

# Reconciliation & Indigenous Inclusion in Ontario's Wilderness

An Analysis of Recreational Space in Temagami - n'Daki Menan



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**RECONCILIATION & INDIGENOUS INCLUSION IN ONTARIO'S WILDERNESS  
AN ANALYSIS OF RECREATIONAL SPACE IN TEMAGAMI - N'DAKI MENAN**

By

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A Major Research Paper  
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Master of Planning  
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## **Abstract**

The Temagami wilderness that we know today is the result of both a cultural and natural phenomenon; the result of a struggle over meaning, identity and land. This paper explores how histories and cultures are reflected in the physical and social landscape of recreational space in Ontario. The primary research question surrounds who has access to Temagami and whose voices are represented. The focus is largely on First Nations visibility and inclusion in Temagami, navigating land use tensions between recreational users, resource extraction, and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai. Merging discourse on wilderness as Canadian identity, settler colonialism, and decolonization, this paper explores the contested nature of the wilderness and identifies opportunities for co-existence and a shared future of mutual respect. This research will contribute to our understanding of cottage country - a unique Ontario identity - reflecting on how First Nations' identity and values can be represented equally alongside settler society. The goal of this work is to contribute to the discussion on opportunities for decolonization of our wilderness landscapes.

Key words: Aboriginal, First Nations, Temagami, wilderness, identity, planning, reconciliation

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# Introduction

***"Set with a thousand islands, crowned with pines,  
lies the deep water, wild Temagami."  
-Archibald Lampman, Confederation poet***

The Temagami wilderness that we know today is largely a cultural rather than a natural phenomenon — a struggle over meaning, identity and land (Thorpe, 2012). Temagami is an area located 450km north of Toronto, Ontario. It is a region that has been influenced by resource interests, recreational users, and environmental concerns since the late 19th century, with the Teme-Augama Anishnabai (TAA) having called this area, n'Daki Menan, their home for over 6,000 years (Benidickson & Hodgins, 1989). Tourism and resource extraction continue to put pressure on the ecological system, affecting not only the world's largest remaining stand of old-growth pine but also the First Nation community and their rights to the land.

Temagami is a contested space. It is a place that has been subject to a multiplicity of interests and users. But also, and perhaps more importantly, tensions exist because it is a place that is tied up in national identity. Canada's national identity is tied to wilderness, and notably, a narrow conception of what wilderness is and means. The making of the myth of Canadian wilderness has worked to erase Indigenous peoples from the physical and social landscape. This problem

of itself is a barrier to reconciliation in Canada. As Canada celebrates its 150th anniversary this year, coupled with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's *Calls to Action*, it is a significant time to reflect on Canada's relationship to Indigenous peoples in this country. Planning has a critical role to play in this healing process. Planning has been a tool of colonization, serving as a legal framework of the colonial, settler state. As a result, planning has been complicit in the marginalization of Indigenous peoples. The profession itself needs to evaluate how it will achieve reconciliation, and further, facilitate re-affirming nation-to-nation relationships between Canada and Indigenous peoples.

Currently, Indigenous culture and histories are largely absent from our cultural and social landscapes in Ontario. Temagami is the focus of this paper as the region has many competing interests that flow from colonial, settler identity and resource extraction. The Teme-Augama Anishnabai (TAA) call the Temagami area their home and yet continue to be displaced from this landscape. On one hand, the TAA have an unsettled land claim, while on the other, the Temagami area continues



Image source: Mihell, 2012

Map of n'Daki Menan  
Traditional family lands superimposed with municipal grid boundaries

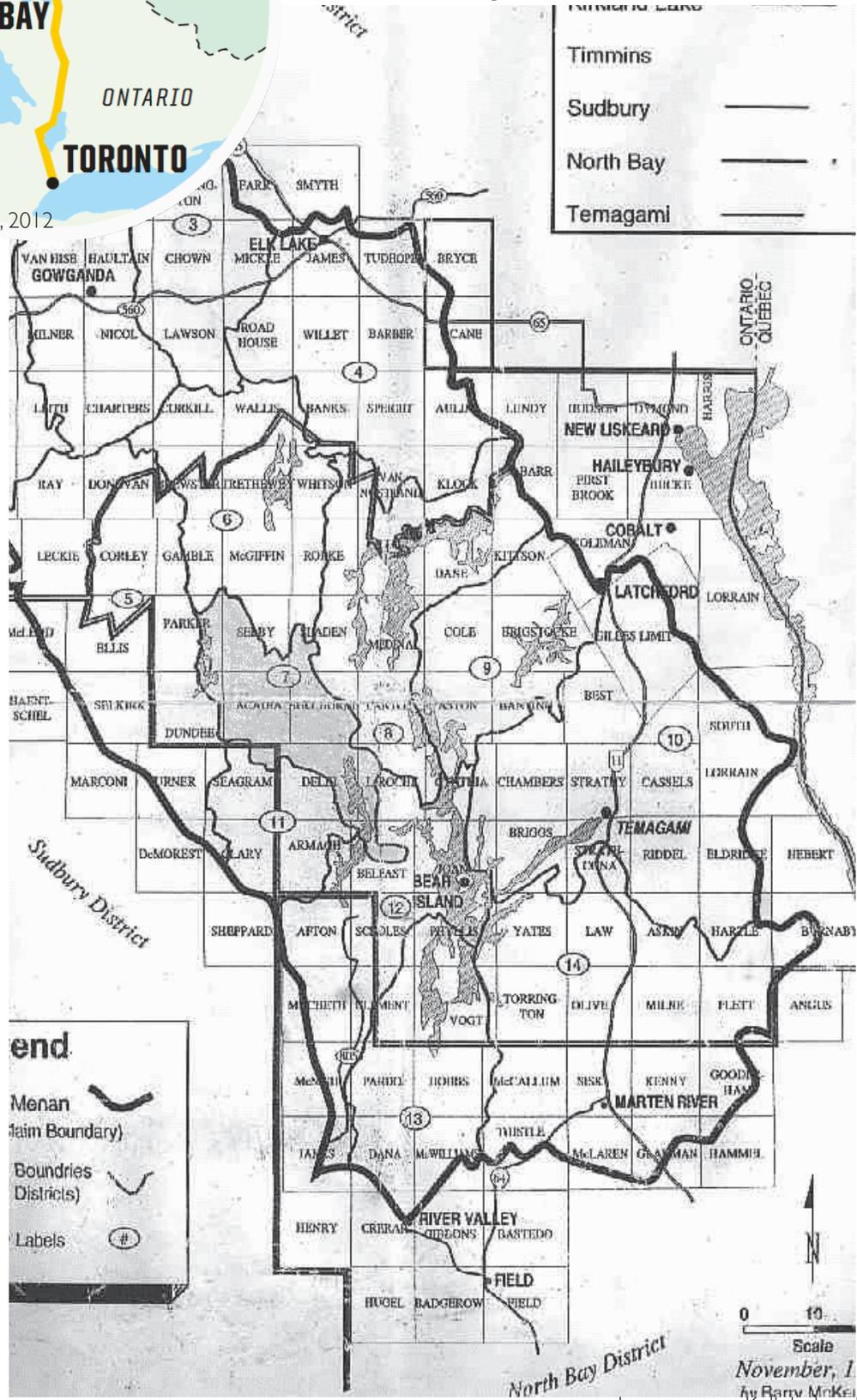


Image source: Kollobok, n.d.

to attract wilderness recreation and resource extraction industry. This paper will contribute to our understanding of 'cottage country' — a place-specific Ontario identity. It reflects on how First Nations can be integrated in this identity, or rather, how First Nations' identity and values can be represented equally alongside settler society, to create places of co-existence.

This paper is not a presentation of research findings, but rather a research essay on how to advance reconciliation in planning in Ontario, specifically in regard to contested spaces in cottage country and the wilderness. The primary research question surrounds who has access to Temagami and whose voices and cultures are represented in the social and physical landscape. The focus is largely on First Nations visibility and inclusion in this landscape, navigating land use tensions between recreational users and resource

extraction. To explore these questions, this paper begins by introducing Temagami, which helps to animate the ideas and theory that are explored. This is followed by a discussion on discourse relating to wilderness as Canadian identity, settler colonialism, and decolonization. The final substantive section of this paper provides an analysis of these planning issues and opportunities, in the context of a decolonization framework. Rather than provide a specific solution, this major research paper contributes to an emerging conversation surrounding reconciliation — a conversation which must include First Nations. It offers a step towards reconciliation as Canada celebrates 150 years of confederation. Wilderness is shaped and culturally constructed — it is not simply passive, out there, and untouched. Therefore, moving forward, wilderness spaces must also be shaped by First Nations voices.

### Teme-Augama Anishnabai Flag



Flag shows the six family emblems which all face the drum circle, representing mother. The sun represents father; feathers represent the four directions; blue represents sky and brown earth.

Image source: TAA, n.d.

# research questions & objectives

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- 1) Who has access to Temagami and whose voices are represented in the physical and social landscape? How have these voices been reflected in plans and policies?
- 2) How can co-existence be fostered in a way that respects Indigenous values, and further, what of the challenges for this in a settler state?

The objective, in answering these research questions, is to explore through a decolonization framework how First Nations visibility and participation can be integrated into the Temagami landscape, thereby also into Canada's identity. Temagami has long been portrayed as a vacant wilderness and space for recreation. Temagami needs to have Indigenous voices and narratives included in this landscape. To create meaningful co-existence in the spirit of reconciliation, colonial systems need to be broken down and built anew, rather than simply inviting Indigenous peoples into the settler center. This paper contends that decolonization in Canada through collaborative planning does not necessitate a binary approach. This paper argues for a space of common ground, where both the settler state and Indigenous peoples are equal partners in the center. A strategy for co-existence, the n'Daki Menan Management Plan, is proposed for Temagami.

# Methods

This paper is primarily based on integrative research, utilizing literature review, secondary research, and a policy scan to conduct the analysis and answer the research questions. Decolonization is utilized as an instrument to evaluate opportunities and analyze existing issues. This framework of decolonization is based on concepts set out by the *United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2008) and Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission's *Calls to Action* (2015). These two documents will be explored later in this paper.

## secondary research

The information to be analyzed in this paper comes from secondary sources, including government documents. This includes web archives of organizations and associations pertaining to the Temagami region as well as government resources. These include Earthroots, Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry (MNR), Friends of Temagami, Temagami Lakes Association, and Temagami First Nation. Further, academic sources and published books have been consulted to gain a better understanding of the Temagami and Indigenous context. Secondary analysis is a form of nonreactive research, allowing the studying of events and key actors indirectly and without people being aware they are being studied (Neuman, 2006).

## literature review

A multi-disciplinary approach has been used for the literature review with research from the

fields of geography, history, environmentalism, and planning. The literature informed key elements to the barriers and opportunities discussed in this paper. Literature review serves as a way to demonstrate prior research to enable the fostering of new ideas (Neuman, 2006). Further, a literature review allows the merging of a diverse range of themes through the lens of one topic, thereby highlighting new points of views and opportunities (Neuman, 2006). The literature review facilitated the development of a framework for the analysis, focused on the theme of decolonization and the colonial legacy of planning.

## case study

Temagami is used as an instrumental case study within this paper to give texture to the complex issues explored and to ground concepts in reality (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). Temagami was chosen as it has been idealized as a Canadian wilderness and recreation space. This idea has become synonymous with the

“Temagami Experience”, where the beauty of the area, solitude, and pristine environment captures the imagination of residents and visitors. (Temagami, 2013).

Additionally, the area has an unsettled First Nation land claim, and further, there are competing tensions that flow from settler identity, colonization and resource extraction. Temagami is unpacked as an icon and symbol of Canadian identity, specifically in relation to wilderness, through searching for opportunities for co-existence. The case study is used to provide insight into the problem and to deconstruct, analyze and evaluate themes, issues, and opportunities.

## **policy review**

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A policy scan was undertaken to analyze existing and former plans, policies, and strategies that relate to land use in the Temagami area and First Nations in the region. This method builds on Alexiuk *et. al*'s (2015) study where land use and resource management policies in Ontario and their intersection with First Nations were reviewed. Analysis was focused on how First Nations are represented in plans and policies, if at all, and how planning can be integrated with decolonization.

## **strengths & limitations**

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A reliance on secondary research limited the ability to ask more in-depth questions and in this paper. It must be acknowledged that this information comes from secondary sources where the authors may have unconsciously imposed their own worldviews and assumptions. Further, advocating for change on behalf of First Nations is inherently problematic as the author of this paper does not identify as an Indigenous person. However, as an aspiring Planner I am seeking to explore this complex issue and offer insights from the perspective of the role planning in advancing reconciliation.

The strength of this paper is that it contributes to the conversation on reconciliation in Canada and advances ideas for planning in our wilderness and recreation spaces. This paper is reflexive in nature and comments on planning theory, adding to the small, but growing, conversation surrounding the decolonization of planning.

# Temagami - n'Daki Menan Overview

***“Temagami is a complex history of diverse and rival forces competing over land use... the Temagami Indians were unfortunately clearly marginalized. Yet courageously, they somehow survived, needling away at the dominant credo, never collectively giving up.” -Bruce Hodgins, retired professor (1990, p. 125)***

This section aims to give an overview of the Temagami region, key actors, as well as a brief history of the region's evolution — from Teme-Augama Anishnabai homeland to the recreational space that it is primarily known for, today. It must be noted that history is not objective. Thus this section presents the history of the area, as documented in secondary research, through the context of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai.

## ontario's northern cottage country

The Temagami area is just north of what is considered the heart of Ontario's cottage country. Despite being outside this boundary, the discourse on cottage country provides relevant parallels to the Temagami region, as both are places where southern Ontarians have second homes and go to enjoy the “wilderness”. “Its haunting beauty and ruggedness, in concert with the Anglo-American compulsion to “escape” the city have elevated parts of central Ontario to near-mythic status as the very archetype of a summer playground,” (Luka & Lister, 2012 p.170).

Typically, cottage country refers to the region located north of the major urban centres of southern Ontario, and is made up of the Muskokas, Haliburton, and the Kawarthas (FOCA, n.d.). Although Temagami is north of this area it shares many of the same characteristics.

With urbanization creeping evermore north, the boundary of cottage country is also increasingly moving north (Bourne et al., 2003). Thus, Temagami can be stated to belong to northern Ontario cottage country, as it is just beyond the three hour distance considered accessible from Toronto, yet still draws people there for the same reasons. Cottage country is culturally, economically, and politically distinct from other rural areas in that it is populated by a concentration of urban vacationers and residents who seek leisure and reconnecting with nature (Halseth, 1998 ). It is viewed as a place of rural peace and simplicity, whereas the city is seen as a place of power and sophistication, creating various myths and realities (Bourne, et al. 2003). The main route into cottage country from Toronto is Highway 11, which, if continued further north, leads to Temagami.

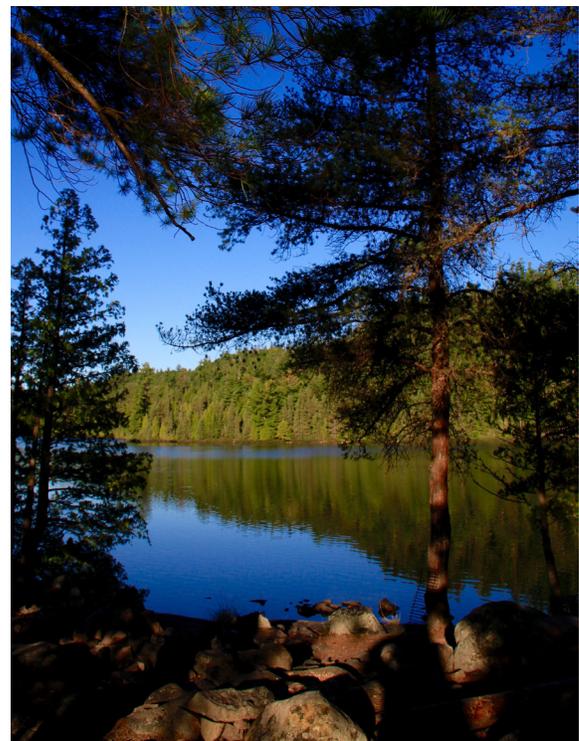


# temagami

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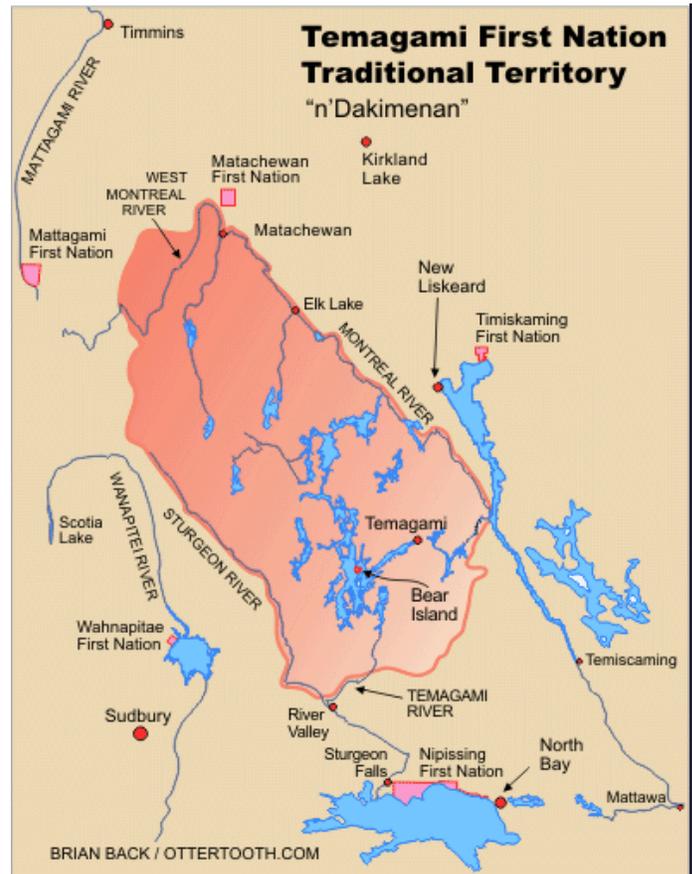
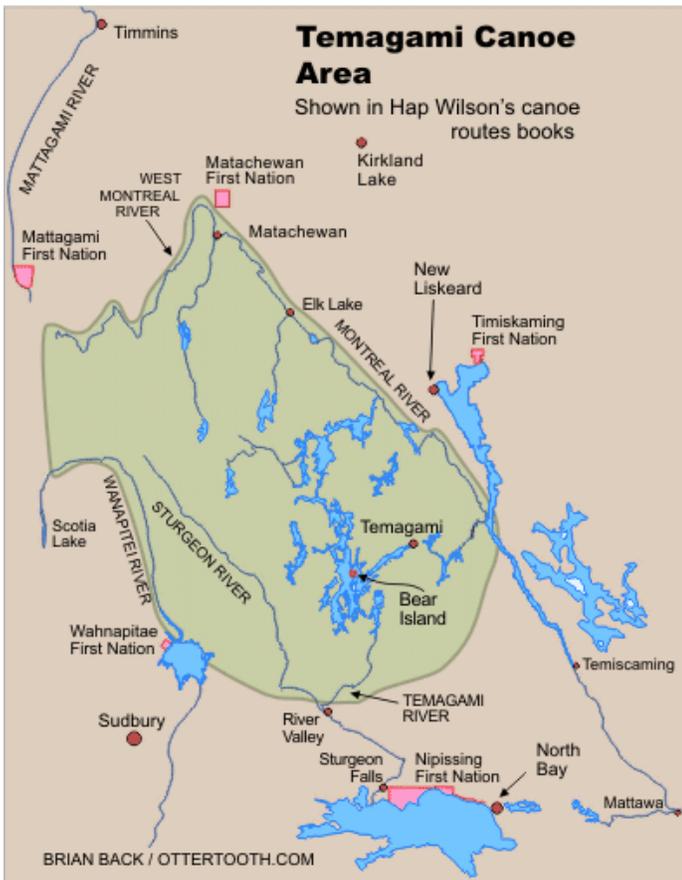
“Temagami is a lake, a river, and a town. It is also a First Nation homeland, a government administrative area, a former provincial forest, a recreation area, a village turned township turned municipality. There is also MNR’s forest management district... There are no landmarks or watersheds to neatly define the region, so many lines cross the forest. Temagami is a state of mind and the line chosen depends on the perspective of the beholder,” (Back, 2012 para.1). This summary gives insight into the conflicts that exist in this region.

Temagami is known for its rugged, remote landscape and in more recent years, for its stands old-growth red and white pines. The area is home to Ishpatina Ridge, Ontario’s highest point, and contributing to its landscape is the *nastawgan* - the interconnected system of trails and portage routes. These factors combined make Temagami a recreationalist’s paradise. “Much of the area is relatively remote, offering solitude and challenge for those seeking a backcountry recreation experience. Temagami has been a tourist destination for over a century, and with over 2,400 kilometers of interconnecting canoe routes and portage trails it is considered one of North America’s premier canoeing destinations,” (MNR, 2007). Ultimately, Temagami is, as Back notes, “a state of mind”, an experience.



*Image of the temagami landscape*

Image source: Hintelmann, 2016



Four perspectives on Temagami. These maps demonstrate that space is socially constructed and that there are multiple narratives associated with this area.

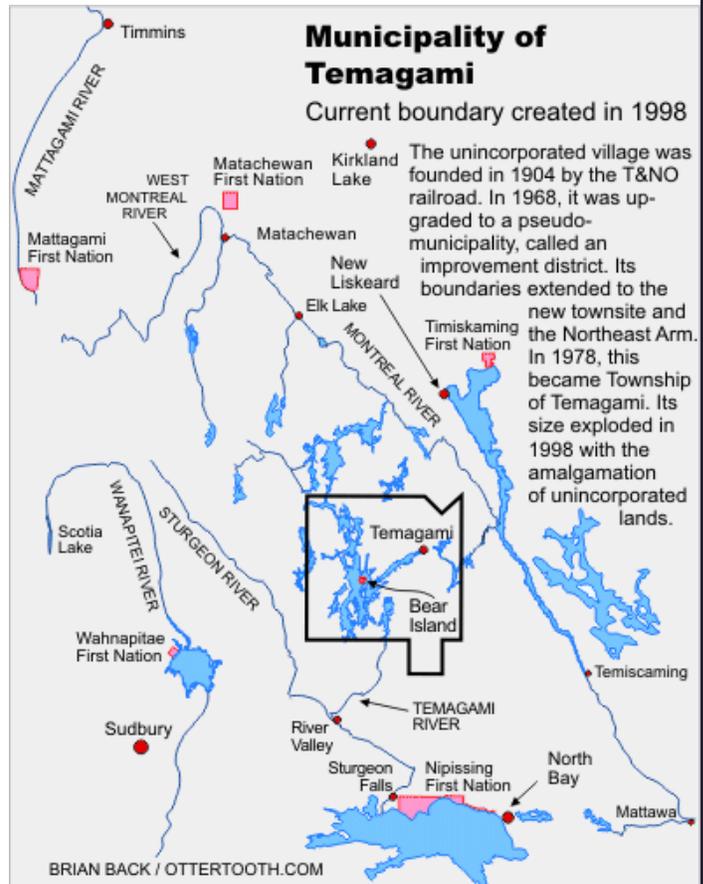
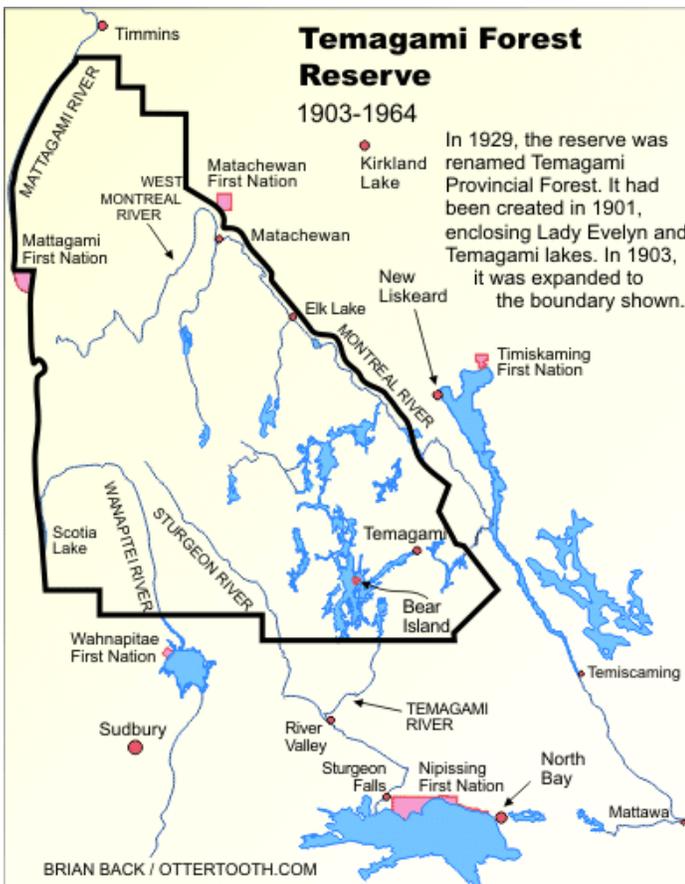


Image source: Back, 2012

# n'daki menan

*N'Daki Menan* refers to the homeland, and traditional territory, of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai (TAA). This area stretches 10,360 square kilometers with Lake Temagami at the heart. Within this territory Aboriginal peoples maintained the *nastawgan*, a network of trails and waterways which served as social organization. The territory was divided into hunting territory, with each section looked after by a family clan.

From the early 20th century onwards, the TAA mostly lived on Bear Island, but had no reserve and thus no official home. Yet, they could not leave the island for the simple reason that there was no where else for them to go (Benidickson & Hodgins, 1989). Bear Island was secured for the Temagami First Nation in 1943 by the Department of Indian Affairs from the Province of Ontario. Reserve status wasn't recognized until 1971, largely due to ongoing conflicts between the First Nation and both provincial and federal levels of government. Today the Temagami First Nation reserve located on Bear Island is situated on 2.6 square kilometers of land, despite the fact that in 1885 the Federal government promised a 316 square kilometer reserve (Benidickson & Hodgins, 1989). The Supreme Court of Canada reaffirmed this promise, yet land claim negotiations are currently on hold.

The community is home to over 200 residents with a total membership of more than 780 (Temagami First Nation, n.d.).

Bear Island was initially refused by the band, as this was not the land that they had wanted. As Hibbard et al. point out, reserves for First Nations are only a fraction of what was part of the traditional territory pre-contact, but also often in economically marginal areas - space that was of no use to European settlers (2008). This marginalization for economic gain is summed up well by a chapter title in Thorpe's (2012) *Temagami's Tangled Wild*, "Valuable Timber Verses a Rocky Reserve". This observation explains why for so long Ontario was unwilling to create a reserve, (and currently unwilling to negotiate a fair land claim) for the Temagami First Nation, as the region was rich in timber and sub-ground resources.

The TAA are very much connected to their land, not only in a physical manner, but both historically and spiritually as well. During the Supreme Court of Canada trial, former Chief Potts made this clear, as the band is concerned with future generations and principles of "sustained life and development", (Hodgins, 1990 p. 123). The next page will explore values within the landscape further.

## Map of n'Daki Menan

Boundaries defined by clan territory, showing another way the Temagami area is delineated

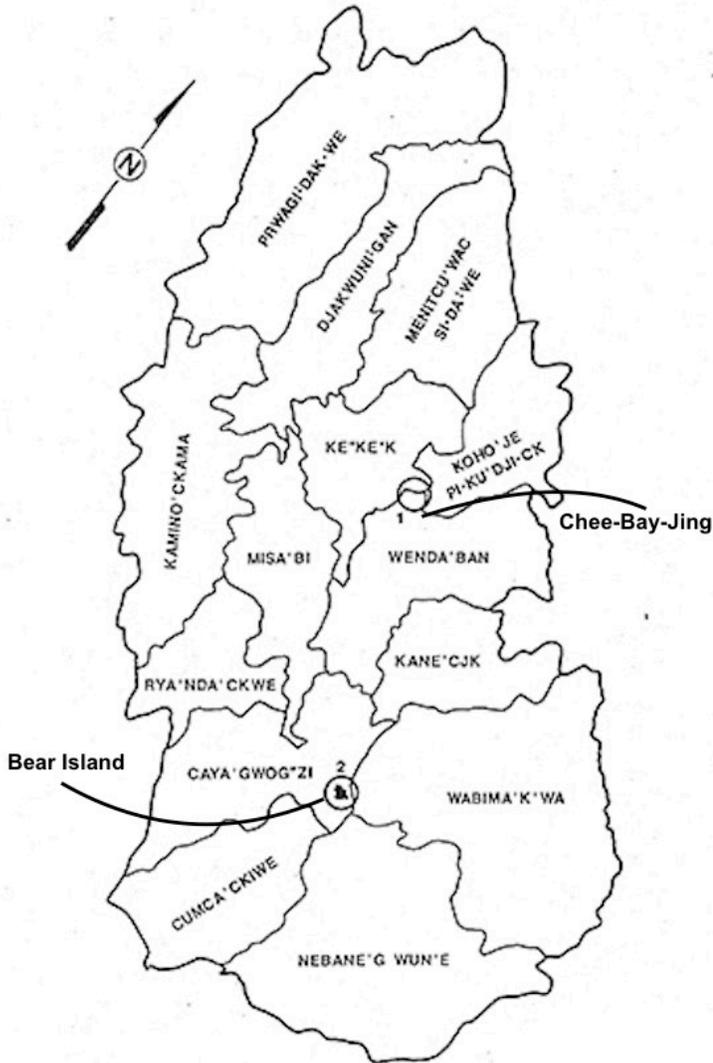


Image source: Conway, n.d.



Aerial view over a section of Bear Island  
Image source: Miller, 2016

***"The government claimed that we are trying to shut down the North. Far from it: we are trying to save the North for the future... the environmental impact of the removal of a forest is longterm: the economic gain is not. We made it clear to the government that the wish of our people for the future is to have our traditional area governed by an area residents' land-use council that cannot be overruled by short-sighted politicians who do not appreciate fully the principles of sustained life and development." - Gary Potts, former TAA Chief (Hodgins, 1990 p. 123)***

# social landscape

***“It’s important to reclaim the names, because names are symbolic of the attitudes and ideas people bring... If all indigenous names are erased, and never respected, it shows the white society’s view of indigenous people: that we no longer exist; we’ve been erased. It’s about respect in a fundamental way.” -Aaron Leggett, Dena’ina historian (Joseph, 2016 para.6)***

The Nastawgan shows how the Temagami landscape is rich in meaning and memory to the Teme-Augama Anishnabai. The names on the map symbolize the spiritual, environmental, and historical significance of the place in which they live. Place names are a powerful symbol of independence and national pride,, (Monmonier, 2006). Further, Indigenous place names carry knowledge passed through generations and connect people to a place (Joseph, 2016).

Something as seemingly benign as Maple Mountain comes with a myriad of underlying conflicts, issues, and values. Chee-bay-jing, as Maple Mountain is known amongst the TAA, is a sacred place. To decolonize these spaces, not only physically but also socially, we must consider, what’s in a name? The chart below outlines select TAA place names with their meaning,

along with the English name. On official maps, it is the English name that is marked. Kollobok (2003) stated in reference to English names in n’Daki Menan, “these alien names make no sense in regards to the history or traditional use of the land and is an attempt to erase the culture of Original Peoples and thus, cutting off the link with the ancestral knowledge and traditions.” A name indicates who has access to that space. Place names assert ownership and legitimize conquest: “erase the toponymic imprint of the displaced group, and then both map and land are yours,” (Monmonier, 2006 p.106). If it is English names that dominate our maps, it can be concluded that, whether intentionally or not, the First Nations presence has been erased from the collective memory in Temagami.

<p><b>Shuoanjaw-gaming</b> <i>the place of the smooth water area west of n’Daki Menan</i></p>	<p><b>Mons-kaw-naw-ning</b> <i>haunt of the moose</i> <b>Lady Evelyn Lake</b></p>	<p><b>Ma-ja-may-gos</b> <i>speckled trout stream</i> <b>Lady Evelyn River</b></p>
<p><b>Kawassidjewan</b> <i>tumbling water seen at distance</i> <b>Montreal River</b></p>	<p><b>Nahmay Zeebi</b> <i>river flowing from deep water</i> <b>Sturgeon River</b></p>	<p><b>Chee-bay-jing</b> <i>place where the spirits go</i> <b>Maple Mountain</b></p>

## Nastawgan Map of n'Daki Menan

This image shows 2 of the 20 sections of the map. It documents traditional Teme-Augama Anishnabai names for geographic features. Waterways and portage trails traditionally served as principal travel routes and are indicated here in purple and green, respectively. This map documents cultural heritage of the TAA.



Image source: Macdonald, n.d.

The largest lake on this section of the map (near the center) is Mons-kaw-naw-ning, “haunt of the moose,” or Lady Evelyn Lake. Chee-bay-jing, or Maple Mountain, is also shown on the mountain range near the top.

# history of the temagami region

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The confluence in the early 1900s of visitors flooding the area, the opening of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway, and the discovery of silver led to the fact that “[Temagami] soon became the major Ontario playground,” (Hodgins, 1985 p.193). This dual nature between resource extraction and recreation has been a dominant theme in Temagami, contributing to the marginalization of the TAA. Beginning in the 1890s the area became a tourist destination and a popular place for youth camps. The Temagami Forest Reserve was established in 1901 for non-invasive wilderness recreation, and industry interests, with the goal of resource conservation. The historic relationship between extraction and recreation was part of a colonial agenda, which is still ongoing today.

This desire for conservation fueled racist policies that negatively affected the First Nation and their rights to the land. Ontario game regulations had paternalistic notions of what conservation required, which was in conflict with TAA approaches to conservation. The TAA before obtaining their reserve, were not permitted to cut timber on Bear Island out of fear it would ruin the pristine landscape (Benidickson & Hodgins, 1989). Ontario was also concerned over the TAA land claim as there was great potential for extracting mineral

and timber wealth in the area.

Most people going to Temagami had the goal of finding, “what they perceived as deep wilderness... a quest for nordicity... a search for stillness, beauty, wildlife, fishing, and companionship,” (Hodgins, 1985 p.197). “Most individuals who tripped and returned again to trip were involved in their own personal voyage of discovery, seeking their own mythical northland,” (Hodgins, 1985 p. 201). This is still quite relevant to today. As a symbol of the Canadian wilderness, Temagami provides an escape into a place that is seen as a return to simpler times and an opportunity to connect with the great outdoors. As Cronon (1996) notes, the wilderness became a landscape of choice for elite tourists, where the wealthy projected ‘frontier fantasies’ onto the landscape. The frontier, and thus the wilderness, was seen as a place of individualism, a freer and more natural place than the modern confines of civilization (Cronon, 1996).

This raises concerns over who this place is for and who has access. The shoreline of Lake Temagami is protected and a skyline reserve prohibits mainland development, both initiatives that were spearheaded by resident and recreation interests. Further, it is interesting to consider what this trend of escaping into the ‘wilderness’ means for people who live there

and see the area through different values. These issues within the Temagami context will

be further unpacked and explored in a later section of this paper.

## voices in recreational space

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There are two dominant perspectives today in how cottage country and the wilderness are viewed. The first, as an economic opportunity to be exploited (Stevens, 2013). Second, which will be explored further later, as nationalistic identity, which is common amongst both environmentalists and recreationalists. This analysis is a brief clip of the voices within Temagami. It is important to acknowledge other voices aside from the TAA that exist in this place, as colonial voices continue dominate in this landscape. Settler voices now dominate as the First Nation voice has been marginalized.

Of the various users, there is the Temagami Anishnabai who view selves as the original caretakers of the land with continued role in land management; recreational users whose interests focus on Lake Temagami and canoe routes; resource interests who extract forest and mineral wealth; and lastly the province, who works to monitor activities in the area (Benidickson & Hodgins, 1989). As a result of competing interests and conflict between Indigenous and settler society, and the multiple purposes both have sought to achieve in the landscape, the present and future is uncertain (Benidickson & Hodgins, 1989).

Aboriginal peoples are often seen as the stewards of the environment; managing lands in a sustainable manner (Hibbard et al., 2008). However, this romanticized view doesn't account for the diversity of Aboriginal peoples nor their right to exploit their own lands - a right afforded to the settler state. Both recreationists and extractionists have a desire for conservation although for different ends. The debate over how to manage and maintain the area has largely been overshadowed by the interests of these two groups - with the Provincial government trying to appease - to the detriment of the First Nation within this territory (Benidickson & Hodgins, 1989). Moreover, this approach towards the land illustrates the difference in worldviews between Aboriginal peoples and settlers: Aboriginal peoples shape the land just as much as it shapes them and thus the notion of preserving the land in a state of wilderness is impractical and absurd (Hibbard et al., 2008). First Nations need to be a part of the conversation in how land is used and managed. The next section explores themes that begin to deconstruct how and why First Nations voices have been marginalized in this wilderness place.

# Literature Review

***"[Wilderness] is entirely a creation of the culture that holds it dear, a product of the very history it seeks to deny."  
-William Cronon, environmental historian (1996 p.79)***

This literature review discusses various themes and elements that are relevant to the discussion on First Nations visibility in Ontario's cottage country, exploring how literature and research on identity, wilderness, and decolonization has identified opportunities and constraints within First Nations self-determination and reconciliation in Canada. Findings from the literature review informed the decolonization framework that developed through this paper to interpret policy and informs the analysis. This literature review focuses on five themes which build upon, and relate, to one another: national identity, colonial narratives wilderness: frontier vs homeland, land rights & participation, and decolonization.

## **national identity**

Stevens (2013) discusses the linking of Ontario cottaging to national identity: Ontario summer homes are part of Canada's physical and cultural landscapes. Stevens explains that turning the Canadian wilderness into a physical and psychological retreat meant erasing First Nations' presence on the land. To whom does "wilderness" belong? The cottage is symbolically powerful throughout Ontario's history (Stevens, 2013; Luka & Lister, 2012; Halseth, 1998). Cottage country in Ontario is more than a hinterland of second homes; it is home territory and hunting grounds for Aboriginal peoples, place of resource extraction, and also agricultural area (Lister & Luka, 2012). The cottage and likewise,

the wilderness is ubiquitous in the identity of Ontario and moreover, to the national identity of Canada. Cottage country's "haunting beauty and ruggedness, in concert with the anglo-american compulsion to 'escape' the city, have, moreover, elevated parts of central Ontario to near-mythic status as the very archetype of a summer playground," thereby forming the basic elements of Canadian character (Luka & Lister, 2012 p.170). Epitomized by Canadian landscape artists, The Group of Seven, as well as Tom Thompson, the rugged wilderness is seen as the "essence" of Canada (Stevens, 2013; Thorpe, 2012). Stevens (2013) contends that these artists transformed cottaging regions

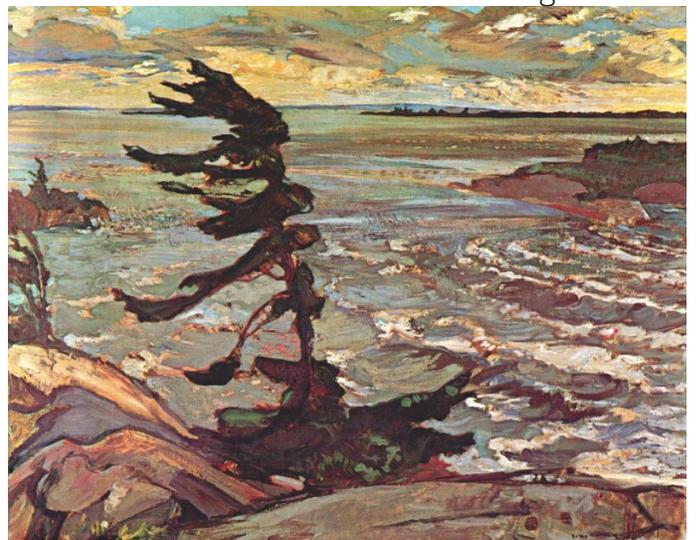
- namely Algonquin Park and Georgian Bay - into national landscapes and thus visiting these areas was a way to be a part of the national story. Further, Gilbert (2008) notes that this nationalist excitement captured by the Group of Seven occurred alongside increasing penetration of industry into northern lands for the purposes of economic growth. Extraction within the sublime is also part of Canada's identity.

Nation building requires a sense of collective awareness and identity, which is promoted through a mutual historical experience (Schreyer, 2014). In Canada, the national myth is that of the country as a northern wilderness, tamed and endured by the European settlers. Painting the Canadian landscape as a symbol of national identity necessarily required the erasure of Aboriginal peoples from this land, both physically and imaginatively. The story of Canada as a settler nation was nurtured through the stories and images of the Canadian wilderness. The pairing of Canadian and wilderness has denied First Nations claims to land, as the wilderness as empty and vacant has erased their presence (Thorpe, 2012). Thus this construction of the Canadian "wilderness" belongs to Canadians, not Aboriginal peoples. The removal of Aboriginal peoples to create uninhabited places reminds us of how socially constructed

and invented wilderness is (Cronon, 1996).

Further, Schreyer (2014) advanced the idea that nations are formed through social memory; history that has become myth. Aboriginal peoples were removed from the physical and imaginative space of parks and the land (Gilbert, 2008). This removal was not necessarily to create uninhabited places, but to preserve them in the settler way and to form a mythic wilderness created by, and for, Euro-Canadians (Binnema & Niemi, 2006; Thorpe, 2012; Gilbert, 2008). The goal was to create an abundance of wild game, for the benefit of the sportsman [sic] and tourism, while simultaneously civilizing and assimilating Aboriginal peoples (Binnema & Niemi, 2006). Race-based representations have worked to deny Aboriginal peoples access to their lands (Thorpe, 2012).

Indigenous peoples were, and continue to be, presented as the other and this dualism between the settler and the Indigenous is



*Stormy Weather Georgian Bay, Group of Seven*

Image source: Hysert, 2016

central to imperialism and the advancement of the colonial society (Thrope, 2012). It was believed that Aboriginal peoples were part of the past as they would not survive in civilization. This rendered land claims pointless, as the Aboriginal people and the land they lived on was seen as part of the vanishing Canadian wilderness (Thorpe, 2012). Prime Minister Trudeau in 1969, stated, “we can’t recognize Aboriginal rights because no society can be built on historical ‘might have beens,’” (Berger et al., 2010 p.10). This notion worked to allow policies to be complicit in the erasure of the Aboriginals. The Indian Act of 1876 is very telling of this dualism in Canada: “the term ‘person’ means an individual other than an Indian,” (Kamboureli & Zacharias, 2013, ). Despite this being changed through amendments in 1951, Indigenous peoples in Canada were, and continue to be, seen as less than and inferior to settlers.

Over the past few decades the north has increasingly received more attention, industry in search of resources; conservation organizations to protect the last “wild” places; governments to assert Arctic sovereignty; researchers to study climate change; and meanwhile, Indigenous peoples struggle to engage with each and be taken seriously (Berger et al., 2010). Canada continues to hold a monolithic view of its history, and worse, a monolithic view of how to run the country. Saul

(2008 p.21) contends that “the single greatest failure of the Canadian experience, so far, has been our inability to normalize Aboriginals as the senior founding pillar of our civilization”.

To summarize, the main points of this theme point to questions of how Canadian identity has an embedded connection to the wilderness. This has implications for who has access to Temagami and who is represented in its landscape.

***“Stories are wonderful things and they are dangerous. Stories assert tremendous control over our lives, informing who are and how we treat one another as friends, family and citizens. The truth about stories is that’s all we are.”***

***-Thomas King, Cherokee-American author & scholar***

# colonial narratives

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Thorpe's (2012) "Temagami's Tangled Wild" provides an analysis of the conflict over meaning, identity and land in the region by deconstructing the idea of "wilderness" and contrasting it to the Temagami First Nation view of the area as homeland. History is often one-sided yet can include numerous mythologies and realities. The visible history of Canada is directly tied to the fur trade, most notably in place names; fort, house, factory and post feature heavily in place names on the Ontario map (Schreyer, 2014). The question is, why do Aboriginal place names not feature more prominently?

Three groups - the English, French, and Aboriginal peoples - were involved in the fur trade, helping cement the nation state we know today (Saul, 2008). The lack of Aboriginal place names obscures this fact that Indigenous peoples played a significant role in the development of this country. Settler colonialism operates through internal and external colonialism, as there is no spatial separation between metropole and colony. Settlers make Indigenous land their new home, source of capital, and disrupt relationships to the land; this violence is reasserted each day of occupation (Tuck & Yang, 2012). This creates a tension with decolonization as settler society is inherently about destroying, and conquering, "the Indian". The settler state seeks to normalize the settler

identity as the future and does not offer space for the Indigenous identity.

Schreyer notes the dominance of the settler society is evident when considering how many Hudson's Bay Company names were retained over Aboriginal counterparts on maps (Schreyer, 2014). Naming of places helps to build identity and outlines who belongs. Place names reinforce claims of ownership and power (Schreyer, 2014; Monmonier, 2006). Monmonier (2006) notes that when multiple groups covet the same territory, issues arise when one claim is endorsed. Thus the restoration of Indigenous places names is a key element to re-establishing cultural and political sovereignty. Yet, Aboriginal place names continue to be silenced on official maps.

Schreyer (2014) argues that geography is history; through views towards the land, interactions, and how it is named is how a state is built. The wilderness landscape holds a unique meaning to each individual, yet on a national scale is ingrained in our identity to which Canadians can each relate.

# wilderness: frontier vs. homeland

Nature and wilderness are words that have deep meaning, particularly in the context of Canada. However, as Stevens notes, these words have been malleable and contested, rather than fixed and self-evident (2013). In other words, the meanings associated with both nature and wilderness are defined by the culture and society within which one lives — they are socially constructed (Binnema & Niemi, 2006; Cronon, 1998). In the early 1900s cottage country was described as wild, virgin state of primitive forests and uninhabited (Thorpe, 2012; Cronon, 1998).

The dichotomy of the northern wilderness is best explained by Schreyer: as both the northern frontier and northern homeland. Wilderness is a concept used by the west to designate it as “other”; to describe the space beyond what is known (Todd, 2008). The northern Canadian frontier is a place that has great wealth and people endured and tamed the harsh environment (Schreyer, 2014). The perspective of the northern homeland on the other hand, is one where Aboriginal peoples view this same place as their home. Yet, Indigenous peoples were moved elsewhere so visitors could enjoy the pristine “wilderness” (Todd, 2008; Cronon, 1996). This difference in perspective is reflected in how places are named. Hudson Bay Company posts were

named after individuals who conquered the north and gained from its wealth while Aboriginal place names are more likely to describe the physical attributes and resources of a place (Schreyer, 2014). As the Hudson Bay Company post names were retained on maps over Aboriginal names, the settler perspective has become a more prominent part of the Canadian collective memory.

Moreover, nature and society are inextricably linked; nature is a product of civilization (Cronon et al., 1995). The appearance of two separate realms is culturally created and socially constructed; the fiction of a culture-free nature hides the values that underlies our approach to it (Thorpe, 2012). Nature does not exist within its own sphere, but rather exists within a culture along with the values and associations attributed to it. People viewing the same landscape may interpret the elements in many different ways, each according to their own ideologies and values (Bourne et al., 2003). The settler approach to nature as being exclusive from culture, leaves only two options for interaction with nature: being in nature and using it means it will be destroyed whereas being apart from nature allows saving it (Thorpe, 2012). This view leaves no option to live with nature, thus contributing to the erasure of First Nations from the land. This is a

dualist option, whereas there is a possibility to find common ground. Humans are all inherently part of nature, yet this does not mean nature will be 'destroyed'. Being a part of nature does not take away from the beauty of the wilderness. Further, if we are all part of nature than it must

be true that we all belong to it, as well. Thus, both Indigenous peoples and settlers belong to and in nature. Ultimately, we must find ways to co-exist in these places, where the worldviews and values of both societies are valued.

## land rights & participation

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It is one question is to ask who has access in a social landscape, but what of political access to a place? Planning — which is a place-based practice—in the simplest of terms, is concerned with the use and management of land and resources. “Good planning leads to orderly growth and the efficient provision of services,” (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 2015). Further, planning has a focus on problem-solving and is normative in its disposition (Hibbard et al., 2008). Planning fancies itself as neutral and rational. This masks the human factor and hides alternative narratives. In fact, planning is not innocent, but rather has systematically excluded voices and peoples (Sandercock, 1998). The history of settler colonialism is one of displacement and replacement, and we are each implicated in this (Desai et al., 2012), including the planning profession. Planning is culturally influenced by Canada’s colonial settler history (Alexiuk et al., 2013). Legislated, institutionalized Planning is not value-free nor objective; rather it is rooted in the cultural values and assumptions, in which

it operates and which ought to be challenged. Planning produces frameworks that “bear the marks of history and culture that produced them,” (Hibbard et al., 2008 p.142).

In this way, Planning has been complicit in the marginalization and dispossession of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. This is evident in the lack of First Nations voices and representation in plans and policies. In their 2015 study, Alexiuk *et al.* found that no text contained discussion of “consent” in relation to First Nations in the 337 materials relating to land use and resource management in Ontario (legislation, regulation documents, policy statements, plans, guidelines, reports). This failure to include the concept of “consent” - not to be inferred as the ability to unilaterally stop projects, but rather interpreted as the process of building relationships and trust with First Nations communities - places First Nations in a subordinate role and doesn't acknowledge the nation-to-nation relationship of past agreements. If planning only go as far as the “duty to consult”, First Nations will not

become partners nor will a move towards reconciliation be achieved. Reconciliation requires an acknowledgment of history, and further, the desire to create a future that respects the promise of the Royal Proclamation - a promise of a nation-to-nation relationship between Crown and Indigenous peoples. If we want to work towards a policy of inclusion then an understanding of the exclusionary effects of planning's past [and ongoing] practices and ideologies is necessary (Sandercock, 1998). At minimum it is important that First Nations voices are represented in plans and policies, and ideally, they are equal partners in decision making when it affects their current and traditional lands.

How can planning better attend to and remediate this issue? The United Nations *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* states that there is a need to "obtain their free, prior and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them," (United Nations, 2008 p.8). Alexiuk et al. (2013) discuss participation, or lack thereof, of First Nations in land use planning in northern Ontario. *The Far North Act*, 2010 was passed despite near unanimous First Nation opposition, which raises concern over inadequate consultation, lack of respect for treaty and indigenous rights and limited power sharing (Alexiuk et al., 2013). As

a result of this lack of meaningful participation in the colonial state's processes, First Nations are increasingly demanding and asserting their autonomy. Autonomy, or self-determination, is about a peoples' capacity to guide and control their own fate where First Nations question the fundamental nature of the state's authority over land and resources (Hibbard et al., 2008).

Claims to land by First Nations reflects the importance of land and place to the culture and religion, and moreover, aspirations for self-determination (Hibbard et al., 2008). First Nations control over land and identity is central to self-determination. Thorpe (2012) argues that creating an understanding of how wilderness spaces were transformed from Aboriginal peoples' traditional territory to being part of Canadian recreational space will allow more people to support, rather than impede Aboriginal struggles for self-determination (2012). Hibbard et al. contend that a just relationship must be based in political sovereignty (2008). Is it possible for two societies that have fundamentally different worldviews and relationship to the land to find mutual common, middle ground?

# moving towards reconciliation

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's *Calls to Action* (2015), #43 calls upon all levels of government to fully adopt and implement the *UNDRIP* as a framework for reconciliation. Thus this paper will analyze these issues through the lens of decolonization under this framework, specifically using the *UNDRIP*'s (2008) principle of building respectful relationships by obtaining the free, prior, and informed consent of Indigenous people.

Additional *Calls to Action* worth noting for the context of this paper include:

## #45 Royal Proclamation of Reconciliation

Calls upon the Government of Canada to jointly develop with Aboriginal peoples a Royal Proclamation of Reconciliation to be issued by the Crown. It would build on the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the Treaty of Niagara of 1764, and reaffirm the nation-to-nation relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Crown. This would include renewing or establishing Treaty relationships based on principles of mutual recognition, mutual respect, and shared responsibility. Further, it would ensure that Aboriginal peoples are full partners in Confederation, including the recognition and integration of Indigenous laws and legal traditions.

## #79 Canadian Heritage and Commemoration

Revising the policies, criteria, and practices of the National Program of Historical Commemoration to integrate Indigenous history, heritage values, and memory practices into Canada's national heritage and history.

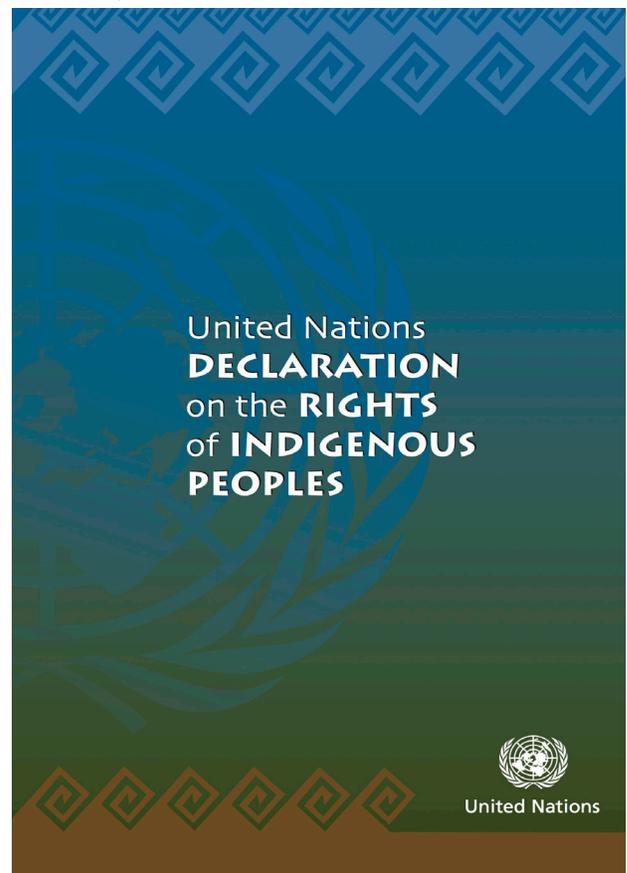


### Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action



TRC *Calls to Action*

Image source: TRC, 2015



UNDRIP

Image source: UN, 2008

# decolonization

***“When metaphor invades decolonization, it kills the very possibility of decolonization; it recenters whiteness, it resettles theory, it extends innocence to the settler, it entertains a settler future. Decolonize (a verb) and decolonization (a noun) cannot easily be grafted onto pre-existing discourses/frameworks.” -Eve Tuck & K. Wayne Yang (2012 p.3)***

Reconciliation, albeit a good first step, is at odds with the Canadian settler society and further, doesn't account for power imbalances. Reconciliation offers an opportunity to re-establish settler society as the norm and is concerned with how the Indigenous agenda will affect and create consequences for the settler. By contrast, decolonization does not seek to be complementary, but rather seeks to unsettle (Tuck & Yang, 2012). When it comes to reconciliation, it must be asked, who is reconciling? Are we, as settlers, asking Indigenous peoples to reconcile, to be content with recognition and acknowledgment? Or, are settlers willing to truly reconcile, in that we move to a process of decolonization, thereby creating shared spaces where First Nations are not viewed as stakeholders, but as equal partners. Planning seeks inclusion, and it must be asked if the inclusion is meaningful. Talks of inclusion, participation and collaboration will not create social transformation, as this is still happening within a system accepts colonial institutions and ignores relations of power

(Barry & Porter, 2015).

Settler colonialism is a structure, and therefore, ongoing. Reconciliation in a settler society context is problematic, as the desire for reconciliation can be equated with the desire to not have to deal the “Indian problem” (Tuck & Yang, 2012). The colonial project necessarily requires either destroying or assimilating Indigenous peoples, in an effort to secure the land, and therefore, reconciliation is at odds with the settler society. Decolonization on the other hand, offers an opportunity to uproot these structures and rebuild a different, new system. The decolonization process operates at multiple levels and necessitates moving from awareness, to active everyday practices of resurgence (Corntassel, 2012).

Decolonizing the mind is a first step - achieving awareness and recognition. However, until stolen land is returned, some would say, reconciliation is meaningless as it will not result in real action or change. As Hayden King notes, western sciences and Indigenous knowledges provide two ways of understanding the world,

which are distinct and even divergent, and therefore any attempt at melding the two in the pursuit of collaborative knowledge and a successful co-management or land use planning regime will encounter challenges (Berger et al., 2010). For this reason, decolonization should not be equated to social justice, but rather, it is the repatriation of Indigenous land and life (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Decolonization seeks to re-articulate power and knowledge through a multiplicity of epistemologies and ontologies (Desai et al., 2012).

To imagine a different future, some would argue that Planners need to start with history, recognizing that there are multiple narratives, and reconsider the role of Planning in how stories are told (Sandercock, 1998). Such an act would affirm First Nations right to self-determination and would recognize Canada as a place where there is a shared foundation with both settlers and Indigenous peoples at the center. Alton (forthcoming) states that planning has the potential to promote transformative change: by re-evaluating planning and “recognize its imperial origins and the underlying ideologies which have granted it territorial power. This will then open up the possibilities of imagining a new, non-monolithic conception of planning, and a discussion on the responsibility for (settler) planners to engage with the politics of decolonization responsibly

and responsibly.’

Moving forward, reconciliation must endeavor to go beyond mere recognition and must seek to restore nation-to-nation relationships between Canada and Indigenous peoples. Planning has an important role in this and can be a tool for creating places where both Indigenous and settlers are equal partners in managing the land.

***“Reconciliation is about rescuing settler normalcy, about rescuing a settler future. Reconciliation is concerned with questions of what will decolonization look like? What will happen after abolition? What will be the consequences of decolonization for the settler? decolonization is not accountable to settlers, or settler futurity. Decolonization is accountable to Indigenous sovereignty and futurity... Decolonization offers a different perspective to human and civil rights based approaches to justice, an unsettling one, rather than a complementary one. Decolonization is not an “and”. It is an elsewhere.”***  
- Eve Tuck & K. Wayne Yang (2012 p.35)

# Analysis

***“Canada is a test case for a grand notion - the notion that dissimilar peoples can share lands, resources, power and dreams while respecting and sustaining their differences. The story of Canada is the story of many such peoples, trying and failing and trying again to live together in peace and harmony” -George Erasmus, Past National Chief of Assembly of First Nations (AANDC 2010)***

This section ground ideas from the literature review in the context of Temagami. A scan of current plans and policies that pertain to land use planning in the Temagami area was conducted. Building on decolonization and Truth and Reconciliation process literatures, this section explores how planning can build better relationships with First Nations while advancing political autonomy. The UNDRIP's concept of “free, prior, and informed consent” is utilized as the standard. Further, UNDRIP (2008) sets out additional standards for Indigenous rights: Article 3, the right to self-determination; Article 8, the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation; and Article 26, the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied, or otherwise used or acquired. These articles will be considered throughout to build on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's *Calls to Action*. First, the planning context is explored to establish a baseline understanding of where Indigenous-government relations currently stand in Temagami and whose interests have priority.

## the planning context

Alexiuk *et al.* (2015) developed a baseline on provincial land use and resource management policies in an effort to understand their relative capacity at recognizing and supporting First Nations, First Nation rights, and Crown-First Nations relationships. The study looks at ideas of consultation, consent and accommodation (Alexiuk, *et al.*, 2015). This section will build on findings from the study and explore a few of the policies and plans that pertain to the Temagami area.

### **Provincial Policy Statement (PPS), 2014**

Efforts have been made to indigenize sections of the PPS by bringing attention to the presence and capacity of First Nations to better influence development on land (Alexiuk *et al.*, 2013). The most significant change regarding Indigenous interests, included: direct recognition of aboriginal communities through the removal of ‘as appropriate’, as well as the change in terminology from ‘should’ to ‘shall’ in relation to consideration of Aboriginal interests in cultural

heritage (King et al., 2014). The authors who advocated for these changes, stated that this is a strong step forward and shows that the status quo is beginning to change (King et al., 2014). However, the PPS does not include language around obtaining “free, prior, and informed consent” as the language continues to center on ‘consulting’. There is no discussion on ideas of co-management nor relationship building.

### **Temagami Area Management Plan**

The *Temagami Area Management Plan* provides direction for the “protection, development and management” of five provincial parks in this area. The *Plan* begins by discussing the planning context. Rather than begin by acknowledging the Indigenous history and ongoing presence, the plan states, “Temagami has been a tourist destination for over a century...” (MNR, 2007 para.2). Recreational use is highlighted as one of the main purposes and uses for this area.

The stated purpose of the *Plan* is it, “provides direction to develop management plans for the provincial parks and conservation reserves... provides direction to develop a plan to manage the increasing recreational use of the area’s unregulated Crown lands,” (MNR, 2007 para.5). It is not until after these assertions that the Aboriginal context is explored, clearly displaying a hierarchy of importance to the Province of Ontario. It is noted that, “nothing in this plan shall be construed so as to abrogate

or derogate from the protection provided for the existing Aboriginal or really rights of the Aboriginal people of Canada as recognized and affirmed in section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982 (MNR, 2007).

The five parks share a common theme in that they provide remote wilderness experiences (MNR, 2007) which implies that no one lives there, or has right to that land. It is “wilderness”. Maple Mountain is noted as a place of Aboriginal spiritual significance, yet, as discussed previously, the English name minimizes this importance.

The plan utilizes language of Aboriginal peoples as stakeholders, not language that denotes them as equal partners that have a say in this land. Aboriginal consultation occurred in the form of open houses and public meetings and it is noted that the First Nation has interest in participating in a maintenance partnership - which would extend simply to maintenance of recreational facilities (MNR, 2007).

### **Temagami Official Plan (OP)**

The Temagami OP (2013) states that the local interest is represented by three categories (residents, seasonal residents those with treaty rights), each having a different relationship to the land as well as a different view of the “Temagami Experience”. There is an effort to acknowledge the past and ongoing presence of the TAA/TFN. For instance, in stating that

many of the recreational trails are part of the TAA/TFN heritage (Temagami, 2013). Further, it advocates for the development of partnerships between the municipality, MNR, and TFN/TAA regarding development, use, and management of Crown Land (Temagami, 2013). While acknowledgment is important, moving towards reconciliation requires bringing Aboriginal peoples into the conversation as equal partners. The OP advocates, “to harmonise, to the extent possible, Municipal objectives with the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and Temagami First Nation objectives,” in relation to Crown land management (Temagami, 2013 p.3-2).

The OP makes it clear that extraction and recreation are high priorities for Temagami. “The economy rests on a healthy environment and a sustainable yield from that environment,” (Temagami, 2013 p.1-5). This implies that the environment is for human benefit, where the objectives of resource extraction and recreation go hand in hand. Further, the OP (2013) states forest management plans in Temagami include aesthetic viewpoint management areas in an effort to limit the impact of forest operations on other users of Crown Land. Such policies conveniently allow resource extraction to occur, so long as it is beyond view. Despite promoting the “Temagami Experience”, the OP also makes it clear that this is a space of resource extraction.

## Land Code

It has been recognized that First Nations that have the capacity and responsibility to manage their own land are in better positions to attract economic opportunities into their communities to support development (AANDC, 2013). Thus, in 2009 the AANDC introduced the *Reserve Land and Environment Management Program*. The program allows First Nations to opt out of Section 32 of the *Indian Act*, in order to develop their own lands regarding land use, environment and natural resources and take advantage of economic development opportunities (AANDC, 2013).

The creation of the Land Code is the quickest and the least non-confrontational approach to giving land-use authority powers back to First Nation governments (Cossey, 2013). This at first hand appears to be progressive step forward, but leaves questions about land that is outside of the reserve. The larger issue is that some settler values and worldviews are in conflict with that of Aboriginal peoples. Traditional territories extend far past the respective community's reserve lands, as is evident for the TAA where the reserve land to traditional territory ratio is 1:4,000. Land adjacent to reserve land may therefore still be subject to resource extraction and utilized for the benefit of the settler state. Thus, if the land code only allows First Nations

to develop laws regarding land use on-reserve, how can issues that arise off-reserve, yet on traditional territory be addressed? How can co-management be fostered, and further, is this possible in a colonial structure?

Despite a land code, Canada's and these lands continue to be held by Her Majesty, where the land remains a federal responsibility. Solely does the decision making power in relation to the land go to the First Nation. The First Nation does not have title to the land, nor power to sell the land (LABRC, n.d.). It must be asked, how does this foster self-determination?

The TFN is currently engaged in creating the *TFN Land Code*, which is subject to lands within the Bear Island Indian Reserve, with the third draft released in February 2017. If the *Land Code* is approved by the community, the TFN will take over responsibility for the administration of reserve land and resources- developing land laws, environmental protection, and land registry system from the authority of the *Indian Act*.

*The Code* states that the TAA "have inherent rights to self- determination within our homelands and the responsibility to protect and manage the lands and resources of n'Daki Menan," (TFN, 2017 p.4). Ultimately, *The Code* allows reserve lands to be managed by the TFN rather than by colonial structures. However, as the ongoing land claim seeks to

restore a larger area of n'Daki Menan to the TAA, and the *Land Code* would only apply to the 2.6 square kilometers of reserve land, the struggle for self-determination is far from being achieved.

Ownership, access, and identity are all intertwined. Without ownership and the right to self-determination within their traditional territory, TAA culture and identity is threatened. As discussed in the literature review, these issues can be linked to how the wilderness is perceived the wilderness, and how we perceive ourselves.

***"All Canadians must now demonstrate the same level of courage and determination, as we commit to an ongoing process of reconciliation. By establishing a new and respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians, we will restore what must be restored, repair what must be repaired, and return what must be returned."***  
***-Excerpt Truth & Reconciliation***

## what's in a name?

Naming in Temagami in light of arguments identified in the literature review can be seen as a struggle of power. A name comes with attached values and associations. Further, a name can indicate ownership and who has access to the space. Thus, why aren't Indigenous names more prevalent in a place that is so deeply a part of the TAA homeland? It could be argued that re-naming places with Indigenous names would acknowledge not only the history, but also honour the ongoing presence of these peoples in this space.

A name as seemingly benign as Maple Mountain comes with a myriad of associated conflicts, issues, and values. Chee-bay-jing, as Maple Mountain is known amongst the TAA, is a sacred place. As is noted above, within the *Temagami Area Management Plan*, Maple Mountain is the preferred name. To decolonize these spaces, not only physically but also socially, we must consider, what's in a name? The act of re-naming places can have a profound effect on our collective awareness and recognition of a people that settlers share the place with, and are rightfully the protectors of that land. The settler presence in these places in Temagami through non-Indigenous names, is a act that diminishes the visibility and presence of peoples that have called this space their home long before tourists ventured there. Perhaps not intentionally, yet it

does partially work to erase the TAA's heritage and history from the landscape.

Schreyer (2014) argued that one way to gain control of lands is to illustrate use of language in that land. Therefore, promoting Aboriginal place names on maps and signs asserts sovereignty over that land. On Highway 11, driving north towards Temagami, a sign proclaims that one is now entering the territory of n'Daki Menan, homeland of the Teme-Augama Anishnaibai. This builds awareness of the other side of Canada's historical identity. It is important to acknowledge that there are several narratives that exist within Canada; we cannot, and do not, all share the same historical identity (Schreyer, 2014).



Road Sign on Highway 11  
Image source: Thorpe, 2012

## maple mountain vs. chee-bay-jing

Benidickson (1996) in his research on Temagami old-growth noted that a specific logging road was stopped as a result of a new scientific understanding of old-growth and the need to preserve this ecological feature. Who decides which features in a landscape are worth preserving? Additionally, which features receive priority is worth exploring as well as examining how First Nations cultural and spiritual sites are approached. Often environmental groups and First Nations communities have similar goals, however the underlying assumptions — such as land ownership — and means to achieve goals vary greatly. The Maple Mountain Project Proposal is a good example to explore whose voices are valued in Temagami.

In the 1970s, Maple Mountain attracted the attention of the Minister of the Ministry of Natural Resources. Ontario Place in Toronto was under scrutiny for having received a large amount of public funds for its development and thus a proposal for Ontario Place North was developed (Benidickson & Hodgins, 1989). This proposal prompted outrage amongst the TAA and environmental groups, leading to the creation of the *Save Maple Mountain Committee*. It was argued that the project would destroy the wilderness area, yet politicians believed it would be great for the economy (Benidickson & Hodgins, 1989).

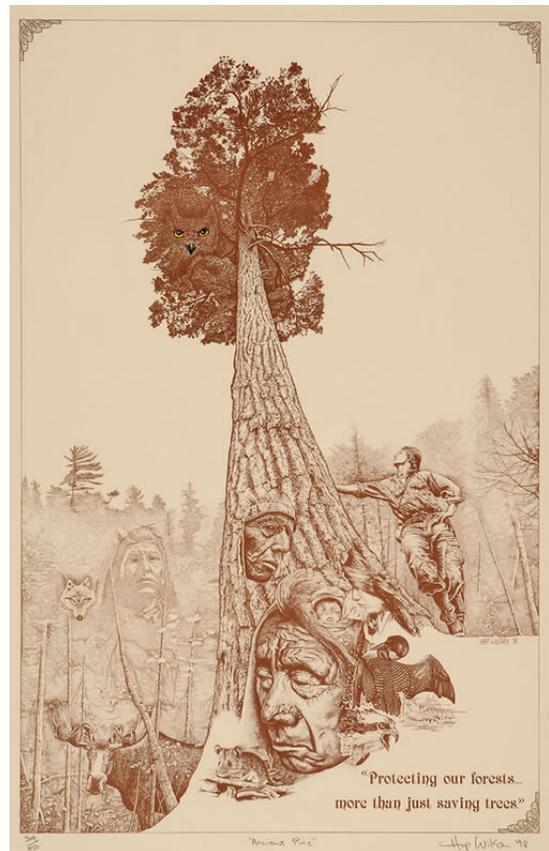
The creation of a tourism resort in northern Ontario would have served the interests of southerners and those who view the space as a place of recreation. As the resort would have been developed on Chee-bay-jing, it directly insults the TAA, who view this place as sacred. Chee-Bay-jing itself is a spiritual place amongst the TAA and the land around the forest is considered the “Spirit Forest”. Further, it continued paternalistic tendencies of the south - that the south knew what was best for northern development. Canada insists on seeing the north through southern eyes, where northern cultures are treated as marginal (Saul, 2008; Berger et al., 2010)



Chief Gary Potts along with others at a road closing ceremony & protesting of the continued logging of n'Daki Menan

Image source: Kollobok, n.d.

This issue along with increasing logging in the area caused the TAA to implement a land caution - an objection to Ontario's ownership of Crown Lands which halted any development - on the area encompassing n'Daki Menan, which includes Maple Mountain (Benidickson & Hodgins, 1989). The land caution resulted in the Province of Ontario taking the issue to court. This trial escalated, and ended in 1991 at the Supreme Court of Canada. It was ruled that the TAA adhered to an 1850 treaty and thus had relinquished their Aboriginal title to the land. The Court did find that the Crown had not fulfilled its fiduciary responsibility to TFN, leading Ontario to enter into negotiations with the TFN and TAA. The land claim remains unsettled. This example shows that the colonial agenda is still ongoing in Temagami. The space continues to be, as has been historically, utilized as a space for recreation and resource extraction where Indigenous interests are seen as marginal.



*Ancient Pine*

Image source: Wilson, 1990

## barriers & drivers to TAA inclusion

One barrier to including First Nations, including the TAA, in municipal and provincial land use planning stems from the view that First Nations are a federal responsibility, and thus aren't accounted for (Alexiuk et al., 2015). This largely works to make First Nations reserve land and their interests invisible and overlooked. Planners and those who work in developing policy must become aware of this bias and work to overcome outdated notions; despite federal jurisdiction, actions occurring within and near to a First Nation territory affect and are affected by municipal and provincial action.

Second, as discussed throughout this paper, representations of the wilderness present on ongoing barrier to inclusion. Depicting Temagami as virgin forests and vacant largely removed agency of the TAA, as Aboriginal peoples were viewed as part of the wilderness; part of the past that was inevitable to be destroyed in the name of progress (Thorpe, 2012).

Alexiuk et al. (2013) asked in their paper, what will it take to release planning for its strong colonial attachment? Planners, as well as policy, must go beyond the "duty to consult" and seek collaborative planning and co-management practices with First Nations. "The duty to consult is, at its simplest, intended to ensure that Crown decision making regarding development of

natural resources 'respects Aboriginal interests in accordance with the honour of the Crown'" (Alexiuk et al., 2015 p.6). "Duty to consult" is meaningless if not undertaken with respect to the First Nation or if the First Nation does not have the capacity to participate in the review process (Alexiuk et al., 2013). Rather, building meaningful and honest relationships between First Nations and municipalities would be better suited to advancing First Nations participation in development of plans and policy. Acknowledging First Nations as equal partners, rather than stakeholders is a necessary step forward. Moreover, political autonomy is necessary to developing shared governance between post-settler states and indigenous populations (Hibbard et al., 2008). To advance TAA self-determination that is meaningful and to foster reconciliation, creating spaces of co-existence is necessary. Spaces were the promise of the nation-to-nation relationship is respected and fulfilled. However, the question remains, how can places of co-existence be created?

***"Ontario represents the worst type of planning with Indigenous peoples—a seemingly complete disregard for the perspectives and opinions of the people who will be most directly affected by the land use plans."  
- Hayden King, Anishnaabe from Beausoleil First Nation (2010 p.102)***

# Building Places of Co-Existence

*"We are a people of Aboriginal inspiration organized around a concept of peace, fairness and good government. That is what lies at the heart of our story, at the heart of Canadian mythology, either francophone or anglophone. If we can embrace a language that expresses that story, we will feel a great release." -John Raulston Saul (2008 p.xii)*

There needs to be a willingness to participate in each other's worlds. The Aboriginal population is currently the fastest growing demographic in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2015). As we've seen with discussions surrounding truth and reconciliation, Aboriginal peoples are demanding their voice be a part of the national conversation. To this end planners must work together with First Nations, in the spirit of co-existence. This involves dismantling colonial constructs that exist in land use planning. Planning has a problem solving dimension and seeks to improve human existence, and is concerned with equality and sustainability (Hibbard et al., 2008). Thus planning inherently seeks to be better, and do better, allowing an opportunity to address problems with itself. This section explores opportunities in Temagami for co-existence planning and decolonization.

## **nation-to-nation cooperation**

Through truth and reconciliation we, as a nation, are beginning to have a national conversation about how to move forward. Yet, we have not changed our mindsets towards the "wilderness". This is critical in changing our view of who has access to these places. Does our settler worldview allow for a shift in necessary thinking that would allow for the inclusion of multiple narratives and understanding? Without a radical change, attempts at reconciliation will simply be a superficial and not move past mere integration and talk of indigenous rights and values. Participation and integration, which are

often created on the framework of colonial settler identity, are therefore assimilation by another name; integrating Indigenous peoples into the colonial system and ways of doing and knowing (Tuck & Yang, 2012). However, planning does have the opportunity to create spaces of co-existence, places where we can return to the types of relations and understandings that were established at the point of contact in Canada's early history (Alexiuk et al., 2015).

# decolonization?

Decolonization cannot fit into human and civil rights based social justice frameworks, as many efforts within this, such as the *Occupy* movement, operate on problematic assumptions in that they are still on stolen land and stolen land benefits settlers with ideas of land as property (Tuck & Yang, 2012). We cannot simply decolonize the mind, as decolonization must recognize the primacy of land and Indigenous sovereignty (Desai et al., 2012). What does decolonization mean for the planning profession? This paper argues that unless the fundamental nature of planning is 'unsettled', planning cannot move towards reconciliation. This is necessary as the very core of planning — creating land use, delineating property and boundaries — has allowed for the oppression of indigenous peoples. Desai et al. (2012) ask, is it possible to decolonize institutions of colonial power, and further, is it possible to decolonize through these institutions?

Decolonization necessarily unsettles. (Desai et al., 2012) To create meaningful co-existence in the spirit of reconciliation, colonial systems need to be broken down and rebuilt with both (Indigenous peoples and the settler state) at the center, and not by simply inviting Indigenous peoples into the settler center. As Saul (2008) makes clear, Canada is a Métis nation: we are all both Indigenous and settlers. To realize the

full potential of Canada, and to advance the country's place in the world, we must recognize and actively ensure that the Indigenous identity is critical to our Canadian identity. That is why to achieve decolonization, mere acknowledgment and superficial integration of indigenous voices and values is not adequate. This will not result in true reconciliation, which ultimately seeks to restore lands, self-sufficiency and political jurisdiction to First Nations while developing a just relationship between Indigenous peoples and Canada (Centre for First Nations Governance, 2011). Canadians, and Planners, must engage with the TRC's 94 *Calls to Action* to remedy systematic racism and oppression that Indigenous peoples have been subjected to. We must break colonial conceptions, values, and tools and then rebuild a new way forward.

This begs the question, is it possible to decolonize planning? When planning has sought to marginalize and erase Aboriginal peoples, how can planning itself be used to foster reconciliation and allow access? Desai et al. (2012 p.iv), ask, "what are the possibilities and limitations of using the "master's tools" to destroy and rebuild his [sic] house? Is it possible to decolonize institutions of colonial power but, further, is it possible to decolonize through them? Thus, it can also be asked, are there other ways to decolonize planning?

# n'daki menan management plan

In the language of the decolonization literature, rather than 'unsettle', this paper proposes another way forward for reconciliation in Ontario's recreational spaces. The model of the two-row wampum - the approach of the Mohawk and Dutch treaty - should be considered as a way forward for decolonization. This approach envisions the relationship between Indigenous and settlers as two separate boats - each with their own values and beliefs - sailing along the same river, steering their own boat. Using these ideas, this model advocates for the two societies - settler and Indigenous - to develop independent knowledge and management systems, operating side-by-side, and coming together to collaborate on decision-making and planning (Berger et al., 2010).

Since the worldviews are fundamentally different, rather than move towards the creation of a place of common ground as Alexiuk et al. (2015) suggest, we ought to move to a place of co-existence. A place where two societies can create their own rules and ways of doing. This would be true to the shared foundations of Canada. Canadian society is based on the Indigenous concept of an inclusive circle, one that can be enlarged to include multiple narratives and relationships (Saul, 2008).

We are a Métis nation, and thus, have multiple foundations. For the past 150 years, or arguably

longer, power has been one-sided, with only the anglophone and francophone foundation leading the way. The third - and original - pillar of this country has been oppressed and forgotten (Saul, 2008). As Sandercock (1998) reiterates, the struggle of people against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting. In other words, oppression continues because narratives and active memories of historic relationships have been erased (Saul, 2008). Moving forward, through a framework of decolonization, the settler and Indigenous pillars should be viewed as equal partners with equal stake and voice in what happens in this country. This will re-affirm the promises made in the Royal Proclamation, the promise of a nation-to-nation relationship between the Crown and Indigenous peoples.

In this light, I propose the creation of a special planning area in Temagami, as a way to begin this process of decolonization. This special planning area - The n'Daki Menan Management Plan - would focus on sharing decision making in resource use, heritage protection, and recreation/tourism management between the TAA and the provincial and/or municipal governments. This plan would respect both Canadian and TAA interests in Temagami and would establish common objectives for the protection, care and use of n'Daki Menan.

This concept of co-management is not

new in Canada. The Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve in British Columbia was created with an agreement between the Haida Nation and Government of Canada to jointly manage the First Nation's traditional lands (Saul, 2008). This example sets a new precedent in Canada for co-existence; a precedent that is well suited to Temagami.

Further, looking through Temagami's history, this concept is not new to the region either. During the 1990s environmental movement in Temagami over conflict over logging and resource extraction, TAA Chief Gary Potts proposed a "treaty of co-existence" between Ontario and the TAA (Hodgins, 1990). Ontario and the TAA signed a Memorandum of Understanding and created the Wendaban Stewardship Authority to jointly manage resources, activities, and land development within n'Daki Menan. It was envisioned to create co-existence between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples and based on principles of holistic land and resource use (CAID, 1996). However, due to the ongoing TAA land claim trail at the time and Ontario's refusal to acknowledge Aboriginal title to the land, this authority never reached its full potential. Equal partnership requires a respect for one another, which necessarily requires acknowledgment of Aboriginal title of and/or interest in the land.

Decolonization cannot take place

without contestation; it must necessarily push back against the colonial relations of power that threaten Indigenous ways of being (Desai et al., 2012). Although perhaps this model of co-existence does not unsettle the colonial system, it does however allow space for two systems. Further, it does seek to address unequal relations of power, which was one of the main arguments put forth in the literature for why decolonization is necessary, and is one of the reasons why the joint stewardship authority did not function well in Temagami. Corntassel (2012) highlights that Indigenous peoples do not tend to seek secession. However, often a return of land is seen as the only true way to decolonize, as the literature has noted, restoration of Indigenous relationships to the land and practices is viewed as a threat to the settler society (Corntassel, 2012).

This proposed strategy of co-existence allows for a re-thinking of the approach to the land and understanding of the environment-people as part of the park's life, not its masters - which will inevitably lead to a different outcome (Saul, 2008). Saul (2008) contends that we must develop a Canadian view that re-establishes Aboriginal peoples in their full and central place. A co-management plan in Temagami would be built on this notion, where harmony is achieved through a balanced relationship - Indigenous peoples and settler society at the

center. Utilizing the model of the Haida Gwaii Management Council (2013), consensus is the goal and is achieved by equal representation in the Council by both the First Nation and government. This model is not the drastic decolonization imaged in the literature, but it does advance concepts from both *UNDRIP* and the TRC's *Calls to Action*. Additionally, it is readily feasible, as this model has been used in the past in Temagami. It simply requires the will power and desire to let go of settler ego and recognize that Indigenous peoples have a rightful place in decision-making and have much to offer.

*UNDRIP* article 19, calls on governments to obtain free, prior, and informed consent from Indigenous peoples before implementing measures that may affect them. Thus, a management plan premised on co-existence goes beyond this. The state will not need to 'obtain' this; they will have no choice and are required to work with Indigenous peoples as equal partners. This plan of co-existence also implicitly adheres to article 26 of the *UNDRIP*: Indigenous peoples have the right to their traditional lands, territories and resources. Further, article 3: right to self-determination, and article 8: right to not be subjected to forced assimilation, are upheld as well.

Developing a special planning area in Temagami will inevitably raise concerns over continuing development and resource

extraction in the area. However, I contend that if Canada, and we as Canadians, are truly seeking to move towards reconciliation, then we must set our self-interest aside. This is not about us. It is about addressing our past wrongdoings and how we can move forward. Indigenous peoples have a right to this land, and further, have much to contribute in the way of opinions and advice. The continued destabilization of the Indigenous pillar of Canada - the pillar that provides us with the real relationship to this place - destabilizes our whole society (Saul, 2008). Further, the failure to see ourselves as expressed by First Nations is due to the desire to see the north in terms of the frontier instead of a society that can offer valuable approaches to Canada's future (Saul, 2008).

As Canada celebrates its 150th year this year, it is an interesting time to consider what our future will look like. The TRC's Call to Action 45, calls for a *Royal Proclamation of Reconciliation* that will reaffirm the nation-to-nation relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Crown (2015). Moving ahead another 150 years will we finally see the Canada's true potential realized - in that Indigenous peoples share the center with settlers, a true nation-to-nation relationship? Will we recognize ourselves as a true Métis nation, one that lives comfortably with diversity? It would be a shame, if, in our future, we continue to keep Indigenous peoples

on the margins of our nation. Therefore, plans that advance co-existence and demand that Indigenous people have a voice, not just in their own reserve lands but in all lands considered their territory, are necessary.

For too long Temagami has been portrayed as a vacant wilderness and space for recreation. Temagami needs to have Indigenous voices and narratives included in this landscape. Cronon (1998) states that the wilderness often is seen as embodying the sublime; where mountains are perceived as cathedrals of the natural world. This is also how Temagami is perceived by visitors and is written about. This narrative connects well with Indigenous worldviews of spirituality, specifically towards Chee-bay-jing. Connection to the land is central to views of Temagami, both by the TAA and settlers. The underlying explanation for this is the central role of Aboriginal culture in Canada that has shaped our views (Saul, 2008). The TRC's Call to Action 79, calls on the government to integrate Indigenous history, heritage values, and memory practices into Canada's national heritage and history (2015). As this paper has explored, Temagami is rich in Indigenous history, values and heritage. Thus it is critical that these places and values are recognized; that narratives beyond the settler history and identity becomes part of Canada's collective memory.

As Saul (2008) notes, since we have lived alongside Indigenous peoples for four centuries, we are arguably shaped by the Indigenous experience. This includes Indigenous ideas of mutual dependence and partnership. Our problem however, is that we do not acknowledge this; we oppress this side of our identity. In light of Saul's analysis, it is not too absurd to think that the settler and Indigenous worldviews can be complimentary and thus the idea behind the two-row wampum should be advanced within planning in Canada.

Saul (2008) contends, that the idea of difference is central to Indigenous civilization; it is about creating relationships and balance. Likewise, the Canadian model is that of a complex society functioning like an equally complex family within an ever-enlarging circle (Saul, 2008). At the heart of Canada lies the value of diversity - of fairness and inclusion (Saul, 2008). We all eat from a common bowl and thus we must evaluate how our policies and actions can achieve the principles of inclusion and fairness. As Temagami has such a special place in Canadian identity, and also been a space of conflict and oppression, this is an ideal place to begin to move forward. Temagami can become a model for nation-to-nation cooperation, a landscape of reconciliation, and a place for true co-existence where the spirit of our Métis nation thrives.



***“Reconciliation is not an Aboriginal problem; it is a Canadian one. Virtually all aspects of Canadian society may need to be reconsidered.”  
– Truth and Reconciliation Commission***



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# Glossary

**Aboriginal peoples / Indigenous peoples:** For the purposes of this paper these terms are interchangeable, meaning descendants of the original inhabitants of North America. The Canadian Constitution recognizes three groups of Aboriginal people: Indians, Métis and Inuit (AANDC, 2012).

**Aboriginal Title:** Legal term recognizing Aboriginal interest in the land (AANDC, 2012).

**Aboriginal Affairs & Northern Development Canada (AANDC) / Indigenous & Northern Affairs Canada (INAC):** The federal government department of AANDC was renamed to INAC in 2015 and is responsible for meeting the Government of Canada's obligations and commitments to First Nations, Inuit and Métis. For the purposes of this paper the name used is determined by the respective name used at the time of source publication.

**Bear Island:** Home of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai reserve in Lake Temagami which represents a small portion of the TAA traditional territory.

**Cottage Country:** Region located north of the major urban centres of southern Ontario, and made up of the Muskokas, Haliburton, and the Kawarthas. Typically an area where southerners have second/summer homes and go to escape the urban life. See Map, page 8.

**Crown Land:** Land vested in Her Majesty in right of Ontario (MNR, 2007).

**Decolonization:** Involves the repatriation of land and recognition of how land and relations to land have always already been differently understood and enacted; decolonization necessarily unsettles (Tuck & Yang, 2012).

**Duty to Consult:** As defined by Alexiuk et al. (2015), it is "intended to ensure that Crown decision making regarding development of natural resources 'respects Aboriginal interests in accordance with the honour of the Crown'".

**First Nation:** Replacement for the term Indian and refers to both status and non-status Indians.

**Indian Act:** Federal legislation (1876) setting out obligations and regulates the management of reserve land and moneys (AANDC, 2012).

**Land Claims:** There may be continuing Aboriginal rights to lands and resources and a claim occurs where Aboriginal title has not previously been dealt with by treaty or other legal means (AANDC, 2012).

**Land Code:** Sets out basic provisions regarding the exercise of the First Nation's rights and powers over the First Nation reserve land (TFN, 2017).

**Maple Mountain / Chee-bay-jing:** "The place where the spirits go": sacred site of the TAA and thought to be Ontario's highest peak until year 1967 (Back, 2014).

**n'Daki Menan:** "Our land": over 10,360 square kilometers of land representing the traditional territory of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai. This is the area covered in the Temagami Land Claim. See Map, page 10.

**Reconciliation:** a process of relationship building; to recognize Indigenous peoples legal and political and rights by honouring and respecting the treaties.

**Reserve:** Land set apart for the use and benefit of an Indian band, with title held by the Crown

(AANDC, 2012).

**Self-Determination:** Defined by Article 3 of the UNDRIP: right to freely determine political status and pursue their economic, social and culture development (UN, 2008).

**Self-Government:** Government that is designed, established and administered by Aboriginal peoples through the Canadian Constitution that has been negotiated with Canada (AANDC, 2012).

**Settler:** In Canada, people who are not of Aboriginal decent.

**Settler Colonialism:** Is ongoing and operates through internal and external colonialism as there is no spatial separation between metropole and colony. Settlers make Indigenous land their new home, source of capital, and disrupt Indigenous relationships to the land and this violence is reasserted each day of occupation (Tuck & Yang, 2012).

**Teme-Augama Anishnabai (TAA):** “The Deep Water People”: the Aboriginal community of the Temagami First Nation. The TAA represents all members, both Status and non-status.

**Temagami First Nation (TFN):** Represents members of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai who are Status Indian.

**Temagami:** Temagami has many boundaries associated with it and is defined by the perspective of the beholder. The use of the name Temagami in this paper is not strictly referring to the municipality but loosely encompasses a wider area that is known to recreatonalists and the natstawgan as Temagami. See Map, page 8.

**Truth & Reconciliation Commission:** Component of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement with a five-year mandate to inform Canadians about what happened in Residential Schools. The work of the TRC has now been transferred to the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation.

**United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples:** Adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2007. The Declaration describes individual and collective rights of Indigenous peoples and offers guidance on cooperative relationships with Indigenous peoples based on the principles of equality, partnership, good faith and mutual respect. Canada has officially supported the Declaration but has yet to adopt and implement it.