, Agrawal et al. 2008, Cronkleton et al. 2008, Sunderlin et al. 2008). An eighth of the world's forests (513 million hectares) are now legally recognized community forests and there are many more with informal status (Mongabay n.d.).

Forest tenure reform is being shaped globally by three forces: 1) the recognition of Indigenous rights, 2) biodiversity conservation, and 3) democratic decentralization, and is aimed at three objectives: 1) to address demands for greater rights from communities already living in forests, 2) to improve livelihoods, and 3) to promote forest conservation (Barry et al. 2010). While tenure reforms have been driven both from above (state) and below (citizens), the demand from below has resulted from Indigenous social movements for recognition of the territories they have possessed historically as well as non-Indigenous actors for improved livelihoods and forest conservation (Larson et. al. 2008). However, the outcome to date of many of these reforms has been the implementation of regulations and policies in ways that favour logging companies or fail to address the structural inequities faced by communities due to lack of information, capital and technology (Larson and Ribot 2007, Pacheco et al. 2008, Poteete and Ribot 2011).

Ontario's tenure reform process culminated in the formation of new legislation and policy in the spring of 2011 that aimed to increase opportunities for participation by local communities (i.e. municipalities) and Aboriginal people. This reform provided an opportunity to re-evaluate the dominant forest tenure paradigm and consider a new approach based on CBFM as a means to create a more sustainable forest-based political economy than that associated with the dominant industrial paradigm. CBFM initiatives were put forward by a number of northern Ontario communities during this time. While interest in this direction was primarily a response from municipalities due to the negative impacts they experienced from the forestry crisis, interest in CBFM has been longstanding among First Nations due to their historic marginalization from the forest industry and associated benefits in their traditional territories—those lands which have been and are

currently used by Aboriginal communities (Smith 1998) which are predominantly on Crown lands and subject to historic treaties. The protection of Aboriginal rights rooted in the occupation of their traditional territories prior to the arrival of settlers has been entrenched in the Constitution of Canada since 1982. Recommendations for a new approach to lands and resources and interim measures to improve Aboriginal peoples' access to resource-based economies including forestry, as put forward by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) (1996), have largely been ignored. However, First Nations' influence in natural resource management is nevertheless increasing due to a series of successful court cases (Gallagher 2012). Further progress is demonstrated in Canada's recent commitment to a renewed, nation-to-nation relationship with Aboriginal peoples based on the principles of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (UN 2007) that recognizes Indigenous rights around the world (INAC 2016) and in the support by Canada (INAC 2016) and the provinces (Bailey 2015) the implementation of UNDRIP called for in the Calls to Action of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission(TRC 2015a).

The strong interest in community forestry displayed by northern Ontario communities during forest tenure reform is a resurgence of a movement that began in Canada's forest-producing provinces in the 1990s following the emergence of the global policy trend. The Canadian context focused on the potential for community forests to play a role in sustainable forest management and economic development and to address public and Aboriginal concerns about the industrial forest production model (Duinker et al. 1991, 1994, Allan and Frank 1994, Dunster 1994, McGonigle 1997,1998, Beckley 1998, Booth 1998, Haley and Luckert 1998, Luckert 1999, Nadeau et al. 1999). The establishment of

community forests in several Canadian jurisdictions began at that time, including several short-term pilots in northern Ontario (Teitelebaum et al. 2006). The northern Ontario experiments were implemented in concert with the Crown Forest Sustainability Act (CFSA) (1994) that was created as an outcome of the groundbreaking Class Environmental Assessment (EA) for forest management (EAB 1994). The establishment of community forest management boards is possible under section 15(1) of the CFSA. However, this option has remained unutilized beyond the long defunct nineties pilot projects.

In other jurisdictions, notably in B.C., the establishment of community forests continues to increase. Empirical evidence has thus begun to emerge from several Canadian cases about the effectiveness of CBFM (Reed and McIlveen 2006, Ambus et al. 2007, Tyler et al. 2007, Pinkerton et al. 2008, Ambus 2008, Bullock et al. 2008, Bullock and Hanna 2008). A recent BC study demonstrated that community forests play a significant and critical role in the economies of smaller rural communities (SIBAC 2017).

Ongoing national interest in practice, research and advocacy pertaining to community forests has most recently resulted in the publication of two edited volumes on community forestry in Canada (Teitelbaum 2016, Bullock et al. 2017) as well as an inaugural book on economic theory supporting community forests as (Robinson 2017).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The research establishes an overarching theoretical framework based on common property theory and democratic decentralization as they relate to CBFM to explain the outcomes of forest tenure reform and the activities of communities in northern Ontario to promote community forestry initiatives as alternatives to the industrial forest tenure paradigm. Complexity theory is also utilized to assess these activities and outcomes for

much of the research. Additional theories inform specific studies that are part of the overall research: transformative community organizing (TCO) is applied as a lens to view advocacy for community forestry in northern Ontario. Access theory is utilized to assess community benefits and mechanisms to achieve them for an emerging forest governance institution that was promoted as a community forest model during forest tenure reform.

Common Property Theory

Hardin's (1968) influential theory of "The Tragedy of the Commons" suggested that resources managed in common (such as forests) will always be overexploited and that the only solutions are privatization or complete state control. However this theory was eventually recognized as overly simplistic and based on a view of the commons managed only under certain conditions (Feeny et al. 1990, Ostrom 2007). These conditions include open-access to the resources and no effective governance regime for the resource established by the actors (the major resource users and/or external authorities).

A substantial amount of empirical and theoretical research on highly and less successful common property resource management regimes since the time of Hardin`s popular theory has indicated that local management of resources is in fact a viable approach when the appropriate institutional arrangements are in place (Ostrom 1990, 2005, 2007, 2008, Agrawal 2001, Ostrom et al. 2002). Ostrom's (1990) seminal book, Governing the Commons, in particular documented an approach to communities as social organizations able to address specific resource management problems that neither individuals, governments or markets could solve. Ostrom's (1990) work, and that which subsequently built upon it, established critical enabling conditions for commons sustainability through the establishment of robust institutions. Ostrom (2007) also stresses

how "nested enterprises" are essential for large-scale, complex resource systems since both humans and resources are interconnected and must be managed across levels, from local to international. As Dietz and Henry (2008) point out, learning to govern the commons is one of the major challenges for sustainability.

Scholarly work worldwide has been undertaken on CBFM that demonstrates this approach can be effective in managing forests in a more sustainable, equitable and efficient way than that of the predominant industrial "state or market" approaches given the creation of appropriate institutions for forest governance (Ostrom 1999, Gibson et al. 2000, Bray et al. 2003, Dietz et al. 2003, Agrawal and Chhatre 2006, Padgee et al. 2006, Agrawal 2007, Charnley and Poe 2007, Wollenberg et al. 2007, Chhatre and Agrawal 2008, McDermott 2009). This work has contributed to an understanding of policy concerns related to forest governance by identifying a number of factors that influence the success of CBFM. These factors include appropriate property rights and institutional arrangements including tenure security and local decision-making power that lead to sustainable forest governance. Ostrom (1999) applied the design principles for robust property-rights institutions that support durable CPR governance (Ostrom 1990) specifically to the CBFM context.

Property rights as defined by Schlager and Ostrom (1992) are a "bundle" of five rights including access, withdrawal, management, exclusion and alienation. The meaning of each of these rights in relation to forests is provided in Table 1. The first two convey rights to enter and obtain the resource. Because the last three rights are considered to be collective-choice or decision-making rights, they are particularly significant for forest tenure reforms (Larson et al. 2010). These three rights allow the rights holder to define

Table 1. Forest property rights (Larsen et al. 2010).

Type of Right	Definition
Access	The right to enter a forest area
Withdrawal (use)	The right to obtain forest resources and remove them from the forest
Management	The right to regulate internal forest use patterns or transform the forest resource
Exclusion	The right to decide who can use the forest resource and who is prevented from doing so
Alienation	The sale or lease of the forest land including the sale of the other rights

and adjust rules and standards for exercising other rights. Schlager and Ostrom maintain that the full range of property rights is essential for successful CBNRM. Yet in practice, the entire bundle of rights is rarely transferred to the local level (Cronkleton et al. 2010).

<u>Democratic Decentralization</u>

Effective implementation of CBFM requires the secure transfer of discretionary powers over forest resources from centralized state control to downwardly accountable local authorities that have the ability to make and implement decisions. This is accomplished through democratic decentralization, also called political decentralization or devolution, that provides secure rights to local authorities composed of elected representatives from local governments, to allow autonomous decision-making that strengthens local democracy and improves equity, justice and efficiency (Ribot 2002, Ribot 2004). The general logic of democratic decentralization is inclusive and public.

Democratic decentralization arises from a demand for representation from below through social movements and local governments that challenge the traditional, centralized

approaches to public policy (Conyers 1983, Agrawal and Ostrom 2001, Larson 2005, Larson and Soto 2008). The theoretical premise is that decision-making closer to local people should be more equitable, efficient, participatory, and accountable to citizens demands due to better access to information, lower transaction costs and higher levels of participation (Ribot 2002, Andersson et al. 2004). The subsidiarity principle accepted as a key component of good governance at the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development embraced this premise with the provision that decisions are aligned with social and ecological standards set at higher administrative levels (Kooiman 2003, Anderson 2000, Marshall 2008). Democratic decentralization is distinguished from administrative decentralization, otherwise known as deconcentration, which involves a transfer of only administrative responsibilities to authorities that remain upwardly accountable to the state by appointment of representatives (Ribot 2002, 2004). Deconcentration may involve some downward accountability to local populations but its primary responsibility is to the state. Privatization is the transfer of powers to non-stateoften corporate entities and operates with an exclusive logic in contrast to democratic decentralization (Ribot 2002, Ribot et al. 2008).

Complexity Theory

Complexity theory focuses on complex adaptive systems (CASs) which are groups of systems that exhibit multiple interactions and feedback mechanisms in a non-linear manner to form a complex whole that has the capacity to adapt in a changing environment (Levin 1999, Gunderson and Holling 2002, Holland 2006). The central feature in complexity theory is the adaptive cycle, a model of systemic change that explains the continuous cycles of disturbance and renewal that occur in a CAS (Gunderson and Holling

2002). A forest system—with its constituent forest ecosystems, social institutions, and actors associated with forest management—is a specific type of CAS composed of linked social and ecological systems (Berkes et al. 2003, Messier et al. 2013, Filotas et al. 2014). A CAS passes through four phases in the adaptive cycle, each with increasing system complexity: rapid growth, conservation where there is a steady state, release (or system collapse), and reorganization. The outcome of reorganization can be a return to a similar state or a transformation—a regime shift—into a new system configuration.

An understanding of the changes that a CAS undergoes through an adaptive cycle provides insight into how to manage for resilience—the amount of disturbance that can be absorbed without altering the system's basic structure and function (Holling 1973, 1986, Walker et al. 2004, Walker and Salt 2006). Managing social-ecological systems such as a forest system for resilience calls for a management approach that embraces flexibility, experiential learning (Holling 1978, Walters 1986, Lee 1993, 1999), collaboration, shared decision-making, and the development of adaptive capacity (Lee 1993, 1999, Folke et al. 2003, 2005, Berkes et al. 2003). These features are embraced by community forestry that aims to promote a resilience approach to forest management. A command-and-control approach to management in contrast emphasizes top-down control, myopic optimization and efficiency, minimal collaboration, and linear, positivistic thinking that attempts to maintain the system in a steady state (Walters and Salt 2006, Beratan 2014, Holling and Meffe 1996). This research uses a complexity lens to consider whether and how resilience is being fostered in northern Ontario through the new forest tenure system and emerging forest governance institutions being developed by communities.

Transformative Community Organizing

Community organizing involves the collective action of citizens to promote social change (Rubin and Rubin 1992). There are variations to this practice. Consensus organizing focuses on building partnerships between communities and corporate elites to achieve consensus about solutions to problems (Eichler 2007). Because it does not focus on the root causes of problems, DeFilippis et al. (2010) and Shragge (2013) classify consensus organizing as fundamentally conservative since it: 1) disregards the conflict of interest and unequal power relations that are central to the problems that exist in marginalized communities and 2) promotes adaptation to the broader political economy driven by unbridled neoliberalism through integration strategies that produce only small-scale reforms rather than fundamental social change. In contrast, transformative community organizing (TCO) mobilizes citizens through consciousness-raising to demand fundamental social change in order to transform the dominant system. TCO takes a political-economic perspective that involves a critical analysis of the root causes of social problems as they relate to the fundamental distribution of resources and power in dominant systems and the development of strategies for their transformation (Reisch 2013, DeFilippis et al. 2010, Shragge 2013). This theoretical perspective provides a valuable lens for evaluating the mobilization of citizens in northern Ontario to advocate for community forestry within the context of forest tenure reform.

Access Theory

Access theory suggests that in addition to property rights, access to resources and the associated benefits depends on a "bundle of powers" (Ghani 1995) related to a myriad of social relations within a specific political-economic context (Ribot and Peluso 2003).

These authors define access as "the ability to derive benefits from things —including material objects, persons, institutions, and symbols—beyond the mere right to benefit from things as is conveyed by the bundle of property rights. Bundles of power include different strands that are the means, processes and relations—the mechanisms—by which actors are enabled to gain, control and maintain access to resources. Ribot and Peluso describe a broad range of non rule-based structural and relational factors that influence access including access to: technology, capital, markets, labour, knowledge, authority, social identity, and social relations. These mechanisms determine the power relations that can affect rights-based mechanisms. This dissertation employs an access framework as outlined by Ribot and Peluso (2003) to identify and map the mechanisms that enable access to forest-related benefits related to a forest governance model based on the concept of CBFM being developed for implementation in northern Ontario under the new provincial forest tenure system.

RESEARCH PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

Despite the increase in research on community forestry that has accompanied the worldwide trend toward this forest governance approach, including that seen in some Canadian jurisdictions, research on this subject has been minimal in northern Ontario. This absence, together with the opportunity presented by the provincial tenure reform process driven strongly by community advocacy for community forests, presented an opportunity for the research. Given this context, the purpose of this research is to contribute to new understanding about the evolution of community forestry in northern Ontario related to advocacy and practice.

The research is timely and relevant, given that it: 1) began in the fall of 2009 concurrent with the start of the forest tenure reform process and continued throughout the development of new forest tenure legislation and policy and forest governance models, and 2) seeks to understand the perspective of northern Ontario forest-dependent communities that experienced the forestry crisis and are impacted by the new forest tenure legislation and policy framework in terms of future management of their local forests. The objectives of the research are to:

1) Understand the perspectives of northern Ontario communities regarding their visions for the management of their local forests in relation to community forestry;

2) Evaluate Ontario's new forest tenure system in terms of how it enables participation of northern Ontario communities in meaningful decision-making in forest management based on the principles of community forestry in order to foster resilience

3) Evaluate community advocacy for community forestry in northern Ontario; and;

4) Explore in-depth the development of a forest governance model proposed as a community forest for implementation under the new forest tenure framework.

DISSERTATION STRUCTURE

This dissertation contains four distinct but related manuscripts following this chapter and ends with a final concluding chapter. The first three manuscripts were written for publication in peer-reviewed edited volumes and are presented in the format of each publisher. For each chapter, I acknowledge my co-authors that include one or both of my co-supervisors, and, in one case, a collaborator in the community-based research. Methods used in chapters two to four are described in detail in the next section since they are not provided in the published chapters due to constraints for the manuscript submissions. Although Chapter five includes a methods section, additional details are given in the next

section about the case study approach.

Chapter Two is entitled "We are all treaty people: The foundation for community forestry in Northern Ontario." A version of this manuscript is published in Harpelle, R.N and M.S. Beaulieu (eds.) 2012. Pulp Friction: Communities and the Forest Industry in a Globalized World, Lakehead University Centre for Northern Studies. In this chapter, we explore the perspectives of communities in northern Ontario, both municipal and First Nation, in relation to impacts they have experienced from the forestry crisis and their visions for future management of their local forests as well as the emergence of community advocacy in relation to the forestry crisis and the opportunity for new forest governance models presented by forest tenure reform. The chapter considers the emergence of advocacy for community forestry and new initiatives proposed as partnerships between municipalities and First Nations in relation to Ontario's historic treaties that provide a powerful foundation for cross-cultural collaboration in new approaches to forest management.

Chapter Three is entitled "Community forestry on Crown land in Northern Ontario: Emerging paradigm or localized anomaly?" This manuscript is published in Teitelbaum, S. (ed.) 2016. Community Forestry in Canada: Lessons from Policy and Practice, University of British Columbia Press. This chapter uses complexity theory and principles of community forestry to trace the evolution of this approach from the inception of forest management in northern Ontario to its current state, to evaluate whether and how community forestry has been embraced during various phases of forest tenure policy.

Chapter Four is entitled "Transformative community organizing for community

forests: The Northern Ontario Sustainable Community Partnership." This manuscript is published in the volume I co-edited with Dr. Peggy Smith and two colleagues at other universities: Bullock, R., G. Broad, L. Palmer and P. Smith (eds.) 2017. Growing Community Forests: Practice, Research and Advocacy in Canada, University of Manitoba Press. This chapter uses transformative community organizing theory as a lens to view an advocacy organization for community forestry that emerged as a direct result of the forestry crisis.

The manuscript presented in Chapter Five is a qualitative case study about a developing forest governance initiative spearheaded for implementation under Ontario's new forest tenure policy framework. The initiative was conceived as a collaborative community forest model to achieve regional resilience and reconciliation by a group of First Nations in northeastern Ontario led by the Northeast Superior Regional Chiefs' Forum (NSRCF). This study seeks to evaluate access to forest resources and associated benefits that are currently flowing from this emerging initiative. It also evaluates the case through the lens of complexity theory in terms of its goal to be a model for transformation in forest governance. A version of this manuscript will be submitted for publication to a peer-reviewed journal (to be determined). The co-authors include my co-supervisors and a key contributor to the forest tenure initiative from the NSRCF.

The final chapter provides lessons learned from the combined research, contributions to the state of knowledge on practice and research in community forestry, recommendations for improvements to Ontario's forest tenure system to best enable community forestry, and recommendations for future research.

RESEARCHER BACKGROUND

A researcher is considered to be an instrument in qualitative research because of his/her interaction with the study environment and participants that influences the research process (Marshall and Rossman 1999). It is therefore important in qualitative research that the researcher situates herself in relation to the research. As Denzin (2017) notes:

> The myth of the objective observer has been deconstructed. The qualitative researcher is not an objective, politically neutral observer who stands outside and above the study of the social world. Rather, the researcher is historically and locally situated within the very processes being studied. A gendered, historical self is brought to this process. This self, as a set of shifting identities, has its own history with the situated practices that define and shape the public issues and private troubles being studied. (p. 12)

In order to situate myself for this research, in this section I am explicit about my personal and professional backgrounds to provide context for my choice of research topic and potential biases. My post-secondary education and professional background includes having obtained bachelor and master degrees in forestry at Lakehead University and over 20 years of work experience in the forest sector, including in (quantitative) research, teaching, technology transfer, and conservation. I have also been a strong advocate for community forestry in northern Ontario and in other jurisdictions, including at the international level. I therefore functioned throughout this research as both a researcher and an activist.

I was born and grew up in Toronto in a working class family of English and French Canadian descent with a limited connection to northern Ontario, its communities, and the forest sector. Growing up I had no understanding of the conditions faced by Aboriginal people given minimal contact and a lack of education on this subject in any school

curricula. My connection with forests came from my childhood summers at a family cottage south of Algonquin Park near the edge of northern Ontario in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Forest, as well during annual sessions at a nearby natural science camp.

My first venture further north was at 17 when I spent the summer as a junior ranger with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR) based at a camp on the north shore of Lake Huron. Although the program participants were also from settler society in southern Ontario, I had my first regular exposure to First Nation people during daily drives through a local reserve for our work and to get to the nearby town. We had the opportunity to connect when a baseball game was arranged with the First Nation's teenage girls; however no social interaction was organized outside of the game, so the cross-cultural connection was minimal. That summer influenced my decision to study forestry, which I had been contemplating beforehand.

I decided to go further north to study forestry at Lakehead University as I felt it was important to be immersed in forests rather than in Toronto, which at the time had Ontario's original B.Sc.F program at University of Toronto. At the time, there was no focus on Aboriginal rights and issues related to forest management, since it was prior to the significant court cases that have brought attention to this realm. However I had the opportunity to interact regularly with First Nations people when working on tree plants during my first summer as a forestry student with OMNR. During the years of my B.SC.F and M.Sc.F studies and through subsequent technical forestry work I developed an increasing concern about the industrial approach to forestry, based on a general sense that there were significant issues related to forest ecosystem sustainability.

My path toward taking on a PhD focused on community forestry was influenced when in 1999 I first learned that community forests were being established in B.C. through a new pilot program created under the1998 Community Forest Agreement (CFA). This motivated me to go to B.C. that summer where I spent time volunteering at the emerging Harrop Procter Community Forest (HPCF) that has since become the subject of much study. For several subsequent summers until 2004, I spent additional time volunteering for the HPCF and also learning about the nearby Kaslo community forest that had been established as one of B.C.'s original community forests. During that time I attended the 2003 World Forestry Congress (WFC) in Quebec City as a member of the Canadian Environmental Network[1] (RCEN) on behalf of the local Thunder Bay environmental group Environment North. It was during the WFC that I connected with members of the global community forestry movement. This was also the first time I became aware of broad concerns regarding Indigenous rights related to forest management. For example, I attended a session with representatives from Grassy Narrows First Nation who had brought their long-standing concerns about mercury poisoning from a pulp mill and the impacts of logging in their traditional territory to the global level in an attempt to gain support. I also attended a panel on Indigenous issues that included Dr. Peggy Smith as a presenter, where I began to learn about these issues in the Canadian context on the verge of impending court cases that would soon change the approach to forest management.

Inspired by the global community forestry movement I encountered at the WFC, I became a volunteer member of RCEN's forest caucus steering committee soon afterward

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[1] The RCEN is an independent, non-partisan organization that facilitates cooperation and networking among non-profit, non-governmental environmental organizations across Canada and internationally. RCEN provides opportunities for ENGO representatives to participate in national and international meetings, conferences, workshops and consultations on environmental policy issues through a transparent, bilingual and democratic delegate selection process.

and was a key promoter and organizer of its 2007 global community forestry workshop held in conjunction with the University of Toronto forestry faculty's 100th anniversary global forestry congress that brought participants from 20 countries worldwide.

In 2006 when Ontario's forestry crisis was at its height, I began working for the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society-Wildlands League out of its Thunder Bay office. My role was to explore solutions to the forestry crisis and the associated socio-economic impacts in northern Ontario. This led to me becoming a founding member of the Northern Ontario Sustainable Communities Partnership (NOSCP) that has advocated since since for forest tenure policy to enable community forestry. Through that work I established many connections with municipal and First Nation communities throughout northern Ontario that I was able to draw upon for this research. As a result of my work with NOSCP, as well as the new direction in forest management requiring consultation and accommodation due to successful First Nation court cases around that time, my awareness increased dramatically about Aboriginal issues related to natural resources management. By 2008, I was motivated to undertake a PhD focused on forest tenure policy to further community forestry as a solution for creating resilient forest-based communities. I returned to Lakehead University to begin my program at the same time Ontario announced the start of forest tenure reform. This timing provided the opportunity to design my research to assess whether and how tenure reform enables community forestry.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

For this research I utilized a qualitative approach which aims to gain a deeper understanding of a subject (Creswell 2007). It is considered appropriate to explore and explain complex social phenomena (Marshall and Rossman 1999) and to determine people's

reactions to new phenomena that impact their lives (Guba and Lincoln 1994). This approach

to the research was relevant for evaluating forest tenure reform and emerging forest

governance institutions which can be characterized as complex social phenomena that

seriously impact the lives of northern Ontario citizens.

The research uses a theoretical perspective known as critical qualitative inquiry that

aims to address injustice in economic and other spheres. Denzin (2017) makes an urgent

call for this approach to effect social change in these times of global neoliberalism by

making the practices of inquiry central to the workings of a free democratic society:

> What is the role of critical qualitative research in a historical present when the need
> for social justice has never been greater? This is a historical present that cries out
> for emancipatory visions, for visions that inspire transformative inquiries, and for
> inquiries that can provide the moral authority to move people to struggle and resist
> oppression.The pursuit of social justice within a transformative paradigm
> challenges prevailing forms of inequality, poverty, human oppression, and
> injustice. (p. 8)

Denzin asserts that critical qualitative inquiry is ethically responsible activist research that

uses measures of moral criteria that celebrate resistance, experimentation, and

empowerment.

Participatory Action Research

Participatory action research (PAR) was an overarching methodology used for all

components of this research. PAR involves the co-generation of knowledge using

community-based research (Greenwood and Levin 2007). This research approach

integrates theory and practice, through praxis[2] (Freire 1970) to solve pertinent problems in

real-life contexts using democratic, co-generative inquiry between professional researchers

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[2] Freire defines praxis in Pedagogy of the Oppressed as "reflection and action directed at the structures to be transformed"

and community participants. PAR aims to foster social transformation by emphasizing the

political aspects of knowledge production that include concerns about power,

powerlessness and knowledge, shared ownership of research, community involvement and

action (Reason 1994). Given these intentions, PAR was a valuable methodology for this

research because of its focus on addressing power relations affecting communities that

have historically lacked decision-making power in the management of their local forests

and to assess whether and how a new forest tenure system can enable positive social

transformation from the status quo. PAR follows the premise of mutualism (Greenwood

and Levin 2007) in the democratic inquiry process between the academic researchers as

"outsiders" and the community participants as "insiders". Because PAR emerges out of

social relationships based on trust, it takes much more time than other forms of research

and involves spending significant time with participants.

PAR was utilized during the following community-based research activities:

1) SSHRC Public Outreach Workshop: Building Resilient Northern Ontario
   Communities through Community-based Forest Management

For several components of the research, we (myself and my co-supervisors)

obtained a SSHRC grant to host a one-day workshop by Lakehead University's Faculty of

Natural Resource Management in May 20112. NOSCP was also a partner and co-host.

Participation was by invitation and was limited to 55 participants, with financial support

provided for representatives from municipalities and First Nations that had either proposed

community-based forest governance approaches for Ontario's new forest tenure system or

had expressed interest in this approach. Also in attendance were academics, provincial

government representatives, and representatives from an operating community forest in

B.C. The format involved formal presentations from a range of speakers and a closed

community dialogue regarding how to advance community forests under the new

provincial forest tenure system. The workshop provided data that contributed to chapters 2,

3 and 4. A workshop report was also distributed to the participants (Palmer et al. 2012).

2) SSHRC Public Outreach Conference: Building Resilient Communities through
   Community-based Forest Management

Myself and Dr. Peggy Smith obtained SSHRC funding for a two-day conference,

including pre-conference tours, co-hosted by Lakehead University's Faculty of Natural

Resource Management, Algoma University's Northern Ontario Research Development

Ideas and Knowledge Institute and NOSCP. The conference was held in Sault Ste. Marie

in January 2013. A range of other organizations were partners in the conference including

the province. Financial support was provided for representatives from municipalities and

First Nations from throughout Canada. The format involved formal presentations and a

dialogue regarding how to advance community forests throughout Canada, including

through a new network established at the conference. The conference contributed data to

chapters 3 and 4 and inspired the edited book that contains chapter 4.

3) NSRCF Workshops

NSRCF held annual three-day strategic planning workshops at Chapleau Cree First

Nation (CCFN) from 2012-2014. The workshops included participants from the NSRCF

First Nations, the municipalities in the region of Northeast Superior that are eligible to be

partners in the ESFL that is the focus of the case study in Chapter 5, forest industry in the

region, and OMNRF representatives. I participated actively in the workshops including as

a presenter about community forestry. I also attended each morning's pre-workshop pipe

ceremonies in the community's healing lodge. These workshops provided data that contributed to Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

Case Study

A case study approach (Creswell 2007, Yin 2009) was used as method to explore the developmental process for the Northeast Superior ESFL (NS-ESFL) , as presented in chapter 5. Creswell (2007) defines case study research as involving "the study of an issue explored through one or more cases within a bounded system (i.e. a setting, a context)" (p. 73). I consider this case to be a bounded system that is defined by: 1) the forest management units that have been determined by provincial forest tenure policy to be included in the ESFL, 2) the forestry companies that operate in the Northeast Superior region on the forest management units relevant to the ESFL, and , 3) the communities, both municipalities and First Nations, that are in or near the forest management units in the ESFL and therefore considered by forest tenure policy to be eligible for participation.

I selected the Northeast Superior ESFL as a case study because of NSRCF's explicit aim to develop a transformative model of forest governance to shift the political economy of the Northeast Superior region to that of resilience through cross-cultural collaboration and reconciliation. I furthermore had strong support from NSRCF for the research which enabled me to gain entry to the community participants in the ESFL due to the rapport I had previously established through my community forestry advocacy work in northern Ontario. This ability to gain entry to communities is considered a key issue for qualitative research (Marshall and Rossman 1999).

A case study was a valuable approach for this component of the research because it

allowed me to obtain a deeper understanding of the development of a forest governance model using community-based research with participants in their natural setting. The findings of the case were generalized to the theoretical framework using analytic generalization (Yin 2009). Additional details about the case study are provided in the following section on data collection and in chapter 5.

Data Collection

Creswell (2007) suggests that data collection is a "series of interrelated activities aimed at gathering good information to answer emerging research questions" (p. 188). He notes how qualitative research typically involves the collection of multiple sources of data that can be organized into categories to allow the development of themes that cut across all of the sources. Yin (2009) recommends the use of multiple sources of data in case studies since no single source has a complete advantage over the others, each complements the other and various sources of data help to deal with construct validity and reliability of the evidence. Data collection methods included for the research included semi-structured interviews, participant observation and document review. The first two methods allowed extensive face-to-face interaction over time with participants in their natural setting where they experienced the issue under study, considered important by Creswell (2007) for qualitative studies.

Ethical considerations were addressed for data collection that involved study participants (interviews, participant observation) through s Lakehead University's Research Ethics Board and Canada's Tri-Council Policy Statement (TPCS). This included specific requirements for research with Aboriginal Peoples. All participants were required to provide written consent and confidentiality has been maintained.

<u>Interviews</u>

I conducted semi-structured interviews of one to two hours in length depending upon participant responses for two components of the research: 1) to obtain community members' perceptions about the impacts of the forestry crisis and their visions for management of local forests under a new forest tenure system and 2) for the NS-ESFL case study. Yin (2009) considers interviews to be one of the most important sources of information that can be obtained for case studies. Semi-structured interviews allow opportunities for probing when interesting and emergent issues arise. It is important in qualitative inquiry to use open-ended questions that give full voice to the participants and to modify the questions as needed to reflect an increased understanding of the problem as the research progresses (Jennings 2005, Creswell 2007). All interviewees were selected through purposive and politically important sampling (Creswell 2007) to allow the capture of perspectives for the issues under study in order to meet the stated research objectives. For the case study, this involved selecting participants involved in or aware of the development of the ESFL. For this component of the research, interviews were conducted—including repeat interviews with the same municipal and First Nation participants in some cases—until saturation was achieved in combination with findings from participant observation at workshops, the conference, and through document review. Saturation is the point where no new analytical insights are gained with additional qualitative data (Ritchie et al. 2003, Guest et al. 2006).

The majority of the interviews were conducted face-to-face, either within communities or in some cases in other locations where meetings were taking place. In several cases the interviews were conducted by phone when face-to-face meetings could

not be arranged as well as for several follow-up interviews conducted with participants in the NS-ESFL case study. All interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed either by myself or with assistance from hired students at Lakehead University. Shank (2006) discusses the differing perspectives about researchers transcribing their own data versus having someone else do it. An advantage of researchers doing their own transcriptions is that they can obtain new insights into the data during the transcription process. The interviews I transcribed myself provided me with this opportunity to reacquaint myself with their nuances.

For the initial component of the research, interviews were conducted in the fall of 2009 to the spring of 2010 in as many road accessible communities in Northwestern Ontario[3] as were willing to participate. I sought participation through letters of request sent by email to community leaders (Chief and Council, mayor and council). Participation was obtained from 10 municipalities and 19 First Nations (Fig. 1[4]) as well as from two Aboriginal organizations, Nishnawbe Aski Nation, the political territorial organization for Treaty 9, and Bimose Tribal Council in the Treaty 3 area. Participants were community leaders, economic development officers, lands and resources staff, forest workers, or others who had knowledge about their local forests and the impacts of the forestry crisis. A total of 48 participants were interviewed. Due to the extensive geography and the number of communities that participated, in most cases I conducted only one interview with a designated representative for each community. Group interviews were conducted in

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[3] Interviews were limited to road accessible communities due to the high cost of travel to remote, fly-in First Nations. Interviews were limited to Northwestern Ontario, and did not include Northeastern Ontario, due to the scope of this component of the research and the funding available.

[4] One First Nation that did not agree to disclose participation is not included in Fig. 1.
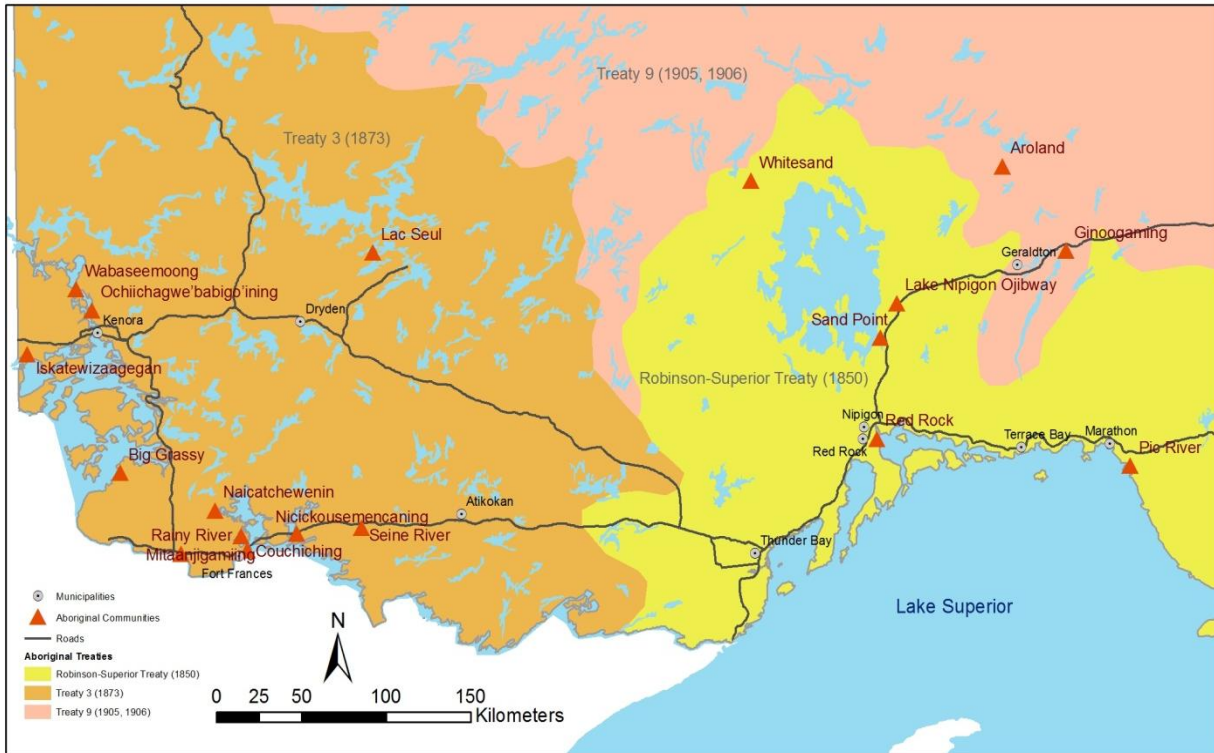
Figure 1. Municipalities and First Nations interviewed from 2009-2010. Compiled by Tomislav Sapic in November 2010

several cases when a number of representatives from a community wanted to participate.

Questions pertained to perspectives about: causes and impacts of the forestry crisis,

government response to the crisis, visions for the future direction of forestry and

community benefits related to forests. The interview guide is provided in Appendix I.

For the NS-ESFL case study, First Nation participants were invited on the basis of

my rapport with NSRCF as well as during the annual workshops held from 2012 to 2014

in CCFN. Participation from the municipalities, the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources

and Forestry (OMNRF) and forest industry was invited through letters of request and

during the NSRCF workshops in CCFN. The forest industry participants were from one

operating and one recently closed company in Northeast Superior. OMNRF participants

were those who provide oversight for the ESFL at the regional level. Separate interview

guides were used for community interviews and those with forest industry and government representatives (Appendix II and III). Further details about the interviews are provided in Chapter 5.

Participant Observation

Participant observation, which has its roots in anthropology, allows the researcher to be immersed in a natural setting in order to see, hear and experience its reality (Marshall and Rossman 1999). This is usually done over an extended period of time and can involve an array of approaches including: observation, natural conversation, informal interviews, checklists and other unobtrusive methods (Bernard 1994). Gold (1958) distinguishes four forms of participant observation that range along a continuum of involvement: complete participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant, and complete observer. The different forms range in their degree of subjectivity versus objectivity. I used the "participant-as-observer" approach at the workshops and conference as well as during a NS-ESFL meeting I attended in CCFN. With this approach, the researcher participates fully with the group under study, but also makes it clear that he/she is undertaking research.

Document Review

In addition to a literature review I undertook to develop the theoretical framework, I reviewed a range of documents related to forest tenure reform, including provincial forest tenure policy documents and media accounts from various stakeholders released throughout the process. These included the provincial forest tenure legislation and policy created in 2011. For the NS-ESFL case study, I also reviewed documents provided by NSRCF, including background conceptual reports, meeting summaries, and reports from

studies commissioned by NSRCF undertaken by Ecotrust Canada. Yin (2009) suggests

that the most important use of documents in case studies is to corroborate and augment

evidence from other sources. If it is found that the documentary evidence is contradictory,

the problem must be pursued by further inquiry into the topic.

Data Analysis

Interview transcripts were imported into qualitative data analysis programs.

ATLAS.ti (Muhr 1997) was used for the initial interviews undertaken in 2009 and 2010.

NVivo (QSR International Pty Ltd 202) was used for interviews conducted for the NS-

ESFL case study. Open coding was undertaken to sort codes into themes based on the

research questions (Saldaῆa 2009). Data were analyzed using a combination of inductive

and deductive approaches where emerging themes were related to specific aspects of the

theoretical framework relevant for each chapter (Miles and Huberman 1994, Wolcott 1994,

Stake 1995, Creswell 2007, Yin 2009). Inductive analysis involves building patterns,

categories and themes from the bottom-up through an increasingly detailed knowledge of

the topic (Creswell 2007). Deductive analysis, in contrast, involves testing hypotheses

using existing theory.

Reliability and Validity

Because qualitative research is subject to the biases of the researcher, in addition to

clarification of researcher background, it is important to design the research to achieve

reliability and validity. Reliability is the consistency of observing the same finding under

similar circumstances (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Validity is the degree to which a study

accurately measures the concept that the researcher set out to measure (Marshall and

Rossman 1999). Internal validity can be enhanced by using multiple and well-accepted

data collection methods and data sources as well as through data triangulation (Patton 2002, Creswell 2007, Yin 2009). Triangulation, which also contributes to reliability, is accomplished when events or facts are supported by the various sources of evidence used. Yin (2009) further indicates that problems of construct validity can be addressed with triangulation because the multiple sources of evidence essentially provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon. This research was designed to achieve reliability and validity by using multiple data sources and methods including a case study approach, interviews, participant observation and document review in addition to data triangulation.

Generalizability refers to the extent that findings from a sample population are applicable to a broader population. This is analogous to external validity in quantitative research. Although qualitative research findings cannot readily be generalized to populations beyond those of the study, to address this issue I used the approach recommended by Marshall and Rossman (1999) to reference the findings to the theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 2: WE ARE ALL TREATY PEOPLE: THE FOUNDATION FOR
COMMUNITY FORESTRY IN NORTHERN ONTARIO

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INRODUCTION

Community-based forest management is a forest governance approach that

promotes local control of forest management and conservation of forest ecosystems to

mitigate conflict over forest resources and enhance the well-being of and benefits to local

communities (Duinker et al. 1994, Nadeau et al. 1999, Baker & Kusel 2003, Teitelbaum et

al. 2006). The issues of community-based management and community engagement have

been highlighted at the international forest policy level as key to the development of any

strategy for sustainable development. Increasing interest worldwide over the past several

decades in the ability of local people to participate meaningfully in decisions regarding the

use, management, and distribution of benefits from forests has led to the emergence of

CBFM as a global social movement and forest policy trend (White and Martin 2002,

Charnley & Poe 2007, Agrawal et al. 2008).

Although not as well developed in Canada, CBFM is being explored in various

jurisdictions. A crucial issue in Canada is the relationship between "settler" communities[5]

and Canada's First Nations. Since colonization, settlers and First Nations in Canada's

boreal forests have lived side by side, but have remained isolated from each other by

differences in culture, government jurisdiction and economic development, or the lack of

it. Both First Nations and municipalities have been historically forest dependent but in

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[5] Settler communities are those established following colonization of Canada.

different ways. Settler communities have benefited from the employment and secondary development that have occurred as a result of industrial forest development while First Nations have largely been excluded from this industry and its benefits. However, even settler communities, in general, throughout the boreal region of Canada have been found to have higher levels of unemployment and poverty and lower levels of education than rural communities in non-boreal regions of Canada, differences that appear to be increasing as a result of the faltering forest sector (Patriquin et al. 2007). While settler communities in northern Ontario have not historically experienced the extreme poverty of their First Nation counterparts, the picture is rapidly changing with changes to the global forest sector, as evidenced by the visible homelessness in communities, the loss of population, the growing numbers of food banks and soup kitchens and the diaspora of young people who once called northern Ontario home (Mockler and Fairbairn 2009). The question is whether CBFM provides an alternative to historical industrial forest practices in Canada that have led to community instability and divisions between First Nations and other forest-dependent communities.

Northern Ontario is a vast region within Canada's boreal forest zone that occupies 80 per cent of the province's landmass but has only 8 per cent of its population (approximately 800,000 people) (Woodrow 2002, OMF 2010). Most of the population is concentrated near the southern boundary that runs approximately from the Mattawa River in the east, across Lake Nipissing and to the French River in the west, as well as in five major centres: North Bay, Sudbury, Sault Ste Marie, Thunder Bay and Timmins (Fig. 1).

Municipalities in northern Ontario are commonly single-industry towns with few employment options other than in the forest sector. Unlike municipalities, First Nation

communities are on reserves under the jurisdiction of the federal government. With over

80 per cent of all Aboriginal communities located in the commercial forest zone across

Canada (RCAP 1996), these communities are affected by the forest management that

occurs in their traditional territories that encompass large areas of Crown forest lands

outside of the reserves. Although without legal recognition, traditional territories are those

lands that have historically been and are currently used by Aboriginal communities (Smith

1998). Many of these lands have been subject to historic or modern day treaties which

define Aboriginal and treaty rights, protected in the Canadian constitution since 1982.

Ontario needs a new form of forest management that places local northern

communities in a decision-making role. As a result of the increasing acknowledgement of

constitutionally-recognized Aboriginal and treaty rights, a self-determination movement

among First Nations and a social justice movement in Canada that seeks to address the

unequal position of Aboriginal peoples, First Nations are gaining a more equal role in

forest management. This role is manifesting itself in community forest initiatives across

northern Ontario that involve both First Nations and neighbouring municipalities.

In this chapter we explore the historic evolution of community involvement in the

forest sector in Canada from exclusion to community-based forest management (CBFM).

We explore the problems inherent in the forest sector as a "staples" industry and theories

that promote greater local decision-making. We provide a broad overview of community

forestry in Canada, focusing on northern Ontario and several initiatives that have recently

arisen in response to discussions about forest tenure reform in the province. Several

aspects of these initiatives are explored including effective governance, First Nation/settler

collaboration based on respect for Aboriginal and treaty rights, and new approaches to community forest-based enterprises.

OLD WORLD/NEW WORLD—DEPENDENCY/COMMUNITY-BASED FOREST MANAGEMENT

"Old world" forest management has led to dependent and unstable rural economies. An examination of the traditional structure of the forest sector, using staples theory, reveals the weaknesses of this system. New theories around community-based forest management, common property management and decentralization frame new forms of forest governance based on community control and shared decision-making with the state. Different approaches across Canada, and in northern Ontario in particular, to public participation in forest management that involves communities illustrate tentative moves toward "new world" community-based forest management.

Canada's Staples Forest Economy

The forest industry has been the backbone of rural economies in the commercial boreal forest zone throughout northern Canada. In Ontario, this industry employed close to 50,000 people as of 2004, with 10 percent in logging, 40 per cent in the wood industry, and 50 per cent in pulp and paper (Bogdanski 2008). The predominant forest management system for Crown forests involves centralized decision-making by the provincial government. Forest management in northern Ontario occurs predominantly within Crown forests that are allocated by the province for harvest through Sustainable Forest Licences (SFLs) held by either one (single entity) or a group (co-operative SFL) of forest companies that possess a processing facility such as a sawmill or pulp mill.

The tenure system for these forests has historically involved the province licensing timber on publicly-owned land for commodity forest industries (pulp and paper, dimensional lumber) that focus on export, primarily to the United States. Wood-based value-added industries are concentrated in southern Ontario and outside of Canada. With a minimal diversity of actors and forest products, the forest management system emphasizes economic production and scientific management to supply timber to the industry (Burton et al. 2003). This system has subjected both the industry and the communities that depend on it to the boom-and-bust cycles associated with commodity markets. This inherently unstable situation has steadily worsened over the years and has led to a forestry "crisis" in forest-dependent communities throughout the country including the boreal region of northern Ontario. The crisis is marked by extensive mill closures, dramatic declines in forestry employment, increased outmigration, particularly of youth, erosion of the local tax base, service reductions, a loss of social capital, and a pervasive lack of community well-being (Bogdanski 2008, Patriquin et al. 2009). Employment in the pulp and paper and logging sectors is currently at its lowest level in 20 years, having declined by more than 30 percent in the past decade (NRC 2009).

The current forestry crisis in northern Ontario, as throughout Canada, has been attributed to acute forest industry competitiveness issues related to changes in global supply and demand, an unfavourable export market in the United States, a rising Canadian currency exchange rate, high energy costs and competition from lower cost producers outside Canada (CFS 2006). While these recent changes have had a negative impact on the forest industry, the fundamental problem is the forest sector's place as part of the Canadian staples economy.

Staples theory is a form of dependency theory that was pioneered by Canadian political economist Harold Innes (1930) to explain Canada's historic dependency on raw resource extraction. Staples are raw or unfinished bulk commodity products sold in export markets with minimal amounts of local processing, as is the case for most Canadian forest products (Howlett and Brownsey 2008). According to staples theory, resource staples sectors have four distinct phases that move from the initial, rapid expansion of easy-to-access plentiful resources to eventual decline or crisis that follows depletion of the resource, rising costs, and subsidization of the industry (Clapp 1998). Staples theorists point to factors that exacerbate the "staples trap" including: 1) reliance on foreign capital and volatile international markets that create the-familiar boom-and-bust cycles of commodity markets and 2) state-industry relationships that often exclude other actors such as local and Aboriginal peoples and consideration of other values such as environmental concerns.

Staples theory provides a social criticism that demonstrates the systematic flaws of a forest management system that has, in northern Ontario, alienated citizens from decision-making on matters fundamental to the economic, social and cultural future of the north. These decisions have largely been at the discretion of a highly centralized provincial government historically influenced by large industrial players. The northern Ontario economy has not significantly diversified and is currently experiencing the third phase of staples development, with the forestry industry in crisis and decline. Ontario's forest tenure system is a prime contributor to the lack of social and economic development now evident in northern Ontario (Robinson 2009a). The industrial forest system has

systematically failed to generate progressive, forest-based development in forest-dependent First Nation and settler communities throughout the region.

Negative socio-economic impacts resulting from long-term dependence on a forest staples economy are now widespread among northern Ontario municipalities that historically benefited from the forest sector. While First Nation communities in the region have also experienced negative impacts from the crisis to varying degrees, they face additional challenges due to historical exclusion and a lack of significant benefit from forest management in their traditional territories. Aboriginal economic development is known to be inhibited unless First Nations have shared decision-making authority over their land base and resources (AFN 2006, Ross and Smith 2002). However, constitutionally-recognized Aboriginal and treaty rights in Canada, which should protect First Nation forest values, have been largely ignored by the government of Ontario when issuing licences to the forest industry on First Nation traditional territories.

Recommendations for a new approach to lands and resources and interim measures to improve Aboriginal peoples' access to resource-based economies, including forestry, from the 1996 Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) have, in large part, not been implemented. No standards are in place for impact benefit agreements, nor is there an overall policy to encourage or facilitate revenue-sharing agreements (AFN 2006). RCAP's recommendation for co-management—the sharing of power and responsibility for lands and resources between government and local resource users (Berkes et al. 1991)— has been implemented in only a few cases under land claims agreements in the Canadian far north (AFN 2006).

Community-Based Forest Management

Hardin's (1968) influential theory of "the tragedy of the commons" suggested that resources managed in common will always be overexploited and that the only solutions are privatization or complete state control. However, this theory was eventually recognized as overly simplistic and based on a view of the commons[6] managed only under certain conditions (Feeny et al. 1990, Ostrom 2007). These conditions include open access to the resources and no effective governance regime for the resource established by the actors (the major resource users and/or external authorities).

A substantial amount of empirical and theoretical research on highly and less successful common property resource (CPR) management regimes since the time of Hardin`s theory has indicated that commons management is a viable approach when the appropriate institutional arrangements are in place (Ostrom 1990, 2005, 2007, 2008, Agrawal 2001, Poteete and Ostrom 2008). Ostrom's (1990) seminal book, Governing the Commons, in particular presents communities as social organizations capable of dealing effectively with resource management issues that neither individuals, governments or markets can solve. This and subsequent work has established critical enabling conditions for commons sustainability through the establishment of robust common property institutions including the ability for local users to make, enforce, monitor and adapt management rules and the existence of "nested enterprises" for large-scale, complex resource systems that must be managed across all levels, from the local to the global.

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[6] The commons, as defined by the International Association for the Study of the Commons (Hess 2006), "is a general term for shared resources in which each stakeholder has an equal interest."

Research on working community forests across Canada and around the world has shown that they can result in managing forests in a more sustainable, equitable and efficient way than that of the predominant industrial "state or market" approaches given the creation of appropriate institutions for forest governance (Ostrom 1999, Gibson et al. 2000, Bray et al. 2003, Dietz et al. 2003, Agrawal and Chhatre 2006, Padgee et al. 2006, Agrawal 2007, Charnley and Poe 2007, Wollenberg et al. 2007, Chhatre and Agrawal 2008, McDermott 2009). This work has contributed to an understanding of policy concerns related to forest governance by identifying a number of factors that influence the success of CBFM, including tenure security and local decision-making power that are necessary for sustainable forest governance.

Effective implementation of CBFM requires a change from the top-down, command-and-control, centralized approach that has predominated worldwide for two centuries to decentralization of forest management authority and responsibility. Decentralization has been defined as a formal transfer of powers from central authorities to actors and institutions at lower levels in a political-administrative and territorial hierarchy (Ribot et al. 2006, Ribot 2004, Manor 1999). The theoretical premise is that decision-making closer to local people should be more equitable, efficient, participatory, accountable and ideally, ecologically sustainable (Barry et al. 2010). To be effective, decentralization reforms must include: 1) the construction of downwardly accountable institutions at all levels of government and 2) sufficient power transfers in the form of secure rights to the appropriate local authorities to allow autonomous decision-making at the local level (Ribot 2002, Ribot et al. 2006). Democratic decentralization involves a demand for participation from below through social movements and local governments

that challenge the traditional, centralized approach to public policy (Conyers 1983, Agrawal and Ostrom 2001, Larson 2005, Larson and Soto 2008).

A BRIEF HISTORY OF COMMUNITY-BASED FOREST INITIATIVES IN CANADA

These contemporary theories about community involvement in forest governance inspired initial scholarly discussion about implementation of CBFM across Canada (Allan and Frank 1994, Duinker et al. 1994, Dunster 1994, M'Gonigle 1997 and 1998, Beckley 1998, Booth 1998, Haley and Luckert 1998, Luckert 1999, Nadeau et al. 1999). The implementation of the national Model Forest Program from the 1990s, to its newest form in the Forest Communities Program supported local community involvement (Buchy and Hoverman 2000), including the participation of Aboriginal communities as partners. Various provinces, including British Columbia, Quebec and Ontario (Duinker et al. 1991), have experimented with community forest tenures.

In the early 1990s, Ontario established a five-year community forest pilot project. Despite recognition of the importance of forest tenure security for the pilots (Harvey and Hillier 1994), they did not achieve devolution of authority over forest tenure to local communities and thus provided no meaningful decision-making ability for local communities in forest management As a result, they achieved limited success while they lasted.

During the same period, a more community-based approach to forest management was considered during the Class Environmental Assessment for Timber Management on Crown Lands in Ontario undertaken by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources as required by Ontario's Environmental Assessment Act. The EA Board put in place

numerous terms and conditions (T&Cs) in its 1994 decision to grant EA approval to the

MNR. Several T&Cs called for improved public and Aboriginal participation in forest

management. One T&C required the establishment of a public participation process

through Local Citizens Committees (LCCs) for every forest management unit. The LCC

system, which is still in place, allows only advisory input into forest management planning

by a range of stakeholders and Aboriginal communities. Forest management advisory

committees throughout Canada have been criticized for failing to represent the populations

they allege to serve since these committees are composed mainly of men who are more

highly educated and paid, and more directly economically dependent on the forest industry

than the general public (Wellstead et al. 2003, Parkins et al. 2004). Another T&C called

for customized consultation processes with Aboriginal communities. Because these

mechanisms provided no actual decision-making authority, many Aboriginal communities

have rejected both the LCC and Aboriginal consultation processes outright and are

reluctant to participate in them (Ross and Smith 2003).

Since the 1990s, community forests have been increasingly established in various

Canadian jurisdictions (Teitelbaum et al. 2006). In British Columbia (BC), for example,

while community forest tenures remain a minority on Crown forests, these tenures have

created space for 54 forest-dependent communities to undertake local forest management

(BCCFA 2010). In Quebec, the province introduced new legislation in 2010 that gives

more decision-making to regional authorities and empowers the province "to take local

aspirations and needs into account" including the establishment of locally-managed forests

(QMRNF 2010).

In Ontario, the Whitefeather Forest Initiative for Pikangikum First Nation's traditional territory in Ontario's far north involves a community-based approach to forest management captured in the Whitefeather Forest Land Use Strategy (Pikangikum First Nation 2006). Pikangikum received environmental assessment approval for the Whitefeather Forest Initiative in April 2009, with plans for the area to be designated as a forest management unit in 2010. A forest management plan for the unit is in preparation with plans for implementation in 2012 before which time a Sustainable Forest Licence will be issued by the MNR (OMNR 2010). Additional requirements for the Whitefeather Forest have been included in Ontario's most recent Forest Management Planning Manual, including recognition of the role of Elders and the consideration of Pikangikum Indigenous knowledge (OMNR 2009).

FOREST TENURE REFORM

A resurgence of the movement toward CBFM in northern Ontario's Area of the Undertaking (AOU) [7] (Fig.2) has recently occurred in response to a policy window that has opened for forest tenure reform in the province. The province recognized the need for an improved forest tenure system to address the forestry crisis when they began a formal tenure reform process in September 2009. A two year public and Aboriginal consultation process followed which culminated in the Forest Tenure Modernization Act that was

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[7] The area designated during the Class Environmental Assessment for Forest Management that included the forests licensed for timber harvesting at the time. The AOU excluded the area of the Far North.

Figure 2. Emerging community-based forest management initiatives in northern Ontario and Mitigoog co-op SFL. Compiled by Tomislav Sapic in April 2012.

passed in 2011. The Act created a new forest governance model known as a Local Forest

Management Corporations (LFMC). New forest tenure policy developed at the same time

created the Enhanced Sustainable Forest Licence (ESFL). These new approaches are

intended to increase opportunities for local and Aboriginal community involvement and

forest sector competitiveness (OMNDM 2012).

Local Forest Management Corporations are Crown agencies that will involve a "predominantly" local board of directors (Gravelle 2011), including both local and Aboriginal community representation, where the board is appointed by the province. Enhanced shareholder SFLs (ESFLs) are companies that may be owned by the consuming mills and/or harvesters, or a not-for-profit corporation, and will have a shareholder board of directors that the government suggests will include meaningful local and Aboriginal community involvement. However, it is unclear to date how precisely community board members will be selected for either model. LFMCs will have a revenue model similar to that of the Algonquin Forest Authority, where the corporation will retain revenue from the sale of Crown timber. ESFLs will retain the previous revenue model for SFLs where revenue will be based on royalties paid by users. Williams (2012) suggests that ideally there will also be opportunities to seek additional markets to enhance their revenue.

Over the next 5 to 7 years, the province will establish two LFMCs as pilot projects and make a significant shift from existing single entity and co-operative SFLs to ESFLs. Evaluation criteria will be established to evaluate both new models during this period. The government has indicated that continued engagement of all stakeholders and Aboriginal people will occur for both the development of the evaluation criteria and the detailed design and implementation of both models (OMNDM 2012).

An important outcome of the tenure reform process was a widespread call from communities throughout northern Ontario to accommodate CBFM in the new forest tenure policy framework as a means to promote sustainable, forest-dependent communities (Speers 2010). Communities advocating for the implementation of CBFM in northern Ontario are embracing the worldwide trend toward devolution of forestlands to local

communities. This trend is supported by current scholarly discussion in the province and throughout Canada. This discourse describes the urgent need to create alternative forest tenure arrangements to reinvent the faltering forest sector, promote sustainable development in forest-dependent communities through diversification to a wider range of forest products and better support Aboriginal goals and values (Kennedy et al. 2007, Nelson 2008, Tedder 2008, Robinson 2009a and 2009b, Bullock and Hanna 2012).

TREATIES AND SHARING FOREST RESOURCES

Many of the treaties between the Crown and First Nations in Canada arose from the Royal Proclamation of 1763 in which the British Crown acknowledged the prior claim of Canada's Indigenous peoples and instructed its representatives to enter into agreements with First Nations prior to settlement or development under the principle of maintaining "the honour of the Crown" (Smith 1995). The Robinson treaties, negotiated in 1850, became the model for the other historic treaties across northern Ontario. All residents in the AOU of this region live within one of the following treaty areas: Treaty 9, 1905 (with two adhesions in the far north in 1929 and 1930); Treaty 3, 1873 (adhesion of Lac Seul Indians, 1874); Robinson Superior, 1850; Robinson Huron, 1850; and Manitoulin Island, 1862 (Fig.2).

Commonly, residents of northern settler communities assume that only First Nations hold treaty rights. However, treaties were signed between two nations and therefore involve First Nations and the citizens represented by the governments who were signatories to the treaties. McCreary (2005) writes that treaties are foundational agreements that provide a common framework for peaceful co-existence between First Nations and settlers. Treaties are two-party agreements that bestow rights and obligations

upon both parties. The treaties gave rights to settlers to access lands and resources that had previously been occupied and used by First Nations.

All communities in treaty areas have the right to be consulted on resource issues. However local residents of all types of communities in northern Ontario have had a negligible voice with regard to all forms of natural resource management. Government is reluctant to consult satisfactorily with communities on resource issues beyond municipal or reserve boundaries. In this sense, northern Ontario has been likened to one large reserve with the local population disregarded while important decisions are made elsewhere (Robinson 2007a). This stems from the continued perpetration of the false historical notion of *terra nullius* (Chartrand and Whitecloud 2001, Ch. 5, Asch 2002) that sees the resource-rich areas of Canada as uninhabited territory free for exploitation by governments and private companies.

Given the concerns being voiced by all types of northerners in Ontario about resource management, First Nations, Métis and non-Aboriginal communities have recognized their common issues and have begun to work together collaboratively to address their concerns and interests jointly, despite historical cross-cultural barriers. Communities are breaking down these barriers to develop positive working relationships to jointly address the economic challenges they are mutually facing. "It's not natives and non-natives. We're not separated" (First Nation interviewee). New community-based partnerships between First Nations and municipalities have emerged both independently of and as a response to the opening of the policy window for forest tenure reform. The partnerships exemplify that all northern Ontarians are treaty people with rights and

interests in their local lands and that positive relationships can be built among all types of forest-dependent communities based on respect for the treaties.

A LIVING EXAMPLE OF COLLABORATION: THE GRAND COUNCIL TREATY 3–CITY OF KENORA COMMON GROUND INITIATIVE

The idea that we are all treaty people is being voiced more often across northern Ontario. While there have been too few examples of longstanding Aboriginal/settler co-operative initiatives based on the treaties, there is one current example in northern Ontario that is demonstrating the power of this concept. The City of Kenora and Grand Council Treaty #3 (GCT3) encompass a part of northwestern Ontario that has been a meeting ground for both First Nations, Métis and settlers for over four centuries, although the relationship among these communities has been unsettled. Kenora and GCT3 recently formed a relationship based on respect for the treaty. In a speech in April 2008, Mayor Len Compton declared his support for a treaty-based relationship:

> Since I'm not Aboriginal some might be surprised at my choice of words, but by now, it should be clear to most everyone that we are all treaty people. Some folks, particularly in more urban regions, may have forgotten this fact, but both the courts and First Nations are reminding us that treaties define the legal relationships among those who share lands. Businesses, governments and citizens alike are learning that Treaty obligations and benefits extend to everyone. Under our treaties, we all carry a continuing responsibility to respect and deal fairly with each other.

On the basis of the treaty relationship, GCT3, three First Nations and the municipality of Kenora have committed to co-managing Tunnel Island (Ka-izhe-ki-pi-chiin, a place to stay over), part of an historic portage route, and Old Fort Island, just to the north, both located within city boundaries. The approximately 150 hectares of land was transferred to Kenora by Abitibi-Consolidated in April 2007 (ACI 2007). Based on the principles of "meaningful and open discussions, participation of the directly affected and

indirectly affected individuals, a respectful and dignified process that balances the parties'
interests, solutions that respect the treaty and addressing all interests" (Cotton and Trudeau
2009), the Common Ground Working Group is committed to the shared economic growth
of the region. The group "formed a corporation to manage the Tunnel Island property,
undertake studies to seek historic site status, engage elders, and engage respective
communities in guiding and shaping a shared land use plan" (LWDC 2009). The Common
Ground initiative provides an example of the breaking of the two solitudes of Aboriginal
communities and municipalities so common throughout northern Ontario. By embracing
the treaty relationship as the "common ground" for working together, First Nations and the
municipality provide a model for other communities.

THE FACE OF COMMUNITY FORESTRY INITIATIVES IN NORTHERN ONTARIO

There is widespread recognition among communities that local forests are critical
for the future livelihoods of all citizens who are confident that forestry, at least in some
form, will always be a part of the region (Palmer et al. 2010, Bullock 2010). This
recognition has led to the development of a number of community forest initiatives at the
regional and local level in northern Ontario (Fig. 2). These initiatives include the regional
approach proposed by the Northern Ontario Sustainable Communities Partnership
(NOSCP) and five local CBFM initiatives: Whitesand Community Sustainability Initiative;
Matawa/Greenstone; Constance Lake/Hearst/Mattice Val-Côté; Timiskaming; and
Northeast Superior. All of these initiatives were submitted as proposals during the tenure
reform process, although at the time, the Matawa/Greenstone initiative was submitted as
two separate proposals. An additional initiative was also proposed for the Big Pic Forest in
the Marathon/Manitouwadge and Pic River First Nation area, which has since been

expanded by the province to become the first LFMC pilot, the Nawiinginokiima Forest

Management Corporation. The LFMC will incorporate forests in the Marathon, White

River and Hornepayne area and involve a number of additional municipalities and First

Nations (Gravelle 2011). Additional initiatives have arisen in the Atikokan and Nipigon

areas since the tenure reform consultations.

An additional initiative known as Miitigoog Limited Partnership was established in

2010 as the result of an earlier government initiative, prior to the tenure reform process, to

convert single entity SFLs to co-op SFLs. Miitigoog is as a 50/50 partnership between

several First Nation communities and forestry companies and contractors for the

management of the Kenora Forest in northwestern Ontario. Miitigoog's structure is

comparable to the ESFL model although it does not include municipalities. Given this

similarity and the current policy direction to have primarily ESFLs on the landscape, it is

likely that Miitigoog will be converted to an ESFL in the near future.

The key focus of these community forest initiatives is to obtain forest tenure

security to provide secure access to forest resources from local forests. The initiatives will

be examined to explore three elements: effective governance, First Nation/settler

collaboration and new approaches to forest-based enterprises.

Northern Ontario Sustainable Communities Partnership

The Northern Ontario Sustainable Communities Partnership is an inclusive ad hoc

group that came together in November 2006 in response to the forest industry crisis in

northern Ontario. Participants include individuals and organizations, municipalities, non-

governmental organizations, academics and Aboriginal organizations. NOSCP sees the

current crisis in the industry as an opportunity to re-evaluate the structure of the current forest sector in Ontario and to focus on solutions to achieve long-term sustainability for forest ecosystems and communities in northern Ontario (NOSCP 2010).

NOSCP developed and distributed for endorsement in 2007 the Northern Ontario Community Forest Charter to promote community-based decision-making for the publicly-owned forests of northern Ontario. Broadly the charter principles address good governance, shared decision-making, separation of forest management from any one specific user group (i.e., a forest company), the promotion of a diverse sector through support for value added production, and ensuring local communities benefit from forest development.

In 2009 NOSCP held a workshop, "Community Forests: A Tenure Reform Option for Community Sustainability in Northern Ontario", to discuss how local communities might gain more control over decision-making about the stewardship of northern Ontario forests. Participants included an unprecedented number of First Nations communities and may have been the first time that so many First Nations have met with other northern residents to talk about the common forestland that they share. Delegates participated in several break-out groups in which they discussed common ground based on the northern treaties, a first for many of the participants. NOSCP was also a partner for the workshop "Building Resilient Northern Ontario Communities through Community-based Forest Management", funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Council (SSHRC) and hosted by the Faculty of Natural Resources Management (NRM) at Lakehead University in 2011 (Palmer et al. 2012). This workshop furthered the concept discussed at the original NOSCP workshop, and brought community representatives from northern Ontario

interested in community forests, together with researchers and community forest practitioners. NOSCP will be a partner once again in a much broader community forest conference funded by SSHRC and to be jointly hosted in 2013 by NRM and Algoma University to further this dialogue and expand the network of support for community forestry.

Specific to effective governance, NOSCP promotes regional co-operation and organization, shared decision-making with the province and local control of forest management. In terms of First Nation/settler collaboration, NOSCP made a commitment to not only respect Aboriginal and treaty rights, but also to "help resolve" the outstanding issues around implementation of these rights in forest management. NOSCP advocates for an economic development approach that promotes diversity, best end use and highest value products through less reliance on commodity industries, supporting value added production and focusing on both timber and non-timber values.

In response to the province's proposal for tenure reform, NOSCP submitted several concerns. Among them were issues around Aboriginal and treaty rights, governance and enterprises. On Aboriginal and treaty rights, NOSCP acknowledged that the Ontario proposal included a commitment to meeting its constitutional obligations to uphold Aboriginal and treaty rights, but pointed out that since "tenure affects Aboriginal peoples' access to their traditional territories and forest resources by allocating these to business interests," it is crucial to address the implementation of these rights in the proposal. NOSCP raised numerous questions about the governance model of the provincial proposal, questioning whether LFMCs and ESFLs would be an effective way to promote community forests. Both of these governance models are limited to "a business-as-usual approach

focused solely on competitive timber sales that limit the range of community values".

NOSCP called for more diversity, responsive to local needs and conditions, in governance

rather than a one-size-fits-all, top-town model. Also of concern about ESFLs is that they

do not retain the revenue they generate (to go to general provincial revenue), something

crucial for the success of community forests. Finally, in relation to enterprises, NOSCP

criticized the proposal for its singular focus on timber production (NOSCP 2010).

Local Community Forest Initiatives in Ontario

A number of CBFM initiatives have been developed through partnerships among

communities throughout northern Ontario to advocate for shared management of their

local forests to foster local economic development in order to promote sustainability of

both the communities and forest ecosystems they depend on. Forest Management Units to

be included in these initiatives are not all determined due to some amalgamations (by the

province) to achieve efficiencies of scale. Communities developing these initiatives view a

community-based approach to forest management as best able to balance local economic

development with maintenance of the environment and to be most supportive of local

community values.

> We've done some extensive lobbying with industry and government to say this is
> how we view our community sustainability initiative under this new tenure system.
> And basically we're trying to shape it and mould it in anticipation that the
> government at the end of the day is going to take it as what the tenure system is
> going to look like. I think that where we really need to pursue the Ministry is with
> the idea of community forests. I think not only as First Nations but as Northwestern
> Ontarians we need to lobby really extensively to say this is how we view a
> community forest. I think that industry because they don't really know what it is
> they are not going to really accept it outright. (First Nation interviewee)

> We're the communities that are affected most by what's happening in the forest.
> Traditionally we have had no control over what happened in the forest. We want

that control. We want the decisions to be made locally with due diligence process. (municipal interviewee)

The goals of the initiatives are to: 1) obtain access to local forest resources to broaden their use and develop diversified economic and social initiatives based on local forests, 2) build capacity for all involved communities, 3) operate under a business model to ensure local and regional self-sufficiency, 4) be economically viable and self-sustaining, and 5) contribute to well-being and quality of life in the area. Several of the initiatives have some overlap in terms of portions of the same proposed forests and some communities.

<u>Governance</u>

The CBFM initiatives propose to operate under governance principles comparable to those of the Northern Ontario Community Forest Charter. The management of local forests would be undertaken through a more local or regional approach than that which occurs with the existing forestry system. Local community forest management decision-making would take place through an inclusive, collaborative model where the range of local stakeholders and First Nations work together in a democratic, inclusive and open process.

Implementation of the initiatives would require the creation of new forest management licences for some form of community forest management organization. Communities are proposing various types of legal entities for these organizations such as not-for-profit community forest management corporations, cooperatives, and limited partnerships co-owned and co-managed by all partners equally. The specific type of governance model has yet to be determined for some of the initiatives since they vary in

terms of their stages of development. What is most noteworthy however is that it is the communities themselves that are developing the governance models that they feel will best serve their local interests. It remains to be seen whether the LFMC model proposed by the province would be compatible with the types of governance structures being proposed by local communities for their initiatives.

While some of the initiatives are proposed for forests where no forest industry is currently in operation, others would require transfer of the SFL from industry to the new governance entity. Communities recognize that because the ESFL tenure model was created as a concession to the forest industry who lobbied hard against widespread adoption of LFMCs, industry is eligible to be involved as a stakeholder but will no longer be entitled to have full control over forest management decision-making.

> We in Greenstone have made representation on tenure and we made it very plain that no one company should be granted these large blocks anymore. The identified forests need a new tenure, need a new management scheme. We need to go more to an economic model where all the wood is not tied to one company. There's a tremendous resistance from the companies. But the forest is a resource and it should be used for the benefit of the people who live in and around it. (municipal interviewee)

Communities developing CBFM initiatives are engaged in "creating new space for social and cultural cohesion to emerge when land and community-based enterprises are integrated" (Orozco-Quintero and Davidson-Hunt 2010). The evidence of leadership and trust among community leaders that has led to the bridging of cross-cultural barriers necessary to establish partnerships for the emergence of these initiatives follows a trend that has emerged over the past decade in BC in conjunction with the community forest movement. Robinson (2010) and Greskiw and Innes (2008) documented the case of the municipality of Likely, BC and Xat'sull First Nation that have successfully created a new

cross-cultural paradigm through joint management of a community forest despite the communities having distinct cultures and histories and no prior association.

<u>First Nation/Settler Collaboration</u>

The initiatives are committed to respectful, meaningful and equal partnerships among First Nation and settler communities with recognition and respect for Aboriginal and treaty rights.

> We'd like to just work with everybody. We don't want full control or to be the main people, we just want to be included as a valued partner. If we're going to succeed we need to do it together. We need to stop this whole divide and conquer with regards to First Nations. We all live in these forests. We're all affected the same way. If we put our heads together and do this we'll succeed. (First Nation interviewee)

The partnerships recognize and support the involved First Nation communities in ensuring that any development of resources must be conducted in a matter sensitive to their rights, traditions and values.

> The way I've always envisioned our involvement in forestry is that in order to be in harmony with the traditional lifestyle that we live, there has to be that balance between economic development and the environment. We've always maintained that and that's how I envision us managing our forest in the future. A way to strike that balance between traditional forest use and the non-traditional. (First Nation interviewee)

The initiatives are designed to meet the unique goals of Aboriginal Economic Development (AED) in addition to those of conventional community economic development such as business structure, profitability, employment and capacity. Goals specific to AED include: 1) contribution to the preservation of First Nations culture and values for the First Nations partners and 2) control over First Nation traditional territories and decision-making in forest management at both the operational and strategic levels (Boyd and Trosper 2010).

Implementation of the initiatives would also lead to a new form of forestry considered to be "forestry with First Nations" (rather than "for" or "by") in Wyatt's (2008) framework of First Nation participation in forestry. With this approach, forest management is shared among First Nation and non-Aboriginal communities as a means of recognizing Aboriginal rights. Since "forestry with First Nations" still operates within existing regulatory frameworks, it does not achieve Wyatt's highest level of Aboriginal forestry, where First Nation interests and institutions are dominant. However, the First Nations who are developing new CBFM initiatives with local municipalities have accepted the "forestry with First Nations" concept as a compromise between Aboriginal rights and the interests of their non-Aboriginal neighbours. This approach is similar to some BC community forests being managed collaboratively by First Nations and municipalities as interim measure agreements to strengthen and protect First Nation interests on the land until they are resolved through the completion of formal treaties (Cathro et al. 2007, Robinson 2010). Participation by First Nation communities in these initiatives does not therefore absolve the provincial and federal governments of their fiduciary relationship with the communities and their responsibilities under Section 35 of the 1982 Constitution relating to Aboriginal and Treaty rights.

Community-Based Forest Enterprises

In conjunction with proposals promoting local management of local forests, communities are simultaneously developing new community-based forest enterprises (CFEs) that will utilize forest resources from the same local forests as an approach to foster local economic development based on value-added production. An example of such an enterprise relevant to the Greenstone and Matawa CBFM initiatives is the new

Kenogami Industries Incorporated (KII). This enterprise is a three-way equal partnership among Rocky Shore Development Corporation of Ginoogaming First Nation, Boreal Resource Industries (BRI), a group of former local forest industry workers and Greenstone Development Ltd., the economic development arm of the Municipality of Greenstone. Plans for the enterprise include a co-generation facility to supply local power from forest biomass and the production of wood pellets and other value-added products to stimulate the local economy. Communities expect that community-based forest companies will be most likely to make decisions that are going to help the local economy and promote diversification of products through greater innovation and entrepreneurship in conjunction with local control of the forest. They are intended to produce new, value-added products through CFEs using currently underutilized and/or unmerchantable forest species such as birch, poplar and tamarack, ideally from community-managed forests.

> We need to look at allocation of the wood to bring value locally. We want to see more manufacturing in the community/region. (municipal interviewee)

> There will be a future but it will be one where organizations work together, such as CRIBE[8], to develop non-traditional forestry products (e.g. bioplastics for car manufacturing). We have innovative thinkers to get there but we need a grand vision change of what forestry is. Value is still in the wood but we need to think about what to do with the wood to bring value to the local economy. To me that means complete value-added manufacturing, complete research components, looking at producing our own electricity. That is economic development in its truest sense. (municipal interviewee)

> Back then (in 1992), the communities in and around the Armstrong area decided to get together to put forward a proposal to the government and the industry to consider becoming the Armstrong Model Forest. In that model it talked about the very issue of bioeconomy as we are talking today. (First Nation interviewee)

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[8] The Centre for Research and Innovation in the Bio-economy is an independent, not-for-profit research corporation created in 2009 by the Province to find novel uses for forest biomass in order to bring the forest industry beyond the traditional markets of newsprint, pulp and lumber.

The operation of CFEs in conjunction with local forest management in northern Ontario would exemplify the convergence between community-based enterprises (CBEs) and common property management (Orozco-Quintero and Davidson-Hunt 2010). This direction, which suggests the development of a "forest commons system", follows an emerging trend in First Nation and settler forest-dependent communities in Canada (Anderson et al. 2006, Robinson 2010) and around the world, notably Mexico (Orozco-Quintero and Davidson-Hunt 2010). Community interest in developing CFEs as a means to promote economic development is the driving force to obtain control of the local forests.

Communities concur that CFEs are key to the survival of local economies in a world dominated by global forces (Orozco-Quintero and Berkes 2010). Community forestry enterprises would follow an alternative economic model that provides for broader political, social, cultural and environmental goals than those of utilitarian economic models (Berkes and Adhikari 2006). The development of commons-based CFEs in northern Ontario would contribute to the strengthening of culture, socio-economic empowerment and better environmental stewardship, outcomes being seen worldwide where commons-based community-based enterprises have developed in rural and Indigenous communities (Antinori and Bray 2005, Berkes and Davidson-Hunt 2007, Orozco-Quintero and Davidson-Hunt 2010). Given these distinct advantages of CFEs, their integration within a forest commons system in northern Ontario would support community aspirations to achieve a better balance between economic development and environmental stewardship.

Elements of commons-based community-based enterprises, in addition to security of tenure over the required resources, that have been found to be necessary for their

emergence and success include leadership, trust, operation in local, national and international markets and a range of partnerships (Antinori and Bray 2005, Anderson et al. 2006, Berkes 2007, Berkes and Davidson-Hunt 2007, Seixas and Davy 2008, Orozco-Quintero and Davidson-Hunt 2010, Seixas and Berkes 2010). The leadership and trust that has been displayed by community leaders for the development of the CBFM initiatives will also support CFEs that would ideally operate on community-managed forests.

All of the initiatives have a major focus on providing new value-added products for local and regional (northern and southern Ontario) markets (e.g., biomass for energy, wood pellets, construction materials and non-timber forest products). The initiatives intend to market conventional and new products to existing and/or new international markets. They have either established or plan to establish supportive partnerships to satisfy a diversity of needs through horizontal and vertical linkages, as are necessary for successful enterprises (Berkes and Adhikari 2006, Berkes 2007, Seixas and Berkes 2010, Orozco-Quintero and Berkes 2010). Vertical linkages would exist for all initiatives between several levels of government: municipalities, First Nation governments and organizations and the governments of Ontario and Canada.

The provincial government would be an essential political-level partner for all initiatives, which can only be implemented in a favourable policy environment for community forest tenure. Because the provincial government is the steward of all Crown forests, it would maintain a regulatory role and set minimum provincial standards for all forest management activities regardless of institutional structure as well as provide start-up financing (e.g., through the current Forestry Futures Trust Fund or stumpage fees). The

federal government is an important partner since it has constitutional responsibility for First Nations and their lands and often provides funding for natural resource initiatives.

Horizontal linkages in place or under development for the initiatives are regional and national academic institutions (universities and colleges) and research centres (e.g., Centre for Regional Innovation in the Bio-economy) to support the production of new value-added forest products in northern Ontario. Horizontal linkages for information exchange and support are in place with the Northern Ontario Sustainable Communities Partnership. Other such horizontal linkages could be established with regional and national organizations from a range of sectors (i.e., ENGOs, community forest associations) that support the implementation of CBFM. An important linkage to foster would be with the existing industry players.

CONCLUSION

Old world forest management has led to dependent and unstable rural economies in settler and First Nation communities in the commercial boreal forest zone of northern Ontario. This forest management system, which involves licensing timber from publicly-owned forests to low value commodity forest industries as well as a minimal diversity of actors and forest products, has systematically failed to generate progressive, forest-based development throughout the region. Staples theory provides a social criticism that demonstrates the systematic flaws of a forest management system that has, in northern Ontario, alienated citizens from decision-making on matters fundamental to the economic, social and cultural future of the north. Constitutionally-recognized Aboriginal and treaty rights in Canada, which should protect First Nation forest values, have been largely ignored by the government of Ontario when issuing licences to the forest industry on First

Nation traditional territories. Ontario's historic forest tenure system has been considered to be a prime contributor to the lack of social and economic development that is the result of a staples forest economy in northern Ontario (Robinson 2007a,b).

A policy window for reform of the existing forest tenure system has opened in Ontario due to recognition by the provincial government of the need for an improved tenure system to deal with the forestry crisis. The call for public input to develop a new forest tenure policy framework has been a driver for communities to advocate for community-based management. This contemporary forest governance approach, which has been an increasing global policy trend for the past several decades, has resulted in more equitable and sustainable management of forests than the old world approach when appropriate forest governance institutions including tenure security and local decision-making power are in place.

First Nation and settler communities with distinct histories and cultures, but who share a dependence on the same local forests for their livelihoods and culture, are bridging cross-cultural barriers to develop partnerships to promote shared community-based management of local forests throughout northern Ontario. The concept that "we are all treaty people" provides a powerful foundation for a new relationship among Aboriginal and settler communities for the development of these initiatives. The proposed governance approach would be more local or regional than that of the old world approach. Representatives of local stakeholders and First Nations in community forest management organizations that hold forest licenses would undertake shared forest management decision-making through an inclusive, collaborative and democratic process. Community forest initiatives would support the unique goals of Aboriginal Economic Development

and recognize Aboriginal rights. Community-based forest enterprises that would utilize forest resources from the proposed community forests are being created to promote diversification of products through innovation and entrepreneurship to foster local economic development. The enterprises will focus on providing new value-added products for local and regional markets and operate with a range of linkages and partnerships at multiple levels for a variety of support functions.

It remains to be seen whether the proposed community forest initiatives will be successful. Success will require recognition and facilitation by the Province of Ontario during implementation of the new forest tenure system. It is still uncertain whether the province is willing to break the "staples trap" and move beyond large scale industrial extraction of raw resources for export. Several issues of concern to support successful community forests have not been addressed in the new forest tenure models. Nevertheless, a window of opportunity to improve the system still remains during the five year implementation and evaluation period. Local community forest initiatives hold the promise of diversifying the northern forest economy by placing decision-making in local hands. To achieve the direction communities are working toward will require persistent advocacy while the tenure reform window remains open.

CHAPTER 3: COMMUNITY FORESTRY ON CROWN LAND IN NORTHERN
ONTARIO: EMERGING PARADIGM OR LOCALIZED ANOMALY?

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Ontario has missed multiple opportunities to embrace community forestry as a viable alternative to its predominant industrial system. However, opportunity continues to knock and public support for local decision-making keeps community forestry on the provincial agenda. In this chapter, we adopt a definition of community forestry as a forest management approach in which "communities play a central role in the decisions" (Teitelbaum and Bullock 2012). More specific principles include participatory governance, rights as they affect the level of authority, local benefits, and increased ecological stewardship related to multiple-use forestry (Duinker et al. 1994; Teitelbaum and Bullock 2012, Teitelbaum this volume).

The roots of forest management in Ontario go back three hundred years to the colonial period. Two main social-ecological systems have developed since that time: one is associated with private property rights and is found predominantly in southern Ontario, and the other is associated with provincially owned Crown land in northern Ontario. This chapter focuses exclusively on the development of community forestry in northern Ontario. While there are community forestry projects in southern Ontario, we deem these to be sufficiently different in terms of property rights regime, forest type, and social context to merit separate analysis (for descriptions, see Teitelbaum, Beckley, and Nadeau (2006) and Teitelbaum and Bullock (2012).

The Crown land of northern Ontario covers a vast region that contains predominantly boreal forests and a large portion of the Great Lakes–St. Lawrence forest zone. A significant portion of this region was defined as the "area of the undertaking" (AOU) for the purpose of the groundbreaking class environmental assessment (EA) for timber management on Crown lands in Ontario conducted from the late 1980s to 1994 (EAB 1994). The AOU's northern boundary is the commercial limit for logging in northern Ontario and its southern boundary runs from the Mattawa River in the east, across Lake Nipissing, to the French River in the west (Fig.3). Beyond the northern boundary is Ontario's Far North region, making up 42 percent of the provincial land base and stretching from Manitoba in the west to the Hudson Bay coast in the north and Quebec in the east (Ontario, NRF 2015b). We have taken the AOU and the Far North region, with its population of just over 800,000 – less than 10 percent of the province's total population (Ontario, Finance 2013), as the geographic focus of this chapter. These two regions of Crown land are both social-ecological subsystems of the main Crown land system, based on their rates and levels of forestry development, which are linked to differences in geographical and social contexts.

The AOU encompasses five cities with over forty thousand inhabitants each: North Bay, Sudbury, Sault Ste. Marie, Thunder Bay, and Timmins. Although they are classified as heavily resource-dependent, these cities are relatively diversified since they function as regional service centres (Southcott 2006). The remainder of the AOU is sparsely populated with smaller, less economically diverse, resource-dependent municipalities that are mostly single-industry forestry or mining towns and First Nation reserves (Southcott 2006; see
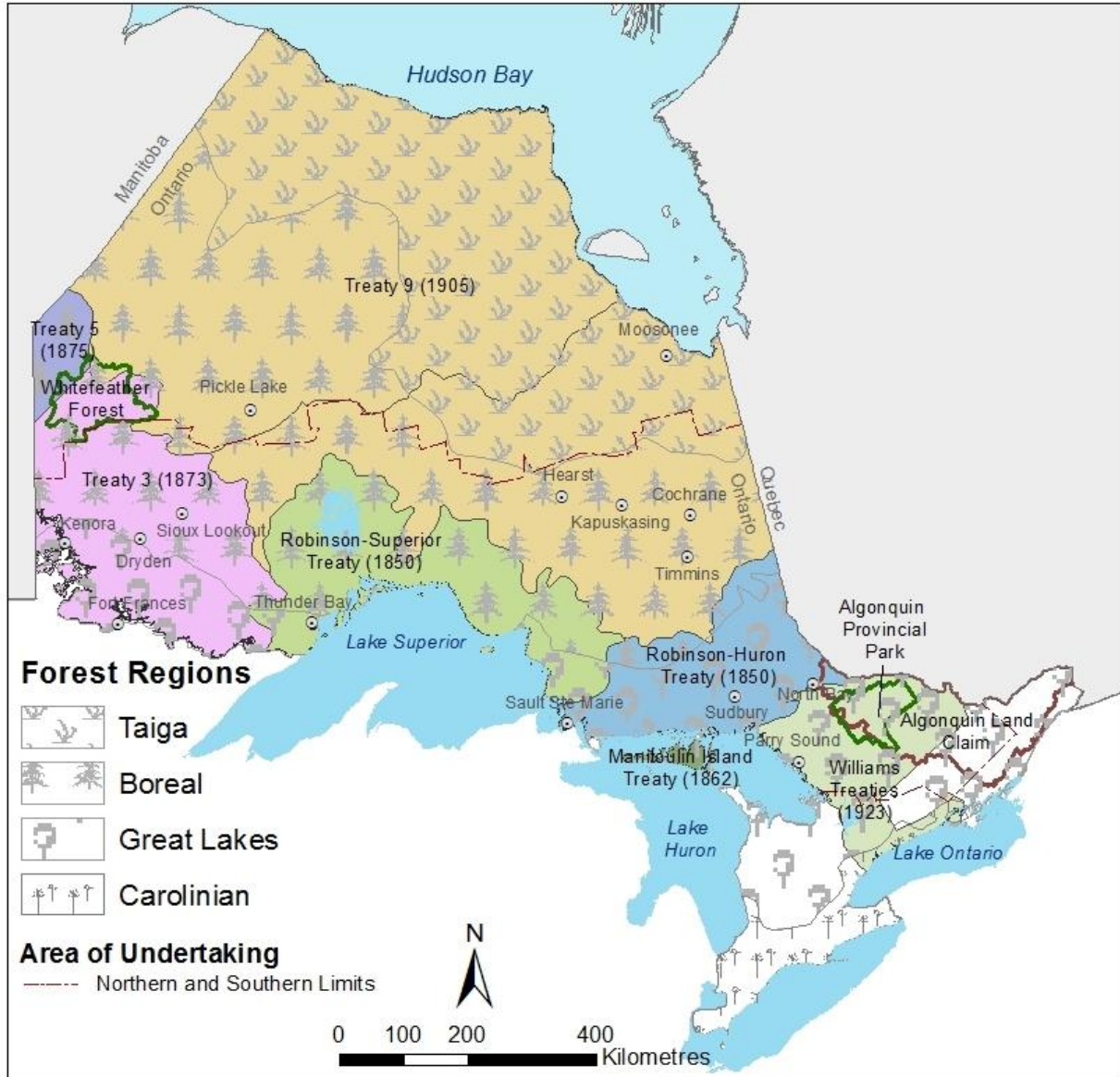
Figure 3. The forest system of Northern Ontario. Compiled by Tomislav Sapic in 2015. Sources: Canada, NRCan 2007; Canada, NRCan 2015.

Fig.3).[9] As of 2004, the forest industry employed close to fifty thousand people in the

boreal forest throughout Canada, 10 percent of them in logging, 40 percent in the wood

industry, and 50 percent in pulp and paper (Bogdanski 2008).

The twenty-four thousand, mainly Aboriginal, inhabitants of the Far North are

located in thirty-one First Nation communities – accessible only by air or water and, in

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[9] For statistical purposes, the Métis population is included with municipalities.

some cases, winter roads – and two municipalities, one (Pickle Lake) accessible by all-season road and the other (Moosonee) by rail (Ontario, NRF 2015b). To date, resource development in this part of the province has been limited mainly to hydroelectricity and mineral exploration. Planning for logging in the region has begun only recently through community-based land use planning. Several provincial parks have been established and the Far North Act, 2010, made a commitment to protect 50 percent of the area.

First Nation communities, which are classified as reserves under federal jurisdiction, have historical and contemporary ties to their traditional territories for subsistence and other purposes. First Nations' traditional territories that are outside reserves encompass large areas of Crown forestlands. Both reserve lands and traditional territories on provincial Crown land are subject to historic treaties (Smith 1998). First Nation communities throughout northern Ontario have historically been largely excluded from the forest-based economy and continue to face much greater economic challenges than municipalities in the same region (Southcott 2006). However, in the wake of recent Supreme Court of Canada decisions, the protection of both First Nation and Métis rights and their involvement in resource management decisions is becoming a central issue (Gallagher 2012; Coates and Newman 2014).

Ontario's Crown forest management system was established in the mid-1800s as the province, with constitutional responsibility to manage natural resources within its boundaries, assumed the power to regulate and extract revenues from forests. This centralized command-and-control system, which fit the "staples" model of economic development based on resource extraction and resource commodity export, provided little room for local decision-making (Thorpe and Sandberg 2008). Except for an early proposal

for the Nipigon Forest Village in 1944, community forestry was not part of the provincial

policy landscape until the establishment of the Algonquin Forest Authority in the 1970s,

followed by several community forestry pilot projects in the 1990s.

This chapter draws on several theoretical concepts to characterize the development

of community forestry in northern Ontario. Its specific objectives are the following: to

describe the historical development of the Crown forest system in Ontario and its

relationship to the adaptive cycle (Gunderson and Holling 2002); to draw on complexity

theory to help explain community forestry's place within northern Ontario's forest system;

and to assess whether Ontario's forest system has truly embraced community forestry

throughout the phases of the adaptive cycle, or whether community forestry is simply an

anomaly frozen within the dominant industrial forestry paradigm.

A COMPLEXITY APPROACH TO NORTHERN ONTARIO'S FORESTRY SYSTEM

In this section, we describe Ontario's forest system and its receptivity to

community forestry from the perspective of complex adaptive systems (complexity)

theory. A central feature of complexity theory is Gunderson and Holling's (2002) adaptive

cycle, a model of systemic change that explains the continuous cycles of disturbance and

renewal that occur in a complex adaptive system (CAS). A CAS is a group of systems that

exhibit multiple interactions and feedback mechanisms in a non-linear manner to form a

complex whole that has the capacity to adapt in a changing environment (Levin 1999;

Gunderson and Holling 2002; Holland 2006). A forest system – with its constituent forest

ecosystems, social institutions, and actors associated with forest management – is a

specific type of CAS composed of linked social and ecological systems (Berkes, Colding,

and Folke 2003; Messier, Puettmann, and Coates 2013; Filotas et al. 2014). Complexity theory provides a means to understand the ebbs and flows of both changes and rigidity within a CAS. By viewing the different phases of the Ontario forest system through a complexity lens, it is possible to identify the challenges and opportunities for the transformation of the system that is necessary to support community forestry. Obtaining an understanding from such a complexity perspective can improve the chances for social innovation, such as the implementation of community forests, in which individuals "begin to shift the pattern around us as we ourselves begin to shift" (Westley, Zimmerman, and Patton 2006, 19).

According to Gunderson and Holling (2002), CASs pass through the adaptive cycle's four phases: (1) exploitation (growth) (r) a phase in which the system undergoes a period of rapid growth and its components become routine, dynamics are relatively predictable, and disturbances have a negligible impact on the integrity of the system; (2) conservation (K), a steady-state phase in which the system becomes stabilized but resources are locked up, and there is increasing complexity of system components, rigidity, and vulnerability to shocks that may disturb the system's balance; (3) release (Ω), associated with chaotic collapse of the system, a drastic reduction of structural complexity, and rapid change in the system's properties; and (4) reorganization (α), a phase in which innovation is possible through a restructuring of the system but its dynamics are unpredictable. The outcome of reorganization can be a return to a similar state or a transformation – a regime shift – into a new system configuration (Holling 1973, 1986; Walker et al. 2004; Walker and Salt 2006).

The theory of panarchy involves the notion that social-ecological systems function at different but linked scales and that elements of these interacting systems change at different rates, yielding extremely complex interactions (Holling, Gunderson, and Peterson 2002). Viewing systems through a panarchy lens can help explain how they are interconnected and how one system is vulnerable to the effect of other systems going through their own adaptive cycles at various scales.

An understanding of the changes that CASs undergo through adaptive cycles provides insight into how to manage a system's resilience – the amount of disturbance that can be absorbed by a CAS without altering its basic structure and function (Holling 1973, 1986; Walker et al. 2004; Walker and Salt 2006). Features associated with resilience in CASs include multiple interactions through web-like interconnectedness; feedback mechanisms and non-linearity; diversity (of species, knowledge systems, economic options); and the capability for self-organization, learning, and adaptation in the context of change (Berkes, Colding, and Folke 2003; Folke, Colding, and Berkes 2003; Chapin et al. 2004; Armitage 2005; Walker and Salt 2006). In a social-ecological system, adaptive capacity is the collective capacity of the actors in the system to manage resilience by responding to, creating, and shaping variability and change in the state of the system (Folke, Colding, and Berkes 2003, Berkes, Colding, and Folke 2003; Walker et al. 2004).

A resilience approach to natural resource management contrasts with that of command-and-control, which does not address the complexity and uncertainty characteristic of CASs but instead emphasizes optimization and efficiency, top-down control, minimal collaboration among stakeholders, and linear positivistic thinking that attempts to maintain the system in a steady state with predictable outcomes (Walker and

Salt 2006; Beratan 2014). Holling and Meffe (1996) describe the "pathology" of the command-and-control approach to natural resource management, which leads to a "cycle of dependency." Pinkerton and Benner (2013) recently demonstrated such an outcome in British Columbia, where forest commodity sawmills exhibited a lack of resilience in the face of the forest economy collapse, exposing the vulnerability of local forest-based economies dependent on these single, large enterprises.

Building system resilience under conditions of change and uncertainty calls instead for an approach that emphasizes flexibility, experiential learning (Holling 1978; Walters 1986; Lee 1993, 1999), collaboration, shared decision-making, and the development of adaptive capacity (Folke, Colding, and Berkes 2003; Folke et al. 2005, Berkes, Colding, and Folke 2003; Lee 1993, 1999). Adaptive capacity fosters the development of innovative solutions in complex social and ecological circumstances such as those that pertain to natural resource management (Walker et al. 2002; Folke, Colding, and Berkes 2003; Gunderson 2003). Adaptive co-management (Armitage, Berkes, and Doubleday 2007; Armitage, Marschke, and Plummer 2008), collaborative adaptive management (Susskind, Camacho, and Schenk 2012), and adaptive collaborative management (Colfer 2005; Prabhu, McDougall, and Fisher 2007; Ojha, Hall, and Sulaiman 2013) are various terms used to describe natural resource management approaches that address the inherent complexity and uncertainty in CASs by combining adaptive management and collaboration among multiple stakeholders. Such approaches promote power sharing, social learning, and the development of relationships through the building of mutual respect and trust, all aspects that contribute to the development of adaptive capacity and therefore foster resilience in natural resource systems. We suggest that community forestry

is aligned with these resilience approaches and, as such, has the potential to promote forest system resilience. With its principles of participatory democracy and multiple use, which necessitate collaboration among a range of actors in the shared management of a diversity of forest products and services, community forestry is a forest governance innovation that recognizes forest system complexity and thereby fosters adaptive capacity.

What follows is an analysis of the development of the forest system in northern Ontario's AOU (from the 1800s to the present), conceptualized through the adaptive cycle framework (see Fig. 4). Our analysis traces the emergence of community forestry throughout the four phases of this system's adaptive cycle. We then present an analysis of the more recent Far North forest subsystem based on its own adaptive cycle, which is distinct but interconnected with the adaptive cycle of the AOU, as explained by the theory of panarchy.

The development of northern Ontario's Crown forest system was driven by the desire to exploit the region's timber in order to fuel provincial development following colonization, a major disturbance that caused the collapse of the original social-ecological system configuration based on Aboriginal land use and occupancy and the fur trade. Following that collapse, the system went through a reorganization phase, emerging as a centralized command-and-control forest system formalized as a policy monopoly governed under the Crown Timber Act of 1849. During the subsequent exploitation (growth) phase, Crown forests were treated as the exclusive domain of the forest industry, their purpose being to generate royalties and employment for the province through sustained-yield

| α | Forest Tenure Reform | | Stabilization of Command-and-Control/Rise of Public & Aboriginal Discontent | K |
| Γ | Growth of Command-and-Control Forest System | | Command-and-Control Forest System Collapse | Ω |
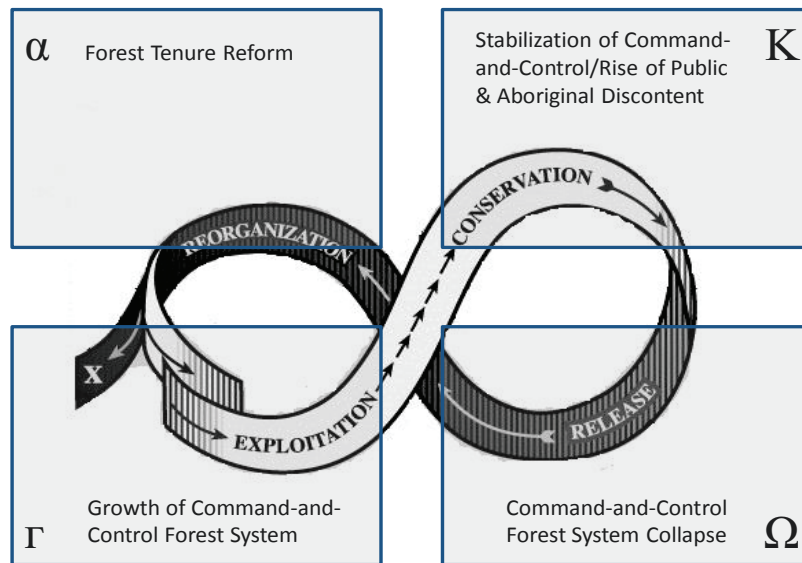
Adapted from Holling et al. 2002: 34

Figure 4. Phases of the adaptive cycle in northern Ontario's forestry system for the Area of the Undertaking.

timber management (Blouin 1998). Industrial development of Crown forests was the key system driver. Forestry companies focused on the production of high-volume, low-value commodities – pulp and paper and dimensional lumber – for export, primarily to the United States.

EXPLOITATION (GROWTH) PHASE: THE RISE OF COMMAND-AND-CONTROL—1800s—1930s

Throughout the nineteenth century and up to the 1930s, the system became regularized with the initiation and expansion of licensing of Crown forests to the forest industry, the development of harvesting technologies, and the establishment of municipalities to support local mills. The system dynamics were predictable and were

based on a sustained-yield policy. Founded on neoclassical resource economics, this policy was aimed solely at optimization of specific variables – in this case, timber production for export in a staples economy (Innis 1930; Clapp 1998; Howlett and Brownsey 2008). Consideration of the system's social components was restricted largely to ensuring both employment and revenue generation. No attention was given to Aboriginal rights and interests.

CONSERVATION PHASE: PUBLIC AND ABORIGINAL DISCONTENT—1930s—2005

By the 1930s, the industrial forest system was well entrenched and stabilized, thus marking the beginning of the conservation phase. Maximization of timber production was achieved through technological advances in harvesting operations, and benefits were continually returned to those employed in the forestry industry. It was also during this phase that rigidity entered the system. Forest resources became "locked up," with only large forestry companies having licensed access to timber.

At the same time, complexity within the system was increasing as a result of nascent public concern about the management of forest resources. Arthur R.M. Lower (1938) reflected this concern in his book *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest*, drawing attention to Canada's increasing dependency on US markets. A provincial royal commission on forestry in 1947 addressed concerns about wasteful forestry practices and regeneration, among other matters (Kennedy 1947). This public criticism became a system driver during this phase, leading to pressure for local input into forest management, thereby creating vulnerability in the command-and-control system. The impact of this

driver was reflected in changes to provincial forest policy that allowed new initiatives to emerge in the middle of this phase.

The Crown Timber Amendment Act of 1979 established forest management agreements (FMAs), which were implemented in 1980. While these licences maintained the dominant paradigm's goal of sustained timber yield, they shifted responsibility for forest management from government to the forest industry. The key policy change in terms of social objectives was the requirement that FMA holders conduct public meetings during the preparation of management and operating plans. Although the new licensing system was applauded as being "creative and credible" (Fullerton 1984, 66), the Lakehead Social Planning Council raised concerns about the FMAs' exclusive focus on forestry companies and the continued disregard of local and First Nation communities and other stakeholders, which prevented them from participating in decision making (Lang and Kushnier 1981).

Public criticism continued in this phase. A new era of forest policy that advanced public and Aboriginal participation was ushered in by the class environmental assessment, or EA (EAB 1994). The introduction of the class EA was an acknowledgement of the failure of the sustained-yield policy and of ecosystem management as a preferred approach. The EA Board also laid down groundbreaking terms and conditions governing social aspects, including public input – in particular, through local citizen committees (LCCs) and Aboriginal consultation. Legally binding, these terms and conditions paved the way for significant changes in forest management in Ontario.

The biggest of these changes was a new forestry law, the 1994 Crown Forest Sustainability Act (CFSA). The CFSA enshrined the concept of sustainability as "long-term health and vigour of Crown forests" that would be managed "to meet social,

economic and environmental needs of present and future generations." Under the CFSA, the former FMAs were converted to sustainable forest licences (SFLs). These long-term (twenty-year) licences became the mechanism for allocation of Crown forests for harvest by either one (single-entity SFL) forestry company or a group (cooperative SFL) of companies; the licencee would own a processing facility such as a sawmill or pulp mill. A second form of licence, the forest resource licence, was also created for short-term harvest (up to five years) on an SFL by harvesting companies other than the SFL holder.

Aboriginal organizations, including political territorial organizations and Métis associations (in one case, in partnership with Northwatch, a northeastern Ontario environmental NGO), brought to the EA Board their interests in the impacts of forest management on their Aboriginal and treaty rights, their connection to their homelands, and their desire both to share in the benefits of forestry and to participate in decision making (EAB 1994, 345). These organizations advocated for "co-management" of forests with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, or OMNR (EAB 1994, 366). Such shared decision-making could be considered a form of community forestry, since it would support joint decision-making at the local level, often address revenue sharing, and put traditional land-use activities on the agenda alongside timber harvesting.

The EA Board stated that Aboriginal and treaty rights were outside its mandate but set out several terms and conditions to improve Aboriginal peoples' access to economic benefits from forest management and their participation in forest management planning. Joint decision-making through co-management was not among the board's recommendations, and forest co-management was never implemented. However, several

community forestry initiatives were proposed or implemented in response to growing public concern.

Community Forestry Initiatives

The first documented proposal for community forestry was Auden's (1944) Nipigon Forest Village, which proposed the development of community forestry enterprises based on a multiple-use approach. While the proposal was received warmly in the academic realm, it was disregarded by the provincial government. However, later in the conservation phase, several initiatives did see the light of day. They included the Algonquin Forest Authority, a provincial community forestry pilot program, the Wendaban Stewardship Authority, and Westwind Forest Management Inc., all of which played a role in showing that alternative forms of tenure were possible.

Algonquin Forest Authority

Algonquin Provincial Park (see Fig. 3) was established in 1893 to conserve white pine as a source of timber for future logging. Thus, the park served a dual role of providing recreational activities while also generating economic benefit from commercial logging. However, in the 1960s, with the rise of recreational activities among urbanites in southern Ontario, increasing public concern was expressed about the impact of logging on the park's "wilderness" values. Conflict ensued between loggers and environmentalists, notably the Algonquin Wildlands League (now the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society – Wildlands League), an environmental NGO that sought an outright ban on logging in the park. The Algonquin Forest Authority (AFA), created by the province in 1974 to address

this conflict, became the first local forest governance initiative of its kind (Killan and Warecki 1992).

The AFA is an Ontario Crown corporation enabled by the Algonquin Forestry Authority Act (1990). Its governance structure is composed of a local board of directors, appointed by the province. Additional local public input is provided by an LCC established in 1998 and composed of members with a wide diversity of interests, including First Nations (Callaghan et al. 2008).

Although the AFA was not conceived as a community forestry organization by the province (Usher et al. 1994), it can be classified as one in that it operates under all four community forestry principles. However, the AFA has a restricted set of rights to forest management, covering only a portion of the full range of property rights described by Schlager and Ostrom (1992) as being essential to community-based management.[10] For example, the AFA has rights to timber only, with no authority over non-timber forest resources. Furthermore, while the AFA has some management rights, the province retains full authority over timber allocation, licensing, and approval of management plans. In terms of local benefits, the AFA is able to retain a portion of stumpage revenue to reinvest in its operation although excess profits are taken by the Province.

Research by Bullock and Hanna (2012) points to weaknesses in the AFA governance model: they question whether adequate representation is achieved, given that board members are appointed by the provincial government and receive financial

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[10] Property rights as defined by Schlager and Ostrom (1992) comprise a "bundle" of five rights: access, withdrawal, management, exclusion, and alienation. The first two convey rights to enter and obtain resources. The last three are decision-making rights that are particularly significant for forest tenure, since they allow the rights holder to define and adjust rules and standards for exercising other rights. While alienation allows the sale or lease of forest lands, including the other rights, management and exclusion rights convey decision-making power over who has access to a resource and how it is harvested.

compensation for their work. However, independent audits of the AFA have noted that public participation through the LCC has been significant (KBM 2003; Callaghan et al. 2008).

Another weakness is the lack of sufficient attention to First Nation rights and interests. When the AFA was established, First Nation rights were not addressed, although the Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn subsequently negotiated access to the park to exercise their hunting rights (APFN 2012). The Algonquin First Nations in the region continue to express concerns about benefits from Algonquin Provincial Park, its significance to their livelihoods and Aboriginal rights, and the complexities relating to their land claim (see Fig. 3) that includes the park (see Huitema n.d. for a history of the relationship between the Algonquin Nation and the park), although the Algonquins and Ontario have agreed that it will be "preserved for the enjoyment of all" (Ontario 2015).

Community Forestry Pilot Projects

In 1991, the Government of Ontario commissioned a forest policy panel to develop a comprehensive framework for forest management in concert with the EA hearings (OFPP 1993). New policy goals in response to the panel's recommendations were developed to address forest sustainability, including community sustainability. One outcome was a pilot community forestry program that was seen by the government as a means to empower communities, in keeping with the new sustainable forest management paradigm (Smith and Whitmore 1991). In 1991, four community forestry pilot projects were established by the OMNR. Three of these – Geraldton, Elk Lake, and six communities within seventy kilometres of each other along Highway 11 – were on Crown

land. A fourth pilot project was established on Wikwemikong Unceded Indian Reserve on Manitoulin Island, an indication of growing provincial involvement in First Nation forest land issues, previously seen as solely a federal responsibility. These pilots were selected out of twenty-two proposals (Harvey and Hillier 1994).

The province provided unprecedented policy and financial support for the program, even if only for its short, three-year lifespan. The program made a valuable contribution to furthering public awareness about community forestry as an alternative forest tenure for Crown land. It also provided several important lessons about factors contributing to the success of community forestry projects – notably, the need for tenure rights that provide security, revenue autonomy, and diversity in governance models (Harvey and Hillier 1994; Harvey 1995; Usher et al. 1994). However, the program involved only a nominal transfer of property rights: pilot projects had limited rights to influence forest management decisions and garner economic benefits from the forest (Harvey and Hillier 1994; Harvey 1995; Teitelbaum, Beckley, and Nadeau 2006). According to Harvey (1995), because of these limitations, the pilot projects ended up sustaining themselves by providing silvicultural and planning services for the conventional forest industry. Of the four pilot projects, two – the Geraldton and Elk Lake community forestry projects – continue as subcontractors to the forest industry, while the other two are no longer operational. Despite their short duration and limited number, the pilots were an important experiment in alternative governance. However, the limited scale of the pilot program did not allow for "adaptive muddling" (DeYoung and Kaplan 1988) – vigorous experimentation using a diversity of designs and broad-based input that emanates from the bottom up rather than

the top down in order to achieve solutions – as called for at the time by several academics

(Duinker, Matakala, and Zhang 1991; Matakala and Duinker 1993).

Wendaban Stewardship Authority

During this phase, a new voice arose to address the use of Crown lands in

traditional First Nation territories. The Wendaban Stewardship Authority (WSA), proposed

in 1991 in the Temagami region just north of Sudbury and North Bay, was a new type of

forest-governance institution intended to promote conflict resolution and cross-cultural

collaboration among stakeholders and the estranged First Nation, the Teme-Augama

Anishnabai (Shute 1993; Bullock and Hanna 2012).

After struggling since the late 1880s to regain control over their traditional

territory, the Teme-Augama mounted several logging road blockades in the mid-1980s. At

the same time, environmental organizations were demanding protection of old-growth

white-pine forests in the region (Black 1990; Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). The

government responded to the escalating conflict and the increasing legal recognition of

Aboriginal rights in Canada, including the recognition of these rights in section 35 of the

Constitution Act, 1982, by negotiating the WSA with the Teme-Augama.

The WSA was the first mechanism in Ontario for the development of a

collaborative approach to the management of forest resources between First Nations and

non-First Nations (Laronde 1993). The WSA was intended to create "a regime of co-

existence" among key actors for "dialogue, learning and action" (Lane 2006, 391), all

practices that support a resilience approach to forest management.[11] The proposed WSA,

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[11] Lane (2006) describes "co-existence" as "resolving how differing parties can exercise their respective rights in land."

similar to the Algonquin Forest Authority in terms of its revenue model and board structure, developed a twenty-year stewardship plan based on ecosystem management, which was by then a cornerstone of the sustainable development paradigm (Benidickson 1996). However, a lack of both government and broad community support meant that the WSA was never legally established. Even though the WSA did not get off the ground, the approach was nonetheless considered a major forest policy breakthrough for its promotion of co-management with First Nations asserting rights over their traditional lands (Benidickson 1996).

Westwind Forest Stewardship

Westwind Forest Stewardship Inc. has been described as the main example of a large-scale community forest in Ontario (Henschel and McEachern 2002; Clark et al. 2003; Teitelbaum, Beckley, and Nadeau 2006; Bullock and Hanna 2012). In 1998, Westwind received the first sustainable forest licence (SFL) under the Crown Forest Sustainability Act for the French-Severn Forest, which comprised over half a million hectares.

Westwind, based in Parry Sound, is a multi-stakeholder, non-profit community-based forest management company governed through consensus by a board of directors composed of both community and industry representatives. Westwind is certified by the Forest Stewardship Council, whose standards promote community benefits and environmental responsibility. While some of the companies purchasing wood from the forest management unit are members of Westwind's board, they do not control decision making but are treated as clients. Profits are returned to support forest management, which

can be considered a local benefit. While local and First Nation advisory groups were established from Westwind's inception, a major ongoing challenge has been the lack of participation of local First Nations (Clark et al. 2003; Venne 2007).

The success of this model has been attributed, at least in part, to its geographic and social context (Berry 2006). Westwind is located near the border between northern and southern Ontario, just west of Algonquin Provincial Park, in proximity to large urban centres. Land ownership in this region is equally split between public and private owners, and the region has a diverse economy based on various types of forest use, cottage-based tourism chief among them. This context provides a strong incentive to minimize conflict and create compatibility between the forest and tourism industries (Barron 1998).

Clark et al. (2003) and Barron (1998) assert that Westwind differs significantly from subsequent SFLs because of its joint community-industry board. Like other community-based bodies set up previously during this phase, Westwind has limited forest property rights: the province retains authority over determining the annual allowable harvest, allocating timber, licensing, and approving forest management plans.

Reslience in the Conservation Phase

These few community forestry models implemented during the conservation phase, although innovative, did not dramatically alter the entrenched industrial forest system. The system was able to resist pressure for community forestry and maintain its negative resilience through continuing its command-and-control approach. Some initiatives remained at the proposal stage and were never implemented; several community forestry pilot projects did not last, and those that did were not implemented in accordance with all

the principles of community forestry. The rigidity of the command-and-control approach meant that the system was able to accommodate only minor variations. Rigidity was evident in the consistent reluctance of provincial authorities to grant enhanced property rights (management and exclusion rights) to communities and in their preference for allocating licences and most timber to large industrial players. As a result, all community forestry attempts, whether enduring or not, amounted to localized experiments only, failing to transform the system. Insufficient devolution of rights by the state to communities has been a common obstacle to community-based forest tenure reform worldwide (Ribot, Agrawal, and Larson 2006; Poteete and Ribot 2011; Cronkleton, Pulhin, and Saigal 2012).

Although the command-and-control forest system maintained substantial negative resilience, it simultaneously became increasingly complex and vulnerable during the conservation phase. Mounting public pressure for a more community-based approach – from First Nations, other local communities, and environmental NGOs – became a new system driver. This rise in public and Aboriginal discontent with the dominant system, along with the interest expressed in community forestry as an alternative, signalled the beginning of a community forestry movement in the early 1990s. However, the policy direction at the end of this phase, which included the discontinuation of some community forestry experiments and an increased focus on industrial tenures (OMNR 1998), served to stifle the fledgling movement and reinforce the dominant paradigm. Policy momentum to support community forestry therefore stalled during the remainder of this phase.

In spite of the limitations of community forestry attempts during this phase, we suggest that their emergence contributed to the development of policies that promoted a new approach to public participation in forest management. Thus, while the system was

not fundamentally transformed at this point, the community forestry initiatives were instrumental in increasing system resilience by laying the basis for further change towards more community-based approaches.

RELEASE PHASE: SYSTEM COLLAPSE—2005-2009

The forest industry experienced a major downturn in the new millennium due to a combination of changes in global supply and demand, an unfavourable export market in the United States, a rising Canadian currency exchange rate, high energy costs, and competition from lower-cost producers outside Canada (Canada, CFS, NRCAN 2006). The downturn worsened, and the command-and-control system reached a crisis point in 2005, when it lost resilience and was driven by these significant shocks into the release phase.

Over the next few years, the crisis brought severely negative impacts to forest-based communities, with an unprecedented number of mill closures in 2005 and 2006 (OFC, n.d.). Ontario achieved the dubious distinction of leading the pack in mill closures, with fourteen mills mothballed in 2005 (CFS 2006). The closures led to dramatic declines in forestry employment, out-migration (particularly of youth) from municipalities, the erosion of municipal tax bases, service reductions, a loss of social capital, and a pervasive lack of well-being in affected communities (Bogdanski 2008; Patriquin, Parkins, and Stedman 2009). Permanent layoffs from the forestry industry due to mill closures between 2003 and 2006 were estimated at nearly fifteen thousand in Ontario and Quebec (CFS 2006).

The release phase is comparable to the third phase of development in a resource staples economy that focuses on the extraction of raw or unfinished bulk commodity

products that are sold in export markets after minimal processing (Clapp 1998). The collapse led to widespread recognition in northern Ontario that the tenure system was broken and in need of significant reform. Different actors proposed solutions. One response was a resurgence of interest in community forestry and a strong push by many communities to implement this approach to foster resilience in forest-dependent communities.

Community Response

The Task Force on Resource Dependent Communities – set up by the Communications, Energy, and Paperworkers Union of Canada and the United Steelworkers (USW) – recommended that the province reform the tenure system to ensure greater involvement of community stakeholders and workers (Butler, Cheetham, and Power 2007). The USW, whose members had worked at a pulp mill in Kenora (since demolished), demanded the creation of regional timber boards in the northwest of the province (USW, n.d.).

Several new groups sprang up in 2006 and pressed for a fundamental change in the forest system to support community forestry, including Saving the Region of Ontario North Group (STRONG), the Gordon Cosens Survival Group, and the Northern Ontario Sustainable Communities Partnership (NOSCP). STRONG and the Gordon Cosens Survival Group were formed in northeastern Ontario following the shutdown of the Excel sawmill in Opasatika. The latter group submitted for consideration to the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR) "A Blueprint for Communities' Survival," which proposed

a community forestry model for the Gordon Cosens Forest (pers. comm., Marc Guindon, 2006).

The Northern Ontario Sustainable Communities Partnership was formed to advocate for a regional approach to community forestry (NOSCP 2007a). The NOSCP comprises diverse participants that include individual citizens, municipalities, non-governmental organizations, academics, unions, and Aboriginal organizations. Given that it was established as a social network within the dominant forest system, the NOSCP functions as a shadow network – a self-organizing, informal network of people with no official authority, which mobilizes in response to crisis (Gunderson 1999; Olsson et al. 2006; Goldstein 2008). Gunderson (1999, 6) describes shadow networks as groups "where new ideas arise and flourish" and "that explore flexible opportunities for resolving resource issues, devise alternative designs and tests of policy, and create ways to foster social learning."

The NOSCP created space for such possibilities when, in 2007, it developed and distributed for endorsement the Northern Ontario Community Forest Charter (NOSCP 2007b). The charter principles broadly address good governance, shared decision-making, separation of forest management from any one specific user group (i.e., a forestry company), the promotion of a diverse sector through support for best end use of forest resources through value-added production of both timber and non-timber values, less reliance on commodity industries, benefits by local communities from forest development, and the upholding of Aboriginal and treaty rights. The charter commits not only to respect but also to "help resolve" the outstanding issues around implementation of these rights in forest management.

By fostering networking among a wide range of actors through activities like the charter endorsement and an inaugural workshop on community forestry in northern Ontario (NOSCP 2009), the NOSCP also became a bridging organization that furthers vertical and horizontal linkages across multiple organizational levels (municipal to federal) and for geographically dispersed social groups (local to national). Shadow networks that provide these kinds of bridging functions act as a source of resilience by facilitating social learning, building social capital, encouraging trust among actors, and helping create a common vision (Olsson et al. 2006; Berkes 2009).

<u>Government Response</u>

The Province's initial response to the forest-sector crisis was to investigate forest-industry concerns through the Minister's Council on Forest Sector Competitiveness (MCFSC 2005). Made up of representatives heavily weighted in favour of the forest industry and focused on "a limited set of forest industry-centred economic factors affecting the efficiency and competiveness of large-scale industrial operations" (Bullock 2010, 99), the council made several recommendations to alleviate the crisis. One of them was to convert single-entity SFLs to cooperative SFLs to improve economies of scale and thereby increase industry competitiveness. The OMNR began an SFL conversion process in the spring of 2007 (OMNR 2007; Morrow 2007), which continued until the spring of 2010, with the formation of the final cooperative SFL, Miitigoog Limited Partnership. Miitigoog is a 50/50 partnership between three First Nations and several local forestry companies and contractors for the management of the Kenora Forest.

Although cooperative SFLs somewhat increased community involvement in forest management, they were developed primarily as a business model with the goal of increasing the participation of those with a business interest rather than of solving major social issues or addressing treaty rights (Morrow 2007; OMNR 2007). Given that they did not grant additional forest property rights beyond those provided by single-entity SFLs, they were a negligible adjustment intended to address only the external economic forces that had affected the existing system rather than its fundamental restructuring.

However, as the crisis continued unabated, the Province eventually did take steps to consider alternative options. In June 2007, the Province appointed an economic facilitator to work with the people of northwestern Ontario to identify initiatives that would build a prosperous economy. The ensuing Rosehart Report recommended a major forest tenure reform that would create "quasi-independent" ecosystem-based authorities managed by boards of directors including First Nations and forest stakeholders (Rosehart 2008). The recommended approach would allow both municipalities and First Nations to play a much greater role in forest management than was possible with either the cooperative or single-entity SFL models. Rosehart's perspective supported the view, increasingly being expressed by some scholars during this phase, that the conventional forest system had constrained diversification and innovation, thereby limiting its resilience (Haley and Nelson 2007; Robinson, 2007, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c).

REORGANIZATION PHASE: TENURE REFORM—2009 AND ONWARD

By the fall of 2009, the Province had recognized that the forestry crisis could not be resolved by minor adjustments to the existing system. Amid continued pressure from

the forest industry and communities alike to address the worsening situation, and heeding

the recommendations of Rosehart (2008), the provincial government initiated an

unprecedented forest tenure reform process in September 2009. This policy development

moved the system into the reorganization phase of the adaptive cycle, where it currently

remains.

The tenure reform process involved a series of public and Aboriginal consultations

throughout northern Ontario that elicited a widespread call from communities to

accommodate community forestry in a new forest tenure policy framework (Speers 2010).

The consultations contributed to a forest tenure proposal put forward in the spring of 2010

to create a new forest governance model, the Local Forest Management Corporation

(LFMC) (Ontario, NDMF 2010). The NOSCP continued with its advocacy work during

this time and prepared a commentary challenging the province's tenure proposal, including

recommendations for a forest tenure framework based on the charter principles (NOSCP

2010). However, extensive lobbying by the forest industry to slow down and limit the

reform had a significant impact on the outcome. The Ontario Forest Industries Association,

which represents a large segment of the forest industry, lobbied hard – with support from

the Northwestern Ontario Associated Chambers of Commerce, the Northwestern Ontario

Municipal Association, and the Federation of Northern Ontario Municipalities – to

maintain existing wood supply commitments and ensure a "measured and moderate"

approach to any change in the tenure system (OFIA, NOACC, NOMA, and FONOM 2011,

6). The tenure reform process resulted in the creation of two new forest governance models

in the spring of 2011 through the Ontario Forest Tenure Modernization Act, 2011, and new

forest tenure policy.

The NOSCP co-hosted a second workshop (Palmer, Smith, and Shahi 2012) when the new forest tenure policy framework was announced to promote dialogue about a response. The group subsequently partnered with several organizations to co-host a 2013 conference that expanded networking for community forestry to the national and international levels. One outcome was the NOSCP's commitment to participate in a new national network, Community Forests Canada, spearheaded at the conference to further promote community forestry country wide (Palmer et al. 2013). In keeping with this commitment, the NOSCP was a partner for a 2014 community forestry symposium in Winnipeg to further this new network (Bullock and Lawler 2014).

New Tenure Models

The Ontario Forest Tenure Modernization Act outlines how a Local Forest Management Corporation will function and permits the establishment of two such models. A second model created through new policy is the Enhanced SFL, or ESFL (Ontario, NDMF 2011). These new approaches are intended to increase opportunities for local and Aboriginal community involvement and forest-sector competitiveness (Ontario, NDMF 2011). However, neither approach was designed to accommodate the implementation of Aboriginal and treaty rights.

An LFMC is an Ontario Crown corporation comparable to the Algonquin Forest Authority but with a different revenue model. This new type of forest management company can hold one or more SFLs and has obligations associated with such licences. LFMCs are to have a "predominantly" local board of directors (Gravelle 2011) that includes Aboriginal and other local community representation, with board members

appointed by the Province. As with the Algonquin Forest Authority, these corporations retain the base stumpage revenue (which normally goes to the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Ontario) to pay for operating costs and to reinvest in the corporation (Speers 2012). However, if an LFMC makes a profit, the Province has the option of taking a dividend (Ontario, NDMF 2011). An ESFL is an SFL that is "enhanced" so that the licence-holding company of consuming mills and/or harvesters, or a non-profit company, has a shareholder board of directors with minimum representation by Aboriginal and local communities (Ontario, NDMF 2011). The LFMC stumpage pricing model does not apply to ESFLs, which must pay the same Crown timber charges as SFLs. A modified form of forest resource licence known as an Enhanced Forest Resource Licence (EFRL) was created in 2012 as an interim model to allow First Nations and municipalities with established forest management companies to hold a short-term licence to undertake harvesting and build capacity in forest management planning activities prior to the establishment of a long-term licence. This licence is a form of hybrid model between an SFL and FRL (Ontario, NRF 2012).

The Province established the first LFMC and is facilitating the conversion of existing single-entity and cooperative SFLs to ESFLs. This first LFMC, known as the Nawiinginokiima ("working together") Forest Management Corporation (NFMC), became operational in the spring of 2013. It currently holds EFRLs[12] for two forest management units in the vicinity of the municipalities of Marathon, Manitouwadge, White River, and Hornepayne and three First Nations with traditional territories in this area – the Ojibways

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[12] Three other ESFLs have been issued since 2012 to First Nation corporations—Obishikokaang Resources, Ne Daa Kii Me Naan and Rainy Lake Tribal Resource management Inc. — owned by First Nations interested in obtaining long-term forest licences.

of Pic River, Pic Mobert, and Hornepayne. The province appointed the board of directors, with local community and Aboriginal representatives who were instrumental in promoting this initiative, as well as two members-at-large with experience in the forest sector. All affected communities are invited to have representatives on the board. The ESFLs are to be converted to SFLs in the near future, and NFMC has applied to obtain an additional two SFLs for nearby forest management units. One of the forest management units currently under an EFRL obtained FSC certification in Sept. 2014. To contribute to further development of policy relating to ESFLs and their implementation, the province established a Forest Industry Working Group and – at the request of First Nation organizations, communities, and the NOSCP – a First Nation Working Group in 2010 and a Community Working Group in 2011. The groups became the Joint Working Group, which, in 2012, developed a set of principles to guide ESFL implementation. In 2014, the Joint Working Group was replaced by an Oversight Group, with some new representatives from the various constituencies. Evaluation criteria are currently being developed for a review, to take place in 2016, of both the LFMC and ESFL models, as well as for all other forest management models (Ontario, NRF 2015a). The inclusion of local communities and First Nations at the negotiating table is a step away from the command-and-control system that historically saw a "business-government nexus" of policy making, with other groups excluded from decision making (Howlett and Rayner 2001).

Limitations of the New Tenure System

While the new tenure system provides some space for the development of community forests, the command-and-control system has not undergone an actual

transformation to a new regime that operates on the four community forestry principles of participatory governance, rights, local benefits, and ecological stewardship/multiple use. Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN), a political territorial organization representing First Nations in the Treaties 5 and 9 areas of northern Ontario, voiced concerns that neither of the two new governance models supports a framework for community-managed forests and that they are inconsistent with the treaty position that decisions with respect to the land (including forest tenure) are to be community managed. (Palmer, Smith, and Shahi 2012, NAN 2015). NOSCP characterized the new tenure framework as having "a timid beginning with tons of potential" (NOSCP 2011). As in the earlier experiments, the provincial government will retain power over timber allocations, licensing, and approval of forest management plans, thereby limiting the forest-property rights that are essential for the success of community forestry (Schlager and Ostrom 1992).

The revised system includes only two long-term tenure models. Like the models implemented in the conservation phase, the new system lacks the degree of experimentation, or "adaptive muddling," that is regarded as crucial for success (Duinker, Matakala, and Zhang 1991; Robinson 2009c, 2012) and the level of diversity inherent in resilient systems (Berkes, Colding, and Folke 2003; Folke, Colding, and Berkes 2003; Chapin et al. 2004; Armitage 2005; Walker and Salt 2006). With only two types of long-term tenure models as options, the ability of governance to respond to local needs and conditions is constrained. In addition, both new models continue a singular focus on timber, limiting a broader range of community values; this runs counter to the community forestry principle of multiple use. Public advocacy for community forests has consistently emphasized the need for the development of a broad range of enterprises based not only on

timber but also on non-timber products, including tourism and recreation, to support diversification of community economic development. A diversity of enterprises is considered key for the survival of local, forest-based economies in a world dominated by global forces (Orozco-Quintero and Berkes 2010).

Although the new tenure framework suggests that LFMCs will provide "independent, local governance" (Ontario, NDMF 2011, 9), a common concern among many communities is that the appointment, and potential removal, of board members by government will not support true participatory governance, in which local people have meaningful decision-making power through a democratic approach. The imposition by the Province of a governance system precludes the self-organization principle of resilient systems.

While ESFLs appear to have greater flexibility in governance, with Aboriginal and local communities guaranteed at least minimum representation on ESFL boards, shareholders (i.e., the forest industry) are to have proportional influence over financial decisions. It is therefore questionable how well this model will foster the community forestry principle of local benefits. Concerns have also been raised about the ESFL revenue model, which, unlike that of LFMCs, does not return royalties to local communities. Capistrano and Colfer (2005) and Robinson (2012) point out that for devolution of forest management to be successful, local institutions require revenue and/or taxation powers in order to invest in their people to achieve the continued learning that fosters improvements in forest management.

Emerging Community Forest Initiatives in the Area of the Undertaking

The tenure reform process has been a driver for the development of several regional community forestry initiatives that involve municipalities and First Nations who share the same forests in a common geographic region. First Nations and settler communities with distinct histories and historically isolated cultures are bridging cross-cultural barriers to collaborate in these initiatives. The concept that "we are all treaty people" provides a powerful foundation for a new relationship among Aboriginal and settler communities based on a respect for Aboriginal rights (Smith, Palmer, and Shahi 2012). In some cases, the initiatives also include forestry companies that are accepting a community-based approach as partners. All of the initiatives involve the Province, which maintains oversight for Crown forests. The processes undertaken to develop these initiatives reflect the start of adaptive and collaborative approaches to forest management that foster resilience.

These emerging initiatives have three objectives: 1) an inclusive, collaborative, and democratic process associated with participatory, regional governance that involves representatives of local stakeholders and First Nation communities; 2) diversified economies based on best end-use of both timber and non-timber forest resources through the development of enterprises that support community and Aboriginal economic development (Boyd and Trosper 2010); and 3) revenue power achieved through resource revenue sharing. While the recognition of Aboriginal and treaty rights is also a key concern, initiatives may adopt the approach used by one BC community forest, the Likely/Xat'súll Community Forest, where First Nation rights, although recognized by the

community forest, are promoted through relations between the provincial and federal governments and the First Nation governments (Robinson 2010).

An example of a developing ESFL based on a community forest proposal is found in the Northeast Superior region (Lachance, in preparation). Two Crown forest management units and the 700,000 hectare Chapleau Crown Game Preserve near the municipalities of Chapleau, Wawa, and Dubreuilville are part of the initiative, as are the traditional territories of several First Nations represented by the Northeast Superior Regional Chiefs' Forum (NSRCF). The First Nation participants have proposed the inclusion of portions of several additional adjacent forests that are in their traditional territories. A number of forest companies in the region are also participants. The community forest model is associated with the NSRCF's proposal for a resilient, regional conservation economy that includes value-added timber and non-timber forest products in addition to traditional commodities (Reid-Kuecks et al. 2012). Although the governance structure has not been determined, the province has made a commitment to support and resource the development of the ESFL, and planning is underway for its establishment.

A collaborative community-based process was undertaken to develop the Hearst/Constance Lake First Nation/Mattice-Val Côté community forest model that was proposed during the tenure reform consultations. Although not yet supported by the Province, this model builds upon an existing cooperative SFL and cross-cultural relationships developed through an earlier collaborative process involving the municipality of Hearst, Constance Lake First Nation, and local forest industry (Casimirri, in preparation). The spring 2014 closure of a pulp mill in Fort Frances spurred the municipality and First Nations with traditional territories in the region to propose an ESFL

with a similar cross-cultural focus for a forest in the area (Hicks 2014). These initiatives also include existing forest industry partners or invite new industry partners who want to participate.

All of these ESFL initiatives display adaptive and collaborative approaches among First Nations and stakeholders, approaches that are transforming the way these different actors are working together in northern Ontario. These and other initiatives that are also developing ESFLs, or are in a transitional state before becoming some form of long-term tenure model, are trying to find their place within the new forest tenure system – notably, the Whitesand First Nation Community Sustainability Initiative, which is a component of the Lake Nipigon ESFL initiative; the Lac Seul, Sapawe, and Kenogami EFRLs, which are to transition to ESFLs; and a recent proposal by three Matawa First Nations for a long-term licence on the Ogoki Forest. With implementation of ESFLs planned over the next several years and the option for an additional LFMC, it is likely that more initiatives will emerge and that established SFLs with a community forestry bent, such as Miitigoog and Westwind, will also become ESFLs.

MOVING FORWARD IN THE AOU: BEYOND REORGANIZATION

The AOU's forest system remains in the reorganization phase, with its future configuration unpredictable. A new provincial forest-tenure policy framework has created some space for the participation of First Nations and other local communities in new forest-governance structures. At the same time, ongoing resistance from a large segment of the forest industry aimed at maintaining the command-and-control system, despite its negative resilience, has limited the advancement of most community forest models to date

and has thus precluded transformative change that would fully support community forestry. This resistance operates as the key driver that maintains vulnerability in the reorganizing system. Such resistance undermines the development of adaptive capacity to foster resilience in the face of additional future shocks that are inevitable in all complex adaptive systems. However, continued pressure for the advancement of community forestry from communities and other organizations is a simultaneous driver that is operating to counteract this negative resilience.

A window of opportunity remains open for revisions to the forest-tenure system, which could provide a future enabling policy environment for community forestry. This opportunity is being pursued in a number of ways. Communities continue to undertake regional, cross-cultural adaptive and collaborative processes that are building adaptive capacity to support the development of community forestry models. First Nation organizations such as Nishnawbe Aski Nation, Matawa First Nations Management, and the Northeast Superior Regional Chiefs' Forum continue to lobby for a tenure system that both promotes community forests and supports protection of First Nation rights and First Nation participation in forest management decisions. The Northern Ontario Sustainable Communities Partnership continues its activities as a shadow network and bridging organization advocating for community forestry. Emerging co-operative initiatives, as seen in cross-cultural collaboration and related synergistic effects among numerous actors appear to be driving the system towards a regime shift that could see the creation of a forest-tenure policy that supports community forestry in the future.

ONTARIO'S FAR NORTH: THE WHITEFEATHER FOREST INITIATIVE

As was the case in the AOU, colonization was a major disturbance in the Far North that caused the collapse of the original social-ecological configuration based on Aboriginal land use and occupancy and the fur trade. However, because of the remoteness of this region, the rate of system change following colonization has been slower, given that industrial timber exploitation did not occur.

Following system collapse due to colonization, the original social-ecological system in the Far North went through a reorganization phase that saw First Nations relocated to reserves, the emergence of a mixed economy based on traditional Aboriginal land use and seasonal wage employment, and a gradual process of change towards the beginning of resource development. The exploitation (growth) phase of the forest system's adaptive cycle was initiated only recently, when one First Nation became involved in planning for what they foresaw as impending forestry development beyond the AOU. The Far North forest system remains in the growth phase of its current adaptive cycle. Forestry development is poised to begin through the Whitefeather Forest Initiative, the first forest management model that has been developed in the Far North.

First Nations in the Far North are signatories to either Treaty 5 or Treaty 9, signed between 1875 and 1930 (see Fig. 3). The Ontario Forest Accord – signed by the Ministry of Natural Resources, forest industry representatives, and environmental organizations in 1999 as part of a provincial land-use planning exercise (OMNR 1999) – stipulated that development in the region was contingent on First Nation consent, environmental assessment, and the establishment of protected areas. This accord led the OMNR to

develop the Northern Boreal Initiative, a policy that promoted "community-based land use planning" (OMNR 2002).

Pikangikum First Nation, whose traditional territory is immediately north of the Far North boundary (see Fig. 3), was the first community in the Far North to express interest in engaging with the Province to ensure that the community benefited from what seemed inevitable forestry development by being in "the driver's seat" (PFN 2006, 4). The Whitefeather Forest Initiative began in 1999 when Pikangikum approached the OMNR with an "economic renewal" project that led to a joint approach to forest development.

Pikangikum defined the Whitefeather Forest boundaries, encompassing 1.3 million hectares of land north of Red Lake in northwestern Ontario, on the basis of the First Nation's registered traplines. An advisory group made up of community and OMNR representatives provided the mechanism for bridging the gap between the planning approaches of Pikangikum and the OMNR, allowing Pikangikum to work in a "cross-cultural context" (PFN 2006, 12). The planning process covered the development of a land use strategy, environmental assessment, and, finally, a forest management plan. The land use strategy outlined in Keeping the Land (PFN 2006) reflected Pikangikum's customary land stewardship traditions. The environmental assessment approval granted in 2009 addressed the unique characteristics of the Whitefeather Forest and the need to respect the customary stewardship practices of Pikangikum, provide continuous habitat for woodland caribou management, and deal with road access issues in order to both provide access to timber and maintain the remote characteristics of the Whitefeather Forest (Ontario, Environment 2009). The forest management plan was approved in 2012 (Palmer 2012). The OMNR included the unique aspects of this plan in its latest Forest Management

Planning Manual. In particular, the role of elders in guiding planning and decision making and the use of traditional knowledge have been recognized (OMNR 2009). An SFL for the Whitefeather Forest was issued in 2013 to the Whitefeather Forest Community Resource Management Authority.

The Whitefeather approach is closely aligned with the community forestry principles of participatory governance, rights, local benefits, and ecological stewardship/multiple use. Pikangikum continues to exercise its rights to make decisions about the resources in its territory through its local steering committee and the Whitefeather Forest Management Corporation. The community's approach, outlined in Keeping the Land combines modern-day forestry with the continuation of traditional land-use activities based on the community's customary stewardship practices, thus ensuring multiple use and sustainable management. In terms of local benefits, by holding an SFL for the Whitefeather Forest, Pikangikum has the potential to generate employment and revenues.

Other First Nations in the region, like Cat Lake and Slate Falls, have also completed land use plans. It is likely that additional First Nations in the Far North will pursue provincial forestry licences, under the community-based land-use planning approach captured in the Far North Act, 2010.

While timber exploitation has not been a system driver to date within the Far North forest subsystem, the influence of forestry development in the AOU is nonetheless apparent in the Far North. The northward expansion of forestry activity to the Far North boundary is a driver for First Nations in the Far North to advocate for a community-based approach to forestry development in their traditional territories. Several First Nations, in

addition to Pikangikum, are involved in community-based land use planning that address natural resource development under the Far North Act, 2010. Additional drivers are the legal context that saw the start of a winning streak of Aboriginal cases throughout Canada around the time that interest in forest management was first expressed by Pikangikum (Gallagher 2012) and the lessons learned by the Province in relation to forestry development over a much longer period in the AOU. These drivers contributed to system change by inspiring the political will to develop a supportive policy framework for community forestry in the Far North in an attempt to avoid the negative consequences of the command-and-control approach experienced to the south. The piecemeal approach to forestry development that occurred throughout the AOU will be avoided in the Far North, where forest management is to be implemented from the outset as a component of an overarching community-based land-use planning approach across the landscape to support First Nation values and aspirations. This policy approach to forest management in the Far North fosters resilience in its developing forest system.

The acceptance of community forestry in the forest system of the Far North is affecting change in the AOU forest system by further supporting its ever-intensifying community forestry movement. Viewed through a panarchy lens, these two forest subsystems, which operate at different scales and rates, can be seen to be interconnected such that they are influencing each other to foster greater support for community forestry throughout northern Ontario.

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, we have used complexity theory to understand northern Ontario's Crown forest system and the potential for community forestry as an alternative, more resilient form of forest tenure to that of a command-and-control approach. We have characterized Ontario's Crown forest system as a specific type of complex adaptive system, a social-ecological system that has the ability to adapt to a changing environment. We have evaluated community forestry initiatives that have been proposed and implemented in northern Ontario's Area of the Undertaking during the different phases of the forest system's adaptive cycle – the cycle of disturbance and renewal that occurs in complex adaptive systems (CASs) – from the system's inception to the present: the growth phase from the 1800s to the 1930s, the conservation phase from the 1930s to 2005, the release phase from 2005 to 2009, and the reorganization phase from 2009 on. We have differentiated these phases based on features that are characteristic of each phase of a CAS's adaptive cycle. This evaluation explored the resilience of the forest social-ecological system during each phase in terms of its receptivity to community forestry and whether the community forestry principles of participatory governance, rights, local benefits, and ecological stewardship/multiple use were met. We have similarly evaluated the first community forestry initiative that has been proposed and is soon to be implemented in the Far North's developing forest system.

In the AOU, community forestry initiatives have progressed from the formation of the Algonquin Forest Authority in the conservation phase as a reaction to a single issue – a conflict between logging and recreation – to proactive regional initiatives in the current reorganization phase. Regional partnerships to develop these initiatives have emerged

between historically isolated First Nations and municipalities in northern Ontario. In some cases, the forest industry has become supportive of a more community-based approach. In the Far North, community-based land-use planning fosters control over development in First Nation traditional territories. The context for this direction towards community forestry throughout northern Ontario includes the increasing legal recognition of Aboriginal rights in Canada.

Advocacy for community forestry began as a mere idea that was expressed, but initially disregarded, by the Province of Ontario in the early conservation phase of the AOU forest system's adaptive cycle. This advocacy then increased as the conservation phase progressed, during a period when experimentation with community forestry was supported but stalled in the late conservation phase. The community forestry movement was thus temporarily stifled but subsequently re-emerged during the release phase of the system's adaptive cycle, when the command-and-control approach resulted in a forest sector crisis that led to a major economic downturn in the forest industry. Community forestry advocacy subsequently blossomed to become a well-connected and active community forestry movement in the current reorganization phase of the system's adaptive cycle.

The community forestry initiatives that have emerged in the reorganization phase of the AOU forest system may appear as isolated endeavours that are seemingly mere experiments with only localized impact. Yet when the initiatives are viewed in concert with the broader efforts of organizations such as the NOSCP and the Aboriginal and community working groups that have already influenced provincial forest-tenure policy direction, it can be seen that this combined effort is exerting an effect that Westley et al.

(2011, 771) describe as "nibbling at the dominant system." Complexity theory explains how this effect works to reduce the negative resilience of the dominant regime while simultaneously building resilience for innovative alternatives to take hold. This nibbling effect thus makes an important contribution to the process of change in a complex adaptive system and can ultimately drive the dominant system towards a regime shift. Communities and other organizations that are promoting transformational change of the AOU's forest system to embrace community forestry are, in the sense described by Westley et al. (2011), social and institutional entrepreneurs. They are using the window of opportunity provided by the current period of forest-tenure reform to build innovation niches at the local and regional levels in order to link them to the broader (provincial-level) institutional scale. Complexity theory offers an insightful theoretical lens through which to view this process of change.

The Far North forest system is currently in the early growth phase, with forestry development on the verge of implementation under a separate forest-policy framework from that of the AOU. A key difference in this region, where change to the forest system has been slower to develop following colonization, is that community forestry is the accepted forest-policy approach to forest development in the Far North. First Nations, who constitute the largest population in this part of the province, are taking a strong role in forest management planning that falls under the umbrella of community-based land-use planning.

We have also found it valuable to view the evolution of community forestry within northern Ontario's overall Crown forest system from a complexity perspective because this approach considers system resilience. We argue that community forestry offers the

characteristics of resilience within the context of northern Ontario's forest system of operating Crown forests that are shared in a common geographic area by a range of actors with varied perspectives and interests. The community forest movement in the AOU is working to build the forest system's resilience in the face of uncertainty and change. This is achieved through fostering cross-cultural collaboration and social learning in two spheres: the ongoing development of community forestry initiatives that are undertaking adaptive and collaborative management and the local, national, and international networking among communities, supporting organizations, and other stakeholders. The forest-policy direction in the Far North supports a resilience approach to forest management.

Because Ontario remains hesitant about devolving full control of forest management decision-making to local communities, the forest system in the AOU has not yet undergone a transformative change that supports all four community forest principles of participatory governance, rights, local benefits, and ecological stewardship/multiple use. There is no guarantee that a regime shift to a more resilient system configuration will occur as a result of innovations that arise during the reorganization phase. However, the AOU and Far North forest systems are influencing each other to advance community forestry in the overall Crown forest system of northern Ontario. Given that the community forestry movement continues to build resilience as communities push for this outcome throughout all of northern Ontario, we suggest that the AOU's forest system is in fact being driven towards such a regime shift, which could see a future forest tenure policy framework that supports the implementation of community forests as envisioned by communities. On the basis of this burgeoning movement throughout northern Ontario, we

conclude that community forestry is an emerging paradigm rather than a mere localized

anomaly frozen within a dominant command-and-control system.

CHAPTER 4: TRANSFORMATIVE COMMUNITY ORGANIZING FOR
COMMUNITY FORESTS: THE NORTHERN ONTARIO SUSTAINABLE
COMMUNITIES PARTNERSHIP

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INTRODUCTION

The Northern Ontario Sustainable Communities Partnership (NOSCP) was

established in 2006 as an inclusive, grassroots group in response to the "forestry crisis"

that was rippling across the major forest product producing provinces in Canada. NOSCP

viewed the crisis in northern Ontario as an opportunity to re-evaluate the structure of the

forest sector and to focus on solutions to achieve long-term sustainability for local

communities and the Crown forests upon which they depend. NOSCP aims to promote a

regional approach to the implementation of community forests. The group advocates for

forest tenure policy reform to enable implementation of community forestry and supports

communities in their efforts to develop community forest initiatives.

This chapter describes the transformative approach to community organizing

undertaken by NOSCP to promote transformation of the historic command-and-control

forest tenure system to support community forestry in northern Ontario. This system

alienated municipalities and Indigenous communities from forest management decision-

making leading to dependent, unstable local economies, thus compromising community

well-being. NOSCP uses transformative community organizing (TCO) to create a

collective voice that builds power among northern Ontario citizens to represent their own

interests in forest management and to raise critical consciousness about the need for an

alternative forest tenure approach that supports community forests. This approach

challenges the assumptions of the dominant forestry system that NOSCP sees as part of the

capitalist model of neoliberalism. In concert with the TCO approach, power, as it relates to

forest tenure within the social and historical context in northern Ontario, is the key issue

addressed by NOSCP.

The chapter takes the perspective that transformative community organizing by

NOSCP is a social change movement. This movement is part of a wider force for social

and political justice that has emerged to contest the neoliberal political-economic paradigm

that has dominated industrialized nations for the past three decades. A resurgence of

grassroots social movements, not seen since the pre-neoliberal era, began with an outbreak

of the alter-globalization movement in the 1990s[13] (Chesters and Welsh 2005, Engler

2007) and has since expanded to worldwide protests by the Occupy movement and others

over climate change and social justice (Harden-Donahue 2014, Rehmann 2012, Sharlet

2013). In Canada, social movements critical of resource extraction, such as tar sands

expansion and fracking, have gained prominence (Schwartz and Gollom 2013, Loney

2013, Crawford 2014, Ruiz Leotaud 2014). These Canadian movements include Idle No

More that arose in 2012 to protest federal weakening of environmental regulations and

recognition of Indigenous rights given the unequal position of Indigenous peoples

throughout the country (Jarvis 2013). The Idle No More movement is spurred on by legal

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[13] The rise of the alter-globalization movement is chronicled by Chesters and Welsh (2005) beginning with the Intercontinental Gatherings for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism (Zapatista Encuentros) in Mexico in the mid-1990s, followed by protests against global financial institutions (International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization) later that decade, and the establishment of the World Social Forum in 2001 and subsequent regional sub-conferences by social movements opposed to neoliberalism and the domination of the world by capital and any form of imperialism.

wins that acknowledge constitutionally-recognized Aboriginal and treaty rights related to lands and natural resources (Gallagher 2012, Hildebrandt 2014).

These contemporary social change movements have used the global economic crisis that has shaken neoliberal capitalism as a window of opportunity to promote their social change agendas. NOSCP similarly capitalized on the forest sector downturn as an opening to push for transformation of the forestry system in northern Ontario to one that supports community forestry. This direction aligns with worldwide community forestry social movements that have been instrumental in achieving local and Indigenous rights over forest resources in recent decades; their calls for greater tenure and usufruct (property use) rights continue to intensify (Taylor et al. 2010).

In addition to being a social change movement, NOSCP is also described as an informally-structured community organization that promotes community forests as an alternative development model to the dominant neoliberal forestry approach. NOSCP has successfully united these two traditions of community organizing.

The chapter begins with an overview of concepts and theories on neoliberalism and TCO to provide an understanding of: 1) the broader political-economic paradigm that has influenced the forestry system in northern Ontario, and 2) the approach NOSCP has used to promote transformation of this system. The northern Ontario forestry system is next discussed to illustrate the context within which NOSCP operates. The chapter then traces the evolution of NOSCP from its inception to the present, with a discussion of the action and education activities it has undertaken during that time as both a social movement and a community organization.

NEOLIBERALISM: IMPACTS AND ALTERNATIVES

While there are various understandings of neoliberalism, many which are informed by Marxism or the theories of Foucault[14], the different perspectives all share a common concern about power relations being the central problem associated with capitalism (Springer 2012). Neoliberalism is founded in classical liberalism that sees government control of economic decision-making through central planning as a loss of freedom. The key focus of neoliberalism is the centrality of the market. Neoliberalism embraces neoclassical economics, the dominant school of economic thought that links supply and demand to the rational choices of self-interested individuals and their ability to maximize utility or profit based on tastes and preferences (Harvey 2010).

Neoliberal ideology purports to embrace "free" markets—free from state interference—as the optimal mechanism for economic development (Brenner and Theodore 2002). Various accounts convey how neoclassical economic theory continues to dominate mainstream economics despite extensive evidence that has shown its failings and the admissions of mistaken beliefs by some former staunch supporters following the global economic crisis (Beinhocker 2006, Clark and Treanor 2008, Posner 2009, Cassidy 2010, van der Veen 2013, Mirowski 2014).[15] In their broad social and economic critique of

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[14] Michael Foucault was a French philosopher, historian of ideas, social theorist, and literary critic. His theories addressed the relationship between power and knowledge, and how they are used as a form of social control through societal institutions. In one of his well-known critiques, Foucault (1982) describes how neoliberal "subjectivation" affects individuals who are rendered as subjects and subjected to relations of power through discourse

[15] Prior to the rise of neoliberalism, Karl Polanyi had, in The Great Transformation (1944), critiqued the earlier endeavour of economic liberalism to establish a self-regulating market economy. Polanyi theorized that this approach of industrial capitalism would transform humans, nature and money into commodities. His research showed that prior to the creation of new market institutions associated with industrialization, societies based their economies on reciprocity and redistribution, but after the "great transformation" they were molded to fit the new market-based economic institutions.

neoliberal capitalism, DeFillipis et al. (2010) describe how the larger political-economic processes associated with this approach have resulted in a "global economic tsunami" fraught with frequent bust cycles that have had extreme repercussions for the poor and politically marginalized. These authors discuss the negative impacts of market expansion into the social sphere stemming from decentralization of the state, where a greater burden has been placed on communities without increasing their authority by moving key economic decisions further away from local control.

While DeFilippis et al. (2010) argue for some degree of decentralization to enhance local democracy, they stress that it should not replace the role of the state as the locus in society that has the power to redistribute wealth and limit the power of capital. Their approach supports *democratic* decentralization that is defined as arising due to a demand for participation from below through social movements and local governments that challenge the traditional, centralized approach to public policy (Conyers 1983, Agrawal and Ostrom 2001, Larson 2005, Larson and Soto 2008). Democratic decentralization ideally results in the formation of autonomous, local governments and discourse about participation in decision-making, participatory democracy, pluralism and rights (Conyers 1983)

Alternatives to Neoliberal Capitalism

A popular call from the inaugural World Social Forum in 2001 (WSF 2015) calls for building economic and social spaces beyond the dominance of neoliberal capitalism that would see a shift to smaller enterprises rooted in communities and more collective ownership (Cavanagh and Broad 2012; van der Veen 2013). These alternatives are intended to better serve people and the planet instead of generating profits for the few.

Leyshon and Lee (2003) argue that openings for alternative economic spaces exist where the network of capitalism is weak. Such openings provide potential for a diversity of economic spaces that function from a different perspective than capitalism. Participatory experiments that promote a broader understanding of economic practice, based on different values and approaches to exchange, have already managed to carve out such spaces within the neoliberal context (Gibson-Graham 1996, 2005, 2006, 2008; van der Veen 2013). These include fair trade commodities (Mutersbaugh et al. 2005, Taylor 2005) and cooperatives (Gibson-Graham 2006, van der Veen 2013, Nokovik and Webb 2014). McCarthy (2006a) asserts that the recognition of and search for more co-operative forms of economic and social organization is a vital political act.

In the realm of forestry, community forests that emerged due to popular demand in the 1990s on Crown lands in British Columbia have recently been analyzed as political and economic alternatives to the dominant neoliberal approach of centralized state control and the industrial forestry model. McCarthy (2006b) suggests that despite the small scale of BCs community forests, they nevertheless might be a wedge for a more democratic and sustainable future. Pinkerton et al. (2008) illustrate what they consider to be a successful example of a BC community forest—the Harrop-Procter Community Forest that operates as a co-operative—having created space within a neoliberal policy context to assert community values, goals and strategies to attain a real voice in forest management. More recent accounts of this same community forest are given in this volume (by Egunyu and Reed, Chapter 11; Leslie, Chapter 12). Robinson (Chapter 14) describes how community forestry, that is thought to be a more equitable and environmentally sound approach than large-scale industrial forestry by its proponents, is also an economically superior model.

Robinson therefore asserts that community forestry is the superior model to the conventional approach in all pillars of sustainability.

TRANSFORMATIVE COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

Rubin and Rubin (1992) outline several important elements of community organizing, including: social power gained through collective action; learning how power operates; capacity for democracy; and sustained social change as an outcome. Transformative community organizing (TCO) mobilizes citizens through consciousness raising to demand fundamental social change in order to transform the dominant system. This approach aligns well with complexity theory which focuses on the transformation of complex adaptive systems that have the capacity to adapt in a changing environment into new, more resilient configurations (Gunderson and Holling 2002, Walker et al. 2004, Walker and Salt 2006).[16]

The core focus of TCO, also called radical (Reisch 2013) or opposition/action (Shragge 2013) organizing, is power—the identification of who has it and how it is used to maintain the system within its existing economic and political context. TCO focuses on transferring power from government and the market to community. A second aspect of TCO concerns values and ideology: these focus on increasing social and economic equality and extending democracy based on the underlying principles of justice, equity, respect and diversity. TCO seeks to achieve fundamental and sustained social change that

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[16] A Complex Adaptive System (CAS) is a group of systems that exhibit multiple interactions and feedback mechanisms in a non-linear manner to form a complex whole that has the capacity to adapt in a changing environment (Levin 1999, Gunderson and Holling 2002, Holland 2006). An understanding of the changes that CASs undergo through adaptive cycles provides insight into how to manage a system's resilience—the amount of disturbance that can be absorbed by a CAS without altering its basic structure and function (Holling 1973, 1986, Walker et al. 2004, Walker and Salt 2006). Complexity theory also adds the focus of understanding how disturbance and the timing of actions can lead to transformational social change (Westley et al. 2007).

results in a more democratic and participatory system based on economic and social

justice. This occurs by first acknowledging and then challenging power, followed by a

major redistribution of power and resources to create alternative institutions based on

democracy and direct control by citizens. Widespread consciousness raising through TCO

provides citizens with an understanding of how the dominant system works, who holds

power, and why it is necessary to build power to create social change. A network of

citizens is then mobilized to undertake collective action to challenge the legitimacy of the

dominant power relations and the interests they serve to create an alternative political and

socio-economic culture. The political-economic perspective taken by TCO involves a

critical analysis of the root causes of social problems as they relate to the fundamental

distribution of resources and power in dominant systems and the development of strategies

for their transformation (Reisch 2013, DeFilippis et al.2010 Shragge 2013). This analysis

recognizes that history, culture and context are significant factors in the creation of social

problems and are equally important for solutions.

The practice of TCO utilizes a range of strategies and tactics to build an

understanding among individuals and communities about the existing context and its

limitations—the workings and power relations of the dominant system—and the necessity

to challenge these through collective action to build long-term, positive social change.

Action and education are two key strategies for the practice. DeFilippis et al. (2010)

emphasize how popular education, or "education for critical consciousness" (Freire 1974),

is an important aspect of organizing to understand contemporary processes of

neoliberalism and capitalist globalization. The work of organizing can include opposition

to policies that allow oppression and inequality as well as support for local, often smaller-

scale alternative institutions that exhibit new kinds of economic and social relations than those of the dominant paradigm. Because of the political goals and analysis of social and economic inequality, resistance and conflict are emphasized at the core of TCO activities; however, this conflict orientation does not imply constant conflict, but rather the recognition of its potential even if it is rarely necessary, along with a willingness to engage in explicitly political practices. DeFilippis et al. (2010) and Shragge (2013),. In this way, TCO comes from a position of power and opposition to anti-democratic forces rather than acquiescence to so-called "partners" that in reality hold the bulk of power.This notion of TCO coincides with democratic decentralization in forest management that sees genuine representation based on accountable local authorities able to make and implement decisions (Ribot 2002, Ribot et al. 2006).

Most transformative social change has been the product of social movements that have organized and mobilized local communities to challenge oppression and injustice and expand political, social and economic democracy (DeFillipis et al. 2010). A social movement is defined as a network of activists and organizations that are loosely affiliated around a common purpose to undertake collective action (Della Porta and Diani 2006, Diani 2011, Staggenborg 2011). An emerging scholarship on social movements that uses complexity theory as a lens conceptualizes social networks as complex assemblages of actors, discourses, alliances, interests and knowledge (De Landa 2006)). Social movement networks viewed through this lens, such as those associated with the alter-globalization movement, are considered to be emergent, diverse and self-organized through democratic, bottom-up processes (Chesters and Welsh 2005, Escobar 2008, MacFarlane 2009, Rankin and Delaney 2011).

DeFilippis et al. (2010) and Shragge (2013) make a link between social movements and community organizations despite their different histories and orientations that have led to them typically being viewed as distinct traditions with different objectives. Social movements are generally informally organized efforts that are without formal structures and inherently unstable and episodic with beginnings, peaks and declines. Community organizations, in contrast, tend to focus on building an organizational structure to deliver needed services or complete projects.

NORTHERN ONTARIO CONTEXT: PEOPLE, PLACE, FORESTRY SYSTEM

Northern Ontario is a vast region that occupies 80 per cent of the province's landmass but has only 8 per cent of its population (approximately 800,000 people). Most of the population is concentrated near the southern boundary that runs approximately from the Mattawa River in the east, across Lake Nipissing and to the French River in the west, as well as in five major urban centres: North Bay, Sudbury, Sault Ste. Marie, Thunder Bay and Timmins (Fig. 3). Communities in the region include both municipalities under the jurisdiction of the province and First Nation reserves under the jurisdiction of the federal government. Municipalities, which include the Métis population for statistical purposes, are commonly single-industry towns with few employment options other than in the resource sectors, including forestry. First Nation communities have historical and contemporary ties to their traditional territories that encompass large areas of Crown forestlands owned by the province and licensed by it for resource extraction (Smith 1998). These provincial Crown lands are subject to historic treaties and place a burden on the provincial Crown to protect treaty rights, such as hunting, fishing and trapping, in the face of any resource development (Gallagher 2012).

The Crown forests of the region are located in the boreal and Great Lakes-St. Lawrence forest zones. A significant portion of this forest area was defined as the "Area of the Undertaking" (AOU) for the Class Environmental Assessment for Timber Management on Crown Lands in Ontario conducted from the late 1980s to 1994 (EA Board 1994) (Fig. 3). The AOU's northern boundary approximates the 50th parallel, with its southern boundary running from the Mattawa River in the east, across Lake Nipissing, and to the French River in the west (Fig 3). The AOU is the geographic focus of this chapter.

Forest management on Crown lands in northern Ontario has historically functioned as a centralized, command-and-control system through the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry (OMNRF)[17]. The province licenses timber from Crown forests to commodity forest industries (pulp and paper, dimensional lumber) that focus on export, primarily to the United States. With a minimal diversity of actors and forest products, the forest management system has emphasized economic production and scientific management to supply timber to the forest industry (Burton et al. 2003) consistent with neoclassical economics embraced by neoliberalism.

This centralized command-and-control system, which fits the "staples" model of economic development based on resource extraction and resource commodity export, provided little room for local decision-making (Thorpe and Sandberg 2008). Although a community forest program was created by a short-lived progressive provincial government

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[17] The Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources was renamed the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry following the provincial election in June 2014.

in the early nineties that saw the implementation of four community forest pilots,[18] by the late nineties, the intensification of neoliberalism throughout Canada had a major influence on forest policy in Ontario's Crown forests. As a result, the province increased its focus on industrial tenures (OMNR 1998) and the dominant forestry regime prevailed, subjecting both the forest industry and the communities that depended on it—primarily the municipalities—to the boom-and-bust cycles associated with staples commodity markets (Clapp 1998).[19]

The inherently unstable approach of Ontario's Crown forestry system eventually led to a major downturn experienced by the forest industry in the new millennium. The downturn worsened and culminated in a forestry crisis that saw an unprecedented number of mill closures from 2005-2006 (OFC n.d.) with significant negative socio-economic impacts in municipalities throughout the region (Bogdanski 2008, Patriquin et al. 2009). While First Nation communities also experienced some negative impacts due to the crisis, having been largely excluded from the forest-based economy from the outset and the benefits it extracted from their traditional territories, First Nations have always faced much greater economic challenges than municipalities in the same region (Southcott 2006).[20]

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[18] For a detailed discussion about this program and other factors that contributed to its failure see Harvey (Chapter 4).

[19] Staples are raw or unfinished bulk commodity products sold in export markets with minimal amounts of processing as is the case for most Canadian forest products (Howlett and Brownsey 2008). Staples theory describes several phases in the development of a resource staple economy where decline or crisis following depletion of the resource, rising costs, and industrial subsidization (Clapp 1998) is comparable to system collapse explained by complexity theory (Gunderson and Holling 2002).

[20] See Casmirini and Kant (Chapter 5) for a case study about one northern Ontario First Nation's attempt to negotiate for recognition of their rights in relation to forest management in their traditional territory to rectify their historical marginalization from the forestry system.

With the advent of the forestry crisis, the province first attempted a forest license conversion program in 2007 from single entity to "co-operative"[21] licenses aimed to increase efficiency. However, by the fall of 2009 Ontario recognized that the forestry crisis could not be resolved by this modest adjustment to the existing system. Amidst mounting pressure for measures to address the forestry crisis from local communities and First Nations, as well as the forest industry, OMNR initiated an unprecedented forest-tenure reform process in September 2009. The process continued until May 2011 and involved a number of public and Indigenous consultations throughout northern Ontario. A widespread call came from communities for community forestry early in the tenure reform process (Speers 2010) and numerous communities developed community forest proposals for implementation under a new forest tenure system.

A significant outcome of the reform was the *Ontario Forest Tenure Modernization Act*, 2011. The Act outlines how one new tenure model, the Local Forest Management Corporation (LFMC), a Crown corporation, will function and enabled the establishment of two of these models. New policy was also created at that time for a second model, the Enhanced Sustainable Forest Licence (ESFL) (OMNDMF 2011). The province stated that these new tenure models were designed to increase opportunities for local and Indigenous community involvement and forest-sector competitiveness (OMNDM 2012), although it was not made clear if and how they would accommodate Aboriginal and treaty rights.

The first LFMC was established in April 2013 and a number of ESFLs are currently under development. Various groups of communities, including both First Nations

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[21] Co-operative sustainable forest licences include more than one forestry company with no community involvement

and municipalities, continue to propose and develop collaborative, regional community forestry initiatives that they aim to see implemented under the ESFL tenure option. A review of all forest tenure models by the province commenced in 2016.

Since tenure reform is ongoing, it is unclear at this point if the forestry system will undergo a transformation that would see forest tenure policy that supports community forests or if the status quo will reassert itself as a manifestation of the broader neoliberal regime. Palmer et al. (2016) evaluate northern Ontario's forestry system through the lens of complexity theory, where the forestry crisis is characterized as a system collapse. Tenure reform is characterized as a phase of subsequent system reorganization that offers the potential for system transformation to a more resilient configuration consistent with the concept of transformative community organizing.

EVOLUTION OF NOSCP

At the height of the forestry crisis, the concept for NOSCP arose out of discussions among a group of participants from academia, NGOs, First Nations and municipalities at the September 2006 Lakehead University Biotechnology Symposium. These individuals organized or participated in several symposium sessions about the need for diversification of forest products and new forest tenure policy to foster the transition to a sustainable bioeconomy in northern Ontario given the forestry crisis. The founding meeting of NOSCP was convened shortly afterward in Thunder Bay with these and additional participants who came together to discuss concerns about the forestry crisis and the need for forest tenure that provides northern Ontario's residents with greater rights and responsibilities over public forests in order to achieve community sustainability.

Subsequent meetings of a similar ad-hoc, inclusive nature ensued on a regular basis over the next year. Participation expanded to include representatives from several academic institutions, First Nation communities and organizations, municipalities, provincial and federal government, NGOs, unions, and individual citizens from throughout northern Ontario. These meetings rotated among different host organizations located in Thunder Bay and all involved teleconferencing to allow participation from anywhere in the province. Capacity for meeting coordination and minutes was provided for the first year and a half by a staff person at the Thunder Bay office of the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society-Wildlands League.

The range of individuals, community representatives and organizations that became involved early on in NOSCP reflects the stance of DeFilippis et al. (2010) and Shragge (2013) who contend that to challenge the power structures of contemporary capitalism, linkages beyond the local are essential through broad alliances to address problems caused by forces and decisions that transcend any individual community. NOSCP was accordingly established as a regional social change movement focused on building alliances amongst communities and organizations throughout northern Ontario.

In addition to emerging as a social movement to promote community forestry, NOSCP was established as a transformative community organization with a name, mission statement, principles, and goals that were determined soon after its inception. NOSCP united these two traditions for a common cause (DeFillipis et al. 2010) in order to recognize their common origins and elements and foster having them perceived as parts of the same broader struggle.

NOSCP's mission clearly states the need for social change to transform the dominant economic system to one that is just and sustainable for both the communities and forest ecosystems in northern Ontario. NOSCP principles reflect the fact that the needed transformation requires a holistic view of the land rather than a focus on any single resource and that NOSCP will always focus on long-term, proactive solutions to achieve sustained social change rather than those that are short-term or reactionary. NOSCP established two different but related goals. The first is to promote sustainable community bio-economic development through diversification of northern Ontario's forest economy based on value-added production of both timber and non-timber products. The second goal focuses on the need to transform the forest tenure system to achieve a more democratic and participatory forest management system that provides greater benefit to northern Ontarians. The mission, principles and goals of NOSCP clearly articulate a critical analysis of the root problem(s), an explicit commitment to promoting social and economic justice, and an alternative direction where hierarchy and domination are ended. All of these are regarded as essential to building a wider oppositional culture to the existing power relations of the dominant paradigm through TCO DeFilippis et al. 2010, Shragge 2013).

NOSCP was created with an informal and decentralized organizational structure that minimizes bureaucracy and formal leadership. Northeastern and northwestern Ontario co-chairs are based at Lakehead and Laurentian Universities to have a presence in each region through neutral organizations not directly involved with forest tenure. There is no membership fee and any individual or organization can be a member as long as they agree with NOSCP's mission, principles, and goals. This approach created a democratic space based on direct participation in the organization, where those who show up make the

decisions. Shragge (2013) notes the advantages of maintaining an informal approach to community organizing—it requires few resources and maintenance of the organization is easier—and the disadvantages associated with formalization—institutionalization, professionalization, depoliticization and demobilization—that tend to produce a shift away from mobilizing citizens to a greater service orientation.

<u>Early Organizing</u>

A number of action and educational activities were undertaken by NOSCP during its first year to generate awareness about the group and to begin to work towards achieving its goals. In addition to regular tele-meetings, presentations were given to various community groups as well as OMNR. Several videoconferencing sessions were offered via the Northern Ontario Medical School facilities on topics related to non-timber forest products to promote a diversified northern bio-economy. An additional public videoconference was offered at Lakehead University in June 2007 to initiate dialogue about the need for forest tenure reform with presentations from OMNR, a local First Nations organization, and an economist. Community-based Forest Management for Northern Ontario: A Discussion and Background paper (NOSCP 2007a) was jointly written by several participants and presented at the videoconference.

With the ever prevalent negative socio-economic impacts of the forestry crisis undiminished throughout the region of northern Ontario by the second half of NOSCP's startup year, participants agreed to concentrate their energies on the second goal of promoting forest tenure reform that would support community forests, concurring that tenure was the greatest barrier and opportunity to achieving both goals. Efforts thus shifted to developing the Northern Ontario Community Forest Charter to promote community-

based decision-making for the publicly-owned forests of northern Ontario (NOSCP 2007b). The Charter, which became the guiding document for NOSCP's subsequent activities, was released at the group's first press conference in the fall of 2007 (Brown 2007) and was subsequently distributed for endorsement.

The Charter's 12 principles broadly address good governance, shared decision-making, separation of forest management from any one specific user group (i.e., a forestry company), the promotion of a diverse forest sector through best end use of forest resources with a focus on value-added production of both timber and non-timber values, less reliance on commodity industries, ensuring that local communities benefit from forest development, upholding Aboriginal and treaty rights, and fair trade. The Charter adds depth to NOSCP`s critical analysis of the root problem related to the forest system, the need to redistribute forest resources to benefit northern Ontario communities and to address power relations to do so. It also makes explicit the vision for an alternative in the form of community forests guided by the principles. Endorsement of the Charter by a wide range of individuals and organizations began soon after its release.

A key aspect of the Charter is that it commits not only to respect, but also to "help resolve" the outstanding issues around implementation of Aboriginal and treaty rights in forest management. This Charter principle was developed with the understanding that this is a crucial aspect of a truly democratic forest management system in Ontario. NOSCP's position on this issue is in alignment with both the improving legal climate in Canada regarding Aboriginal and treaty rights (Gallagher 2012) and the social change movement that works to address the unequal position of Indigenous peoples as seen in the Idle No More movement.

Also created during NOSCP's start up year was a website hosted by the Geraldton Community Forest, a contracting company in the Municipality of Greenstone in northwestern Ontario that originated as one of the community forest pilot projects of the 1990s. The website enabled outreach and generated awareness about the establishment of NOSCP, consciousness raising about the organization's focus to transform the dominant forest tenure system, sharing of information about NOSCP activities and publications, and broad distribution and endorsement of the Charter.

A two-day workshop was held in Thunder Bay in March 2009 to provide an inaugural forum in northern Ontario for information sharing and participatory learning among a wide range of participants about how local communities might gain more control over decision-making about local forests. In order to obtain workshop funding, NOSCP obtained a business license while maintaining its informal structure. NOSCP gained support from OMNR as a workshop partner, both as a presenter and funder. This strategy employed the principle that the state should be a facilitator of progressive change for the common good rather than a supporter of the status quo (Ferge 2000).

The workshop was a resounding success with participation from numerous First Nations, as well as local municipalities, Local Citizens Committees[22], academics, government, environmental non-governmental organizations, the forest industry and unions (NOSCP 2009). The concept that "we are all treaty people" who need to revive the spirit and intent of the treaties to share lands and resources was an underlying workshop theme. Although First Nations and other communities had previously raised concerns

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[22] A Local Citizens Committee is an advisory committee, appointed by the District Manager of OMNR (now OMNRF). The LCC provides advice on the development and the implementation of forest management plans, and represents a wide range of interests.

about the forest tenure system and the need for greater input by communities, this forum initiated widespread mobilization of northern Ontario residents towards change in the dominant forestry system; pressure was put on OMNR in this public setting for reform of the tenure system to support community forests.

Critiquing Tenure Reform

Various members of NOSCP participated in the public and Indigenous tenure reform consultations that were held from the fall of 2009 to the spring of 2010 where a consistent message was promoted about the need for a new tenure system that supports community forests. Shortly after the release of a draft proposal for a new provincial tenure system (OMNDMF 2010), NOSCP developed and submitted to OMNR a commentary with recommendations for an alternative tenure framework based on the Charter principles (NOSCP 2010). The commentary called for meaningful input to be accepted from communities about the design of localized and diverse tenure models that would ensure effective local and Indigenous community representation through democratic decentralization (Ribot 2002).

Despite NOSCP's efforts, strong lobbying by the Ontario Forest Industries Association, which represents a large segment of the forest industry, led to decisions that the new forest tenure framework would maintain existing wood supply commitments and ensure a "measured and moderate" approach to any change in the tenure system (OFIA, NOACC, NOMA & FONOM 2011). Upon the creation of the *Forest Tenure and Modernization Act* in May 2011, NOSCP issued a press release (NOSCP 2011) that characterized the new legislation as a "timid beginning" that provides some tools for communities to move closer to a community forest model. Concerns raised about the

changes were: 1) no provisions for community forests in which local northern Ontario communities have decision-making authority over the use and future of local forests in keeping with democratic decentralization; 2) the failures to acknowledge and provide for Aboriginal and treaty rights; 3) the province's significant control over LFMCs since they are Crown corporations; and 4) the continued sole focus on industrial timber production with no attention given to broader values based on non-timber forest products.

Given that the OMNR established Forest Industry and Aboriginal Working Groups to participate in the development and implementation of the new forest tenure system, NOSCP advocated for a parallel group to represent communities. As a result of this effort, OMNR agreed in 2011 to establish a Community Working Group with NOSCP representation to develop policy for Enhanced Sustainable Forest Licences. As of 2013, OMNR discontinued the three working groups and created an Oversight Group that included representation from Indigenous, community and industry sectors; however NOSCP was not represented.

NOSCP's challenges to government and industrial perspectives on tenure reform reflect an approach to TCO that moves beyond the bounds of small-scale reform to transformational change that redefines systemic problems and challenges power relations. NOSCP characterized the new LFMCs as achieving only small-scale reform and not the needed transformation of the system that would enable community forests. This perspective supports the stance (Shragge 2013, DeFilippis et al. 2010) that state-shaped organizations can achieve some positive gains without challenging the relations of domination and power that keep the system working in the interest of neoliberal capitalism; such organizations are system-maintaining) and do not achieve system

transformation. Based on the guiding ESFL principles developed with input by NOSCP, it appears that this new tenure model may have greater flexibility in forest governance compared to an LFMC. Since all ESFLs are still under development, with none yet implemented, this outcome remains to be seen. Unlike LFMCs, ESFLs can include forest industry representatives in their governance structures. Partnerships between industry and communities, as are being negotiated for several developing ESFLs (see Lachance, Chapter 6, for an example) are intended by community participants to enable strong community representation in new tenure models. Yet the very presence of forest industry at any level in the new governance structures precludes democratic decentralization Ribot (2002) which can occur only with the election (not government appointment) of community representatives.

Broadening the Movement

Following the creation of the new Ontario forest tenure framework, NOSCP was involved in three further events to advance community forestry as a model for collaborative decision-making and development: 1) a by-invitation workshop at Lakehead University in May 2011 (Palmer et al. 2012), 2) a national, interdisciplinary conference held in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario in January 2013 (Palmer et al. 2013); and 3) a symposium at the University of Winnipeg in June 2014 (Bullock and Lawler 2014). For all three events, NOSCP partnered with academic institutions: Lakehead University for the workshop, Algoma University and its Northern Ontario Research, Development, Ideas and Knowledge Institute for the conference, and University of Winnipeg and its Centre for Forest Interdisciplinary Research for the symposium. Such partnerships enabled access to funding from Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. These events

served to broaden alliances, regarded as crucial in order to contest power in the dominant system (Shragge 2013, DeFilippis et al. 2010).

A key goal of these events was to build alliances by bringing people together to share information and experiences and to develop solutions. Each involved providing funding support for participation by community representatives, presentations by community forestry researchers and practitioners from various jurisdictions, group discussions, student posters and live streaming.

A new national network, Community Forests Canada (CFC), was established as an outcome of the conference to support existing and proposed community forest initiatives, policy engagement and research throughout the country. NOSCP committed to participate in this network as a means to further an alliance to support the advancement of community forestry in Ontario and across Canada. An additional outcome of the conference was the concept for this volume. As a partner in the University of Winnipeg symposium, NOSCP helped to further outreach about the concept of community forestry in Manitoba which has had no historical involvement with this approach through Manitoba representatives' participation on a national panel. Most recently, NOSCP participated in a Dec. 2016 workshop with a range of partners to develop a funding proposal to support the network.

These public outreach events provided the opportunity to deepen the critical analysis of the issues and potential solutions regarding forest tenure by bringing various actors together, a key aspect of TCO. Alliance building regionally, among provinces, and internationally as a result of these forums also demonstrates a key aspect of TCO: to be a force for social change, local mobilization must take place in conjunction with similar

organizations and movements elsewhere to build solidarity for a wider oppositional political culture (DeFilippis et al. 2010, Shragge 2013). Alliances like Community Forests Canada can build federated structures that develop "associated democracy". The ultimate aim of this national network is to strengthen the push for improved legislation and policy to support community forestry across Canada. The alliances resulting from NOSCP's activities thus far have helped Ontario to recognize that interest in and support for community forestry is not a localized anomaly but widespread in northern Ontario and beyond.

NOSCP AS A TRANSFORMATIVE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT

NOSCP advocates for community forests in northern Ontario through transformative community organizing based on the view that sustainable forests and democratic control of forest management lead to local benefits that create resilient forest-based communities. Its organizing approach focuses on the root cause of the forestry crisis that recently affected the region. This has involved a strong critique of the command-and-control forestry system that has negatively affected forest-based communities in a region that historically has lacked a voice in that system. Also addressed by the analysis is the longer standing issue of Indigenous marginalization due to colonization.

NOSCP's demands for social change in the forest tenure system in the form of community forests based on participatory democracy focus on securing meaningful decision making by local and Aboriginal communities. NOSCP has an activist character with a radical stance and conflict perspective evident in its explicit critique of the mainstream dominant forestry paradigm affiliated with neoliberalism and the offer of an

oppositional alternative. Conflict is central to its practice that is grounded in an analysis of the political economic system in northern Ontario. This analysis guides NOSCP's commitment to progressive social change through popular mobilization of citizens in northern Ontario. NOSCP recognizes that its approach to community organizing is a means to address the basic inequalities of power that have been entrenched in the forest-based communities and First Nations in this region as a result of the historical forest tenure system.

A key aspect of NOSCP's advocacy approach has been to unite like-minded individuals and organizations throughout northern Ontario in a common political cause and vision to achieve transformation of the forest system through strong collective action to support community forests. Because forest tenure policy is under provincial jurisdiction and thus affects the entire region of northern Ontario, it is important that power to promote an alternative community forest system is built at this scale. At the same time, NOSCP works to build solidarity through alliances beyond this region that extend throughout Canada and internationally. This approach is consistent with TCO practice that works beyond the local level to achieve a wider oppositional political culture.

NOSCP uses conflict strategies and tactics to promote an understanding that the dominant forestry system, and its associated power relations, is the major cause of the current forest sector crisis in northern Ontario. Although NOSCP has not utilized direct action as a strategy—protests, demonstrations, sit-ins, occupations or blockades that aim to directly stop or encourage specific action by their targets (Smith 2014)—its conflict orientation is nevertheless evident in its willingness to engage in explicitly political practices.

Given its structure and how it functions, NOSCP is both a community organization and social movement with elements of both these traditions that have often been regarded as distinct. While NOSCP has maintained an informal structure similar to that of most social movements, its existence for the last decade, together with its long-term vision for social change, displays the characteristic stability of a community organization rather than the typically episodic nature of a social movement.

NOSCP is a community organization based on the active participation of its members. This membership is informal, made up of individuals and organizations affected by the same issue who have come together to find solutions to change the system. The mission, principles, goals, and Charter convey fundamental opposition to the power relations inherent in the conventional forest tenure system and reflect a long-term view toward an alternative future where communities are empowered and resilient through meaningful decision making about local forest management. The combination of action and education activities undertaken by NOSCP illustrates its practice of transformative community organizing. All activities have capitalized upon the period of the forestry crisis and subsequent window of tenure reform to push for transformative change of the historical forest tenure system.

Through its advocacy work, NOSCP became a force for social change. This impact is reflected in the consciousness raising that occurred among citizens in northern Ontario about the need for fundamental restructuring of the forestry system. This awareness extends to the provincial government that has oversight for forest tenure policy as seen in the support for the Ontario public outreach events and including NOSCP as a member of the Community Working Group that developed ESFL policy implementation guidelines.

CONCLUSIONS

NOSCP has made a number of significant contributions during the last decade as a transformative community organization and social movement. Through a variety of action and education activities throughout this period, NOSCP has been effective in: 1) raising consciousness and providing popular education about community forests as an alternative approach to the industrial forest model that can better serve communities and foster their resilience; and 2) influencing forest tenure policy in Ontario to move closer towards this alternative model.

The context has changed to some extent in northern Ontario since the establishment of NOSCP. The forest sector has recovered in part and is expected to rebound further, at least in the short term. Tenure reform is underway and at the implementation stage following several years of public and Indigenous consultations and the creation of new tenure legislation and policy. Yet the issues NOSCP is most concerned with still remain— how northern Ontario communities can become resilient for the long term and how Aboriginal and treaty rights can be addressed in relation to the forestry system. Although local and Indigenous communities have achieved varying degrees of input into the development of new forest tenure models through the new forest tenure policy framework, and while there appears to be greater flexibility with ESFLs compared to LFMCs, the current tenure options are limited to just these two approaches. Furthermore, neither tenure option enables democratic decentralization (Ribot 2002). Other limitations relating to the new tenure framework include its continued focus on industrial timber production rather than a broader range of values and the continued substantial influence of some forest industries over the tenure reform process. Communities continue to raise concerns about

the ability of these models to serve their interests. Some First Nations in particular continue to propose new models tailored to their unique local circumstances. It is also unclear at this point how well the new provincial Oversight Group assisting with tenure implementation and evaluation will support community aspirations.

The significant changes in the broader political economy both within Canada and globally since the inception of NOSCP provide an updated context that will influence its future role and direction as a community organization and/or social movement. The neoliberal regime that has dominated Canada and much of the world for the past three decades persists, and free market ideology still predominates. At the same time, while the widespread reign of neoliberalism weakened social movements during the early stage of this period, these movements have since gained momentum as citizens respond in increasingly sophisticated ways to reclaim space defined by neoliberal discourse (Smith 2014). Simultaneous to these expanding social movements are increasingly favourable Supreme Court of Canada decisions on Aboriginal and treaty rights, most significantly the Tsilhqot'in decision on Aboriginal title in 2014; these decisions greatly increase the promise of Indigenous peoples regaining their place as rightful stewards of their traditional lands and obtaining meaningful decision making in natural resource development (Anderson 2014). This legal trend signals favourable prospects for the development of community forestry, whether solely by Indigenous communities or as cross-cultural collaborative efforts with non-Indigenous communities.

Community organizing is shaped by changes in the broader political-economic context within which it is embedded. These changes create opportunities as well as constraints. Consequently, as Defilippis et al. (2010) point out, while we have not yet seen

neoliberalism replaced, or a non-capitalist political economy emerge from the global economic crisis, there nevertheless remains extraordinary potential for positive social change. The key, however, is the ability for people to engage in collective action while the window of opportunity remains open. Ontario remains hesitant about devolving full control of forest management decision making to local communities. Tenure reform has not yet resulted in community forests as envisioned by NOSCP. However, the recent political, economic and regional contexts have created a greater climate of potential for NOSCP to help be a driver of social change while continuing to exert influence to improve the outcomes of forest tenure reform. With continuing economic uncertainty, pressure to uphold Aboriginal and treaty rights in natural resource development and ongoing public concern about environmental protection, NOSCP has the opportunity to continue its role in further pushing the forest system towards a regime shift. This transformation would see the creation of forest tenure policy that is supportive of community forests as a genuine alternative to neoliberal capitalism, one which fosters a resilience approach for local communities and the forest ecosystems upon which they depend.

Whether NOSCP continues to be a social movement or shifts largely to a community organization that provides support for future community forests, depends largely on the final outcome of forest tenure reform in Ontario. In this regard, NOSCP is still a work in progress. Its future direction will be determined based on how well it can meet its goals in a changing political-economic context.

CHAPTER 5: ACCESS TO FORESTS IN NORTHEAST SUPERIOR, ONTARIO:
TRANSFORMATIVE CHANGE TO COMMUNITY FORESTRY

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INTRODUCTION

Northern Ontario's vast area of Crown (public) boreal forest comprises 76% of the province's forested area and has long been the backbone of the province's forest industry (NDMF nd). Scattered amidst the commercial forest zone in northern Ontario are municipalities and First Nation reserves.[23] In addition to a few urban regional centres throughout northern Ontario, smaller municipalities are commonly single-industry towns with few employment options other than in the extractive resource sector, notably forestry or mining (Southcott 2006, Segsworth 2013). Municipalities are governed under Ontario's Municipal Act (2001) through the election of mayor and council. First Nation communities, which are classified as reserves governed by elected chief and council under federal jurisdiction (Indian Act 1985), have historical and contemporary ties to their traditional territories for subsistence and other purposes. Although without legal recognition, traditional territories that are outside reserves encompass large areas of Crown

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[23] For statistical purposes, the Métis population is included with municipalities.

forestlands that are subject to historic treaties. These territories are lands that have

historically been and are currently used by Aboriginal[24] communities (Smith 1998).

First Nations have Aboriginal rights that are rooted in the occupation of their

traditional territories prior to the arrival of settlers. The protection of these rights has been

entrenched in the Constitution of Canada in section 35 since 1982, in what has been

described as a watershed moment in the decolonization of Canadian law (Bankes 2015).

Since that time there has been an evolving definition of Aboriginal rights through ongoing

Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) legal cases by First Nations that have resulted in

significant wins that are influencing the direction of natural resources management

(Gallagher 2012). Several of these important cases relate to First Nations concern about

forestry developments. The duty-to-consult and accommodate resulted from two of the

successful cases in 2004[25] that established the requirement for the Crown to consult with

Aboriginal people about resource development projects that could potentially impact upon

their rights and title and to accommodate their concerns (Newman, 2009). The landmark

SCC ruling *Tsilhqot'in Nation v British Columbia,* 2014 that was related to clearcut

logging in the territory of Tsilhqot'in Nation established Aboriginal title. Although this

case is specific for First Nations with unceded territory, it is likely to influence the

evolving legal arena related to the definition of Aboriginal rights in all territories. The

SCC case of *Grassy Narrows First Nation v Ontario (Natural Resources)*, 2014 that

followed soon after the *Tsilhqot'in* decision similarly focused on First Nation concerns

about logging in their territory. Although the *Grassy Narrows* case was not part of the First

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[24] Aboriginal Peoples is a collective name for all of the original peoples of Canada and their descendants. section 35 of the Constitution Act of 1982 specifies that the Aboriginal Peoples in Canada consist of three groups – Indian (First Nations), Inuit and Métis (NHAO nd).
[25] *Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Minister of Forests); Taku River Tlinglet First Nation v. British Columbia* (*Project Assessment Director*)

Nations legal winning streak, according to Bankes (2015) it nevertheless has implications

relating to provincial powers regarding forest resources. The case confirms that there is a

substantive limit to Ontario's power to "take up treaty lands", and that once that limit is

reached, the Crown's duty to constitutionally justify additional takings up will be triggered

(Bankes 2015).

Concurrent with the evolving legal direction about Aboriginal rights and title,

Canada recently committed to a renewed, nation-to-nation relationship with Indigenous

peoples based on the principles of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of

Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (UN 2007) that recognizes Indigenous rights around the

world (INAC 2016). In doing so, the federal government heeded the Calls to Action (45

and 92) (TRC 2015a) of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC 2015b) to

implement UNDRIP at both the federal and provincial levels as the framework for

reconciliation. The provinces similarly declared their intentions to support the

implementation of UNDRIP (Bailey 2015) with explicit support expressed by British

Columbia following the election of a new government in 2017. Rights-based approaches

to forest governance are recognized by UNDRIP which embraces Free Prior and Informed

Consent (FPIC) in several of its provisions (see Articles 19, 28 and 32). FPIC principles

describe the right of Indigenous peoples to offer or withhold consent to developments that

may have an impact on their territories or natural resources[26]. The implications of both

federal and provincial governments to implement UNDRIP, and hence FPIC, are far-

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[26] FPIC must be obtained without force, coercion, intimidation, manipulation, or pressure from the government or company seeking consent (free); with sufficient time to review and consider all relevant factors, starting at the inception stage, in advance of any authorization for, and continuously throughout the planning and implementation of activities (prior); based on an understanding of adequate, complete, understandable, and relevant information relative to the full range of issues and potential impacts that may arise from the activity or decision (informed); and can be given only by the legitimate representatives of the people affected, with any caveats or conditions stipulated by the people whose consent is given (consent) (BLC 2015)

reaching and have the potential to create transformative change in natural resource management.

Forest management in Ontario's Crown forests historically focused on centralized decision-making by the provincial government that granted exclusive timber rights through licences to industrial forest companies for the production of commodities (pulp, paper, dimensional lumber) for export, primarily to the US. The system originated when Ontario gained authority under the Constitution Act, 1867 to manage natural resources within its provincial boundaries and assumed the power to regulate and extract revenues from forests. The power of Ontario to take up lands for natural resource developments later became subject to the obligations and limits imposed by section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982[27]. The Crown Forest Sustainability Act (CFSA), 1994 is the overarching legislation for forest management on Crown lands in Ontario. This Act regulates the creation of forest management units (FMUs) and licensing of timber in the Area of the Undertaking (AOU)[28] subject to the creation of a forest management plan[29] for each unit based on the Ontario Forest Management Planning Manual. The CFSA created Sustainable Forest Licences (SFLs) that became the mechanism for the allocation of Crown forests for harvest in a set area over a 20 year period by either one (single entity) forestry company or a group (co-operative SFL) of companies that own a processing facility such as a sawmill

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[27] The revenue system for forest development in Canada is described in Section 92A(4) of the Constitution Act, 1982 : "In each province, the legislature may make laws in relation to the raising of money by any mode or system of taxation in respect of (*a*) non-renewable natural resources and forestry resources in the province and the primary production there from" Section 92(5) gives provinces responsibility for "The Management and Sale of the Public Lands belonging to the Province and of the Timber and Wood thereon".

[28] The AOU consists of approximately 45 million hectares extending throughout the central portion of the province from the Quebec border to the Manitoba border, of which approximately 37.4 million hectares are Crown lands. The area includes the approximately 1.2 million hectares that form the Whitefeather Forest in Ontario's Far North.

[29] A Registered Professional Forester certified by the Ontario Professional Forester's Association must authorize all forest management plans.

or pulp mill. The CFSA also created the Forest Resource License (FRL) as a short-term

harvest licence (up to five years) on an SFL by harvesting companies other than the SFL

holder. SFL holders have historically undertaken forest management planning and

operations, with only advisory input from the public and Aboriginal people. The Ontario

Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry (OMNRF) has responsibility for approving

forest management plans and reviewing periodic independent audits to ensure compliance.

This centralized command-and-control forest tenure system has been characterized

as a component of the neoliberal political economy given that it stresses privatization (see

definition below) and market liberalization (Palmer and Smith 2017). This approach,

which fits the "staples" model of economic development based on resource extraction and

resource commodity export,[30] provided little room for local decision-making (Thorpe and

Sandberg 2008). Both First Nation and settler (municipal) communities were alienated

from decision-making related to the management of local forests and distribution of

benefits. Municipalities established to support this system derived benefits such as

employment and municipal tax revenues but have remained underdeveloped and

dependent on the forest industry (Robinson 2007b). Under the Doctrine of Discovery[31] and

Terra Nullius,[32]First Nations were systematically excluded from the dominant political

economy that was developed from resource extraction following colonization. In his

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[30] Staples are raw or unfinished bulk commodity products sold in export markets with minimal amounts of processing (Howlett and Brownsey 2008). Clapp (1998) describes the pattern that resource staples sectors generally follow as having four distinct phases that move from the initial, rapid expansion of easy-to-access plentiful resources to eventual decline or crisis that follows depletion of the resource, rising costs, and subsidization of the industry. In the final stage, subsidized expansion is shut down and the industry either downsizes, moves to other countries with available cheap resources, or makes a transition to a new form of resource activity.

[31] The Doctrine of Discovery provided that newly arrived settlers to British colonies immediately and automatically acquired legally recognized property rights in native lands and also gained governmental, political and commercial rights over the inhabitants without the knowledge or consent of the Indigenous peoples (Miller et al. 2010).

[32] The doctrine of *terra nullius* was based on the proposition that Aboriginal peoples were sufficiently inferior to enable the Crown to presume that their territories were unoccupied (Asch 2002).

framework of First Nations participation in the Canadian forest sector, Wyatt (2008)

classifies this historical approach as "forestry excluding First Nations". Although this

situation has improved in recent years, First Nations continue to face much greater

economic challenges than municipalities in northern Ontario (Southcott 2006) as a result

of this history.

Ontario's Crown forest management system led to dependent and unstable rural

economies throughout northern Ontario by subjecting both the industry and the

communities that depended upon it to the boom-and-bust cycles associated with

commodity markets (Smith et al. 2012, Palmer et al. 2016, Palmer and Smith 2017). While

the forest industry in northern Ontario, as throughout Canada, thrived until the early part of

this century, the industry faced a major downturn in the new millennium due to a

combination of forces[33] that culminated in a crisis with an unprecedented number of mill

closures in 2005 and 2006 and associated job losses (OFC n.d.). Permanent layoffs due to

mill closures between 2003 and 2006 were estimated at nearly 15,000 in Ontario and

Quebec, with the greatest number in Ontario—14 mills were mothballed in 2005 (CFS

2006). The crisis was marked by dramatic declines in forestry employment, out-migration

(particularly of youth) from municipalities, the erosion of municipal tax bases, service

reductions, a loss of social capital, and a pervasive lack of well-being in affected

communities (Bogdanski 2008, Patriquin et al. 2009). Employment in the pulp and paper

and logging sectors reached its lowest level in decades (NRCAN 2009).

Ontario's forest tenure system concurs with Hardin's (1968) widely touted theory

of the Tragedy of the Commons that posits either state or private ownership are necessary

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[33] Changes in global supply and demand, an unfavourable export market in the United States, a rising Canadian currency exchange rate, high energy costs, and competition from lower-cost producers outside Canada (CFS 2006).

to achieve sustainable natural resource management. More contemporary theories and empirical evidence about community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) and common property management have challenged this perspective and provided evidence for the viability of natural resource governance based on community control if the appropriate institutional arrangements are in place (Ostrom 1990, Agrawal 2001, Ostrom et al. 2002). This is the case for community forestry (Ostrom 1999), a forest governance approach in which communities play a central role in decisions and obtain significant benefits (Teitelbaum and Bullock 2012). Community forestry was established as an integral component of sustainable forest management at the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) that adopted a set of Forest Principles.

Increasing interest worldwide over the past several decades in the ability of local people to participate meaningfully in decisions regarding the use, management, and distribution of benefits from forests has led to the emergence of community forestry as a global social movement and forest policy trend (WCED 1987, White and Martin 2002, Charnley and Poe 2007, Agrawal et al. 2008, Cronkleton et al. 2008, Sunderlin et al. 2008). Community forestry embraces the subsidiarity principle—accepted as a key component of good governance at the UNCED—that decisions should be made as close as possible to local citizens providing that the decisions are aligned with social and ecological standards set at higher administrative levels (Rocher and Rouillard 1998, Anderson 2000, Kooiman 2003, Marshall 2008). The rationale is that greater efficiency, equity and government responsiveness to citizens' demands are possible with local decision-making due to better access to information, lower transaction costs and higher levels of participation (Ribot 2002, Andersson et al. 2004). In Canada, a variety of community

forest models have been implemented on Crown forests in various jurisdictions over the past several decades with an associated increase in scholarship as well as advocacy through social movements and networks (Teitelbaum et al. 2006, Teitelbaum 2016, Bullock et al.2017, Robinson 2017).

Democratic decentralization is a means of institutionalizing CBNRM through representative and downwardly accountable local authorities—accountable to local populations—that strengthen local democracy and improve equity, justice and efficiency (Ribot 2002, 2004). Through democratic decentralization, institutions are empowered with discretionary decisions over natural resources that local people depend on. In addition to accountability and discretionary powers, democratic decentralization requires the secure transfer of decision-making powers from the state to local institutions. The underlying logic is that democratic local institutions reduce transaction costs and are best able to respond to the needs of local people to whom they are systematically accountable. Democratic decentralization is distinguished from administrative decentralization, also known as deconcentration, that involves only the transfer of administrative responsibilities (Ribot 2008).

Drawing upon theories of institutional choice (Bates 1991) and recognition (Taylor 1994), Ribot et al. (2008) assert that the creation or cultivation of institutions by governments—that is, institutional choice—is a form of recognition that confers power and legitimacy through its effect on the dimensions of local democracy: representation, citizenship, and the public domain. While the general logic of democratic decentralization is inclusive and a form of public logic, privatization in contrast is the transfer of powers to non-state, often corporate, entities and operates with an exclusive logic (Ribot 2002, Ribot

et al. 2008). The transfer of public resources and powers to private bodies composed of non-democratic actors who undertake activities that are not publically driven is thus an enclosure of the public domain—the material resources and decisions under public control—that is the space of integrative collective action constituting democracy (Ribot 2008, Ribot et al. 2008). In alignment with this perspective, Robinson (2017) states that the goal of community forestry as an extension of democratic governance is "not to create legislation that allows communities to act as forest companies" but rather "to enable communities to act as governments."

FOREST TENURE REFORM IN ONTARIO

In response to calls for the reform of Ontario's forest tenure system by both the forest industry and local communities to address the forestry crisis, the province initiated forest tenure reform in the fall of 2009 that included public and Aboriginal consultations. The process elicited a widespread call from both municipalities and Aboriginal communities to accommodate community forestry in a new forest tenure framework (Speers 2010). Associated with this call was renewed public and Aboriginal criticism of the industrial forest tenure system and advocacy for community forests which had emerged since the 1960s with the implementation of several local initiatives in the 1990s (Palmer et al. 2016). The outcome of the tenure reform process was the creation of new forest tenure legislation and policy that includes two new forest tenure options—Local Forest Management Corporations (LFMC) and Enhanced Sustainable Forest Licenses (ESFL)—

intended to increase opportunities for local and Aboriginal community involvement and forest-sector competitiveness[34] (OMNDMF 2011).

The LFMC created by the Ontario Forest Tenure Modernization Act (2011) is a Crown corporation with a predominantly local board of directors appointed by the province that includes Aboriginal and other local community representation (Gravelle 2011). The intention is that ideally, members of the board live within the management area or in an adjacent community, to ensure decision-making reflects the input of local residents. To date, only one of the two LFMCs provided for in the legislation is in operation, Nawiinginokiima Forest Management Corporation. This model elicited criticism from many communities about the level of government control that is maintained due to appointment of board members (Palmer et al. 2016). The ESFL created by the new forest tenure policy, is a variation of the Sustainable Forest Licence held by one or more forest companies that now permits representation of Aboriginal and local communities on boards that hold a forest licence. Both tenure models ushered in a new approach of separating forestry mill operations from forest management planning, a direction that was called for in the community forest charter of the community forest advocacy group Northern Ontario Sustainable Communities Partnership (NOSCP 2007b).

The creation of Ontario's new forest tenure legislation and policy gave rise to several regional community forestry initiatives promoted by First Nations and municipalities that share the same forests in a common geographic area (Smith et al. 2012, Palmer et al. 2016). The Northeast Superior ESFL (NS-ESFL) is one such initiative spearheaded by the Northeast Superior Regional Chiefs' Forum (NSRCF), a political

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[34] For a period the Ontario Ministry of Northern Development Mines and Forestry OMNDMF took over forest management until it was subsequently returned to the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources that became OMNRF in 2013

advocacy organization of elected chiefs that represents several First Nations in the Northeast Superior region of northern Ontario. This informal organization, created in 2007 in direct response to the forestry crisis, with a vision to reclaim the rightful place of the member First Nations as land stewards and equal partners within Canada's constitutional fabric, embraced a community forestry approach that calls for greater Crown delegation of regional authority, supported by greater citizen engagement. Building on the results of an international best practices review of CBNRM successes (Lachance 2011b), NSRCF conceived of the model as a community forest to be implemented under the ESFL policy framework as a catalyst to transform the regional political economy to achieve resilience for all groups. This approach was seen as an opportunity by the NSRCF given the provincial direction to convert most existing forest licences to ESFLs. As was the case for most communities in northern Ontario, the LMFC tenure option was not supported by the Northeast Superior chiefs.

Key areas of focus by the NSCRF are a more sustainable approach to forest management, equitable distribution of benefits among all regional groups, and First Nations re-assuming their traditional responsibilities as stewards of the land. To develop the model, the NSRCF promoted a collaborative, solutions-based approach among the First Nations, municipalities and forest companies that depend on the region's forests, using more adversarial tools based on rights only as a last resort. This approach actively fosters reconciliation given that both First Nations and settler society are here to stay and it is therefore in the best interest of all to find a new way forward through collaboration. The solutions-based approach aims to reconcile the relationship of the First Nations with Canada and Ontario through the development of strong partnerships with those

undertaking resource activities within their traditional territories to build a new economy

for a sustainable future. Although First Nations and settler communities have distinct

histories and cultures and have been historically isolated, this approach furthers the

bridging of these cross-cultural barriers for mutual benefit, as seen in operating community

forests that include First Nations and municipalities in British Columbia (Robinson 2010).

In the northern Ontario context, this approach embraces the concept that "we are all treaty

people" as a powerful foundation for a new relationship among Aboriginal and settler

communities based on a respect for Aboriginal rights (Smith et al. 2012). This approach is

also consistent with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

(1996) for a model of partnership and co-existence in natural resource management.

NORTHEAST SUPERIOR REGION

The Northeast Superior region is an informal area[35] adjacent to the northeastern

shore of Lake Superior, the largest of the Great Lakes. The region contains several First

Nations and municipalities as well as large areas of Crown forests, some of which are

licensed to operating forest companies, and a significant portion in the Chapleau Crown

Game Preserve (CCGP), as well as three treaty areas (Fig. 5). The region has a population

of 11,750 (Ecotrust Canada, nda) in small, rural communities that are several hours drive

from regional city centres (Sault Ste. Marie, Timmins). The municipal populations range

from 600 (Dubreuilville) to just over 3000 (Wawa). First Nation communities are of

Ojibwa and Cree ancestry and have up to 150 members with greater numbers living off the

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[35] There are no formal administrative boundaries that define the Northeast Superior region; however the final geography of the NS-ESFL, supplemented by the remainder of the Chapleau Crown Game Preserve, is expected to contribute to greater clarity in this regard.
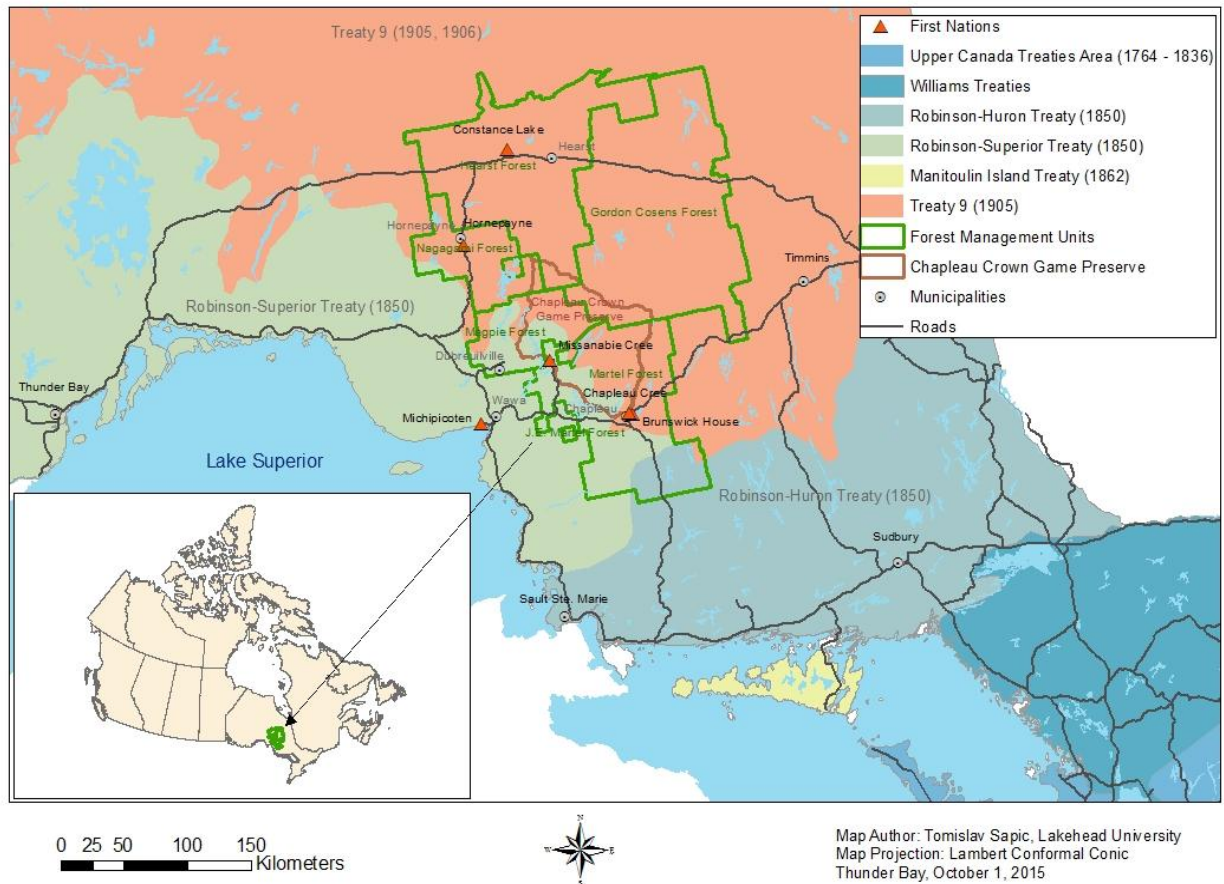
Figure 5. The communities, forest units, treaties and Chapleau Crown Game Preserve in the Northeast Superior Region. Compiled by Tomislav Sapic in November 2015.

reserves. Treaties include Treaty 9 (1905) in the east, Robinson-Superior (1850) in the west, and a small portion of Robinson-Huron (1850) in the southeast corner. The elected leadership from the First Nations (chief and council) and municipalities (mayor and council) are both accountable to their local populations.

The Crown lands of the region contain predominantly boreal forests and also include a portion of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence forest zone in the southern part of the region. First Nations that were founding members of the NSRCF and participants in the NS-ESFL include Missanabie Cree, Chapleau Cree, Michipicoten and Brunswick House.

Chapleau Ojibwe First Nation is also located in the Northeast Superior region and continues to monitor the development of the NS-ESFL process. Forest-dependent municipalities in the region are Dubreuilville, Wawa and Chapleau. Due to mill closures in Dubreuilville and Wawa in relation to the forestry downturn, the regional population declined by more than 16 percent between 2001 and 2006 (Statistics Canada 2008).

A sawmill owned by the Canadian forestry company Tembec Inc. operates in Chapleau[36]. Two other mills in that municipality closed as a result of the economic downturn, although the NSRCF is currently leading a collaborative process that is striving to re-open one of these mills. A former oriented strand board plant near Wawa was purchased by Rentech Inc. which started operations in 2016 to produce wood pellets, a new forest product in the region. However this company recently implemented a temporary shut down due to higher than expected start-up costs and is currently searching for new investment partners. The NSRCF has initiated dialogue in this regard. A sawmill that operates in the town of Hornepayne nearby to Northeast Superior recently reopened under new ownership and is expected to access wood within the NS-ESFL geography and is therefore of economic importance to the region's forest economy.

Crown forests in the region have been divided into sustainable forest licences on several forest management units composing 1.3 million hectares. The Martel Forest, the largest forest unit of 864,078 ha is licensed to Tembec. The smaller Magpie Forest of 322,610 ha is currently managed by the province since the closuresof the sawmill in Dubreuilville that was owned by a forest company that formerly held the license. These two FMUs comprise the majority of the forested area under license that is part of the NS-

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[36] An agreement was announced in May 2017 for the purchase of Tembec Inc. by the US company Rayonier Advanced Materials Inc.

ESFL land base. The 700,000 ha Chapleau Crown Game Preserve established by the province in 1925 to restrict hunting and trapping[37] coincides with 80 percent of the Magpie and Martel Forests and most of the territories of Chapleau Cree, Missanabie Cree, Brunswick House and Michipicoten First Nations. Portions of several additional forest units (Hearst, Nagagami, Gordon Cosens) comprise the remaining 20 percent of the CCGP (167,757 ha) adjacent to the current ESFL boundary. The CCGP has been a source of conflict between the province and regional First Nations due to the restriction imposed on exercising their Aboriginal rights to hunt and trap in their territories. Further conflict has ensued due to the right of logging companies to operate in what was conceived as a wildlife preserve, despite declining moose populations observed by both OMNRF and through First Nations monitoring.

It is worth noting that Nawiingiinokima Forest Management Corporation (NFMC), the first LFMC established in the province, contains the FMUs immediately to the northwest of the NS-ESFL. Although the province has established timber allocations from NFMC forests to mills outside of the NS-ESFL, the possibility nevertheless exists for a future wood supply competition between these initiatives.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

In this study we use a combination of theoretical concepts to evaluate whether and if so how the development of the NS-ESFL enables a transformation in forest governance that would see a shift in access to local forests and associated benefits by communities and

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[37] The game preserve was assigned in 1905 and installed in 1925. At that point First Nations were excluded without any consultation, and many people lost their traditional livelihoods as a result. The rationale put forward by the province was conservation; however extensive logging continued. In 2000 the First Nations made a statement to exercise their Aboriginal rights by shooting two moose. Many people were charged and jailed as a result.

a resulting increase in resilience in the region's forest system. We use an access approach (Ribot and Peluso 2003) to examine the powers conveyed by the ESFL to the participating communities that affect their ability to access and benefit from local forests. We also consider the development of the ESFL through a complexity lens (Gunderson and Holling 2002) to evaluate its impact on building system resilience through a collaborative approach to address the complexity and uncertainty characteristic of forest systems.

MANAGING FOR RESILIENCE

Community forestry is a forest management approach that seeks to improve outcomes relative to the status quo command-and-control paradigm through a recognition that forest ecosystems and the communities that depend upon them, as well as their social institutions, are a linked social-ecological system (SES) that is a specific type of complex adaptive system (CAS) (Berkes et al. 2003, Messier et al. 2013, Filotas et al. 2014). Complex adaptive systems are a group of systems that exhibit multiple interactions and feedback mechanisms in a non-linear manner to form a complex whole that has the capacity to adapt in a changing environment (Levin 1999, Gunderson and Holling 2002, Holland 2006). Resilience in a CAS is the amount of disturbance that it can absorb without altering its basic structure and function (Holling 1973, 1986, Walker et al. 2004, Walker and Salt 2006). Features associated with resilience in CASs include multiple interactions through web-like interconnectedness, feedback mechanisms and non-linearity, diversity (of species, knowledge systems, economic options), and the capability for self-organization, learning and adaptation in the context of change (Berkes et al. 2003, Folke et al. 2003, Chapin et al. 2004, Armitage 2005, Walker and Salt 2006).

Building system resilience under conditions of change and uncertainty in SESs calls for a novel approach to resource governance that emphasizes flexibility, (Holling 1978, Walters 1986, Lee 1993, 1999), collaboration and power-sharing among stakeholders, social learning, adaptability and transformation (Lee 1993, 1999, Berkes et al. 2003, Folke et al. 2003, 2005, Kofinas 2009). Adaptive capacity is the collective capacity of actors to manage resilience by responding to internal and external threats that create change in the state of the system (Folke et al. 2003, Berkes et al. 2003, Walker et al. 2004, Armitage 2005). Adaptive capacity fosters the development of innovative solutions in complex social and ecological circumstances through learning and experimentation (Walker et al. 2002, Folke et al. 2003, Gunderson 2003). Armitage (2005) suggests that adaptive capacity "is largely a function of social and institutional relationships and the manner in which social actors mediate among contested interests to avoid potentially negative collective action outcomes".

Adaptive collaborative management (ACM), or adaptive co-management, is an approach to the governance of SESs that operationalizes adaptive governance (Dietz et al. 2003) by merging adaptive management with collaboration among multiple stakeholders (Folke et al. 2002, Olsson et al. 2004, Colfer 2005, Armitage et al. 2007, 2009). Ecological and social uncertainty are acknowledged by testing and revising institutional arrangements through processes that embrace the features of resilience. ACM enables the establishment of platforms for diverse groups with different interests and worldviews to share knowledge and undertake collaborative learning. The recognition of power asymmetries among various groups is essential in this process (Doubleday 2007).

ACM contrasts to a command-and-control approach which emphasizes myopic optimization and efficiency, top-down control of people and resources, limited collaboration, and linear, positivistic thinking based on reductive science that attempts to maintain the resource system in a steady state with predictable outcomes (Gunderson and Holling 2002, Walker and Salt 2006, Armitage et al. 2009, Beratan 2014). Kofinas (2009) stresses the need for a shift from the conventional resource management paradigm through institutions that enable ACM in order to move toward sustainable stewardship of natural resources under conditions of rapid change. This requires a transformation known in CAS theory as a regime shift, where the original SES is transformed into a new and more resilient system configuration (Holling 1973, 1986, Walker et al. 2004, Walker and Salt 2006). Enabling ACM also requires the transfer of discretionary powers to local resource management authorities as conveyed by Ribot (2002, 2004).

ACCESS APPROACH

Property rights held by the users of any natural resource have long been considered of utmost importance to achieve control over and benefit from that resource. Schlager and Ostrom (1992) define property rights as a "bundle" of five rights including access, withdrawal, management, exclusion and alienation. The first two convey rights to enter and obtain the resource. The last three are decision-making rights that are particularly significant for forest tenure since they allow the rights holder to define and adjust rules and standards for exercising other rights. While alienation allows the sale or lease of forest lands, including the other rights, management and exclusion rights convey decision-

making power over who has access to a resource and how it is harvested. Schlager and Ostrom assert that the full range of property rights is essential to successful CBNRM.

While formal rights to ownership or use of resources may be recognized *de jure*, such rights do not necessarily guarantee control over access to or use of the resources (Furniss 1978). This outcome is commonly seen in Canada, where Aboriginal rights protected under the constitution have not necessarily translated to any meaningful influence over forest management or access to an appropriate share of benefits (Wyatt 2008, Wyatt et al. 2015). Access theory as framed by Ribot and Peluso (2003) suggests that beyond rights alone, access to resources and the associated benefits also depends on a "bundle of powers" (Ghani 1995) related to a myriad of social relations within a specific political-economic context. They define access as "the ability to derive benefits from things—including material objects, persons, institutions, and symbols—beyond the mere right to benefit from things" as is conveyed by the bundle of property rights. Access includes both *de jure* (rule-based) and *de facto* (non rule-based) (Macpherson 1978, Ribot 1998). Ribot and Peluso suggest that "ability" is akin to power that arises from social relationships, either intended or unintended. They relate this notion to Focault's (1978, 1979) observation of how certain institutions and practices can affect people's actions through subversive coercion due to positionality that is linked to political-economic circumstances.

Bundles of power include different strands that are the means, processes and relations—the mechanisms—by which actors are enabled to gain, control and maintain access to resources. Maintaining access refers to how resources or powers are expended to keep access open (Berry 1989, 1993). Control of access refers to the ability to mediate

others' access (Rangan 1997). Maintenance and control are about relations among actors regarding resource use (Ribot 1998). Ribot and Peluso convey how rights-based access sanctioned by law, custom or convention constitutes only one of a number of mechanisms of access to resources. They describe a broader range of non rule-based structural and relational factors that influence access including access to technology, capital, markets, labour, knowledge, authority, social identity, and social relations. These mechanisms determine the power relations that can affect rights-based mechanisms. It is this repertoire of mechanisms, in the form of structures, relations and processes, that is the political economy of distribution Ribot (1998). As Rangan and Lane (2001) have stated, "The concepts of access (the ability to make use of) and control (the ability to mediate access) are central to understanding any institutional process involving allocation of resources falling within the domain of "state" or "public" ownership in contemporary democracies".

There are three components in the access framework outlined by Ribot and Peluso (2003) to identify and map the mechanisms that enable access: 1) identify and map the benefit flows from the resource(s) of interest, 2) identify the mechanisms by which various actors gain, control, and maintain the benefit flows and their distribution, and 3) analyze the power relations underlying the mechanisms of access when benefits are derived from access.. We apply this three-step framework to analyze the mechanisms of access to forest resources by First Nations involved in the development of the NS-ESFL. Wyatt et al. (2015) applied a similar approach to evaluate First Nations' ability to derive benefits from forests based on new forest governance arrangements in New Brunswick.

METHODS

A qualitative in-depth case study (Creswell 2007, Yin 2009) with multiple data collection methods was used to explore the development of the NS-ESFL. This initiative was selected for study due to its focus on promoting transformative change in the existing forestry paradigm to one of system resilience through the use of adaptive collaborative management. The study was endorsed by the NSRCF following earlier collaborations with the academic authors regarding research and advocacy on forest tenure reform in northern Ontario to enable community forestry (Smith et al. 2012).

Data collection methods involved: 1) in-depth, semi-structured interviews with key informants in the region from four First Nations (12), three municipalities (7), two forestry companies (2) and OMNRF (2), 2) participatory action research (Reason 1994) and participant observation (Marshall and Rossman 1999) at annual strategic planning workshops hosted by NSRCF from 2012-2014, 3) participant observation at a NS-ESFL stakeholder meeting, and 4) review of forest tenure policy documents, meeting and workshop summaries, minutes and reports, and NSRCF documents. Field research was undertaken by the first author in the Northeast Superior region from August 2011 to February 2014. Several additional informal interviews were subsequently conducted with members of NSRCF via phone and in person to provide updates. All collected data was entered into NVivo 10 qualitative analysis software (QSR International Pty Ltd 2012) and coded (Saldana 2009) to elicit themes and subthemes.

Key informants for the interviews were selected through purposeful sampling based on their awareness of the ESFL forest tenure policy and/or involvement in the development of the model. Interviewees included First Nation chiefs and councilors,

elders, NSRCF representatives, mayors, municipal economic development officers, company foresters and regional OMNRF representatives tasked with overseeing ESFL development in the region. Separate interview guides were utilized for community representatives and other actors. Standardized, open-ended research questions were asked in interviews that lasted from 45 minutes to over two hours depending upon depth of responses.

Research questions for community interviewees (see Appendix II) explored perspectives about historical forest management and the ESFL in terms of: goals and anticipated benefits (economic, social, environmental, cultural), support and/or resistance, support for Aboriginal rights and interests, governance, strengths and weaknesses, and evaluation of success. Research questions for other actors (see Appendix III) explored perspectives about community forestry and the ESFL in terms of: role of communities, support and/or resistance, goals and anticipated benefits, support for Aboriginal rights and interests, governance, and evaluation of success. For several of the community interviewees, follow up interviews were undertaken to capture evolving perspectives in the development of the model. A total of 26 interviews were conducted with 23 participants. Most community interviews were undertaken face-to-face within communities and audio-recorded. However in two cases, written interviews were undertaken by request of the interviewee. Follow-up community interviews were in some cases done over the phone. Government interviews and one with a forest company representative were conducted over the phone. Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed.

The first author was invited by the NSRCF to participate in the strategic planning workshops and NS-ESFL stakeholder meeting subsequent to the first round of interviews

with NSRCF representatives. All workshops were three days in length and were held at

Chapleau Cree First Nation with a pre-meeting pipe ceremony each morning in the

community's Turtle Healing Lodge. The workshops provided opportunities for participants

to obtain information and exchange knowledge about a range of topics relevant to the

development of the ESFL as a community forest that focuses on creating a conservation

economy, a concept developed by the non-governmental organization Ecotrust Canada.[38]

This approach does not exclude forest harvesting, but focuses on creating greater local

economic, environmental, social, and cultural benefits than have been seen from the

conventional industrial approach (Reid-Kuecks et al. 2012). A conservation economy

thus fosters a wider range of products than conventional timber commodities that have

been the historical focus for production. Value-added timber and non-timber forest

products are key aspects of the model put forward by the First Nations as well as more

sustainable forest management practices, including reduced levels of harvesting and the

phasing out of chemical herbicides. The NSRCF commissioned several reports from

Ecotrust Canada that focused on building a conservation economy in the Northeast

Superior region of Ontario (Ecotrust Canada nda,b).

Workshop participants were from all First Nations involved in the ESFL and

representatives from the three Northeast Superior municipalities—Chapleau, Dubreuilville

and Wawa, OMNRF, and forest industry. The workshop format included presentations by

guests on various topics (value-added forestry, eco-tourism, non-timber forest products,

community forestry, comprehensive community planning) as well as interactive sessions.

The first author attended as a full participant and also presented on community forestry.

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[38] Ecotrust Canada is a non-governmental organization based in western Canada that coined the phrase"conservation economy" in 1991 as a way to describe an economy that enhances rather than exploits natural capital to create tangible benefits to people and places close to the source of resource extraction.

Based on community contacts developed at the strategic planning workshops, the first author was invited by an Elder to spend time on the land. This involved several days based at a cabin and participation in checking beaver traplines, hunting, and a visit to Manitou Mountain, the most sacred site in the Northeast Superior region.

RESULTS

The following sections present findings of 1) the developmental process for the NS-ESFL, and 2) the results of the access analysis undertaken for the NS-ESFL.

NS-ESFL Developmental Process

The process for developing the NS- ESFL was launched following the province-wide release of the ESFL policy guidelines in the fall of 2012 with the establishment of a working group in early 2013 that included representation from each of the NSRCF First Nations, the forestry companies operating in the region, and the three municipalities. Working group meetings were resourced and facilitated by OMNRF. Little progress was made in the first year, primarily due to concerns by the forest industry about loss of control over access to forests and associated benefits. This was especially the case with Tembec, the licence holder of the Martel Forest, since the creation of the NS-ESFL would require the company to relinquish its individual licence and become part of a new tenure model with the other partners. However active negotiations through the working group resumed in 2014. Given the historical conflict about the CCGP, the NSRCF Chiefs have insisted that its ecological integrity must be better protected by either: 1) special forest management practices to be required by the NS-ESFL and in adjacent forest tenures

overlapping portions of the CCGP, or 2) annexing the entire CCGP into the NS-ESFL in order that the First Nations can oversee its overall management.

A conceptual business model for the NS-ESFL has since been developed and ratified by all of the process stakeholders[39]. A trust fund has also been proposed to support more equitable sharing of benefits between the Crown, First Nations, forest industry and municipalities. Since over 20 years have passed with very little progress being made to advance a key prerequisite to provincial approval of the Crown Forest Sustainability Act Term and Condition 77[40] of the Class EA (EAB 1994) (now Condition 56) to support economic development for Aboriginal peoples, a First Nations economic development agenda was a key driver.

Also created by the ESFL is a First Nation Guardianship program that will provide forest compliance monitoring on a fee-for-service basis in support of Canada's original inhabitants returning to their rightful role as stewards of the land. Negotiations to complete the final stage of the ESFL developmental process are actively underway to develop a corporate shareholder agreement that is anticipated to be completed by 2018 to enable implementation.

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[39] Despite the impending and potential changes of mill ownership of Tembec and Rentech since the establishment of this business arrangement, the *Taku River Tlingit First Nation vs. British Columbia* , 2004 SCC ruling makes it clear that company ownership cannot change hands without First Nation consent. This requirement together with wood supply guarantees in the ESFL guidelines provide for continuity in the ESFL even if there is new company ownership.

[40] The Class Environmental Assessment for Timber Management on Crown Lands in Ontario introduced Condition 77 in 1994, which mandated OMNR to negotiate with Aboriginal communities on a local level to identify and implement means of increasing economic development opportunities related to forestry (see Declaration Order MNR-71 [. Condition 77 became Condition 34 in 2003 and has since become Condition 56 (see consolidated Declaration Order MNR-75).

The NSRCF worked actively throughout the NS-ESFL developmental process to promote a collaborative and principle-based approach that focuses on reconciliation, where all actors work together to find solutions that promote resilience in the region through the creation of a conservation economy. NSRCF maintained the view that to achieve reconciliation requires a comprehensive approach that is transformative in nature and is based on Aboriginal traditional values. This perspective considers economic, environmental, social and cultural elements consistent with the Medicine Wheel teachings, a key aspect of Aboriginal Natural Law (Lachance 2011a), regarding balance and the importance of all relationships: within First Nations (healing); among First Nations (kinship) and between First Nations, industry, adjacent municipalities, and government (partnership). The Medicine Wheel is a circular representation of how all aspects of life are interconnected. Aboriginal Natural Law describes both the operative limits and the purpose embedded in every aspect of creation. The underlying epistemology is consistent with the western concept of humanism that reinforces the obligation to treat all groups as equals according to the principles of egalitarianism, pluralism and participatory democracy, regardless of a belief in god.

Despite their participation at NS-ESFL working group meetings and workshops, as well as a clear expression of interest by the mayors and several other municipal representatives, all three municipalities chose to opt out of the model at this point due to lack of widespread community support. While the ESFL policy is designed such that participation by municipalities is optional, the NSRCF Chiefs continue to advocate that municipal presence is essential for the process to be genuinely community-based. Therefore, even though there is currently a lack of broad interest in the municipalities to

participate in the ESFL, the opportunity remains available for them to join at any point in the future, an approach that concurs with ACM.

Access Analysis

Benefit flows achieved to date by the First Nations from the development of the NS-ESFL as well as mechanisms of access to these benefits and the underlying power relations are described in relation to the First Nations, given the absence of the municipalities to date in the NS-ESFL developmental process. While the implications for the province and forest industry are also discussed, the primary focus of this analysis is to assess these outcomes for the communities in Northeast Superior.

Benefits

The Forest Principles adopted at the UNCED established global consensus on the elements of sustainable forest management, building upon the concept of sustainable development that had previously emerged at the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED 1987). Principle 2b of the Forest Principles identifies the need to manage forests to meet the social, economic, ecological, cultural and spiritual needs of present and future generations. Benefit flows to the First Nations from the NS-ESFL developmental process are identified in the following analysis in four of these widely accepted categories: economic, social, environmental and cultural. The Guardianship Program established by NSRCF is discussed in a separate section since it has led to a number of these benefits simultaneously: economic, environmental and cultural.

In the Canadian context, culture specifically reflects Aboriginal values. Spirituality is also an overarching value for the NSRCF First Nations. However they view this element

as a guiding value for the development of the ESFL, rather than as a benefit flowing from

its development. Based on this perspective, the First Nations view the tangible benefits in

the other four areas that are flowing from the model as operationalizing the Medicine

Wheel teachings:

> What we base our model on is Natural Law. The bundle that puts it all together is our sacred relationship with the land and our stewardship functions to protect the integrity of Mother Earth. (First Nation interviewee)

The benefits that are flowing to the First Nations in relation to the forestry

companies reflect a recent trend for industry to obtain a Social Licence to Operate (SLO)

beyond government authorization (Dare et al. 2014) in order to be deemed legitimate and

gain social approval from affected citizens for resource management. Given the power of

their increasing legal wins, Aboriginal people now expect forest (and other resource

development) companies to go beyond government regulations to obtain SLO (Wyatt

2016).

Economic Benefits.

This section describes six different types of economic benefits that are being

accessed by the First Nations as a result of the NS-ESFL developmental process: resource

revenue sharing with the province, resource benefit sharing with forest companies,

employment, joint ventures, joint ownership of processing facilities, and value-added

timber and non-timber forest products.

Resource revenue sharing with the provincial government.

The NRSCF First Nations obtained the first forestry-based resource revenue

sharing (RRS) pilot project in Ontario associated with the Martel Forest that is part of the

ESFL. The sharing of revenue obtained by governments from resource developments in the form of royalties for the support of government programs has recently emerged as a policy approach to allow Aboriginal people to share in the economic and related benefits that arise from developments in their traditional territories while enabling governments to meet their treaty, legal, constitutional, and moral obligations (Coates 2015). Coates (2015) states: "Resource revenue sharing is considered to be one of the most promising developments in Aboriginal-government relations and Indigenous economic development in recent decades." While Aboriginal communities have come to expect RRS as a key benefit to support development in their territories, Coates (2015) points out how its application is uneven among jurisdictions with no fixed formula, with a variety of RRS arrangements where it is in place. The initial funding formula for the forestry RRS obtained by NSRCF member First Nations was developed unilaterally by the province and fell far short of the First Nations' expectations. However NSRCF accepted the arrangement as a stepping stone towards the development of a more equitable long-term arrangement once the ESFL becomes operational. At that point there will also be one additional forest unit, as well as small portions of other units, from which a greater amount of revenue will be available.

Resource benefit sharing with forest companies.

The First Nations are now receiving a share of the economic benefits being generated from the forest industry through a profit-sharing agreement with Tembec. Negotiations for similar agreements are taking place with the other three companies in the region that are part of the ESFL. The establishment of such benefit sharing was a legally-

binding condition[41] of the Class Environmental Assessment (EA) (EAB 1994) for forest

management that was considered to be groundbreaking forest policy direction to support

Aboriginal peoples. However effective implementation of this condition has been

criticized by First Nations such that the current agreements are the first of their kind in the

Northeast Superior region.

> This is going to happen with all the forestry companies. We tell them if they want to operate here they've got to come and see us. They have to agree to it if they want to operate. (First Nation interviewee*)*

> We see these partnerships as the key way to get economic benefit to the communities. (First Nation interviewee)

Employment.

An increased level of employment with the forest industry has occurred in

association with the development of the ESFL. Also achieved is a pro-First Nation hiring

policy that has been put into place by Rentech which is expanding to the other forestry

partners in the region. This strategy is effective with this newly established company that

does not have a dominance of existing non-native employees.

> There will be forestry-related jobs because when we sign agreements with companies that`s one of the first things we do is to get jobs. With Rentech they`re hiring 40 people. It will be First Nations hired first. (First Nation interviewee)

This approach is more challenging for a company like Tembec that has been operating for

a long period and has an existing workforce in place. In this case, the company is

developing an attrition strategy to hire First Nation employees when current employees

retire. The NSRCF is currently making strategic investments in the development of a

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[41] Term and Condition 77 that was later modified to become Condition 34 and has recently become Condition 56 in the latest renewal of approval of the original EA Board approval in 1994—Declaration Order MNR-75 in 2015 (Queen's Printer for Ontario, n.d.)

comprehensive regional job strategy that is designed to assist First Nations as well as municipalities.

Joint ventures.

A joint venture has been established between the First Nations and the Rentech wood pellet company for value-added and service centre-based initiatives, including trucking operations and fuel servicing through a cardlock operation with an external partner. A joint venture approach is also underway with a number of service providers particularly for trucking, forest management planning and energy development related to forestry.

Joint ownership.

The First Nations ultimately aim to become equal business partners with the forestry companies that operate in the forests of the ESFL. A joint ownership agenda is currently advancing smoothly between the NSRCF and the new owner of the Hornepayne sawmill with funding recently being secured in part from a government grant. The NSRCF, through its recently formed regional economic development corporation Wahkohtowin Development GP Inc., is poised to become a joint equity owner of this mill and its adjacent co-generation plant. As economic opportunities further increase to the First Nations, they aim to invest in all regional forestry facilities as partners. These findings are consistent with the trend in Canada where economic arrangements for forest development with First Nations are transforming them from opponents to partners (Wyatt 2016).

Value added forest products: timber and non-timber.

The development of value-added timber and NTFP enterprises, including exploring carbon offsets, is being advanced by the NSRCF First Nations with strategic support from Ecotrust Canada and in collaboration with OMNRF, regional industry partners and academic and research partners including Natural Resources Canada (NRC).

> I think there`s a huge market. I don`t think it`s just blueberries, there`s other stuff. There are other berries. A lot of them just need some research. I talked to someone who is into biomass, makes a huge mound and composts it, using that to heat a greenhouse. With a little bit of research we could do a lot out there. You could make methane gas from that. So being part of an ESFL may help with that especially if there is thinking down the road of resource revenue sharing or a portion of Crown dues coming back for things like that. (industry interviewee)

Ecotrust Canada conducted an economic audit and a regional capacity assessment to support the integration of this approach in the ESFL (Ecotrust Canada nd.a.b.) as well as specific assessments on carbon (Ecotrust Canada 2016a) and birch syrup (Ecotrust Canada2016b) business opportunities. Developmental plans and proposals are in place for the production of these new forest products to support a shift to a conservation economy that will see diversification of the region's forest economy from the historical focus on high-volume, low-value commodities (dimensional lumber). A number of potential partnerships are currently being advanced in this regard. NRC has provided ongoing support for the development of new value-added timber products. Background research has been undertaken for the establishment of commercial wild blueberry production on Crown lands as part of the ESFL, with consideration of an organic approach. Blueberries and other NTFPs have been inventoried through the NSRCF Guardianship program that has been piloted since 2013. The NSRCF completed its first

year of birch syrup production in 2017. The identification and designation of the required

birch stands was undertaken collaboratively between the NSRCF, Tembec and OMNRF.

Wild mushroom harvesting has been identified as the next NTFP priority.

Despite these new benefit flows, challenges remain for the operationalization of

non-timber enterprises due to the ESFL policy that, as was the case with the former forest

tenure policy, regulates only timber production. The Ontario Forest Management Planning

Manual (Queen's Printer for Ontario, 2009) contains a provision (see sections 1.2.5.1, p.

A-36) for the management of other resources that requires manipulation of forest cover

that could be interpreted to favour other values than timber.

Social Benefits.

This section identifies four different types of social benefits that are flowing to the

First Nations due to the NS-ESFL developmental process. Three of these are capacity

building in the areas of forest management planning, development of NTFP enterprises,

and a Forest Resource Licence. The fourth benefit is district heating from wood biomass.

Capacity building in forest management planning.

Capacity building for the First Nations in forest management planning is occurring

for the first time. A fee for service contractual arrangement was established in 2016 for

the NSRCF to complete the annual work schedule (AWS) for the Magpie Forest, an

operational requirement for all provincial forest management plans, with professional

support from a forester in one of the regional forestry companies. This led to a joint

approach between the NSRCF and a strategic partner to secure additional work in 2017.

Capacity building in forest management planning began with this project because the

Magpie Forest has been held by the province since the bankruptcy of the former forest

licence holder, and the schedule of forest management planning required completion of the AWS according to a set timeline. This approach to capacity building has been undertaken as an interim measure, where the necessary forest management expertise is being cultivated by the First Nations with support from a professional industrial forester who is currently able to remain in the same role. Once the ESFL has been implemented, the goal is to have forest management planning services contracted out to the First Nations with the planning and training of First Nation members undertaken by forestry professionals until they retire and when fully trained First Nation members are able to assume all forest management planning responsibilities. FMP services will be undertaken through a fee-for-service arrangement by Wahkohtowin.

Capacity building in NTFP enterprises.

First Nation community members (and some municipal representatives) have been trained to prepare for the establishment of NTFP enterprises that are intended to be an important component of the conservation economy approach. Support for this initiative was provided by Royal Roads University and the Northeast Superior Forest Community corporation[42] when it was operating.

> The trainer program is a two week course that is happening right now. People have been learning how to identify different plant materials, harvesting, and they have been preparing different plant materials for teas, they have been making fruit leather, they have been making walking sticks and talking sticks and birch bark baskets and spoons and different things. (First Nation interviewee)

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[42] The Northeast Superior Forest Community was as one of 11 Forest Community programs established across Canada by the Canadian Model Forest Network (CMFN) as a response to the forestry crisis (Bullock et al. 2012, NSFC nd.). The goal of these programs was to develop collaborative solutions by communities to address the crisis. The NSFC was conceived as a model that involved six municipalities represented by an informal organization known as the Northeast Superior Mayor's Group. Three of these municipalities are involved in the NS-ESFL and the other three chose to become involved in Nawiinginokiima Forest Management Corporation. The initial approach did not include NSRCF First Nations, although they eventually became involved based on their request for participation to the CMFN.

First Nations Forest Resource Licence.

A short-term interim Forest Resource Licence held by Wahkohtowin intends to build First Nation capacity in forest harvesting prior to ESFL implementation. This approach way will also lay a foundation for the First Nations to achieve economic benefits from harvesting and selling timber as they work towards returning to their cultural renewal destiny as stewards of the land.

District heating from wood biomass.

Wahkohtowin is leading the advancement of a regional energy strategy that links to the diversified forest economy being created in the Northeast Superior region. The strategy includes two co-generation opportunities and a wood pellet co-operative with a district heating component. A strategic partnership has been established with Biomass North Development Centre, a not-for-profit association focused on developing the Canadian bioeconomy. District heating is an approach being promoted throughout northern Ontario that can foster regional energy self-sufficiency and help to reduce energy costs for communities (Myers 2016).

Environmental Benefits.

This section identifies three types of environmental benefits that are flowing to the First Nations due to the NS-ESFL developmental process: forest management planning, reduction in herbicide usage and a joint moose recovery strategy.

Forest management planning.

The initial project undertaken by the NSRCF contributed to the rebuilding of Aboriginal environmental stewardship responsibilities. This initiative is a step toward

realizing the First Nations' vision to assume all forest management planning functions given their traditional responsibilities to protect the integrity of Mother Earth. This NSRCF preoccupation was built into the front end of the provincial ESFL policy guidelines, capitalizing on the space created when the province decided to separate forest management planning (currently undertaken by industry) from forest harvesting activities but was not interested in resuming its earlier responsibility for forest management before it was transferred to the forest industry.[43]

Reduced herbicide usage.

The NSRCF First Nations oppose the use of chemical herbicides in forestry, a conventional approach permitted in forest management throughout Ontario to control competing vegetation on regenerated forest sites. They are greatly concerned about the risks posed by the chemicals to human and environmental health, a stance similar to that which has long been documented for the broader public (Buse et al. 1995, Wagner et al. 1998). The First Nations are further concerned about the loss of balance from the Medicine Wheel perspective that results from this approach.

To address their concerns, the NSRCF First Nations along with a number of others in Muskegowuk Council, a tribal council in northeastern Ontario, initiated a collaborative herbicide alternatives program with Tembec (Kayahara and Armstrong 2015). This process led in recent years to a major voluntary reduction of herbicide use in forests managed by Tembec, partly to comply with rules under Forest Stewardship Council certification standards to which the company adheres. Since Tembec is the major industrial partner in the NS-ESFL, the lessons learned through the program are being used to develop best

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[43] Responsibility for forest management was shifted from the province to the forest industry through the Crown Timber Amendment Act of 1979 that established Forest Management Agreements

practices that will be integrated into forest management for the ESFL. This initiative is a component of a broader campaign NSRCF has initiated through a strategic alliance with a number of other Indigenous organizations and key environmental groups in the province to petition the Environmental Commissioner of Ontario to phase out herbicide use on all Crown forests.

Moose recovery strategy.

The Chapleau Crown Game Preserve Moose Recovery Strategy (NSRCF 2016) has been developed to address the recovery of depleted moose populations in the CCGP that coincides with the majority of the NS-ESFL. This initiative is a partnership that takes a reconciliatory approach given the conflict that arose when a number of NSRCF First Nation members were charged after asserting their rights to hunt in the CCGP.NSRCF took the lead role in advancing the relationship building side of the partnership while OMNRF led the collection of information, including an aerial moose inventory that was completed in December 2015. Several years of relationship building and information collection activities resulted in: 1) a NSRCF- OMNRF commitment to an adaptive management approach, 2) a NSRCF-forest industry commitment to increase protection of the ecological integrity of the CCGP, 3) an Aboriginal hunter's code of conduct, and 4) a regional education program for both the First Nations and the general public.

Cultural Benefits.

This section identifies two types of cultural benefits that are flowing to the First Nations due to the NS-ESFL developmental process, natural law integrated into forest management planning and the construction of Aboriginal healing lodges.

<u>Natural Law in forest management planning.</u>

The second author has worked extensively on the notion of using Natural Law based philosophies in support of improved forest management planning ethics. In this context, ethical considerations focus less on developing new reconciliation-based tools and more on closing gaps between affirmed constitutional provisions, court rulings, laws, regulations and policies and the intent of these instruments to promote reconciliation.

Aboriginal Natural Law-based methodologies have been integrated into forest management planning through a joint process undertaken by the First Nations, industry and OMNRF for the Martel Forest to develop best practices for the ESFL. Supported by prophecies, teachings and traditional rules of conduct, this approach relies on spiritual guidance to assist in the identification of acute forest protection needs, placing responsibility ahead of rights. This process led directly to the advancement of the CCGP Moose Recovery Strategy given that Aboriginal prophecy declares that we are in the time of the Eighth Fire of renewal and reconciliation, defined predominantly by the renewal of the feminine spirit as represented by the moose (Andrews, 1993). This methodology also led to the creation of a cultural mapping best practice that incorporates areas of concern to the First Nations. These areas have been identified in one of three categories: no go zones (red), those open to forest operations (green), and those where operations will be put on hold until the issue can be resolved (yellow).

> We've actually had withdrawals from our plan. If you look at the map on the back there. . . . there's three areas. The yellow areas are where there are First Nations issues where we've committed to stopping operations until those issues between the government and the First Nations are resolved. (industry interviewee)

Aboriginal healing lodges.

Aboriginal cultural renewal requires a return to spirit that is supported by ritual.

The reconstruction of the Aboriginal worldview has proven challenging and is difficult to

explain from a western perspective because its underlying epistemology venerates Mother

Earth, a concept that is foreign to most forestry practitioners. In addition to the protection

of sacred sites such as Manitou Mountain[44], the most sacred Aboriginal site in the

Northeast Superior region and the collection of sacred objects, the cultural renewal process

requires infrastructure to support the process. For this reason, the NSRCF has been

sponsoring the construction of healing lodges in each of its member First Nations and has

created a special relationship with Tembec to supply oversize logs, important given their

age and commensurate spiritual wisdom, as well as dimensional lumber. The first such

lodge was built at Chapleau Cree First Nation and was used extensively during the NS-

ESFL developmental process with participation by regional and provincial-level actors.

Guardianship Program.

Indigenous Guardianship Programs have been established and are emerging in

Aboriginal territories throughout Canada to provide the "eyes and ears" on the lands and

water. These programs integrate traditional custom and practice with modern management

to create a unique Indigenous approach to environmental protection and sustainable

development (ILI nd). A Guardianship Program was initiated by the NSRCF First Nations

as a two year pilot to develop best practices in First Nations environmental monitoring that

will be integrated into the ESFL once it is operational. This pilot program took a balanced

approach that integrated economic, environmental and cultural components. The economic

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[44] Manitou Mountain is poised to become the first protected sacred site in Ontario as a Conservation Reserve under the Public Lands Act.

component focused on mapping of three species in the CCGP as a foundation for the establishment of community-based NTFP enterprises: high quality birch stands for the production of birch syrup, blueberries and mushrooms. The environmental component focused on ground-truthing the presence of endangered plants in the CCGP. The cultural component focused on identifying the presence of the ten most important traditional plants as identified by the NSRCF Elders Council.

The Guardianship program supports the integration of Aboriginal culture with the environmental and economic elements through oversight by the NSRCF Elders Council. The federal government's policy of assimilation was specifically designed to break the educational cycle that assures the preservation of cultural integrity by separating youth from Elders. The program promotes their reconnection through intergenerational sharing of traditional knowledge on the land as is consistent with Aboriginal culture. This approach was an important aspect of the field mapping components of the Guardianship Program and was also effectively integrated during ceremonies such as Sacred Fires and collective prayer activities.

The pilot program was supported by Natural Resources Canada and is to be resourced for the long-term through the NS-ESFL Trust Fund. The project will draw upon lessons learned to develop a comprehensive program with trained Guardians from each of the NSRCF First Nations who will monitor the state of forests throughout their territories. The program is linked to the newly established National Indigenous Guardians Network that received financing in the 2017 federal budget (ILI 2017). NSCRF participated in the inaugural workshop of the network in October 2016 to share lessons learned and best practices with established and emerging programs throughout the country.

<u>Mechanisms</u>

This section discusses the various mechanisms that the First Nations have used or continue to use to gain, control, and maintain the benefit flows that were identified in the previous section. The main mechanism that has been identified, investment in social relations, is discussed first, followed by several additional mechanisms that include access to capital, labour and knowledge.

<u>Social Relations.</u>

The main mechanism employed by NSRCF to achieve the benefits accessed to date is investment in social relations through relationship building founded on the importance of emotional intelligence (Coleman 2005) which is tied to the feminine spirit. An aspect of this mechanism is the successful ability to negotiate based on a strategic political advocacy agenda. Use of a rights-based approach by threatening political or legal action based on Aboriginal rights has been limited to a few instances as a means of stimulating the foundation for transformative change. In each of these cases, OMNRF recognized the risk and chose to develop solutions as an alternative to facing court action or public scrutiny.

> We are trying to take two dominant world views, two dominant cultural views sharing the same land, and trying to find a way to get them to work together. The treaty relationship is something that we both have in common. Relationship-building, in the form of reconciliation, is a good foundation. So that's why we advance it this way. We only use the political agenda as a last resort. (First Nation interviewee)

NSRCF recognized early in the process that to create a community forestry model based on reconciliation and a regional collaborative approach, existing relationships needed to shift. Racism, and in some cases reverse racism was seen as a major impediment, built on a legacy of misinformation about Aboriginal history and assimilation policies. To overcome this barrier, the NSRCF invested $100,000 over two years well in

advance of the ESFL development activities in cross-cultural relationship building with

OMNRF, forest industry and regional municipalities.

> We are dealing with a top down command-and-control system and our approach looks at building relationship first and foremost. Because when you build good relations based on trust, you're able to find those common interests that apply to everyone as a human being and it's important to flush that out in the process. (First Nation interviewee)

By investing in social relations, that included successful negotiations, NSRCF was

able to make a significant contribution to shaping the 2012 ESFL policy framework that

guides the development and implementation of ESFLs. As a result of these efforts, the

ESFL guidelines include explicit recognition of the inherent rights of First Nations as

addressed in Section 35 of the constitution and supported by Supreme Court of Canada

cases and a set of principles that provide a foundation for the negotiation of community

and industry interests based on investments in social relations. The ESFL guiding

principles include the traditional Aboriginal principles of trust, openness, inclusiveness,

mutual respect, personal responsibility and shared accountability in the collaborative

process.

As a result of pressure by the forest industry during the development of the ESFL

guidelines, a principle was also included to give proportional influence over financial

decisions to shareholders. Industry intended this to maintain the greatest control in the

ESFL given that they are the only actor having significant financial equity. However,

based on a model of reconciliation, the First Nations' view is that they have as much (if

not greater) equity due to being responsible for the very forest itself according to Natural

Law and their recognized inherent rights. Therefore, despite the intention of this principle,

the First Nations anticipate equal decision-making ability with industry in all matters

regarding the ESFL, regardless of initial financial contribution. Once they develop full

capacity in forest management planning and are able to generate through the various forest

production initiatives under development, they expect to make a significant financial

contribution as well.

Governance considerations that shaped the NS-ESFL conceptual business plan

include a principle-based approach as a means of ensuring process integrity and board

representation structured such that no one group can overpower any other. A balance of

power approach was proposed between First Nations, municipalities and industry wherein

representatives of two out of the three groups must agree for any decision to be made. This

methodology has been particularly challenging given the lack of municipal presence in the

process. The third consideration involved moving toward a purely economic approach

wherein the NS-ESFL board of directors will make decisions purely from a business and

not political risk management perspective, thus creating the need for Wahkohtowin. The

NSRCF worked extensively with Dr. David Robinson at Laurentian University on this

aspect of the ESFL agenda which contributed to the first book to explore the economic

theory of community forestry (Robinson 2017).

The province has remained hesitant to support community forestry in the form

based on community forestry principles and democratic decentralization:

> When you say community-based management, I think that the perspective from
> many people is closer to the BC example. We haven't been proposing that kind of a
> BC example. We've got no legislation for that and we haven't moved in that
> direction. But I think what we have done with the ESFL is to try to bring the
> opportunity for local solutions, more of a community-based approach at a
> reasonable level. (OMNRF interviewee)

Despite the province's resistance to support an outright community forest tenure model as has been implemented in other Canadian jurisdictions, notably British Columbia and more recently Nova Scotia, as a direct result of ongoing investment in relationship building over a number of years with OMNRF at all levels (district, regional, provincial) and simultaneous negotiations, NSRCF was able to obtain a groundbreaking commitment to "work collaboratively, cooperatively and with integrity to move forward all of the initiatives proposed by NSRCF that support the development of the ESFL including: the pilot resource revenue sharing project for the Magpie and Martel forest units that supports a government-to-government (i.e. government-to-First Nation) relationship; incorporation of all of the CCGP into the ESFL such that portions of forest units adjacent to the Magpie and Martel will be included; implementation of Condition 34 (56) from Ontario's Class EA for forest management in the Magpie and Martel forest units—providing the impetus for the flow of economic benefits from the forestry companies in the form of resource benefit sharing, as well as the granting of a forest resource licence for the First Nations to undertake forest harvesting and generate their own forest-based revenue from timber sales; capacity building for the First Nations to engage in forest stewardship, starting with the initial and now second NSRCF-led forest management planning initiative; and, full support for the conservation economy initiative and more detailed analyses to support the shift to this approach.

This commitment, affirmed in a fall 2013 letter signed by senior OMNRF officials (two assistant deputy ministers), set the stage for transformative change. The letter stated explicit recognition of section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, as well as support for the ESFL principles that were endorsed by the Minister of Natural Resources in October 2012.

It recognized the challenges to be addressed but committed to work together to find mutual solutions and to undertake annual joint review by OMNRF and the First Nations over a three-year period. A commitment was given for initial resources to finance the collaborative planning process for implementation of the ESFL. The statement of support from OMNRF importantly supported the building of positive new relationships as a means to advance the ESFL to provide beneficial outcomes for the region as a whole. The province had significant incentive to support this direction as a means of risk management, given the willingness of the First Nations to assert their Aboriginal rights if appropriate solutions supporting their interests were not developed.

The precedent-setting commitment from the province was key in shifting the arena at the regional level by encouraging OMNRF staff and especially the forest industry to come to the table to develop a collaborative ESFL model. Prior to the commitment, there were major delays since the creation of the ESFL policy and guidelines due to interference from these actors that felt threatened by the idea of transformative change. From the time of its inception, NSRCF had clearly conveyed its perspective about community forestry to industry:

> From a community forestry perspective we're saying, the resources don't belong to you, they belong to the people who want to stand up and make sure that these resources are managed for their well-being and the well-being of their children and the environment. (First Nation interviewee)

> Enormous resistance to community forestry was displayed by the forest industry

during and subsequent to the forest tenure reform process given its long-held power over forest management decision-making. Strong lobbying by regional industry, in conjunction with that undertaken province wide by the Ontario Forest Industries Association, along

with several municipal associations (OFIA, NOACC, NOMA and FONOM 2011), focused

on ensuring the political leadership of OMNRF maintained the status quo and did not

invest in the collaborative regional process. This resistance was clearly voiced by a

forestry company representative in Northeast Superior upon the creation of the new ESFL

policy. At the same time, a lack of understanding about the concept of community forestry

was apparent:

> I initially don't like the idea of community-based forestry and I think community's
> role is more in government-based organizations like making sure town
> infrastructures are there and everything else. I think industry's role is to provide
> jobs for the community so I think that is where there are conflicts initially. That
> being said, I think my understanding of why communities want community-based
> forestry I need to understand better. Why they want it or why they think it is so
> valuable, and if it's for the jobs or for the economic stability, that's really not a
> town or community's function. I believe that the communities shouldn't be
> involved in deciding issues related to economics. It's very complicated. And that's
> where I see a hard time with having communities influencing forest-based
> decisions because it really takes a lot of understanding, a lot of time and
> commitment. (industry interviewee)

A shift took place within the industry from this stance to an interest in

collaborating in the development of the ESFL. This realization occurred once the support

provided by the province indicated that the status quo is no longer an option and that

industry now has no choice but to come to the table to figure out how to work together

with communities. The relationship building that followed between the First Nations and

industry, together with negotiations on the part of NSRCF, were the key mechanisms that

resulted in the access to benefits seen to date related to the forestry companies: profit

sharing, employment, improved forest management practices and Aboriginal healing

lodges.

Despite conveying strong initial resistance to change, the forest industry eventually gained awareness that their perception of being threatened economically by an ESFL based upon a community forestry model was unfounded. The increasingly positive relations between the First Nations and Tembec in particular led to interest being expressed by the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) of Canada for a Free Prior and Informed Consent pilot project with NSRCF and Tembec, an FSC certified company. From the outset, the NSRCF took the position that FPIC is primarily about relationship building. Their view is that when there is free, prior, ongoing and informed dialogue with First Nations as an equal partner, consent is implied and only becomes a threat to the status quo when partners take less than ethical approaches to honouring the jurisprudence-driven spirit and intent of FPIC.

Incorporation of FPIC into FSC certification provides a specific type of social license to operate for forest management relevant to Indigenous peoples. While Tembec seeks to increase market share by maintaining third party FSC certification, the company has been challenged as to how to integrate FPIC into its forestry practices. Wyatt (2016) has noted this issue of FPIC implementation in Canadian cases. FPIC is an emerging requirement by FSC Canada since the principles have been integrated into a revised set of Principles and Criteria which will be reflected in a new national forest management standard to be finalized in 2017 (FSC Canada nd), following the international FSC trend. By collaborating with Tembec to operationalize an approach to FPIC in forest management to be undertaken in relation to the NS-ESFL, the First Nations have been able to maximize leverage for obtaining an increased share of future economic, social, environmental and cultural benefits. Integrating FPIC will provide the First Nations with a

stronger voice in forest management planning based on their Aboriginal values. At the same time, Tembec also benefits by maintaining FSC certification with this new standard in order to increase their market share. A further benefit for the company is a major reduction in risk due to conflict with the First Nations.

The Guardianship Program was launched by the First Nations with financial support from the federal government, such that it did not, for the initial stage, require direct negotiation with the province or forest industry. However because the program was created as a pilot to develop best practices to integrate community-based monitoring into forest management once the ESFL is operational, strong support from both actors is nonetheless required. Relationship building has thus been a key mechanism utilized by the First Nations to obtain acceptance for the integration of this emerging approach of Indigenous environmental monitoring.

The NSCRF's strategic approach to the development of the ESFL included obtaining at least two years' experience with the various initiatives in order to undertake a best practices review before they are implemented:

> All of these pieces to go through their two year trial and error period to see how they are going to fit before we sign on the dotted line for the ESFL. (First Nation interviewee)

The sheer resistance to the transformative change agenda being advocated by the First Nations required that it be broken down into more manageable pieces with the understanding that the process is only as strong as its weakest link. In this sense, while the NS-ESFL developmental agenda focused predominantly on governance aspects of

community forestry, this was tied to the seemingly independent NSRCF work in the areas

of fiscal autonomy, economic development, environmental protection, social development,

cultural renewal, healing and wellness.

Although NSRCF's extensive investment in relationship building with the regional

municipalities was not ultimately successful in obtaining their participation in and support

for the ESFL, it did result in achieving very positive relationships with some of the key

leaders who were in power at the time (new mayors were elected since) and garnered their

support:

> Three mayors are here who have recognized the benefit of working together
> collaboratively. The feds and the Ontario government don't know what to do with the
> First Nations. We need to tell them. I've come to respect the First Nations, what
> they've gone through and what we are doing. By all of us coming to the table, we will
> all be stronger, industry too. (municipal interviewee).

> People are actually going to be able to speak up. So I think it's good and for sure
> having the change in the last few years, having communities communicating with the
> First Nations, that makes a whole lot of difference already in the relationships that are
> existing. So imagine having the companies involved too. I think it's a great change. I
> think it's finally coming. (municipal interviewee)

> Unfortunately, the mayors were not successful in gaining broader support from

their councils that displayed ongoing resistance to working with the First Nations:

> Some people have resentment. There are some people even on council, and I'm being
> honest, but some people do not want to work with First Nations. (municipal
> interviewee)

> The municipal resistance to community forestry is in part a product of the approach

taken by the now defunct Northeast Superior Forest Community Corporation that was

established by the Northeast Superior Mayors Group as a program of the Canada Model

Forest Network in response to the forestry crisis (Bullock et al. 2012). Although the NSFC

undertook studies to evaluate potential for alternative economic development based on

NTFPs and wood-based bioenergy for district heating, the overall approach aligned with mainstream community economic development (CED) that is oriented to traditional business development rather than transformative and resilience-based approaches to CED (Loxley 2007, Lewis and Conaty 2012). There was little support for collaboration with the First Nations to foster transformation in the tenure system to enable a community forestry model. Although the NSFC is no longer operational, its legacy had an impact in maintaining resistance to this direction among many municipal representatives.

The resistance to transformative change by the municipalities conveyed their focus on the mills in their own towns, whether or not they are in operation or will be again, due to the historical linkage of the municipalities and the forest industry. This relationship is most acutely felt in the commercial property taxes paid by the industry that ensure municipalities have the infrastructure and services they need, or, in times of crisis in the industry resulting in the closure of mills located within municipal boundaries, leave municipalities without these funds (Keenan 2015). It furthermore indicates how they are threatened by a collaborative process with First Nations.

> In the EFSL there's opposition there. There are people within the municipalities that think the First Nations are getting everything. My response is well it's about time. But you know what, they are willing to share it, they are willing to sit down and say that everything has to be good for everyone. (municipal interviewee)

> When you have a functioning industry your thoughts are more concerned towards keeping what you've got. (municipal interviewee)

Additional Mechanisms.

Mechanisms in addition to investment in social relations utilized by the First Nations to access benefits are access to capital, labour and knowledge. Access to capital is being obtained through: 1) the joint venture partnership that has been established between

the First Nations and Rentech wood pellet company for trucking operations and fuel servicing (in abeyance as Rentech restructures its Wawa operations); 2) Wahkohtowin becoming an equity partner in the Hornepayne sawmill as well as other related potential opportunities; and 3) establishing a First Nation forestry corporation that is a regional development organization for forest management planning. This will operate through a fee-for-service contractual arrangement to provide services for forest harvesting and silviculture undertaken through the short-term Forest Resource Licence until the ESFL is operational.

Labour opportunities with the regional forestry companies have been secured for the First Nations as a result of investment in social relations and successful negotiations. As a response, a pro-First Nation hiring policy has been instituted by Rentech and employment has been provided for First Nation members. A transitional hiring policy has been adopted by all four of the operating forest companies in the region to retain First Nation employees through attrition with no displacement of existing employees.

Access to knowledge of forest management planning has been initiated through the NSRCF forest management pilot project and the Guardianship Program that reconnects youth and elders to the land and generates new knowledge, in combination with traditional knowledge, for future forest management as well as NTFP enterprises. A number of regional centres of excellence are also under development for location in the various First Nations (with optional location in municipalities if they join the ESFL) to develop regional knowledge in forest and data management, as well as NTFPs. The conservation economy agenda for value-added timber and non-timber forest products product will be supported through a regional learning centre that has been agreed to in principle.

<u>Power Relations</u>

A positive shift in power relations among the First Nations, OMNRF and forest industry has occurred due to breaking of the historical command-and-control forestry system and its replacement by regional collaboration to develop an ESFL. A key aspect of this shift was the change in the long-standing power dynamic that had seen the province support the forest industry since its inception as the dominant player in the political economy, with the associated marginalization of communities from decision-making over their local forests. The regional collaboration that has recently taken place among the First Nations, OMNRF and industry is building trust that will enable free prior and informed consent, as outlined in UNDRIP, by the First Nations and reduce risk for both the province and industry.

The power relations between the First Nations and OMNRF have been significantly altered in a positive direction as a result of the relationship building that has been advanced through a government-to-government process. The positive response to the proposals put forward by NSRCF for various initiatives to advance the ESFL indicate a recognition by OMNRF of First Nations rights and interests, that they must function as equal partners in forest governance and management, and also displays a willingness to take concrete action for their advancement. Accessing capital, labour and knowledge relating to the region's forest industry has also contributed to the shift in power relations, by furthering the First Nation's entry into the region's forest-based political economy.

In addition to support for a new form of collaborative forest governance for the ESFL, the regional forestry companies are moving towards support for the First Nations ultimately assuming all forest management planning activities for the ESFL once they

have fully built capacity with support by forest industry mentorship, as long as this is done through attrition. This shift indicates recognition by the region's forestry companies of First Nations as equals in forest governance and forest management planning. As a result of this positive change, the First Nations have offered to have forest industry assume the leading role in initial governance of the ESFL, in terms of a greater number of representatives, if all conditions put forward by the First Nations are met. If industry accepts this leading role, it would be in place only until the First Nations have built capacity to the point that they will in essence "become" the industry through high levels of employment, partnerships and ultimately ownership of forestry enterprises in the region. The First Nations anticipate that at such point they will assume full responsibility for forest governance. The First Nations are willing to accept this approach given that industry is preoccupied with making money whereas the First Nations have a cultural responsibility to protect the land. Adding municipal interests to the ESFL would result in a model that is built on social inclusiveness as a foundation for a regional conservation economy.

Despite the overall lack of recognition of First Nations rights and interests by the municipalities, this has in fact occurred by some municipal leaders that were involved in the ESFL developmental process. Given the long-standing cross-cultural barrier that has existed between First Nations and municipalities due to their differing histories, these individual shifts in relations are significant, and provide a foundation for the possibility of increasing support by the municipalities once success with the ESFL is demonstrated.

DISCUSSION

Ontario's forest tenure reform created the ESFL forest governance model as a policy option that aims to increase access to forests and associated benefits for Aboriginal people and municipalities while minimizing the disruption of either to forest industry. Since this new forest governance option conveys some property rights, in the form of management rights, to communities that were not previously available, it is a step towards enabling community participation in forest management. However including the representation of private interests in forest governance does not enable democratic decentralization. By choosing a forest governance institution that requires communities to partner with private forest corporations, the province has maintained the privatization of the tenure system, albeit with a modification that increases community participation. What has not occurred is the recognition (Ribot et al. 2008) of local governments (First Nations and municipalities) by the province that would see democratic local institutions composed solely of elected representatives from First Nations and municipalities. Such resistance by the state to transfer appropriate and sufficient power to democratic local authorities is consistent with the outcome of forest tenure reforms worldwide (Ribot et al. 2006, Larson and Ribot 2007, Pacheco et al. 2008, Poteete and Ribot 2011, Cronkleton et al. 2012), including in Canada (Ambus and Hoberg 2011).

Despite the shortcomings of the ESFL tenure model in terms of furthering democracy, access to forests and associated benefits have increased substantially for the First Nations in the Northeast Superior region as a result of the NS-ESFL developmental process. Consequently, although the ESFL is not yet implemented, there is movement toward a transformation in the region's forest-based political economy. As our access

analysis demonstrates, a range of new benefits since the start of the ESFL developmental process has begun to flow to the First Nations in areas recognized as essential for sustainable forest management—economic, social, environmental, and cultural. The First Nations view these new benefit flows as operationalizing the Medicine Wheel teachings of Natural Law that promotes balance among these realms. It is not the intention of the First Nations to eliminate forest-based development in the region, or to see the closure of the region's existing forest industries. The First Nations recognize the importance of forest-based economic development for their own well-being and that of all citizens in the region. Their desire however is a genuine transformation in the historical forest management approach to one of collaboration that is fully supportive of their rights and interests and which supports a resilient political economy. Their view is consistent with the perspective that resource development is one solution to help address the widespread poverty experienced to this day in Aboriginal communities throughout Canada (Coates and Crowley, 2013) but that it must be done in balance with all other values (Curran and M'Gonigle 1999). It is the expectation of the First Nations that as the NS-ESFL becomes fully operational they will see substantially increased benefit flows in all four areas from such a transformed forest-based economy.

The First Nations have used a number of structural and relational mechanisms (Ribot and Peluso 2003) to gain access to new forest-based benefits. Although Aboriginal rights are entrenched in the Canadian constitution, and rights-based approaches are recognized by UNDRIP and are being advanced by the notion of FPIC, the First Nations have essentially set aside a rights-based means of access in favour of these other mechanisms, in order to advance their interests in the spirit of reconciliation. This

approach aligns with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) for a renewed nation-to-nation relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians with respect to sustainable forest management. The use of relationship building by the First Nations as means to advance reconciliation in order to further access to forest-related benefits aligns with the current national direction. Reconciliation among Canada's settler society and Aboriginal people has become a key priority for Canada since the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC 2015b). Wyatt (2016) also points out that relationship-building is a significant result of collaborative forestry models that have been established in Canada, where both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal parties emphasize trust, respect and a greater knowledge of the interests of others.

The First Nations recognize that an ESFL in its current formulation will not fully accommodate their rights and interests. This is a situation in concert with what has been seen since the emergence of new Aboriginal-held forest tenures throughout Canada that operate within existing frameworks rather than exercising Aboriginal rights (Wyatt et al. 2013). However, the Northeast Superior First Nations are taking a long-term strategic approach that accepts the current ESFL policy option as a starting point. They anticipate moving towards a transformation in forest governance once the ESFL is fully implemented and they have built capacity to assume responsibility for forest management and participate fully in regional forestry enterprises, either as joint ventures or ownership.

In its current form, the NS-ESFL equates to what Wyatt (2008) classifies as "forestry with First Nations" in his framework of First Nations participation in the forest sector. This category involves significant modifications to existing forestry regimes that

enable equal sharing of power and responsibility by different actors and respect for First

Nation interests through the recognition of Aboriginal rights. As Wyatt notes, this is a

compromise for First Nations regarding having final rights over decision-making and

therefore falls short of what he defines as "Aboriginal forestry". With this approach, First

Nations are able to re-establish their own institutions for managing forests based on their

values, systems and paradigms, with the support of the science and technology of

mainstream forestry. The Northeast Superior First Nations are willing to accept a

compromised model that falls short of full Aboriginal forestry for the sake of

reconciliation and for the development of regional resilience in collaboration with non-

Aboriginal partners in the spirit that all groups should prosper. However, their acceptance

of the "forestry with First Nations" notion still advances their participation well beyond the

existing forest management system Wyatt classifies as "forestry for First Nations" where

there is greater acknowledgement of and participation by First Nations than in earlier

approaches, but still relatively little power held by First Nations and no recognition of

Aboriginal rights in ways that lead to greater control over forest management.

The main mechanism used by the First Nations to access the benefits they have

obtained to date is investment in social relations. As Ribot and Peluso (2003) argue based

on Berry (1989, 1993), this mechanism depends in part on the ability to negotiate

successfully, often in order to develop economically based ties as a means of obtaining

benefits. Investing in social relations that has included such negotiations with OMNRF and

the forest industry has been the primary focus of NSRCF since its inception in order to lay

the foundation for transformational change. This approach is evident in their ongoing

organization of meetings, workshops, field visits to cultural and spiritual sites and

ceremonies as well as repeatedly coaxing government and industry to honour their commitments that were documented in writing.

While investment in social relations is seeing success with the province and forest industry, this has not been the case to date with the municipalities who have currently opted out of the ESFL. NSRCF conceived of their proposed forest governance model as a regional cross-cultural, collaborative community forest. An increasing number of such models between First Nations and municipalities are being implemented in B.C. (Cole 2010, Robinson 2010). However, the region's municipalities have preferred to maintain their historical alliances with forest industry, in the hopes that a resurgence of the industry will return their communities to their former economic status. Yet despite the benefits they receive in the form of tax revenues and employment when the mills upon which they depend are in the boom cycle of the staples economy, the municipalities remain underdeveloped. As Robinson (2007b) has noted, "The most striking feature of Ontario's forest management system is its systematic failure to generate progressive, forest-based development in Northern Ontario."

Although there was municipal participation in all of the relationship building and information sharing sessions coordinated by NSRCF to explore a collaborative forest model, and strong encouragement for participation in the NS-ESFL from all mayors, the broader municipal perspective has persisted that such an approach would threaten the forest industries. This outcome reflects the entrenched dependence of municipalities on the industrial forest model, reinforced by industry lobbying for municipal support, despite the boom-and-bust cycles to which they have been subject. It also indicates a sustained cross-cultural divide that has existed since colonization, in spite of the attempts by the First

Nations to overcome this barrier and move towards regional collaboration. Perhaps more importantly, it reinforces an entrenched pattern of behaviour wherein people, and by extension organizations, are intimidated by change and are particularly fearful of transformative change.

The behaviour of the municipalities demonstrates a shift between cooperation and conflict with the First Nations in an opportunistic manner, a strategy that has been seen to be undertaken by actors in order to maintain access to resources (Ribot and Peluso 2003). The stance of the municipalities has not, however, limited the advancement of the NS-ESFL, or the benefits that are flowing to the First Nations who have chosen to proceed solely with forest industry partners based on support from the province. Furthermore, the door remains open for the municipalities to enter the process at any point. The First Nations anticipate increased interest in the NS-ESFL by the municipalities once there is concrete evidence of the model's success so that have assurance they will not lose any benefits they have obtained from the conventional forestry system. If this occurs, the NS-ESFL will remain at the level of Wyatt's (2008) "forestry with First Nations" category and not advance to an Aboriginal forestry model which has not to date been implemented anywhere in Ontario. This approach is acceptable to the First Nations given their long-term strategic approach that would see them eventually become the forest industry by ultimately assuming major responsibility for forest management and resuming their rightful place as stewards of the land. Once they achieve this goal, if the municipalities continue to opt out of the NS-ESFL, this could lead to democratic decentralization that enables Aboriginal forestry.

The other mechanisms used by the First Nations of accessing capital, labour, and knowledge are part of their long-term strategy to build capacity and financial resources in order to assume forest management responsibility and establish First Nation forestry enterprises. Their current deficit in capacity to participate effectively in these endeavours is similar to what is common in Aboriginal communities with similar aspirations throughout the country. Although First Nation participation in forest management and enterprises has increased substantially in recent years (Wyatt 2008, Wyatt et al. 2013, Fortier et al. 2013), Aboriginal communities continue to face a lack of skills and financial resources to engage effectively in the forest sector (Stevenson and Perrault 2008, Wellstead and Steadman 2008, Ross and Smith 2013). A strong need for capacity building to enable effective participation of Aboriginal people in the Canadian forest sector and forest-based economic development has been widely recognized (Parsons and Prest 2003, Stevenson and Perrault 2008, Bombay 2010, Beaudoin 2012). The approach of the First Nations of negotiating social relations in order to obtain mentoring from the regional forestry companies for the building of such capacity is a component of the NSRCF strategic agenda to position the First Nations for participation in the forest sector and its governance. Their strategy aligns with the recommendations of Stevenson and Perrault (2008) for increasing First Nations capacity in forestry and is consistent with the trend in Canada (Wyatt et al. 2013).

Power Shift

A positive shift in power relations among the First Nations, OMNRF and forest industry has occurred due to the breaking of the historical command-and-control forestry system and its replacement by regional collaboration. This shift is evident in the support

that OMNRF is now providing at the district, regional, and provincial levels for all elements of the NS-ESFL developmental agenda. It is also evident in the forest industry's acceptance that First Nations are now a key player in the regional forest-based political economy. Given this new stance, the forestry companies have greatly reduced their lobbying for a return to the status quo forestry paradigm, as was seen throughout the tenure reform process. The reframing by both of these actors indicates a recognition of the First Nations and their rights by OMNRF and the forest industry. This is not yet reflected in institutional recognition (Ribot et al. 2008) on the part of OMNRF that would see a democratic local forest authority composed of elected community representatives. Yet what is exemplified is Taylor's (1994) notion of recognition that redresses inequalities experienced by cultures and identity groups that have been historically marginalized. Hence this first ever representation of the First Nations in the region's political economy as a direct result of this recognition is an act of enfranchisement in the sense of Taylor (1994). This shift has enabled the First Nations to capture new forest-based opportunities. Comparable recognition of the First Nations by the municipalities has not yet occurred for the most part, with the exception of a few municipal leaders who were in place during the main deliberations and information exchanges for the development of the NS-ESFL

Court decisions in critical areas such as the Crown's fiduciary obligation and duty-to-consult and accommodate are reinforcing a growing understanding by the province and industry that the legal, political and economic costs of ignoring the unfinished Aboriginal constitutional agenda outweigh the cost of solutions. This evolving legal climate, and the associated risk of ignoring it, provided incentives for the power shift seen in both OMNRF and the forest industry. Given the risk of escalating conflict with First Nations, the

OMNRF has chosen to engage in the principled solutions-based approach advocated by NSRCF, even if not choosing a fully democratic forest governance institution.

While the support of the province for First Nation participation in the ESFL provided an incentive for the shift in the stance of the forest industry, the dominant forestry company that will partner in the NS-ESFL has another incentive to embrace FPIC that is to maintain FSC certification for improving market access. Colchester (2010) conveys how corporate respect for FPIC that involves building good relations with Indigenous communities makes sound business sense that provides an increased return on investment. The FPIC pilot project between Tembec and the First Nations is thus a significant benefit for the company in that obtaining SLO contributes to their business case.

Rights-based access may prove to be a more effective mechanism for the First Nations in the future due to increasingly sophisticated legal cases that are building on the successful cases seen to date, in concert with the increasing trend to FPIC associated with UNDRIP. However as we have shown, in the case of the developing NS-ESFL, other mechanisms of access will likely continue to be important in order to achieve further access by the First Nations to forests and associated benefits

Shift to Resilience Management

Throughout the developmental process for the NS-ESFL, adaptive collaborative management (Folke et al. 2002, Olson et al. 2004, Colfer 2005, Armitage et al. 2007, 2009) has been consistently fostered by the NSRCF as their preferred approach for advancing regional collaboration over a rights-based approach. ACM is seen as a way of

promoting transformational change towards community forestry as a forest governance

innovation during the window of opportunity provided by the forestry crisis and forest

tenure reform. In this space, the NSRCF has acted as a policy (Young 2016) or

institutional entrepreneur (Westley et al. 2011). Young (2016) describes how opportunities

to overcome barriers proposed by vested interests are opened up by crises during periods

of urgency and increased community and political understanding of the real cause of

systemic problems. In assuming this role, the NSRCF has been able to capitalize on the

opportunity presented by the critical juncture of the forestry crisis to push for more

substantive change in the ESFL policy option so that it embraces elements consistent with

ACM.

The use of ACM is increasing resilience in the region's forest-based social

ecological system through: 1) the building of adaptive capacity in the region's actors

through shared learning and adaptation in the context of change, and 2) novel introductions

into forest management planning and associated activities as a foundation for the NS-

ESFL including: a conservation economy approach, establishment of the Guardianship

Program, an innovative approach for the incorporation of Aboriginal values into forest

management, the phasing out herbicides, and integration of FPIC. In the manner described

by Armitage (2005), adaptive capacity is being built through mediation of the different

actors with contested interests to avoid conflict and foster positive collective action

outcomes.   Intentionally using a pilot approach for initiatives such as the Guardianship

Program and the FSC FPIC project allows a best practices review and adaptation before

their integration into the NS-ESFL. The increase in resilience that is being achieved

through ACM is moving the forest-based SES in a positive direction towards a regime shift that would enable a genuine community forest model.

The developmental process for the NS-ESFL, with its numerous engagement processes, has provided a platform for both transformative and social learning. Armitage et al. (2008) describe transformative learning as the alteration of an individual's perceptions through a process of reflection and critical engagement. Reed et al. (2010) define social learning as "a change in understanding that goes beyond the individual to become situated within wider social units or communities of practice through social interactions between actors within social networks."

Social learning theorists have distinguished between two different types of social learning, single and double loop learning (Argyris and Schön 1978). Single-loop, or instrumental learning, involves changing skills, practices and actions that affect outcomes and consequently maintains basic values and norms (Keen et al. 2005). Double loop learning involves calling into question guiding assumptions and therefore involves fundamental changes to existing worldviews and underlying values (Armitage et al. 2008, Pahl-Wostl 2009).

The shifts that have taken place in forest management and related activities as a result of the NS-ESFL developmental process provide evidence of double-loop learning by both the province and the forest industry. Despite the significant amount of cross-cultural learning opportunities that have been advanced by the First Nations through ACM, a similar outcome with regard to social learning is not apparent in the municipalities. However transformative learning was clearly achieved by the municipal leaders who

strongly supported the NS-ESFL through the regional collaborative process even if they were unsuccessful in generating social learning in their broader constituencies.

A third but, according to Armitage et al. (2008), less established type of social learning, that is especially important for building resilience in resource management is triple-loop learning (Keen et al. 2005). As a result of this multi-loop form of learning, the norms and protocols associated with the underlying system are changed. In the case of forest management, this type of learning would result in a fundamental shift in the forest governance system. Although triple-loop learning has been encouraged by the First Nations through ACM, it has not occurred in any other group. However once the NS-ESFL is implemented, there will be an increased opportunity for the emergence of this type of learning as the various actors work actively together in forest governance. This outcome could ultimately see new forest management norms and protocols emerge that support democratic decentralization to enable the establishment of community forest governance in Northeast Superior.

The NSRCF is currently exploring new activities that will foster triple-loop learning. These include advocating for a review of the Ontario forest management planning process by Wahkohtowin to promote more practical and cost-effective decision-making through the NS-ESFL as well as developing a discussion paper to establish a Forestry Centre of Excellence (FCOE) for Ontario (Lachance 2011b). The FCOE is conceptualized as a decentralized body independent from the Province that has oversight for forest tenure and management and provides a learning platform for information sharing and social learning. The developmental process is intended to involve collaboration by all relevant forest actors—governments, First Nations, First Nation organizations, forest

industry, NGOs, and academia—based on a set of guiding principles, independent facilitation and an academic hub.

CONCLUSIONS

Ontario's ESFL policy that was created in 2011 promised to increase opportunities for local and Aboriginal community involvement in forest management and associated benefits to communities from their local forests. This study sought to evaluate how the developmental process for the Northeast Superior ESFL that began following release of the policy supports a shift from the historical forest-based political economy in the region of Northeast Superior to one that enables access to local forests and associated benefits by the region's communities. For the purpose of this study, these are the First Nations represented by Northeast Superior Regional Chiefs Forum since the municipalities chose to opt out of the model.

The ESFL tenure option provides some new property rights not previously held by communities. Although achieving adequate property rights is often considered to be the crucial factor for successful community-based natural resource management, our study looks beyond property rights alone to consider access to forests and associated benefits in relation to the "bundles of power" within the political-economic context of Northeast Superior. We have used access theory to determine the benefits that have flowed to the First Nations from the development of the ESFL and to determine the mechanisms used to achieve the benefits as well as the power relations underlying these mechanisms. We also evaluated the developing ESFL using complexity theory to assess the initiative's effectiveness in promoting a transformation in the region's forest system to embrace

resilience management. The use of a complexity lens was especially relevant given that the NS-ESFL was conceived by NSRCF as transformative model to achieve resilience management through the use of adaptive collaborative management that fosters regional collaboration in the spirit of reconciliation.

Our access analysis demonstrates that, despite the limitations of the ESFL policy option in enabling democratic forest governance, a range of tangible benefits are nevertheless flowing to the First Nations as a result of the NS-ESFL developmental process. We identified benefit flows that are occurring in four areas—economic, social, environmental and cultural— considered essential to achieve sustainable forest management in Canada and internationally. These areas are also considered by the First Nations to operationalize the Medicine Wheel teachings regarding balance that are a key aspect of Aboriginal Natural Law. Given the access to benefits being achieved already by the First Nations from the developmental process of the NS-ESFL, a greatly enhanced level of benefit flows is anticipated following the model's implementation.

The main mechanism that has been used to achieve the benefits accessed to date by the First Nations is their investment in social relations through relationship building. Recognizing that this approach is key to enabling the desired shift in the region's forest system, NSRCF chose to set aside a rights-based approach for the most part and instead favoured an active program of relationship building following the ESFL policy release and well before the start of the NS-ESFL developmental activities. The First Nations limited a rights-based approach to only a few instances as a final resort to conflict situations. Additional mechanisms they are using to achieve benefits are access to capital, labour and knowledge. The use of these mechanisms is part of their long-term strategy to build

capacity and financial resources to be prepared to eventually assume all forest

management responsibilities and establish First Nation forestry enterprises.

We have determined through our access analysis that a major shift in power

relations between the First Nations and the other actors involved in the Northeast Superior

forest-based political economy underlies the mechanisms of access that have allowed the

benefits achieved to date. Despite ongoing resistance by the province and the forest

industry to the concept of community forestry, and the related limitations placed on the

ESFL tenure option as a result, a positive shift in power relations has nonetheless occurred

due to the breaking of the command-and-control power structure that enabled the historical

forest management paradigm. This shift has seen support by both the province and forest

industry for all activities related to the NS-ESFL put forward by the First Nations. This

outcome has enabled the advancement of these various initiatives that are producing

lessons for the NS-ESFL. Most importantly, this shift has assisted in elevating the First

Nations to a place of equality in the region's political economy and positioned them to

achieve their ultimate goal of regaining their rightful place as stewards of the land. We

suggest that the evolving Canadian legal climate that is seeing increasing successes in

Aboriginal court cases related to natural resource management will contribute further to

the leveling of power relations between the First Nations, the province and the forest

industry.

Ontario remains hesitant about devolving full control of forest management

decision-making to local communities. Yet a transformation in Northeast Superior's forest-

based political economy has been initiated through the NS-ESFL developmental process

over the past several years. Using a complexity lens, we have shown that in spite of the

provincial stance and the limitations it has placed on forest governance structures, a shift to

resilience management, spearheaded by the First Nations is underway. Acting as a policy

entrepreneur and in fostering adaptive collaborative management, the NSRCF has

capitalized on the opportunity presented by provincial forest tenure reform to push for

more substantive change in the ESFL policy option to embrace elements consistent with

resilience management. This approach has resulted in the integration of novel

introductions to forest management planning and activities related to the ESFL as well as

the building of adaptive capacity in the key actors involved in forest governance. Notably,

double-loop learning that involves fundamental changes to existing worldviews and

underlying values has occurred in both the province and the forest industry. We suggest

that, based on our findings to date, implementation of the NS-ESFL is likely to see a

greater increase in resilience of the region's forest system, as all actors work actively

together in forest management.

Although the results of our study cannot be generalized to other cases, the

successes we have highlighted for the development of the NS-ESFL provide insights for

other communities that aim to implement forest tenure initiatives based on community

forest principles (see Smith et al. 2012, Palmer et al. 2016). Since the NS-ESFL is still

under development, our study provides an important baseline for future research following

the model's implementation when it would be valuable to ascertain what benefits are being

obtained by the First Nations, by what mechanisms, and to evaluate the evolution of power

relations and social learning. Such an analysis would also be important in the relation to

the municipalities if they eventually join the ESFL. At that point it will also be possible to

determine whether an actual transformation has occurred to a community forest model that

supports a resilient regional forest-based economy as is envisioned by the First Nations.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS, CONTRIBUTIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND
FUTURE RESEARCH

I undertook this thesis research with the overarching goal to determine whether

Ontario's new forest tenure system enables community forestry as an alternative approach

to the industrial forestry model. In the introductory chapter I established that community

forestry has been a global forest policy trend over the past several decades, including in

some Canadian jurisdictions. I also established that parallel interest in this approach has

been evident during this period in northern Ontario communities. I presented an argument

that the historical command-and-control forest tenure system based on the export of high

volume, low value commodities, with no meaningful decision-making ability for

communities that depend on their local forests, is the root problem associated with the

recent forestry crisis. I asserted that community forestry is an alternative to the status quo

forest tenure model that can better foster community and forest ecosystem resilience.

The opportunity for this thesis research arose when an unprecedented forest tenure

reform initiated in the fall of 2009 for Ontario's Crown forests as a response to a forestry

crisis in the new millennium resulted in a resurgence of interest in community forestry. I

designed the research as a qualitative critical inquiry to explore various aspects of these

developments in relation to the notion of community forestry: community perceptions,

government response, advocacy, and practice. An additional aspect of the research was to

evaluate the change in the forest tenure system from its inception to the present in terms of

its ability to embrace community forestry.

I began the first component of the research to assess community perceptions

concurrent with the start of tenure reform. I undertook additional components throughout

the development of new forest tenure legislation and policy and completed the final study during the tenure implementation phase that is still ongoing. The main research findings and conclusions are presented in the following sections in relation to the stated research objectives. Subsequent sections present implications of the research in relation to theory and objectives, as well as recommendations based on the findings. The final section presents considerations for future research.

CONCLUSIONS

<u>Community Perceptions</u>

The first research objective aimed to understand the perceptions of northern Ontario communities regarding their visions for the management of their local forests in relation to community forestry. I addressed this objective based on the theoretical premises of community forestry and CBNRM, taking a view of the status quo industrial forest sector as a staples industry that promotes dependency due to its boom and bust cycles associated with export of low value timber commodities. I identified that despite the impacts of the forestry crisis, there was widespread recognition among communities that local forests are still critical for future livelihoods and community resilience. Study participants displayed confidence that forestry, at least in some form, will always be a part of northern Ontario's economy. The research further identified a number of community forestry initiatives proposed as collaborative models between municipalities and First Nations for implementation under the new forest tenure system. The research also showed unanimous interest among the Indigenous study participants to use this moment of forest tenure reform as an opportunity to regain their rightful place as stewards over their forests given their ongoing exclusion from decision-making following colonization. Elements proposed

for the forest tenure initiatives were security in forest tenure to enable access to local forests, effective governance based on community forest principles, First Nation and settler collaboration based on respect for Aboriginal and treaty rights to foster community and Aboriginal economic development, and new approaches to community forest-based enterprises that include value-added timber and non-timber forest products to support regional economic diversification. The interest that was expressed by some communities in cross-cultural collaboration as a foundational approach for creating new forest governance institutions aligns with the spirit of the historic treaties that "we are all treaty people". It furthermore supports the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) for reconciliation between Aboriginal people and settler society as well as the more recent recommendations and Calls to Action of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC 2015a,b).

Forest Tenure System

The second research objective aimed to evaluate the new forest tenure system in terms of its ability to enable participation of northern Ontario communities in meaningful decision-making in forest management based on the principles of community forestry. Using theories of community forestry and democratic decentralization, I have shown that the new forest tenure options created by the 2011 Forest Tenure Modernization Act and ESFL policy have provided some new forest property rights for communities, specifically management rights not previously available. Given this outcome, I have characterized these new models as improvements over the previous approaches (SFL, co-operative SFL) with respect to greater community participation in forest management. However, I have also determined that neither of the new tenure options aligns with democratic

decentralization that enables local forest authorities composed of elected representatives that are downwardly accountable to their constituents.

Since a Local Forest Management Corporation is a Crown corporation with a board of directors appointed by the province, it is a form of administrative decentralization also known as deconcentration that maintains state control of significant powers and property rights. An ESFL is a modified version of an SFL or co-operative SFL that are forms of privatization composed only of private interests. The ESFL tenure model maintains privatization but is "enhanced" to provide opportunities for local and Aboriginal community decision-making through representation on the board of directors. Both new models maintain an enclosure of the public domain—the material resources and decisions under public control—that was apparent in the previous forest tenure formulations. This finding is consistent with research on outcomes from forest tenure reforms worldwide, including in Canada, that have indicated state resistance to the transfer of appropriate and sufficient powers to local authorities, even where there has been an expressed objective of decentralization (Ribot et al. 2006, Larson and Ribot 2007, Pacheco et al. 2008, Ambus and Hoberg 2011, Poteete and Ribot 2011,Cronkleton et al. 2012).

I have identified additional deficiencies in the new forest tenure system in terms of the lack of diversification of tenure models, its continued sole focus on timber with no attention given to non-timber forest products, and its lack of an explicit and comprehensive approach as to how Aboriginal and treaty rights are to be upheld in relation to forest management. While the latter is recognized as a cornerstone of sustainable forest management in Canada, a focus on NTFPs is also needed to enable community-based NTFP enterprises proposed for economic diversification.

Using complexity theory as a lens to view Ontario's Crown forest system as a social-ecological system—comprised of linked forest ecosystems, tenure institutions, and forest actors—as well as principles of community forestry, I traced the evolution of the SES from its inception to the present through the phases of the system's adaptive cycle in terms of its reception to community forestry. This analysis was undertaken separately for the forest systems of the AOU and the Far North as subsystems of Ontario's overall Crown forest system given their distinct populations, forest policy frameworks, and histories of forest development.

I have shown that community forestry initiatives in the AOU forest subsystem have progressed from a single case established in the conservation phase of the forest system's adaptive cycle to the emergence of multiple regional initiatives in the current reorganization phase that has associated with tenure reform following the forestry crisis. These findings, together with the increasing advocacy for community forestry seen through the phases of the adaptive cycle (to be discussed further in the next section), signify that resilience is building for innovation to take hold in the forest system. This may ultimately drive the system to experience a regime shift that fully embraces community forestry.

The Far North forest subsystem is currently in the early growth phase of the adaptive cycle, with forestry development only now poised to begin under an overarching policy of community-based land use planning for the First Nations that constitute the system's main communities. Community forestry is the accepted forest policy approach in this part of the province where First Nations are have the leading role in forest management planning that supports a resilience approach.

As explained by the theory of panarchy, the AOU and Far North forest subsystems are influencing each other to advance community forestry in the overall Crown forest system of northern Ontario. Based on these findings, I conclude that that community forestry is an emerging paradigm in northern Ontario and not merely a localized anomaly within a dominant command-and-control system.

Advocacy for Community Forestry

The third research objective aimed to evaluate advocacy for community forestry in northern Ontario. Using complexity theory, I established that advocacy by communities in northern Ontario evolved from an expression of the concept that was readily dismissed by the Province in the early conservation phase of the AOU forest system's adaptive cycle to an active movement in the current reorganization phase. The emergence of this movement has contributed to building resilience in the forest subsystem such that it may experience a transformation that embraces community forestry.

 Using transformative community organizing theory, I explored the Northern Ontario Sustainable Community Partnership, an NGO that emerged to advocate for community forestry as a direct response to the forestry crisis. I characterized NOSCP as both a community organization and social change movement that challenges the assumptions of the dominant forestry system that this organization views as part of the capitalist model of neoliberalism. I have demonstrated that through a variety of action and education activities over the past decade since its inception, NOSCP has been effective in: 1) raising consciousness and providing popular education about community forests as an alternative approach to the industrial forest model to better foster community and forest ecosystem resilience, and 2) influencing forest tenure policy in Ontario to move closer

towards this alternative model. The current political-economic climate in Ontario that is seeing economic uncertainty in the forest sector, increasing pressure to uphold Aboriginal and treaty rights in natural resource development, and public concern about environmental protection, as well as exceedingly slow progress with implementation of the new forest tenure policy framework, all provide an ongoing opportunity for NOSCP to further push the forest system towards a regime shift that would embrace community forestry. The future role that NOSCP plays remains to be seen based on how it addresses its goals in a changing political-economic context.

Forest Tenure Model Case Study

The fourth research objective was to explore emerging community forest practice through the evaluation of a developing forest tenure model proposed as a community forest for implementation under the new forest tenure framework. This study sought to evaluate how the developmental process for the Northeast Superior Enhanced Sustainable Forest Licence supports a shift from the historical forest-based political economy in the region of Northeast Superior to enable community forestry that provides access to local forests and associated benefits by the region's communities.

Access to Forests and Associated Benefits

Although the common property literature emphasizes that the full suite of forest-related property rights is crucial for successful community forestry, I used access theory to move beyond a sole focus on property rights to identify the "bundles of power"—the non rule-based structural and relational factors— that influence access to forests and associated benefits. Using an access framework (Ribot and Peluso 2003), I demonstrated that, despite the described limitations of the ESFL policy option, a group of First Nations in the region

of Northeast Superior has gained a range of tangible benefits deemed necessary for sustainable forest management due to the NS-ESFL developmental process. These communities anticipate receiving additional benefits following the model's implementation. I identified benefit flows that are occurring in the four areas—economic, social, environmental and cultural—considered essential for sustainable forest management in Canada and internationally. Achieving balance among these realms is also considered by the First Nations to operationalize the Medicine Wheel teachings of Aboriginal Natural Law that is a foundation for the model. The access analysis highlighted that the main mechanism used by the First Nations to achieve these benefits is investment in social relations through relationship building. They have limited a rights-based approach to only a few instances as a final resort to resolve conflict. Additional mechanisms identified are access to capital, labour and knowledge to build capacity and resources to help position the First Nations to ultimately assume full responsibility for forest management in the region. The study further illustrated the power shift achieved in the development of the model, where for the first time First Nations have been recognized as equals in the region by government and industry due to the breaking of the historical command-and-control power structure that supported the historical political economy.

Shifting to Resilience Management

The case study has highlighted that although Ontario continues to resist enabling community forestry, resilience is being fostered by the First Nations in the Northeast Superior forest-based social ecological system through the use of adaptive collaborative management in the development of the NS-ESFL. This approach has initiated a

transformation in Northeast Superior's forest-based political economy that is anticipated to lead to an eventual regime shift following implementation of the ESFL.

Evidence of increasing resilience in the SES is seen in: 1) the building of adaptive capacity in the region's actors through shared learning and adaptation in the context of change, and 2) novel introductions into forest management planning and associated activities as a foundation for the NS-ESFL. These innovations include shifting to a conservation economy approach, the Guardianship Program, an innovative approach for incorporation of Aboriginal values, phasing out herbicide usage and integration of Free, Prior and Informed Consent. Several of these initiatives are pilot programs to develop best practices for inclusion in the ESFL once it is operational.

The developmental process for the NS-ESFL, with its numerous engagement processes among actors, has provided a platform for both transformative and social learning. The study has shown that some municipal representatives have experienced transformative learning and there is evidence of double-loop learning by the region'[s forest industry and the province. The study also illustrated the overall resistance of municipalities to participate in the collaborative ESFL developmental process due to their long-standing dependency on the status quo forest system and a lack of social learning.

RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS

This research is significant in that it makes new theoretical contributions in a number of areas related to community forestry in a region where research on this subject has been limited. It is also significant because it focuses on an approach to forest tenure and management that has been promoted by northern Ontario communities since the early

days of the forest sector. Previous studies on community forestry in this region have focused on descriptive accounts of governance structures as well failure of proposals and short-term experiments. This is the first theoretical contribution[45] that includes community forestry practice and advocacy since that era and which addresses the span of the forest system from its inception to the present. The research is unique in that it uses multiple theories and methods, as well as methodology (participatory action research) not used in the previous studies to evaluate the evolution and current state of community forestry practice and advocacy.

The insights gained from this research will be valuable for informing further forest tenure policy change in Ontario to better enable community forestry. In alignment with the increasing global interest in community forestry including in other regions of Canada, many northern Ontario communities maintain an interest in community forests as a means to further community and forest ecosystem resilience. Although specific case study results cannot be generalized to any other initiative, the findings provide important insights and lessons relevant for other communities interested in developing community forest models. The research findings are therefore especially important in helping to raise the voices of the communities that are pressing for forest tenure policy alternatives to Ontario's long-standing industrial forest tenure model. This is perhaps most important for the Indigenous communities in the region that have been marginalized from the benefits obtained from the forestry sector and have endured its impacts, and who are increasingly vocal about regaining their rightful place as stewards of their traditional lands.

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[45] Lachance (2017) provides a descriptive account of the Northeast Superior ESFL

RECOMMENDATIONS

This section presents recommendations for a range of actions that could be undertaken to better enable the practice of community forestry in northern Ontario and its support through research and advocacy. Actions include: further tenure reform, evaluation of NOSCP, enhanced forestry education, Guardianship training, and the establishment of a provincial Forestry Centre of Excellence.

Further Tenure Reform

Ontario's forest tenure system requires further reform to fully embrace community forestry principles. A tenure reform of this nature would involve democratic decentralization that creates downwardly accountable forest authorities with appropriate powers composed solely of elected community representatives, without forest industry representation. Additional components of an improved forest tenure system would include an explicit approach to upholding Aboriginal and treaty rights and a shift from the continued focus on timber alone to also address NTFPs. Communities are moving toward establishing NTFP enterprises as I have highlighted in the case study of the NS-ESFL which is founded on developing a conservation economy to foster greater regional resilience. This direction follows a worldwide trend to achieve economic diversification in forest-based economies and to support a wider range of community values.

Evaluation of NOSCP

At present it is unclear what role, if any, NOSCP will have in the future as a community organization and/or social movement to advocate for community forestry in Ontario. NOSCP played a key role in creating social learning platforms and pressing for change in a variety of ways from its inception and throughout the tenure reform process.

This NGO has committed to supporting the national community forest research and practice network that emerged from the 2013 national conference for which NOSCP was a partner. However the group was excluded from the provincial Oversight Group that is overseeing the implementation of the new tenure policy framework. An evaluation of NOSCP goals and strategic planning would be valuable to determine its future direction.

<u>Enhanced Forestry Education</u>

To achieve transformative change, which has been the subject of this thesis in relation to community forestry, a transformation in education is essential. Professional foresters who have responsibility for approving forest management plans required for all forest licences under Ontario's Crown Forest Sustainability Act obtain training through a Bachelor of Science in Forestry (B.Sc.F.) followed by certification as a Registered Professional Forester (RPF) designation through the Ontario Professional Foresters Association. Other forest producing provinces have comparable bodies that similarly provide RPF certification. The CFSA was groundbreaking legislation in Ontario that made sustainability the requirement for forest management soon after the elements of sustainable forest management were established at the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. These elements included the management of forests to meet the social, economic, ecological, cultural and spiritual needs of present and future generations and community management of forests.

Despite this international direction regarding sustainable forest management, most B.Sc.F curricula in Canada have not incorporated programming on the suite of subjects relevant to all elements of SFM. Hence there is a strong need for revisions in forestry

curricula to provide the capacity for emerging forestry professionals to meet today's challenges associated with a changing forest-based political economy. As my colleagues and I have noted in our edited volume on community forestry practice, research and advocacy in Canada that was a product of the national SSHRC funded conference held as part of this research (Bullock et al. 2017), the University of British Columbia is currently the only university that offers specialized and integrated programming on community and Aboriginal forestry (UBC Faculty of Forestry n.d.). We do, however, also point out that these subjects have begun to enter curricula in some other institutions.

Key subjects that are important to include in improved forestry curricula are CBNRM, community forestry and democratic decentralization as well as the recognition of forests and forest-based communities as social-ecological systems that require consideration of complexity theory for their management. Equally necessary is the inclusion of Indigenous issues related to forestry and the associated legal context. Given the importance of this topic for reconciliation in Canada, mandatory courses in this subject should be integrated.

Being the only university that offers a B.Sc.F program in Ontario, Lakehead University's Faculty of Natural Resources Management has a significant opportunity to take a strong leadership role to develop an integrated program on community and Aboriginal forestry along the lines of what is available at UBC. Community Service Learning (CSL) as is already offered for other subjects in Lakehead's Faculty of Natural Resource Management would be an important aspect of community and Aboriginal forestry programming. A CSL approach would have students work on relevant projects in partnership with communities establishing new tenure models and/or advocating for such.

Student internships and summer placements with such initiatives would also be valuable, as is being done in B.C. with some community forests. An interdisciplinary graduate course on complexity with participation by the Faculty of Natural Resources Management was an excellent addition that was very beneficial for my research. The next step would be to integrate this content into undergraduate forestry courses.

Guardianship Training

With the movement in First Nation communities throughout Canada to employ Guardians to monitor their territories as a component of new forest (and other natural resources) management frameworks, a valuable approach would be to establish certified training programs in partnership with Ontario academic institutions. This would follow the example of Guardianship programs that are in place for Coastal First Nations in partnership with Vancouver Island University and Innu Nation in partnership with St. Mary's University. These programs provide certification in innovative ways that involve variations of land-based training and condensed classroom time at the respective institutions.

Provincial Forestry Centre of Excellence

A provincial forestry centre of excellence (FCOE) is being promoted by NSRCF as a mechanism to advance the needed transformative change in Ontario's forest system to one that enables community forestry and integrates Aboriginal knowledge and values as a means to foster resilience and reconciliation. The notion of the FCOE is a decentralized body independent from the province that has oversight for provincial forest tenure and management and provides a social learning platform for information sharing as is required for transformative change in forest governance and management. The concept is for the

FCOE to be developed collaboratively by all relevant forest actors—governments, First Nations, First Nation organizations, forest industry, NGOs, and academia—based on an established set of guiding principles through independent facilitation. An academic hub is also a key element for the concept.

This thesis research has highlighted the importance of creating social learning platforms to achieve transformative change. Evidence of double loop learning experienced by forest industry and the province as I have identified in the Northeast Superior region indicates positive progress towards community forestry. However, to ultimately achieve this shift, there is a need for triple loop learning in all groups of actors such that the norms and protocols associated with the underlying system are changed (Keen et al. 2005).

Lakehead University would be an ideal academic institution to house a FCOE that could have a linkage with the B.Sc.F and graduate forestry programs. Such an arrangement would provide an exceptional learning opportunity for Lakehead forestry students at all levels and could help move the Faculty of Natural Resources Management into a new realm in both forestry education and social entrepreneurship that that plays a key role in fostering the needed transformative change in the forest system.

Linkage to National Community Forestry Network

Parallel to the edited volume, which has been published with colleagues as an outcome of the SSHRC national community forestry conference held in relation to this research, is the emergence of a new national network on research and practice for community forestry (Palmer et al. 2013, Bullock and Lawler 2014). Work by a number of collaborators across the country is underway to secure funding to support this network that would establish linkages among academic institutions and other partners. As already

noted, NOSCP has committed to being an active partner in this network that it helped establish, pending its future direction that needs to be determined. Given that research is a key aspect of the network, it would be valuable for the Faculty of Natural Resources Management at Lakehead to become an academic partner, in conjunction with establishing an integrated community and Aboriginal Forestry program. If a provincial Forestry Centre of Excellence is established, whether or not it is housed at Lakehead, it would be important for the centre to establish a strong linkage with the network and ideally become a partner.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Potential areas are described below for future research that would build upon this thesis research and fill gaps that were not addressed in order to generate additional knowledge about community forestry in northern Ontario. These research areas include further study on community perceptions about new directions in tenure reform, governance evaluation on representativeness, access analysis on community benefits, evaluation of new models to determine their contribution to community resilience, and the role of community advocacy in promoting community forestry.

<u>Community Perceptions</u>

Ontario's new tenure system will continue to evolve through the implementation of ESFLs and potentially another LFMC, and possibly additional structures that may be created as a result of the provincial tenure review that is now underway. It would be worthwhile to undertake a comprehensive assessment of community perceptions following implementation of these models, potentially through surveys to determine levels of community satisfaction with the new approaches.

Governance

As new tenure models are implemented, an important area of study would be to evaluate their governance structures to determine representation of communities, both municipalities and Aboriginal, and industry. This was not investigated during this research given that ESFLs have not yet been implemented and the one LFMC in operation was not included as a case study. While the LFMC has a unique structure in that it is a Crown corporation with appointment of representatives by the province, ESFLs are less prescriptive and therefore their structures warrant investigation.

Access Analysis

The NS-ESFL case study provided a baseline for further research that would be valuable following implementation of the model to ascertain what benefits are being obtained at that point by the First Nations and by what mechanisms, and the evolution of power relations and social learning. Such an analysis would also be important in relation to the municipalities if they eventually join the ESFL. Similar analyses would be valuable to undertake for other ESFLs that are implemented as well as Nawiinginokiima Forest Management Corporation, the only LFMC that has been established to date. The Forest Tenure Modernization Act created legislation that enabled up to two LFMCs so it is possible there may be another model developed. However given that the province has recently initiated a review of all past and current tenure models, further changes are possible that will be important to understand.

Resilience Management

It would be valuable to evaluate the range of new tenure models once implemented to assess if and how they are foster community and ecosystem resilience. Important

questions to consider are whether the models promote adaptive collaborative management, social learning, as well as cross-cultural collaboration in the northern Ontario context between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

<u>Community Advocacy</u>

It would be valuable to undertake further study of the prevalence of community advocacy for community forestry, including the direction pursued by NOSCP, as the new provincial tenure system moves forward or is further revised.

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APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INTERVIEWS IN NORTHWESTERN
ONTARIO 2009-2010

1. What are the causes of the downturn of the forest industry in northwestern Ontario in your opinion?

2. What have been the economic and social impacts (if any) of forest industry closures on you, your family and your community? e.g.

   - forced retirements
   - ability to find new work and where (within your community, within northwestern Ontario, elsewhere in Ontario, another province, another country)
   - division of families when people now working away while supporting families in northwestern Ontario
   - role of men and women: any changes
   - social relations between different groups
   - change in population numbers, age structure, ethnic composition, etc. of community
   - social problems
   - other

3. Have you faced similar crises in the past? How did you and your community respond? Do you think the current crisis is different? Will responses to past crises help in the current situation?

4. Are you satisfied with the role of government in helping the forest industry to come out of the present crisis or to support alternative employment (other sectors, self-employment)?

5. What has been the role of community organizations (non-governmental organizations) in the present forest industry crisis?

6. What kind of support do you think is needed to promote economic development in your community?

7. What do you see in the future for yourself, your family and for your community? Do you see the forest industry as a part of the future?

8. If you think that the forest industry has a future in your community, what are the most important issues that need to be addressed to ensure that communities benefit?

9. What are other issues in your opinion that we have not discussed in this interview so far?

APPENDIX II: COMMUNITY INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR NS-ESLF CASE STUDY

1. Describe what you would consider your local forest (review maps if possible)

2. Is the local forest(s) important to you? Explain why or why not.

3. What do you think about current/past forest management of the local forest(s)?

4. What is your vision for management of the local forest(s)?

5. Are you involved in the CBFM initiative? If so, what is/has been your role? If not, do you plan to get involved? Why or why not?

6. Could you fill in any gaps you are aware of in terms of the development of the initiative based on the description provided

7. What community members have been involved in the initiative or should be? How have they been involved? Are you satisfied with the level of community involvement? If yes, what has been done to be effective? If no, what would you do to improve the level of involvement?

8. What is/are the forest(s) that the initiative is/are based on?

9. What are the goals of the initiative (social, economic, ecological, cultural, political, other): short-term (e.g. 5-10 years), long-term (e.g.20-50 years, 50+) Have they changed during its development?

10. Do the goals of the initiative support your vision for forest management? Why or why not?

11. What are the expected benefits of the initiative, if implemented?

12. What is your perception about support for, or resistance to the initiative by:
    - your community
    - other involved communities (First Nation, non-First Nation)
    - other CBFM initiatives in northern Ontario
    - forest industry
    - government (MNDMF, MNR, federal, municipal, First Nations)
    - other organizations (NGOs, university, research, other)?

13. How will the initiative accommodate the rights and interests of First Nations?

14. How will the initiative promote Aboriginal Economic Development? How important is this?

15. What is the governance approach proposed in your initiative?

16. who should be involved (communities, other stakeholders, governments)
    - how: elected, appointed
    - what voting system: one member one vote, other
    - what type of legal entity
    - how should conflict be resolved

17. How should access to the following resources to support the initiative be obtained? Does support in any of these areas exist to date?
    - financial capital
    - capacity building/education (human capital)
    - research support
    - technical expertise
    - other

18. What needs to be done to get more out of your local forest resources?

19. What Community Forest Enterprises (CFEs) are associated with the initiative (timber, non-timber, commodities, value-added)?

20. Do you feel that partnerships are necessary to support the development of CFEs in conjunction with the initiative? If so, with what groups/organizations?

21. Are there existing or planned markets for these products?

22. How many jobs do you envision resulting from these CFEs?

23. What are the strengths of the initiative?

24. What are the weaknesses of the initiative?

25. What are the opportunities that you see for this initiative?

26. What are the opportunities under the new forest tenure system (LFMCs, enhanced co-op SFLs)?

27. What are the current challenges for the initiative?

28. How would you measure success of the CBFM initiative, over the initial 5 year period, and beyond?

29. What performance-based criteria for license holders would you like to see?

30. What are best practices for community involvement?

31. What are the next steps/actions required to work towards implementation?

APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FOREST INDUSTRY AND
GOVERNMENT FOR NS-ESFL CASE STUDY

1. What do you think of Community-based Forest Management?

2. Does your organization provide support for the proposed forest tenure initiative(s)?
   If yes, describe. If no, why not?

3. What should the role of communities, First Nation and non-First Nation, be in the
   forest tenure initiative(s)?

4. What if any benefits do you expect to see from the initiative(s)?

5. How will the initiative(s) accommodate the rights and interests of First Nations?

6. How will the initiative(s) promote Aboriginal Economic Development? How
   important is this?

7. What do you think is the appropriate governance approach for the initiative(s)?

   - who should be involved (communities, other stakeholders, governments)
   - how: elected, appointed
   - what voting system: one member one vote, other
   - what type of legal entity
   - how should conflict be resolved

8. How should access to the following resources to support the initiative(s) be
   obtained? Does support in any of these areas exist to date?

   - financial capital
   - capacity building/education
   - research support
   - technical expertise
   - other?

9. How will the initiative(s) support Community-based Forest Enterprises (CFEs)
   (timber, non-timber, commodities, value-added)?

10. How would you measure success of the initiative?

11. What should be the performance-based criteria for ESFL holders to address
    community participation?

12. What should be the evaluation criteria for both LFMCs and Enhanced SFLs?

13. What are best practices for community involvement?

14. What are the next steps/actions required to work towards implementation of the initiative?