

**Asserting *Miyo-Pimaadiziwin* on Unceded Algonquin Territory:
Experiences of a Canadian ‘Non-Status’ First Nation in Re-establishing
its Traditional Land Ethic**

Miguel Sioui

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Department of Geography
Faculty of Arts
University of Ottawa

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Abstract

Typically small in number and poorly resourced, Canadian non-status First Nations often find themselves in conflict with more powerful private interests pursuing intensive resource development activities on their traditional lands. In the face of these threats, some non-status First Nations are using a combination of traditional environmental knowledge, a renewed commitment to traditional subsistence activities, and self-developed spiritual ecologies to reassert their sovereignty over ancestral territories. Eastern Ontario's Ardoch Algonquin First Nation (AAFN) is one such group. AAFN members carry out cultural activities such as canoe building, hunting, trapping and harvesting wild rice on their traditional lands at the headwaters of the (Canadian) Mississippi, Madawaska, and Rideau rivers, lands that are part of a larger unresolved land claim made by Ontario's Algonquin peoples. This research reports findings from a multi-year participatory research project that sought to understand AAFN's traditional spiritual ecology (*miyo-pimaadiziwin*), to describe how it is understood and practiced by community members, and to use these insights as a lens to better understand the current and future trajectory of relations between AAFN members, governments, and outside interests engaged in resource development in this region. While AAFN members hope their *miyo-pimaadiziwin*-based values will foster mutual respect with non-aboriginal neighbours, the results are yet uncertain. However, what is plainly clear is that *miyo-pimaadiziwin* has traditionally been fundamentally at odds with rural and resource development strategies being promoted by the provincial government, meaning the potential for future and ongoing conflict is great. Although the two land strategies in contention are in many ways different, this analysis identifies some possible future areas

of reconciliation in which the two approaches share common goals. The findings from the study contribute to broader scholarly efforts that seek to better understand the challenges faced by non-status First Nations in preserving cultural knowledge and traditional land-based activities more generally.

Résumé

Les Premières nations canadiennes non-statuées sont typiquement petites, et elles disposent de peu de moyens financiers. Ces Premières nations se retrouvent souvent dans des situations conflictuelles avec des intérêts privés qui visent à réaliser des projets de développement de ressources naturelles intensifs sur des territoires autochtones traditionnels. Face à cette menace, certaines Premières nations non-statuées ont commencé à élaborer des stratégies de gestion territoriale ancrées dans le savoir écologique traditionnel, ainsi que dans les activités de subsistance. Ces stratégies ont pour but de réaffirmer leur souveraineté territoriale. La vision de gestion territoriale de la Première nation algonquine d'Ardoch (PNAA), située dans l'est de l'Ontario, est représentative de ce nouveau courant. Les membres de la PNAA pratiquent couramment des activités culturelles, telles que la fabrication de canoës, la chasse, le piégeage, et la récolte du riz sauvage, sur leurs territoires traditionnels, localisés à la source des rivières Mississippi (ontarienne), Madawaska et Rideau. Ce territoire fait actuellement partie d'une revendication territoriale algonquine toujours non-résolue. Cette étude présente les résultats d'un projet de recherche pluriannuel qui visait à mieux comprendre l'écologie spirituelle algonquine (*miyo-pimaadiziwin*) de la PNAA, de décrire comment ce concept est interprété et mis en pratique par les membres de la communauté, ainsi qu'à obtenir un aperçu quant à la trajectoire des relations entre les membres de la PNAA, les gouvernements et les intérêts privés, qui sont responsables du développement des ressources naturelles dans la région. Bien que les membres de la PNAA espèrent pouvoir (en suivant les principes éthiques de *miyo-pimaadiziwin*) éventuellement établir et maintenir un sentiment de respect mutuel et d'harmonie avec leurs voisins non-

autochtones, cette vision reste loin d'être en mesure d'être réalisée. Cependant, il reste que les principes de *miyo-pimaadiziwin* sont fondamentalement irréconciliables à la vision du développement de ressources naturelles intensif que promeut le gouvernement provincial de l'Ontario. Par conséquent, la possibilité de futures mésententes et de conflits entre la PNAA et le gouvernement provincial reste élevée. Bien que ces deux stratégies territoriales soient, à plusieurs égards, fondamentalement différentes, cette analyse identifie quelques objectifs et ambitions partagés par la PNAA et le gouvernement ontarien, ce qui indique la possibilité de collaboration entre ces deux partis. Les résultats et conclusions de cette étude pourront contribuer aux tentatives de la part de l'érudition de mieux comprendre les défis auxquels font face les Premières nations non-statuéées, en ce qui concerne la conservation culturelle, qui va de pair avec la pratique d'activités de subsistance sur le territoire traditionnel.

Preface

This thesis follows the article format, consisting of an introductory chapter, a second chapter that contains a thesis article (which is formatted according to the standards of—and will soon be submitted to—*AlterNative*, a peer-reviewed indigenous studies scholarly journal), and a third, concluding chapter. The candidate is the first author of the article, and had primary responsibility for the conceptualization of the research project, as well as the overall design and execution of the empirical research. The candidate was also responsible for the writing of the journal article. The second author, Dr. Robert McLeman, provided conceptual guidance and direction of research and obtained, provided and directed project funding, and established initial contacts in the study community prior to the initiation of this research project. The introductory chapter contains the objectives of the study, the context of the research, a general literature review and, finally, a description of the research methodology that was employed by the candidate. The final chapter summarizes and discusses the main results and findings of the study. It also outlines its major contributions and limitations, and suggests areas for future research. Additional, supplementary information, including interview questions, maps and photos of the study area that were not included in any of the three chapters, is provided in the Annex section at the end of this text.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Introduction and Objectives

In recent decades, an increasing number indigenous groups and organizations the world over have begun to reclaim or reassert territorial sovereignty on their ancestral lands (Battiste, 2000). In the western world, some of these groups have had to contend with powerful government and corporate forces that frequently clash with their own worldviews and land ethics (Curry, 2004; Mander, 2006). Over the years, several cases of dissension and conflict between aboriginal (the term used in Canada) groups and governments have revolved around issues relating to land use and management on traditional aboriginal territories (Curry, 2004). As will be discussed in the following pages, many aboriginal groups share the belief that cultural and linguistic preservation hinges on territorial sovereignty (Gilbert, 2006). As a consequence, such groups devote much time and resources to challenging government land and resource development projects (Coleman, 2011). This struggle is part of their broader vision of gradually ending and eventually reversing what these groups view as a centuries-old process of territorial, material and cultural dispossession by a succession of colonial governments (Battiste, 2000).

Some scholars have observed that contentions between aboriginals and governments over land use and management are the result of a clash between two competing worldviews, the place-specific aboriginal approach informed by traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) and the generic western resource management strategy (Churchill, 2002). Each of these worldviews carries its own set of values and ethics (ibid.). The respective adherents of each approach have fundamentally different

understandings of a shared environment and ecosystem, and both sides claim legal and moral authority over the territories and resources in question (Behrendt and Kelly, 2008)

In rural eastern Ontario, non-status Algonquins and the provincial government have long been involved in a series of conflicts with regard to land management (Huitema, 2000). This thesis will show that these conflicts emerge from and are shaped by two fundamentally divergent visions of land use and management: the traditional Algonquin approach that is grounded in a spiritual ecology described as *miyo-pimaadiziwin* and, on the other hand, a resource-intensive land management approach embraced by the Ontario government and codified in regulations and official plans. The two parties' territorial interests and values often stand in opposition over particular resources valued by outside private interests. This tension has led to a number of heated (though to date, non-violent) conflicts in recent years.

The aims of this thesis project are as follows. First, through participatory research with members of the non-status Ardoch Algonquin First Nation and Allies (AAFNA), whose traditional lands are situated near the headwaters of the (Canadian) Mississippi, Madawaska, and Rideau rivers (see Maps 2, 3 and 4), I sought to gain a detailed understanding of the Algonquin spiritual ecology, referred to as *miyo-pimaadiziwin* by the Ardoch community. Most AAFNA members are non-status Indians; that is, although Algonquin in origin, they are not recognized as status Indians under the federal government's Indian Act. The Ardoch Algonquin community claim their spiritual ecology guides their land use philosophy and strategies. Second, I sought to systematically compare AAFNA's goals and aspirations relating to land use and management with those espoused by the Ontario

government in its official rural planning documents, so as to more clearly understand the origins of AAFNA-government land use conflicts and gauge the ways in which the two approaches are at all reconcilable. Third, I have sought to see through the complicated relations between AAFNA and their non-aboriginal neighbours and the Ontario government, which have emerged as a result of AAFNA's efforts to exercise sovereignty over their traditional lands, as well as through their growing reassertion of *miyo-pimaadiziwin* as a governance principle. In some instances, AAFNA and their neighbours have shared common goals and objectives in confronting governments and private outside interests. In other cases, however, AAFNA has been at odds with neighbouring residents while the government has remained uninvolved. My aim is to understand and describe the conditions under which these alliances are formed and broken, thereby shedding ampler light on the dynamic relations between aboriginal (particularly non-status First Nations) and non-aboriginal groups in eastern Ontario.

My research depended on in-depth interviews with AAFNA leaders, systematic participant observation of AAFNA group activities, and spending time on the land with one of the community's Elders so as to gain direct insights into the traditional ecological knowledge that underpins AAFNA's *miyo-pimaadiziwin*. My study finds that the approaches to land management favoured by AAFNA on one side and the Ontario government and private outside interests on the other are largely irreconcilable. Non-aboriginal residents of AAFNA's traditional lands sometimes find their interests aligned with AAFNA and at other times with the government. So long as this dynamic persists,

dissension and conflict will likely continue to emerge periodically into the foreseeable future.

This research can assist academics and policymakers in making sound projections about the future trajectory of AAFNA's relations with the various levels of government, industry and non-Aboriginal people in eastern Ontario, and potentially help those who wish to seek accommodation and mutual resolutions find opportunities for doing so. This case study also offers contributions to the broader scholarship relating to how marginal, non-status aboriginal groups turn to tradition and spirituality, which they considered to be unifying forces, to strengthen their communities and to cope with trying episodes in their history.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK)

Western scientists increasingly use the concept of TEK to gain insight into aboriginal understanding and use of the natural environment (Berkes, 2008). TEK is a key underpinning of the broader spiritual ecology of groups such as Ontario's Algonquin peoples. Unlike western environmental management, TEK is not solely analytical in its approach. It is closely linked to indigenous spirituality and philosophy. Among many Aboriginal groups, TEK serves to guide human interaction with the non-human world, as well as to regulate actions that can potentially affect future generations. Pierotti and Wildcat (2000: 1335) offer a definition of TEK according to their understanding of the term: "[TEK is] an intellectual foundation for an indigenous theory and practice of politics and ethics, centered on natural places and connection to the natural world, which is capable of generating a conservation ethic on the part of those who follow its

principles.” In other words, for many traditional Aboriginal groups, TEK is a way of life, not simply an environmental management strategy.

In the last two decades, traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) has become a subject of much debate in academic discussions about environmental management (Berkes, n.d.). Until recent decades, western science was reluctant to recognize as valid other methods of acquiring knowledge about our physical surroundings. Today, other forms of local, less formalized knowledge are gaining currency (Berkes, 2008). North America’s indigenous cultures are for the most part traditionally non-literate, and there has historically been no documentation of TEK. As a result, this ecological knowledge base, gained over the course of centuries, is transmitted orally through the generations. TEK is thus flexible and well suited to incorporating new knowledge about changing environmental conditions or socio-cultural realities.

Pierotti and Wildcat (p. 1335) elaborate on the epistemological foundation of TEK: “[w]ithin a TEK-based ethical system, nature exists on its own terms, and individual non-humans have their own reasons for existence, independent of human interpretation [...] TEK encompasses both science and religion, in the sense that religion is the ritual representation of the community, and a device for sanctioning moral and ethical codes.” This intellectual tradition is fundamentally different from the western, ‘rational’ vision of natural/resource management (see table 1 below). Inherent to the science of western environmental management is the belief that an ecosystem can (and should) be managed by breaking it down into small, controllable components (i.e. individual resources, such as plant and animal species) (Pierotti and Wildcat, 2000; Berkes *et al.*, 2000). This view is foreign to most traditional aboriginal peoples. First, the

idea that the ecosystem as a whole can be managed is not widespread in the indigenous world (Turner *et al.*, 2000). TEK also differs from Western environment management in the ways it is used by its holders. Western resource management strategies are, generally speaking, conceived to effectively manage natural resources and species over the short term (Sallenave, 1994). Usually 5- to 20-year management plans are implemented and are revised as new studies give further insight into the nature of the ecosystem, resource or species. As is the case with most applied sciences, western land management draws its approach and philosophy from Cartesian rationalism, an idea which holds that opinions and actions should be based on reason, rather than feeling or emotion (Costanza *et al.*, 1992; Pierotti and Wildcat, 2000;). Table 1 summarizes some of the key contrasts between TEK and western-style environmental management.

Table 1. Comparing TEK and conventional, western land management approaches

	TEK	Conventional Resource Management
Method of transmission of knowledge	Oral (from Elders to younger generations)	Academic journals, books, the scientific method, planning guidelines, legislation
Timeframes of interest	Long-term (multiple generations)	Short-term (5- to 20- year management plans)
Objectives	Ensure cultural survival and prosperity through the long-term observation of ecosystem dynamics	“Patchwork management approach”, or creating regional management plans by seeking detailed information about one species or resource at a time in order to make projections about the nature of the ecosystem
Practice	Traditional livelihood activities, academia and environmental management (more recently)	Academia, environmental management strategies, formal planning

(Sources: Berkes, n.d.; 2008, Costanza *et al.*, 1992; Pierotti and Wildcat, 2000)

2.2 The Berkes School and Co-Management

Many federal and provincial land use and management regimes explicitly state the need to incorporate the knowledge, practices and beliefs of aboriginal people in co-management agreements surrounding resource management (Berkes *et al.*, 1991). Fikret Berkes, one of the world's foremost TEK scholars, has produced a substantive research that has served as the foundation for several territorial co-management agreements between First Nations and the federal and/or provincial governments, now often a condition included in land claim agreements (ibid; Moller *et al.*, 2004). Co-management discussions require a sharing of knowledge between western academics, government researchers and decision makers and aboriginal elders, leaders and other community members. In practical terms, co-management entails using a combination of western (scientific) and traditional aboriginal methods of monitoring the health of critical livelihood resources in the face of new development (Carlsson and Berkes, 2005). Proponents of co-management argue that TEK is invaluable to researchers and policy makers who are often in need of data to inform resource management and decision-making (Armitage *et al.*, 2009). With the help and knowledge of local hunters and harvesters who are already familiar with, and depend on, the territory, policy makers can bypass the need for expensive analyses by scientists and instead rely on the vast local ecological knowledge of aboriginal people to make sound management decisions (Berkes, 2009).

In Canada, however, co-management agreements and the use of aboriginal TEK in resource management typically only involves legally-recognized First Nations groups (i.e. Status Indians) whose aboriginal land use rights are in some measure acknowledged

by government authorities. As the case of AAFNA shows, co-management agreements, and the formal acknowledgement of the validity of TEK as a resource management component, do not happen when one party does not recognize the other—in this case the Ontario government’s refusal to recognize AAFNA’s claim of sovereignty and the legitimacy of its *miyo-pimaadiziwin* and TEK. Yet, as will be shown in this case study, non-status First Nations like AAFNA can and do possess highly developed forms of TEK. The Algonquin traditions and teachings possessed by AAFNA members fit the scholarly definition of TEK as it is described by Berkes and other scholars, but lack of federal recognition under the Indian Act is one of the principal reasons Ontario policy makers have seen no need to consider their traditional knowledge or engage with them in sharing environmental management responsibilities. By failing to recognize and embrace the traditional knowledge of non-status aboriginal groups, the Ontario government is missing an opportunity to tap into a wealth of place-specific knowledge relevant to the present-day debate on rural land management strategies.

2.3 The Resurgence of TEK in First Nations’ Territorial Management Approaches

A pressing concern for Canada’s First Nations is to (re)write their own (oral) histories and TEK, in order to reclaim their traditional physical and social spaces (Huitema, 2000). Through the moral and social guidance and practice of TEK and their respective spiritual ecologies, many First Nations hope to re-establish some form of territorial sovereignty. Part of this approach entails devising territorial management strategies in which land use activities are carried out as practicable applications of ancient knowledge systems and spiritual ecologies. There is often a conscious effort made by these groups to translate traditional teachings into concrete land management practices,

thereby recognizing the relevance of old knowledge that compels their adherents to entertain a profound, respectful relationship with their physical surroundings (Sherman, 2008). In some cases, this deep respect and admiration for the land pushes First Nations groups and individuals to resist what they consider irresponsible development or exploitation of natural resources by governments and/or corporations. The Lubicon Lake Cree of northern Alberta are one example of a First Nation that has vehemently opposed and resisted large-scale extractive projects on its ancestral lands. The Lubicon Lake Cree believe that it is their spiritual duty to protect their sacred lands from oil and gas development projects, which they claim to be a great environmental—and human health—threat (Traditional Lubicon Lake Nation, 2011). Ever since a petroleum exploration project caused a 28,000 barrel oil spill on its traditional territories in the 1970s, the community has been afflicted by widespread illness (ibid.). Its leaders have forged alliances with international environmental and human rights organizations to challenge the oil and gas industry's claim to extractive rights on Lubicon Lake Cree land, as well as to demand compensation for the degradation of their traditional lands. The Lubicon Lake Cree have adopted a territorial governance approach and strategy informed by traditional Cree knowledge and spiritual ecology as an alternative to the western approach to land use, which the Nation considers reckless and disrespectful of the natural world. The following excerpt describes the Lubicon Lake Cree Nation's stance on traditional governance:

Our Nation is governed in the way it has always been governed: our government is of the people, by the people and for the people. Despite the difficulties facing us as a Nation under siege [by the oil and gas industry] we have continued to rely upon our ancient traditions, practices, customs and laws to ensure that our government is representative, responsive and accountable. We are governed by a Chief and family heads. Our government is reliant upon and informed by the leadership provided by

our Elders' Council. This is the form our government has always taken. While we are united in our goals as a government, the layering of Chief, our Elected Councillors and Elders' Council provides us with the assurance that all interests are included in decision making, that authority is shared amongst the Nation and that families who want input into governance have [equal say] (Traditional Lubicon Lake Nation, 2011, par. 1-2).

The Lubicon Lake Cree and many other like-minded First Nations in Canada consider the intimate understanding of the complex relations between the human (or social) and physical/natural as instrumental to reclaiming sovereignty over their traditional physical and social spaces (Battiste, 2000). First Nations that follow a territorial management approach founded on TEK and spiritual ecology often share a distrust and fear of large-scale resource extraction projects (such as mining and oil and gas projects) that have the great potential to harm the land, and, consequently, hinder their lifestyles and livelihoods (ibid.).

2.4 Ontario's Non-Status Algonquin Communities

Two key pieces of legislation form the legal foundation for all aboriginal rights in Canada. The first is the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which first identified aboriginal title as a common law property interest in land (Booth and Skelton, 2004). On the basis of the Royal Proclamation, courts have found that aboriginal title¹ exists on any lands where pre-contact Aboriginal use and occupancy can be demonstrated. The second key piece of legislation is the Indian Act (1876), which defined who was to be recognized an Indian by the British Crown and set the terms and conditions upon which Indians could become enfranchised as Canadian citizens.

¹ "Like Aboriginal rights, Aboriginal title is communal (an individual cannot hold Aboriginal title) and it is site, fact and group specific. However, Aboriginal title can be distinguished from other Aboriginal rights in that: Aboriginal rights refer to practices, traditions and customs that distinguish the unique culture of each First Nation and were practiced prior to European contact. The rights of certain peoples to hunt, trap and fish on ancestral lands are examples of Aboriginal rights. Aboriginal title, as currently defined by the courts, is a right in the land itself - not just the right to hunt, fish and gather from it" (Backgrounder – Aboriginal Title, 2010, par. 3-5)

First Nations people were never formally conquered, although many groups signed treaties and negotiated legal concessions with the Canadian government (or Britain before 1924) (ibid.). Treaties negotiated between the Crown and First Nations did not cover all of Canada. Many First Nations in Quebec, British Columbia, the Atlantic provinces and, of relevance to this research, Algonquin-occupied areas of eastern Ontario, did not sign treaties with the Crown. The absence of a treaty means that Aboriginal title was never extinguished on lands occupied by the groups in question (ibid.; Cumming and Mickenberg, 1972).

The Algonquins of the Ottawa River valley (see Map 1) never signed a treaty with the British Crown. However, throughout the years Algonquin chiefs sent numerous petitions to the colonial administrators demanding to be compensated for the loss of their traditional territories and resources (and consequently their livelihoods) at the hands of settlement and other colonial activities. Their call was finally weakly heeded in 1851 with the creation of two territories reserved for Algonquin occupation at River Desert (now Kitigan Zibi, Quebec) and Lake Temiscaming, Ontario. A third territory at Golden Lake (see Map 8) was granted to the Algonquins in 1873 (Holmes, 1998). Many Algonquin families who were occupying various locations across the Ottawa River valley relocated, sometimes hundreds of kilometres, away to these newly created reserves, and were granted official recognition and status by the colonial government. The families who refused to abandon their traditional territories and submit to the colonial authority—and “protection”—were not granted Indian status. Today, the descendents of those Algonquin families constitute the membership of non-status communities such as AAFNA. Holmes (1998) elaborates on this key point:

During the last decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, many Algonquin families moved onto the Golden Lake Reserve, at least on a seasonal basis. The on-reserve population at Golden Lake became recognized as status Indians. Thus although they did not have a treaty with the Crown, they gained official Indian status and their reserve, and every aspect of their lives, became managed under *Indian Act* legislation and federal Indian Affairs policy. The Algonquin [...] families who did not move onto the reserve but continued to live in other parts of the Ottawa Valley were not officially recognized as Indians nor did they hold any reserve lands. As a consequence, their descendents do not receive any of the benefits that flow from Indian status or on-reserve status such as educational support, community infrastructure support, economic development, or aboriginal hunting and fishing rights. These families form the core of [eastern Ontario's] non-status communities (p. 4).

2.4.1 Colonial Mapping and the Dispossession of Ontario's Non-Status Algonquin First Nations

Historically, the colonial process of surveying and mapping uncharted lands for settlement and development has often disregarded the presence of a great number of aboriginals, in an attempt to strip from them their land title and rights (Brealey, 1995; Huitema, 2000). The practice of mapping new territories served as a tool to 'erase' the presence of many Algonquin groups in eastern Ontario (Holmes, 1998; Huitema, 2000). When aboriginal territorial occupation was discounted or disregarded, the lands were free to be settled by non-Aboriginals. This practice was part and parcel of Canada's nation-building process (Brealey, 1995; Huitema, 2000). The introduction of European land use systems, centered on agriculture and forestry, certainly accelerated the dispossession of many aboriginal groups all over Canada. In eastern Ontario in particular, the livelihood activities of settlers had significant effects on landscape composition, as vast forested areas were transformed into bare pastures in the aftermath of intensive logging. As a result, Algonquin communities were often forced to retreat further into more remote areas in search of areas still relatively undisturbed. A semi-nomadic hunter-gatherer society,

the Algonquins moved across extensive territories at different times during the year (Pritchard, 2001). Algonquin families usually spent the winter grouped together in large encampments, and would break up into smaller groups and travel back to their family hunting zones in the spring (Morrison, n.d.). This lifestyle was at odds with the colonial system of recognizing and determining land title that relied on evidence of *permanent* settlement on a particular piece of land. This made it possible for colonial surveyors to write entire Algonquin communities off the map, as more often than not territories under Algonquin occupation appeared to be uninhabited at certain times during the year. In the following lines, Huitema (2000) describes this colonial surveying process:

The ways in which [Algonquin] people were represented in the first phase of colonization played an important part in the process of dispossessing them of their lands and pushing them to the margins of European society [...] These strategies enabled [colonial] authorities to ignore the realities of Indian people asserting territoriality over their own lands and also enabled them to (re)present the land as devoid of occupation [...] This enabled the establishment of European systems of land classification and survey that ignored the existence of previous territorial systems [including the traditional Algonquin nomadic lifestyle] utilized by the Indian people (pp. 3-4).

Non-status Algonquins, as a consequence of the process described above, have often been excluded from historical and cultural studies. Very little documentation pertaining to Algonquin settlement in the Ottawa River valley is today available. In most cases, the only evidence of Algonquin territorial occupation points to individuals or families who were recorded as occupants of small tracts of land interspersed throughout areas of white settlement (ibid.). This may perhaps contribute to the relative paucity of academic investigations into the histories and ethnographies of non-status Algonquin communities in eastern Ontario.

2.5 Challenges and Opportunities for Non-Status Algonquin First Nations

Today, non-status Indians are particularly vulnerable to resource development on their traditional lands by outside interests. Many of Canada's non-status Aboriginal communities, including AAFNA, are struggling to have their territorial sovereignty recognized in the face of an Indian Act they view as unjust and illegitimate. Many status and non-status Algonquin leaders, including AAFNA Co-Chief Paula Sherman, believe it is wrong for 'foreign governments' to decide who is an "Indian". They argue that as sovereign nations, First Nations should be free to decide who is a member of the community and to "adopt" new members, in the same way the Canadian government can grant citizenship to immigrants (Paula Sherman, interview, April, 2011). However, unless the Indian Act is abolished or modified, non-status Aboriginal communities must find other means to legally and politically challenge government to seek recognition of their aboriginal rights and title.

Like most non-status Algonquin First Nations, AAFNA must continuously negotiate its socio-political and legal status within Ontarian and Canadian society outside the federal legislative framework of the Indian Act. While this outsider status affords them no access to many legal avenues, it also places them in a unique position to challenge the official government definition of the term "Indian", as they do not depend on federal government funding and support. In this sense, these communities have more freedom than their status counterparts when it comes to rejecting or challenging the official definitions and discourse related to aboriginal identity. Indeed AAFNA members wholly reject the government's definition of "Indian-ness". They argue that the Algonquin people have always been a sovereign nation, and as such are free to decide

who can be a member of their community, in the same way the Canadian government sets out its own criteria of citizenship (Paula Sherman, interview, April, 2011). In this line of thought, the government-imposed definition, which uses arbitrary criteria to determine whether or not an individual is an Indian, is considered by AAFNA members to be a backward and irrelevant vestige of the colonial mindset.

2.6 *Miyo-Pimaadiziwin* (Algonquin Spiritual Ecology)

Miyo-pimaadiziwin is an Algonquin ethical principle that guides interactions and relationships with the environment and within human societies. This teaching sets out what are considered appropriate ways to live one's life and to treat Creation (the land and all the creatures it sustains). *Miyo-pimaadiziwin* can be defined as the behaviour and/or actions—or way of life—that allow a person to benefit from a feeling of oneness with the land, as well as the recognition and admiration of the countless relationships between the different life forms that make up Creation—or life. Put in other words, *miyo-pimaadiziwin* is “our [...] behaviour, our values and our way of living our life, and being [Algonquin] in the fullest sense. It is the development of the highest quality of [Algonquin] personhood, connected to the earth in all relationships of Creation (“Anishinaabe Mino Bimaadiziwin”, p. 6). *Miyo-pimaadiziwin* as a philosophical precept instructs its adherents to rely on close observation of the land in order to understand its nature. This teaching is closely linked to TEK, which refers to the tangible environmental knowledge gained through practice with the *miyo-pimaadiziwin* paradigm and method. Thus, TEK and *miyo-pimaadiziwin* both inform and influence its holders' interactions with their territory (see Fig 1 below). Traditionally (before contact), the Algonquin worldview and cosmology were centred on *miyo-pimaadiziwin* and its corresponding

tenets. Today, however, it has become much more difficult for Algonquin communities to employ governance strategies reflecting these ancient teachings.

Algonquin forms of TEK have been perpetuated through the generations, and are at present reflected in the environmental management practices of groups like AAFNA. However, according to the AAFNA members whom I interviewed, the term ‘environmental management’ is an oxymoron. Paula Sherman considers it unwise to believe it is possible to manage something so vast as the ‘Natural World’. She explains: “[t]he Natural World does not need to be managed; rather, our behaviour and interactions with the Natural World [...] that is what needs to be managed” (interview, April, 2011). The current Ontario rural strategy, which divides ecosystems into various resources suitable for exploitation, such as forests, minerals, soils and species, is a concept foreign to traditional Algonquins, who, according to the interviewees, perceive the environment as an interconnected web of relations, and consider humans to be a part of the Natural World. There is recognition that society encompasses human *and* non-human beings. In Algonquin society, the democratic process is not limited to humans; management decisions are also made in consideration of the non-human beings’ interests (ibid.). To elaborate on the above ideas, Sherman explains: “As Anishinaabe [Algonquin] people, we understand that we were moulded from the Earth and that we have the Creator’s breath in our bodies [...] We believe that we are part of the land [and all living and non-living beings] and the land is part of us” (2008, p. 70). *Miyo-pimaadiziwin* contains the quintessential tenets of the Algonquin worldview, and was traditionally an integral component of the very existence of the Algonquin people.

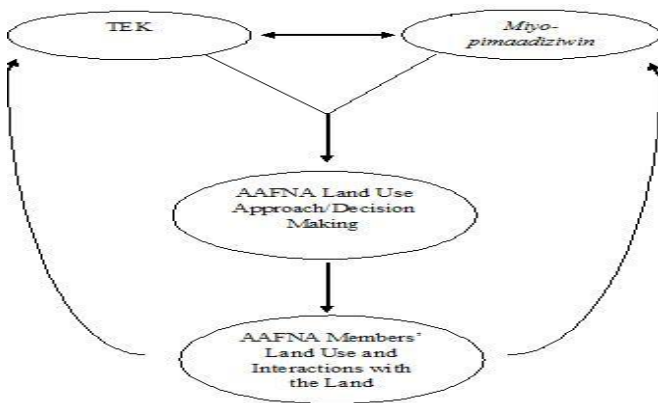
Moreover, it has been suggested by scholars like Deloria (1992) that the native peoples of North America have a spatial—as opposed to temporal—perception of their place in relation to the universe. This is to say that they look to their physical surroundings to find their own personal meaning of life. Evidence of the indigenous spatial worldview can be found in the common traditional Algonquin practice of invoking the Four Directions and the sky and the earth when praying (Paula Sherman, interview, April, 2011). Other scholars have noted that European immigrants look backward and forward in time to gain an understanding of their place in relation to history; this can be defined as a temporal worldview (Johannes, 1989; Anderson, 1996). The spatial worldview epitomizes the belief systems of nomadic peoples such as the Algonquin. In the following excerpt, Sherman discusses the Algonquin sense of place with regard to her people’s traditional homeland (the Ottawa River valley):

[Our sense of place relates to] understanding the idea that Algonquin people exist within the Kitchi Sibi [Ottawa River]. *Miyo-Pimaadiziwin* as a principle is the way you see the world, your own position with regard to the world, your relationships with other individuals and other creatures, as well as with future generations. Being Algonquin is about being people of the land, people who belong to the land (interview, April, 2011).

It is precisely because of this inclusion of non-human beings in the Algonquin conception of society and democracy that Algonquins consider inappropriate the predominant “effective management through compartmentalizing” approach. Traditional Algonquins believe that because they are part of the Natural World, any actions that threaten the integrity or health of the ecosystem ultimately affect the health of human beings. In view of this belief, resource-intensive economic activities such as mining are strongly opposed. In fact, traditional Algonquin people believe that all human beings are subject to “Nature’s laws.” Elders express the need for humans to stay attuned to the ever-changing

reality of Nature. This consciousness of the necessity for humans to observe and respect the Natural World and the attendant capacity to see life in its oneness is what is often called circular or holistic thinking (Deloria, 1992; Anderson, 1996; Sioui, 1999). Moreover, traditional Algonquins believe in the existence of a separate spiritual world. As a result, they are culturally respectful at all times of the existence of spirits sharing with them the world and the universe. The sense of wellness, happiness, security and balance experienced by such peoples depends on the quality of the relationships that they are able to develop and maintain in relation to other, non-human, beings—sharing life, time and space with them (Sherman, 2008). Currently, AAFNA’s socio-political strategies remain informed by *miyo-pimaadiziwin* and TEK. The model below represents the processes that have forged AAFNA’s land ethic, and in turn how this land ethic catalyses the evolution of *miyo-pimaadiziwin* and TEK.

Fig. 1 Foundation and evolution of AAFNA’s land ethic



In Figure 1. the assumption is that Ardoch Algonquin TEK and *miyo-pimaadiziwin* are linked to, and mutually reinforce, one another. In turn, both

Algonquin TEK and *miyo-pimaadiziwin* influence AAFNA's land use strategies and decision making in equal measure and on an ongoing basis. Ultimately, AAFNA members' interactions with the land are informed by AAFNA's land use approach. However, AAFNA members' relationships with the land, and the knowledge continually gained through land use and occupation, also add new information to AAFNA's TEK and *miyo-pimaadiziwin*, which, due to their nature, continue to evolve indefinitely.

3. The Ardoch Algonquins

3.1 A Brief History of the Algonquins of the Ottawa River Valley

The Algonquin people are part of a larger grouping of nations, including the Odawa and Ojibwe, who speak Algonquian languages, which they refer to as *Anishinaabemowin* (Johnston, 1976). Though their territory was far more extensive, it is recognized that the Algonquin heartland was the Ottawa River valley and watershed (Leubering, 2010). According to Algonquin mythology, the Algonquin people have occupied the Ottawa River valley since time immemorial. Western science confirms longstanding human presence in the area. Indeed, the archaeological record shows that the ancestors of the Algonquin people have occupied the Ottawa River valley since the end of the last glacial period (Funk, 1978). Today there are more than 11,000 Algonquins, divided among nine officially recognized bands in Quebec and one in Ontario (in addition to some fifteen federally unrecognized bands such as AAFNA (Huitema, 2000)).

In the 17th century, French missionaries described the nomadic, hunter lifestyle of the Algonquins. During the winter, “they lived in the bush in extended families, hunting large game like moose and deer, and trapping fur-bearing animals, particularly beaver, which was valued both for its pelt and flesh” (Morrison, n.d., p. 24). In the spring and summer, Algonquin families would relocate north to other temporary encampments and to engage in subsistence fishing and gathering (berries, medicinal plants, etc.) (ibid.). Algonquins enjoyed an alliance with the Wendat (Huron), who occupied a small, strategically situated territory in what is today southwestern Ontario. The Algonquins’ strategic geographical location at the time of European contact and their alliances with the Wendat and with other powerful Iroquoian confederacies to the south allowed them to become key players in the fur trade, supplying large quantities of pelts to the Wendat who would, in turn, trade with the French.

Throughout the 17th century, Algonquin groups were afflicted by European diseases, particularly smallpox (Bianchine and Russo, 1992; Carter 2004). In addition, they were intermittently warring with the Haudenosaunee (the Iroquois Confederacy), the latter attempting to offset the mounting influence of the French by taking the fur trade from the hands of the Huron, the Algonquin and others. When the Huron Confederacy fell in 1649, the Algonquins were left to fend for themselves in the face of Iroquois hostility (Dickason, 2009). However, despite the British-Iroquois alliance formed in 1664, the French-led fur trade flourished for the remainder of the 17th century. In 1701, a treaty was brokered by Kondiaronk, a Wendat chief. Called the Great Peace of Montreal, this document, signed by 39 First Nations and the French, ended 92 years of war between the Iroquois and the Wendat, Algonquins and the French. This treaty granted the

Algonquins of the Ottawa valley undisturbed access to the Ottawa River watershed and its natural resources (Dr. Georges Sioui, Huron-Wendat historian, personal communication, January, 2010).

3.2 The Ardoch Algonquin First Nation

The Ardoch Algonquins are descendants of the Algonquin families that historically occupied lands in present-day Frontenac County (see Map 5). According to Elder Harold Perry, Honorary Chief of AAFNA, his direct ancestors occupied these lands prior to and at time of European contact. Joseph Whiteduck is the first Ardoch Algonquin to be named in European (British) records; his family's settlement on Crotch Lake (see Maps 6 and 7) being recorded on the first survey of Palmerston Township—today part of North Frontenac township—made in 1861. Perry's grandfather, Christopher Perry, and family were recorded in the 1871 census of the Clarendon and Miller township (which also lies within present-day North Frontenac) (Armstrong, 1976). Algonquin families that occupied this area followed the traditional Algonquin lifestyle until the early 1800s, when settlers of European origin began entering the region with the encouragement of the British colonial government. Philemon Wright (founder of Hull, Quebec) is said to be the first English “squatter” to illegally appropriate lands belonging to the Algonquins (Sioui, 2008, pp. 306-307). When confronted by local Algonquins in 1803, Wright claimed he had been granted permission to clear the land from the British colonial office. Dr. Paula Sherman, an Ardoch Algonquin scholar and Co-Chief of AAFNA, describes the dishonest methods used by Wright and other land speculators to expropriate the Algonquins' lands: “Wright [deceitfully] told them [the Algonquins] that he had a deed that gave him permission to be there and that they had to accept his word [...] Wright

[also told them] that they had to be sensible, that the Colonial Office had given him the right to cut down all the trees he wanted” (2008, p. 32). Moreover, Wright told the Algonquins that what he was doing would eventually help them; they would be liberated from their “primitive” nomadic lifestyle.

Bob Lovelace, also an Ardoch Algonquin scholar and activist, describes how land clearance by settlers (initiated by Wright) was a significant threat to the traditional lifestyle:

Ten years before the land grant that created Kitigan Sibi [reserve] and a full generation before the purchase of land for the Golden Lake Reserve, AAFN[A] families had secured by way of a licence of occupation, 2000 acres. This early reserve was devastated by illegal logging operations in the 1850s and the Algonquin families retreated to marginal and unsettled lands. Poor Irish refugees were sold the forested land once the loggers were done with it and the settlers commenced clearing the remaining woodlands. Not only were fields cleared for cultivation but much of the hardwood forests were felled and burned for potash, the first cash crop for starving immigrants who had no care for the land (n.d., par. 2).

By the turn of the 20th century, hundreds of mines, lumber mills and railroads had been built on traditional Algonquin lands (Armstrong, 1976). Racial tensions had emerged between the settlers and the Algonquins. Algonquin men were not able to find employment as easily as their non-Algonquin counterparts. Algonquin women, highly respected within their own nation, encountered very different treatment at the hands of the non-aboriginal population. There were accounts of Algonquin homes being burned so as to force them out of “white towns” (Lovelace, n.d., par. 5). Algonquin children were legally taken by force from their families by child welfare authorities and ended up being used as farmhands and servants.

After World War I, mineral and forest resources in the region had become depleted (Armstrong, 1976; Huitema, 2000). For a time the settler economy ebbed, while

the Ardoch Algonquins, who had developed a diversified economy that incorporated subsistence farming, lumbering, trapping and guiding, were better off. Those who relocated to the Golden Lake reserve were provided government funding and resources for their day-to-day maintenance. Lacking government support, Algonquins who did not relocate were gradually subsumed by ongoing white settlement, their own settlements becoming indiscernible from those of the settlers.

3.3 The “Rice (*Manoomiin*) War”

In the mid-1800s, during a time of drought and famine for the Ardoch Algonquin families, some members of their close allies, the Mississauga First Nation, brought wild rice (*manoomiin*) to be planted in Algonquin territory, in an attempt to save their friends from starvation (Sherman, 2008, p. 17). Elder Harold Perry and his ancestors before him have tended to the community’s wild rice in Mud Lake (see Map 7 and Photos 1 and 2) for over 150 years. These wild rice beds are fundamental to the Ardoch Algonquin identity, and they signify the bonds of friendship that helped them to survive during times of hardship. The Perry family and all Ardoch Algonquins consider it their responsibility to protect the *manoomiin* beds. As a result, AAFNA has never commercially harvested the rice; it is only used for subsistence and cultural purposes. Sherman explains the historical and cultural significance of wild rice to AAFNA: “It was the *manoomiin*, in fact, and our responsibility to protect it, that brought Ardoch Algonquin people out of the slumber we were in and pushed us toward the adoption of a community resolution on development” (ibid., p. 18). The Ardoch Algonquins’ sense of duty to protect the wild rice beds inspired in them the desire to reincorporate long-forgotten principles of *miyo-pimaadiziwin* into their collective identity.

In 1981 Algonquin ownership of the wild rice beds was challenged. That year, the Ontario government, which considered the wild rice to be on Crown Land (the term used in Canada to refer to land not owned by private interests), sold rice harvesting permits to the non-Aboriginal-owned Lanark Wild Rice Company (Pawlick, 2008, p. 167). When commercial harvesters arrived at Mud Lake on airboats, they produced the permits issued to them by the province to the outraged residents who demanded to know who had allowed commercial harvesting of the rice. Shortly after, an alliance of Ardoch Algonquins, other First Nations members and non-aboriginals emerged, engaging in a twenty-seven-day standoff against armed Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) officers.

Lovelace describes this ordeal:

On August 30 the Ontario Provincial Police and the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR) invaded the Ardoch community with over 50 police cruisers. They brought boats, paddy-wagons, tow trucks and helicopters. Hundreds of police and MNR [Ontario conservation officers] were employed in the operation. All of this force was used to escort one commercial airboat to the shores of Mud Lake. Although people were threatened, arrested and pushed to the ground the airboat never made it to the water. The next morning on August 31 the community dug up the road entrances to the Lake and liberated a part of the Algonquin homeland for 27 days (n.d., par. 7).

The Ardoch Algonquin-led alliance was successful in persuading the OPP to pull its officers from the area, and attempts to commercially harvest the rice were abandoned. Harold Perry, AAFNA's leader throughout this episode, was "determined to keep tactics peaceful, and to intervene in tense situations to defuse heated arguments and scuffles" (Pawlick, 2008, p. 190). The key to AAFNA's success was its ability to gain widespread support from its non-aboriginal neighbours. Also, the Ardoch Algonquins succeeded in framing their cause within the realm of the greater indigenous fight against colonial governmentality. Lovelace observes that:

The Ardoch stand-off was not just a “military” or political victory [...] Ontario should have been able to crush any resistance and win the hearts and minds of the public [...] There were greater forces however; spiritual forces that would not let the manoomin [sic] go [...] It was this struggle that gave rise to [Ardoch] Algonquin pride and determination (Lovelace, n.d., par. 7).

Ultimately, the Ardoch Algonquins were successful in reaffirming their jurisdiction over the wild rice beds. The Rice War was an event that reawakened in their community a sense of pride that had gradually been eroded ever since commercial loggers (illegally) sold Algonquin lands to European immigrants in the early 1800s. This ordeal gave a new purpose and direction to the Ardoch Algonquin community.

3.4 AAFNA’s Struggle to Prevent Uranium Mining on its Ancestral Lands

Since 2006, AAFNA has been leading a coalition to block the establishment of a uranium mine on its ancestral lands. That year, a non-aboriginal resident of North Frontenac reported to the AAFNA leadership that its traditional community lands near Robertsville (see Map 7) had possibly been staked by Frontenac Mining Ventures (FMV) of Kingston, Ontario for uranium exploration. Members of AAFNA decided to investigate this report and took photographs confirming that staking had indeed taken place near the hamlet of Robertsville. In all, approximately 26,000 of the 30,000 acres that had been staked were traditional Algonquin land unceded to the Crown through any negotiation process (Sherman, 2008, p. 19). Local non-aboriginal residents soon discovered that by virtue of the Ontario Mining Act, mineral exploration is freely permitted on most public and many private lands. Non-aboriginals, therefore, had no legal means to challenge uranium exploration in the region (Green, 2009, May 21). Some members of the non-aboriginal community approached the Ardoch Algonquins, knowing that AAFNA’s claim of unceded Aboriginal title was the only legal avenue through

which to prevent FMV from establishing a uranium mine in North Frontenac. An alliance of Ardoch Algonquins and non-Aboriginal local residents formed to advance the concerns of Algonquins and private land owners. Soon, the anti-mining cause gained momentum and drew widespread public support.

AAFNA members and their non-Aboriginal allies occupied the Robertsville mine site until October, 2006, preventing FMV from accessing its mining claims. This led the company to offer \$10,000 to the Ardoch Algonquins in exchange for the “unfettered access to the lands in question” and for the alliance to quit the environs of the mine site—a proposal that was quickly turned down (Sherman, 2008, p. 22). A \$77 million lawsuit, as well as an injunction to have the protesters removed, was soon after filed against AAFNA. However, the lawsuit had the effect of increasing support for the Ardoch Algonquins, and more environmental organizations and concerned citizens arrived at the blockaded site to help AAFNA. It became evident from AAFNA’s media statements that the purpose of the blockade was not to negotiate for a portion of the proceeds from exploration. Rather, the Ardoch Algonquins wanted to challenge the Province’s issuance of mining permits on Algonquin land. Simply put, “[i]f the Province did not have the right to issue permits or register claims filed by [FMV], then it would be forced to pull the permits and revoke the claims” (ibid., p. 23).

Both parties agreed to mediation in late October, 2006. The mediation talks began in November and carried on futilely for seven weeks, neither side willing to make concessions. At the beginning of the eighth week, the Province backed out of the mediation process, claiming AAFNA was not observing one of the pre-existing conditions for negotiation: the agreement to allow Frontenac Mining Ventures to drill

during the mediation. Unsurprisingly, this condition was rejected by the Ardoch Algonquins, and they too withdrew from the process. Mediation did not resume and the case eventually went back to the provincial court system. In the following passage, Sherman describes the ensuing trial:

When the case went back before the court, it was heard by Justice Douglas Cunningham, who had taken over the file from Justice Thompson. Justice Cunningham was angry that we had withdrawn from the court and assumed, with [Frontenac Mining Ventures'] legal pleading, that our withdrawal was done to articulate a position of contempt for the Ontario court system, which was not the case at all. We felt at the time that the Ontario court system was incapable of providing a solution that protected our homeland from irresponsible development. We felt that our best chance of finding a resolution was to pursue a political solution. Our withdrawal from the court system had consequences because we were not allowed to file a defence against the contempt charges, which led to undefended judgements being issued against us by Justice Cunningham. This included the contempt charges and the \$77 million lawsuit (2008, p. 25).

In February of 2007, principal Ardoch negotiator Bob Lovelace gave a two day testimony, expounding in great detail the Ardoch Algonquin Guiding Principles, a series of governance and land use objectives that inform AAFNA decision making (see Guiding Principles of the Ardoch Algonquin First Nation). Lovelace's testimony, however, was to no avail, and Justice Cunningham decided to criminalize the Ardoch Algonquin leadership. Lovelace and Sherman, who had both refused to vacate the mine site, were sentenced to six months in jail, in addition to being fined \$25,000 and \$15,000, respectively. Lovelace was freed from prison and was exonerated of his fine three months into his sentence after a decision in his favour was rendered in the Court of Appeal for Ontario. Sherman, a single mother of three, also successfully appealed Justice Cunningham's decision, and was absolved of her jail sentence and fine. The appeal panel decided that "the sentencing was too harsh for people involved in a civil contempt process, which originated in Aboriginal protest context. The Panel of Justices offered that

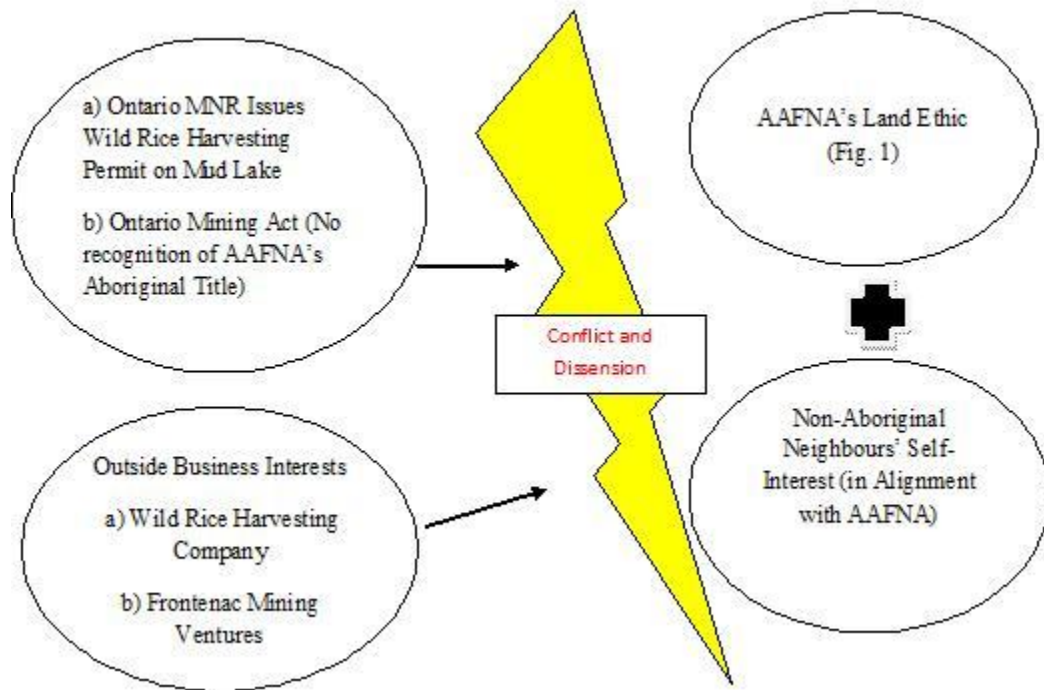
no legal measures whatsoever should have taken place prior to the Province exhausting all possible attempts at meaningful consultation” (Sherman, 2008, p. 27).

FMV has since gone bankrupt as many of its shareholders lost confidence in the company’s ability to win its legal battles. Nevertheless, for AAFNA this marks but a temporary victory. Its claim of Aboriginal title on the land still stands unrecognized by Ontario. By refusing to place a moratorium on uranium mining on areas that are part of Aboriginal land claims, Sherman argues that Ontario “prefers to move ahead pretending that there is no opposition” (ibid., p. 35). During the mining conflict, the fears of the Ardoch Algonquins and their allies were dismissed by FMV and government officials as immaterial. The company maintained that its operations would cause negligible harm to the local environment and the well-being of the area’s residents. However, this claim is at odds with accumulating scientific evidence that contradicts this assertion. There are a number of cases around the world that point to the deleterious health and environmental impacts of uranium mining (Archer, 1962; Muscatello and Janz, 2008; Samet *et al.*, 1984; Shields *et al.*, 1992). Section 5.3 discusses in greater detail Ontario’s position on uranium mining and nuclear energy more generally.

Figure 2 illustrates the basic dynamic of both the Rice War and uranium mining conflicts, which share similar elements. In both cases, the Ontario government considered AAFNA’s traditional territory to be Crown land, and allowed and encouraged outside business interests to exploit a particular resource for economic gains, without first consulting AAFNA. This government/corporate land development pressure led AAFNA to protect its traditional territory by blocking access to these lands. Most local non-aboriginal residents, feeling equally threatened by the Ontario government and the

potential impacts of the proposed activity on the quality of the regional environment and the value/quality of their own private property, showed support for AAFNA. The non-aboriginal community felt the Ardoch Algonquins' claim of aboriginal title was the only line of defense in protecting their own interests. In both cases, the partnership between AAFNA and its non-aboriginal neighbours led to a successful effort to protect the land from unilaterally defined development. The province and outside business interests eventually retreated as a result of AAFNA's alliance with the non-aboriginal community.

Fig. 2 a) Dynamic of Rice War (1981) and b) uranium mining conflict (2006-2007)



3.5 AAFNA's Pine Lake Cultural Centre Proposal

In recent years, AAFNA has planned to build a cultural centre on the eastern shore of Pine Lake (see Map 7), situated in North Frontenac. The Ardoch Algonquins' original vision was to erect a small building which would serve a dual purpose: a space in which community members can hold meetings and social events, and a venue where AAFNA

can periodically offer programs to non-members to learn about Algonquin history, culture and traditions in the Ottawa River watershed. Although the land on which the centre would be built has not been claimed by or deeded to any settler, AAFNA is faced with a predicament. The province of Ontario, which considers the area Crown Land, demands that AAFNA comply with provincial and municipal building regulations. Since the Ardoch Algonquins assert the land in question is unceded Algonquin territory, they are adamantly unwilling to follow the Province's building codes and regulations. Instead, AAFNA proposes to build a cultural centre that exceeds the Province's regulations while still refusing to follow the bureaucratic procedure. The Ardoch Algonquins suggest that the Province's main motivation is its fear of creating legal precedent. If Ontario permits AAFNA to build a centre outside of the normal bureaucratic framework, the community argues, it would open channels for further debate on (Ardoch) Algonquin land title. Lovelace shares his community's position on this contention: "Of course they're [the province of Ontario] worried about setting precedent, but they don't have to worry about that because we've asked them over and over again to work with us [...] We're prepared to work with them, but we're not prepared to reinforce their denial of history and law" (Bob Lovelace, quoted in Armstrong, 2006, July 8). Neither side is willing to make concessions, and negotiations have long been at a stalemate. Unlike the uranium mining conflict, most non-aboriginal locals do not support AAFNA in this struggle. In fact, AAFNA's neighbours argue that if they themselves have to pay for permits and comply with provincial laws and regulations, then so should the Ardoch Algonquins. In this case, residents believe it is AAFNA activities that might affect their enjoyment of their private property and must therefore be stopped. For the time being tensions have eased, as

AAFNA leaders have decided to temporarily abandon their plan to establish a community centre given a lack of financial and social resources.

Figure 3 distinguishes the dynamic of the Pine Lake contention from that of the Rice War and uranium mining conflicts. As depicted, the key difference in the Pine Lake case is the lack of non-aboriginal support for AAFNA. Because the Ontario government considers AAFNA's ancestral territories as Crown land, the province's view is that AAFNA must abide by all provincial and municipal zoning and building codes and regulations if it is to build a cultural centre. The non-aboriginal local residents, who must also observe provincial and municipal regulations, felt AAFNA's refusal to comply was unfair and that AAFNA actions amounted to little more than a display of contempt for civil order – interesting, in that AAFNA civil disobedience (by this definition) was encouraged and supported by residents when it was in their own self-interests. Consequently, for the most part the local non-aboriginal population aligned itself with government policy makers against AAFNA. The Ardoch Algonquins, refusing to recognize the province's authority and claim to the land, remained true to its traditional TEK- and *miyo-pimaadiziwin*- based land use practices. In the dynamics shown in Figures 2 and 3, both the Ontario government and the AAFNA act consistently in their approaches to what each publicly expresses to be appropriate land use, whereas the non-aboriginal population's actions are reactive, and reflect an unspoken, implicit strategy to pursue their own private-property interests. Where these align with AAFNA interests, non-aboriginal residents are happy to express public support for TEK and traditional aboriginal land use, but they are equally capable of distancing themselves from such views when convenient to do so. Herein lies both a challenge and an opportunity for the

AAFNA community: to persuade their non-aboriginal neighbours and government that their traditional land ethic can contribute to more efficient and sustainable management of the watershed in the long term.

4. Land Use Regulation in (Rural) Ontario

At this point it is useful to describe in greater detail the Ontario approach to rural land use management and recent influences on it. As Premier of Ontario from 1995-2002, Mike Harris initiated a process of government downloading and a concurrent transfer of industry and social responsibilities to the individual communities (Keil, 2002; Ibbitson, 1999). Premier Harris' "Common Sense Revolution" came to characterize Ontario's economic and political climate of the 1990s. Throughout his political career, Harris has reiterated his belief that the appropriate role of governments in regard to the economy is to ensure the proper functioning of markets (Harris and Manning, 2006). The Common Sense Revolution also marked a period of major amendments to Ontario's existing environmental management vision. Mascarenhas describes Harris' changes to Ontario's environmental regime: "[...] sweeping amendments were made to virtually every provincial statute that dealt with environmental protection or natural-resources management" (2008, p. 231). The Harris government also increased ministerial powers with regard to environmental decision-making, and his policies resulted in reduced opportunities for public consultation and participation. The power and influence of Big Business also expanded as a result of the weakening of state environmental structures. These processes allowed industries responsible for significant environmental impacts to expand (Crittenden, 2001). What is more, the Harris administration reversed several

landmark environmental protection laws and regulations and cut funding to the province's environmental regulation agencies. Mascarenhas elaborates on this point:

From 1994-1999, the Ministry of Environment's (MoE) operating expenditures decreased by 45 percent, while its capital expenditures decreased by 81 percent [...] These reductions, along with reduced staffing levels (one-third of MoE staff were cut during this same period) had a massive effect on the capacity of provincial and local agencies to protect the environment. Given these fiscal responses, it simply was not possible for the provincial government to monitor or enforce compliance with environmental regulations (ibid., p. 231).

This "rationalization" of Ontario's rural economy continues to this day. Resource-intensive rural economic activities have been allowed to operate with few environmental responsibilities and little obligation to consult with local people, and the power of industries has been growing since the mid-1990s (Pawlick, 2008). The Province's land management approach, founded on facilitating corporate resource extraction, collides with the Ardoch Algonquins' philosophy and traditional way of life (Sherman, 2008). This ideological rift continues to be the root cause of local conflicts between the AAFN and the provincial government and corporations.

4.1 Ontario's Current Rural Development Plan

In 2003 Dalton McGuinty replaced Harris as Premier of Ontario. During their election campaign, McGuinty's Liberals promised a shift to a more socially (and environmentally) conscious government. McGuinty was ultimately successful in his campaign to convince Ontarians that the previous Conservative government favoured Big Business over public well-being. Nevertheless, some political observers have noted that since he has taken office, McGuinty's economic and environmental management principles are similar to those that were set out by the previous administration. For example, Coulter (2009) argues that McGuinty's economic strategies have included (but

are not limited to) reducing environmental and public spending and privatizing traditionally public institutions like healthcare. Coulter further suggests that McGuinty's "concealed" governance strategy consists in:

[welding] the for-profit and the public sector, in the present and in the future binding government, public interests, and the collective resource pool to the rules, needs, and failures of private investors. Thus, the distinction between public and for-profit are being obfuscated, conceptually and literally. The public sector loses and for-profit investors gain ground [...] [P]olitical workers in [the McGuinty] government facilitate the corporate colonization of government and public institutions, use public policy to reward investors, and contribute to a hegemonic neoliberal takeover (p. 206).

Since the McGuinty administration has taken office, several land use and management policy documents have been produced as frameworks or guidelines for increasing the Province's economic competitiveness on the world stage. These policy documents generally call for increased investment and output in resource-intensive rural industries such as mining. In this regard, the ambition and vision of the current government is to make sure that rural Ontario will be in the position to significantly increase its contribution to the Province's economy. The general position of some of the Province's key land use and management documents is outlined below.

4.2 Key Ontario Rural Development/Land Management Policy Documents

As mentioned previously, the Ontario land use and management policy documents that were reviewed for this project are: (1) "Strong Rural Communities: Working Together for Success", (2) The Rural Economic Development Program, and (3) Ontario's Mineral Development Strategy (2006). These documents were selected because they are directly relevant to the Ontario government's approach to land management in rural areas. Ontario's land management approach, reflected in these policy documents, is strongly opposed by AAFNA, which still claims jurisdiction on its ancestral territories.

In 2004, under the leadership of Premier McGuinty, the Government of Ontario published “Strong Rural Communities: Working Together for Success” (referred to as Ontario’s Rural Plan), a policy document that outlines Ontario’s plan for revitalizing its rural economy. In the first pages of Ontario’s Rural Plan, three main objectives are listed, in order: (1) Strong people, strong economy; (2) better health; and (3) success for students. With respect to the first of these objectives, it is argued that “[r]ural Ontario will enjoy more prosperity and a better quality of life when local economies achieve their full potential” (Ministry of Agriculture, Food, and Rural Affairs 2004, p. 9). One of the main strategies is to continue to encourage resource-intensive industries, including forestry and mining. These economic activities are seen as key players with regard to reshaping and revitalizing Ontario’s stagnant rural industry. Other objectives of the Rural Plan include: to promote the economic development in northern and aboriginal communities and to attract and/or retain rural industrial enterprises. These objectives are seen as crucial to the economic reinvigoration and revitalization of Ontario’s rural areas.

The Rural Economic Development Program (RED) is one of the principal mechanisms devised to reach the goals outlined in the Rural Plan. The idea that Ontario’s rural economy must adapt to survive and thrive in the age of globalism is explained in the Program’s official website. The reasoning behind the Government of Ontario’s official strategy relating to rural development is succinctly explained as follows:

The Rural Economic Development (RED) program assists with the costs of projects that benefit rural Ontario. Why? In today's economic climate, we can no longer rely on our traditional strengths and advantages to stay competitive in the global market. Communities that succeed in the new economy are those that can attract and retain creative individuals --innovators in technological [and resource development] enterprises. As a province we share a common goal: to create and retain jobs, to revitalize our [rural] communities, train and develop the skills of our workforce (Ministry of Agriculture, Food, and Rural Affairs 2011, par. 4).

The RED program is aimed at revitalizing rural communities by acting as an “on the ground” financial assistance program for rural industries. Rural enterprises (like FMV, for example) can apply for assistance through the RED Program mostly to cover for expenses relating to upgrading and modernizing industrial infrastructures and operations, including the purchase of new machinery to facilitate the resource extraction process (ibid.).

Ontario’s Mineral Development Strategy (2006) is another important document that outlines a part of Ontario’s economic plan for rural areas. This document lays out the Province’s plan to promote growth in its mining industry and “to reinforce Ontario’s international position as a leading mining jurisdiction [...]” (Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, p. 5). Although the mining industry has traditionally been a strong economic driver, the province anticipates that mineral-related activities “are positioned to make even greater [economic] contributions in the future” (p. 8). Ontario recognizes that increasing international competition poses a threat to its aging mining infrastructure and workforce. In order to once again become a competitive mining jurisdiction, the provincial government plans to “increase efficiencies and manage rising input costs [...]” (p. 8). The Strategy acknowledges that there are conflicts between the Ontario government and Aboriginal groups over uranium mining. Nevertheless, the author(s) of the document believe that it is necessary to move forward with aboriginal groups on “consultation processes” for mineral development on Crown Land, as the one used during the uranium mining impasse in Robertsville involving AAFNA. Despite widespread criticism and public concerns surrounding the mining industry, there is no indication in the Strategy that mining is seen as anything but wholly beneficial or that the

province should consider alternative viable industries (Pawlick, 2008). This document indicates that this industry will continue to grow and play an increasingly important role in the ongoing development of rural areas.

4.3 Ontario's Position on Uranium Mining

Uranium mining is an ongoing preoccupation and source of friction for relations between the Ontario government and the AAFNA. The Ontario government has framed the issue of nuclear energy as part of the question of energy security. In 2007, Premier McGuinty announced “a balanced plan for Ontario’s energy future, in which nuclear is expected to be the single-largest source for Ontario’s electricity in 2025” (quoted in Pawlick, 2008, p. 164). The Province believes nuclear energy is the most cost-efficient option, and the decision to favour it over other energy sources is justified with a ‘cost-benefit’ rationale (Nuclear energy, 2009). The argument articulated by government officials stays true to the traditional economic vision for the extraction of natural resources in rural areas, as outlined in the above policy documents. The provincial government has justified its course of action by reiterating the need for Ontario to compete in the global market (a position espoused in Ontario’s Rural Plan and the Rural Economic Development Program). Thus, Ontario’s priority is to promote and justify uranium mining in the context of devising a competitive economy on the global stage. This economic approach does not include a consideration for the preservation of local cultures and livelihoods of the rural communities of eastern Ontario (Pawlick, 2008). So far, the province’s strategy has been to impress upon its citizenry the importance of fostering a strong rural economy, thus a need to encourage resource-intensive development in rural areas, including unceded aboriginal territories.

In recent years the government of Ontario has declared its commitment to reinvigorating its nuclear energy programme, which has a history of multibillion dollar debt (Sokoloff, 2005, December 10). In the last few decades, the province had made large investments in research and development concerning renewable energy sources.

Recently, however, the province has projected that it will be unable to satisfy the energy demand in the near future if the current energy plan is maintained. Although Ontario states it has sufficient electrical generation capacity to satisfy the current energy demand, it anticipates that it will:

[...] [n]eed more [power] over the next two decades. Today, Ontario's peak capacity is between 26,000 megawatts (MW) and 28,000 MW. Peak demand for electricity is expected to rise to 29,000 MW within 10 years and to 33,677 MW by 2027. To meet that demand, we need to refurbish, rebuild or replace almost 80 per cent of our installed generating capacity of more than 30,000 MW between now and 2025, as well as adding some new supply (Nuclear energy, 2009, par. 1).

In order to satisfy the anticipated rising energy demand, the Ontario government has chosen to maintain the current level of nuclear-generated power—which today accounts for roughly 50 percent of the province's electrical generation. Approximately \$40B will be spent refurbishing and replacing Ontario's fleet of 12 nuclear reactors (ibid., par. 1). The province justifies this course of action by stating that nuclear energy is more efficient and effective than renewable energy sources. By all accounts, it is likely that nuclear energy will continue to play a major role in Ontario's energy future. The province's effort to revitalize its nuclear energy industry, which in turn requires an implied ongoing commitment to uranium mining, has influenced its current rural development strategy. In turn, this strategy has played a significant role in exacerbating the tensions between the Ontario government and AAFNA.

5. Methodology

A key purpose of this research was to examine in which ways AAFNA's approach to land/resource management is different (or similar) to Ontario's rural development strategy and to systematically document Algonquin TEK and *miyo-pimaadiziwin* as practiced by AAFNA members on their traditional territory, as a precursor to seeing how the latter might benefit the former. Both primary and secondary sources were used in this study. The secondary sources used include archival documents, scholarly monographs and articles (including some written by AAFNA scholars), as well as newspaper editorials and opinion pieces. The following paragraphs discuss specifically the methodological approaches that were used for this research.

As mentioned earlier, the transmission of TEK is an interactive process that involves "hands-on", or experiential, learning (Huntington, 1998). Many traditional aboriginal people continue to value oral transmission of cultural information. To gain insights into an epistemology that is mainly passed on orally through the generations, it is necessary for the researcher to engage in participatory experiences and daily activities of the community in which that epistemology is put into action. Based on my research objectives and rationale, I elected to use participatory methods of data collection. I have been strongly influenced by anthropologist Hugh Brody's methods in this regard.

In his book *Maps and Dreams* (1983), Brody establishes an approach to participatory research in aboriginal communities predicated on the researcher's *active* participation in both the day-to-day and specifically cultural activities (subsistence and livelihood activities, feasts, gatherings, etc.) of the aboriginal group in question. Brody spent eighteen months living with the Beaver Dene of northeastern British Columbia.

There he lived as a member of the community, participating in important community events as much as in everyday activities. By using this active-participant (instead of a more passive or neutral, “classical”) approach, Brody was able to gain a rare insight into the spiritual ecology of the Beaver Dene. This knowledge helped Brody to understand the cultural motivation behind the community’s interactions with the land. Brody’s method is in contrast with the Boasian approach of “salvage anthropology”. The Boasian method entails collecting as much information as possible about a society through field interviews and passive observation and documentation (Harris, 2001). Although I did not live with the Ardoch Algonquins, I applied the basics of Brody’s method on my frequent visits to AAFNA during the data collection period.

To collect primary data about the Ardoch Algonquins’ interaction and relationship—or connection—with the land, I used a direct participant-observer method. This method was developed in the ethnographical and cultural anthropological fields in the early 20th century (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994). Participant observation aims to “generate practical and theoretical truths about human life grounded in the realities of daily existence” (Jorgensen 1989, p. 14). Such research requires the participant (researcher) to use a range of methods, such as informal interviews and observation (and documentation by recording notes in a field notebook), of direct participation in the life of the community. The data obtained is then dissected and interpreted by the researcher. This method of data collection is mainly qualitative, although quantitative data and statistical analysis can sometimes play a supplementary role (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994). However, quantitative analysis was not used for this research project, given the unquantifiable nature of *miyo-pimaadiziwin*, TEK and spiritual ecology.

There are some particular challenges associated with participatory research in aboriginal communities. First, much preparation is needed prior to conducting research in an aboriginal community. It is important for the researcher to demonstrate her intention to create meaningful and respectful bonds with the community, and especially its Elders. Castellano (2004) writes that, more frequently than in most other groups, aboriginal communities that are the subjects of academic research are often concerned about the appropriation of their TEK by western researchers. Thus, in order to gain the community's respect and trust, it is essential that the researcher first approach community leaders several months ahead of the time research is planned to begin, and in some cases must receive the blessing, or approval, of Elders before starting the research process. The researcher must begin by demonstrating genuine interest in the well-being of the community by becoming involved in its affairs and activities. Therefore, this kind of research demands from the researcher a good deal of time and a strong purpose to include and involve the community at every step.

Also, in order to produce culturally respectful research, the researcher must be willing to modify her research plan to accommodate the interests and goals of the group. This can be problematic if the researcher arrives in the community with an inflexible research plan. Menzies elaborates on this idea: “[...] A full [research] plan or detailed letter of intent should be prepared in advance of the first meeting. It is important that the researcher be prepared and willing to modify the plan to accommodate the needs and protocols of the [community]” (2001, p. 22). The researcher must thus be well attuned and responsive to the needs and requests of the collective, to make sure the community understands that the study will not result in a one-way appropriation of TEK by the

western institution, and that the research will aim to produce recommendations that will be of practical use to the community. Moreover, the results of the research should be made available to the community for discussion, debate and review whenever possible (ibid.). This means that the researcher must make a meaningful effort to periodically share and discuss her findings and make modifications to her research upon request from community members. The involvement of the community at all stages of the research process is essential to the project's academic integrity and credibility in the eyes of the aboriginal community. At every step of my project, I sought to engage in meaningful community consultation with community members, and provided opportunities for AAFNA members to offer me guidance and advice.

My main objective in interviewing AAFNA members was to gain insight into Ardoch Algonquin place-specific TEK, *miyo-pimmadiziwin* and land management vision. I found that the semi-directive (or semi-structured) interview would be the method most useful to my own research. This method allows participants to help guide the interview and discuss themes not included in the original topics thought of in advance by the interviewer (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002). This main characteristic of the semi-directive interview makes it especially practical when conducting research on aboriginal people. Huntington (1998) found the semi-directive interview to be very useful and effective in his own research on TEK about beluga whales in Alaska. He observes that the semi-directive interview is a:

powerful method for documenting TEK. It allows the interviewer to capture a wide range of information by directing discussions to the extent necessary to cover topics thoroughly and in detail. It also allows the participants in the interview to discuss and describe their understanding of the topics, and to make connections based on that understanding rather than on the questions drawn up in advance by the interviewer (p. 241).

5.1 Data Collection

I worked with the AAFNA leadership, Elders and other community members during many visits over the course of one and a half years (September 2009-April 2011). My field research spanned a period of just over one year (February 2010-April 2011), during which I made frequent, often monthly, visits to the community (see Field Research Activities and Dates). These visits allowed me to participate in numerous cultural activities and events including volunteering at the *Manoomiin* Festival (community pow-wow—see Map 7 and Photos 7 and 8), as well as attending monthly community meetings. During the *Manoomiin* Festival, I had many insightful, though informal, discussions (after which I recorded my observations and thoughts in my field notebook) with a number of AAFNA members about Algonquin culture, TEK and their personal relationship with the land. Also, at the *Manoomiin* Festival, AAFNA leaders Bob Lovelace and Harold Perry held a public talk to discuss the cultural significance of AAFNA's *manoomiin* beds on Mud Lake, giving me the opportunity to observe—and record my thoughts on—how they represent publicly their traditional values and *miyo-pimaadiziwin* to an audience of the general, mostly non-aboriginal, public.

My field research also included a wilderness excursion with Elder Harold Perry, whose knowledge of his people's ancestral lands has been acquired over a lifetime of canoe building, hunting, gathering, trapping and similar traditional activities. My day spent on the land in his company afforded me a window into the practicable manifestations of Algonquin *miyo-pimaadiziwin* and TEK, as lived by an Elder. During the excursion, I made sure to carefully record in my field notebook my impressions of Perry's interactions with the land, as well as his thoughts, reflections and off-hand

comments as we walked in the forest and carried out various activities, many of which were Algonquin traditions, such as repairing canoes by hand and picking blackberries. One of the most highly respected Ardoch Algonquins, Perry is a living link to the last generation of Algonquins who were able to use their traditional lands relatively unimpeded by settlement and government land use regulation. The Perry family has occupied the same piece of land on Mud Lake for many generations. Perry was exposed to the traditional Algonquin ways since birth. However, with the encroachment of white settlement and land development and the concurrent decline of the traditional Algonquin lifestyle, he found himself forced to integrate into mainstream society in order to make a living. As a young man, he moved to Toronto to study to become a carpenter and an electrician. When he returned to North Frontenac, he established a successful construction business, which was his source of income until he retired. During one of our meetings, Perry recalled that during his childhood, Algonquin trappers, including his father, would congregate in his house and decide how to allocate traplines for the upcoming trapping season. By observing his interactions with the land, I was able to witness the abstract concepts of *miyo-pimaadiziwin* and Algonquin TEK in practice in his everyday life.

Regularly attending monthly community meetings allowed me to gain an intimate knowledge of the realities and inner workings of the community. My objective in attending AAFNA meetings was to learn as much as I could about Ardoch Algonquin history, culture, land ethic, sociopolitical strategy and relations with their neighbours and governments, by taking detailed notes during group discussions. I tried as much as possible to assume the role of an 'outside observer'. However, AAFNA leaders were very

welcoming, frequently asking me to share my ideas and suggestions with them.

Moreover, community members in attendance were very keen to know how my research was progressing. On my own initiative, I frequently gave the community brief updates at the community meetings. I presented my formal research proposal (conceived with the guidance and advice of AAFNA) at the December, 2010 meeting, and gave the Ardoch leadership two copies that were circulated to all interested members. I was pleased to receive very positive feedback and a great deal of encouragement from AAFNA members.

My interviews with community leaders were perhaps the most useful to me when it came time to express my understanding of AAFNA's *miyo-pimaadiziwin*-informed environmental ethic. Four community leaders (Co-Chiefs Mireille Lapointe and Paula Sherman, community historian and activist Bob Lovelace, and Elder Harold Perry) were officially interviewed about their personal opinions and views relating to TEK and *miyo-pimaadiziwin*, how this body of knowledge relates to AAFNA's current land use and resource management vision, and how adherence to these Algonquin values and traditions influence relations with non-AAFNA groups and governments. The interviews, which lasted between one and two hours, took place in the homes of the community members. Prior to conducting the semi-structured interviews, I had prepared a set of interview questions (see Interview Questions). The questions deal with the following themes: Algonquin spiritual ecology (TEK and *miyo-pimaadiziwin*), identity and culture; traditional land use; current challenges posed by Ontario's rural development strategy; and the interviewee's personal outlook on the future of AAFNA-Ontario relations. Electronic recording equipment was used in the interviews, with the exception of my

interview with Elder Perry. I judged that due to his old age and respect for the old ways, electronic recording equipment would make Perry uncomfortable and less likely to share intimate details about his life, experiences and his knowledge of the land. Information I gathered relating to the interviewees' understanding of *miyo-pimaadiziwin* and TEK, as well as their personal understanding of 'proper' land use, was to a large extent consistent, and it was possible to find meaningful parallels between their various statements. These discussions allowed me to understand the processes by which abstract notions of Algonquin TEK and *miyo-pimaadiziwin* and knowledge of the Ottawa River valley are understood and expressed to an outsider by AAFNA.

5.2 Data Analysis and Interpretation

The field and interview data collected was reviewed for general trends in AAFNA members' understanding of Algonquin TEK, *miyo-pimaadiziwin* and how this knowledge influences their own personal relationship with the land. Following a discussion with community meeting attendees, I decided not to use coding software to analyze the interviewees' responses, as the majority of those present told me they felt uncomfortable with regard to the possibility of ancient Algonquin knowledge being "reduced, filtered and dissected" using this western academic method. The review for trends in AAFNA members understanding of TEK and *miyo-pimaadiziwin* was done by compiling the field research data, synthesizing it and creating a comprehensive documented resume of the Ardoch Algonquin land management ethic comparable to Ontario's rural development policy documents. In order to do so, data obtained from my field research was classified, according to its nature, into different categories (e.g. "spiritual teachings", "cultural knowledge" and "manifested or concrete land management practices"). The AAFNA land

ethic that I was able to produce from this data contains a vision for the management of the “homeland”, as well as a series of general directives to be followed in order to achieve this vision. The results of this exercise appear in Table 1. of my thesis article (Chapter 2). Once I had transformed my data obtained from the Ardoch Algonquins into this table, I next performed a similar exercise with the Ontario rural policy documents in order to produce a “side-by-side” comparison of the AAFNA and Ontario government land use strategies. The Ontario government land management documents reviewed for this research tend to share a similar structure. Indeed, the first few pages of each of these documents contain a normative vision statement, reflecting the underlying land management philosophy, and subsequent sections present a course of action that identifies the processes needed to realize the management vision. This exercise in comparing the respective AAFNA and Ontario land use strategies enabled me to make direct comparisons between the Ardoch Algonquin land management ethic to that encapsulated in Ontario’s rural policy documents, and allowed me to pinpoint specific ways in which these two different visions either differ or espouse similar values. As I will discuss in my thesis article, there are many areas in which they differ, and these represent points of friction and potential sources of conflict that exist and will likely continue to persist in the absence of any actions to change the current dynamic of formal relations between AAFNA and the Ontario government. Nevertheless, I also found that a few key ideas and goals are shared by both parties; as a consequence, I identify some possible areas of reconciliation between the two approaches, which are outlined in Chapter 3.

5.3 Challenges and Limitations

In the sections of this thesis dealing with the history of AAFNA, there is a definite scarcity of available documentary sources. As described previously in section 2.3.1, this limitation can be ascribed to the fact that AAFNA is a non-status First Nation, and there is a strict paucity of published materials relating to its history. I am fortunate that Ardoch Algonquin scholar Bob Lovelace has taken the pains to consult all existing historical documents pertaining to (Ardoch) Algonquin occupation in North Frontenac and surrounding areas (personal communication, February, 2010). As a long-time resident of AAFNA's traditional territory, Lovelace has been keen to collect virtually all available TEK from Elders and other knowledge holders. Also, Huitema's (2000) doctoral thesis on the Ardoch Algonquin community, in particular its family histories, contains references to virtually all existing written documentation related to AAFNA. The information contained in Huitema's thesis certainly provided me with great help in learning more about the Ardoch Algonquins' origins and family histories.

Second, the members of AAFNA are territorially dispersed, and the lack of formal community structures made the task of finding a greater number of interviewees difficult. In status First Nations, most members live on-reserve, and community life revolves around the "band" (administrative) offices. In these communities, lists of various resource people are kept at the disposal of researchers and much of the general public. This bureaucratic procedure is absent from AAFNA's governance strategy, and this reality presented an added difficulty *vis-à-vis* identifying and locating potential interviewees.

Lastly, some AAFNA members whom I approached for an interview declined my request. I suggest a few factors that may explain such caution. First, members who, to some degree, lack formal education may not feel confident in discussing abstract ideas relating to their people's cultural knowledge. On many occasions, members deferred this role to the AAFNA leaders, who, except Elder Perry, are all highly educated in western institutions. Second, like many other traditional aboriginal people, Ardoch Algonquins place a high value on the integrity of their TEK. This can translate into reticence to share such intimate cultural knowledge with a university researcher, regardless of his cultural background.

5.4 Positionality and Personal Motivation

I first met Bob Lovelace and Harold Perry in the fall of 2008, during the environmental studies field course taught by Dr. Robert McLeman. Lovelace and Perry talked to our class about their experiences as members of a non-status Algonquin community. I was immediately interested in learning more about non-status First Nations, which I had been unfamiliar with until that day. In April, 2009 Dr. McLeman approached me with an MA project on the Ardoch community and their TEK, and I did not hesitate to accept his proposition. Since 2009, I have kept in close contact with the AAFNA leadership and have become involved with the community beyond my researcher's capacity. On many occasions I have been invited inside the homes of AAFNA members and consider many of them friends. As a result, I consider that I was able to gain a rare insight into the traditional Algonquin worldview and relationship with the land. Because of my close relationship with the community, I believe that many AAFNA members have come to trust that my research will benefit the community. Also, I imagine that being

aboriginal (member of the Huron-Wendat First Nation) helped me to create an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect with AAFNA members from the beginning. For example, I felt virtually no reluctance from the part of the interviewees when it came time to answer my questions or to provide me with information about *miyo-pimaadiziwn* and TEK. Furthermore, during our many interactions, Harold Perry treated me like a son and seemed happy to have a young person around to help with chores. He did not hesitate to guide me around AAFNA's traditional territory and share with me the customs and old knowledge of his people. Perhaps it would have been more difficult for a non-aboriginal researcher to acquire such intimate cultural knowledge from AAFNA members.

The reader may notice that this thesis tends to portray AAFNA as victims and the Ontario government as the aggressor. I personally view AAFNA as an embattled community that is engaged in a struggle against government and corporate forces that benefit from making non-status aboriginal groups "invisible." That is why I frequently present AAFNA's resistance in a favourable light. It is possible that a researcher from a different socio-cultural background could have favoured the Ontario government's position. Perhaps some may find AAFNA's mission can seem too romantic or impractical. Taking such a stance *vis-à-vis* this case would no doubt lead the researcher to draw conclusions in many aspects different from mine.

I am keenly aware of the need for harmonizing relations between aboriginal and non-aboriginal communities through the creation of mutually-usable channels of communication. In my opinion, the key to achieving this result is the erasure of the chasm that separates the indigenous and western (academic) epistemologies, or approaches to knowledge acquisition. For a variety of reasons, academia has traditionally been reluctant

to seek to understand indigenous ways of knowing and to incorporate relevant traditional knowledge concepts into fields related to environmental management. As an aboriginal person and a student of geography, I see my purpose as a cultural translator between two worlds that have historically not been able to meaningfully communicate. For this research project, this meant observing and documenting AAFNA's TEK and translating it into a written (scholarly) expression that can be understood by western academics unfamiliar with aboriginal knowledge, customs and land ethics. I believe this harmonization process will be mutually beneficial to the holders of both knowledge systems. It is my hope that this effort will help Canada (and the world) deal more credibly and effectively with complex environmental management challenges, by incorporating two distinct ways of knowing and traditions.

Chapter 2

Asserting *Miyo-Pimaadiziwin* on Unceded Algonquin Territory: Experiences of a Canadian ‘Non-Status’ First Nation in Re-establishing its Traditional Land Ethic

1. Introduction

For many aboriginal groups in Canada, land-based activities such as hunting, fishing and trapping are of great cultural and social importance, even where they are no longer the primary source of income or livelihood (Wilson, 2003). In theory, Canadian law guarantees the right of “Indians”—or First Nations as they are increasingly described—to maintain traditional livelihood activities on their ancestral lands (Cumming and Mickenberg, 1972). “Non-status Indians”—that is, First Nations not registered as Indians under the Government of Canada’s Indian Act—struggle to assert their rights to practice their traditional livelihood activities (Huitema, 2000; Lawrence, 2004)². Typically small in number and poorly resourced, non-status First Nations often find themselves in conflict with more powerful private interests pursuing intensive resource development activities on their traditional lands (Hawkes, 1989). Such developments are not just sanctioned, but actively encouraged by provincial governments, which have primary responsibility for administering land-based natural resources under Canada’s constitution (Hessing, Howlett, & Summerville, 2005). In the face of these threats, some

² “Non-status Indians” commonly refers to people who identify themselves as Indians but who are not entitled to registration on the Indian Register pursuant to the *Indian Act*. Some of them may be members of a First Nation [...]” (Non-Status Indians, 2010, par. 1).

“An individual recognized by the federal government as being registered under the *Indian Act* is referred to as a Registered Indian (commonly referred to as a Status Indian). Status Indians are entitled to a wide range of programs and services offered by federal agencies and provincial governments” (Indian Status, 2012, par. 1).

non-status First Nations are using a combination of traditional environmental knowledge, a renewed commitment to traditional subsistence activities, and self-developed spiritual ecologies to reassert their sovereignty over ancestral territories, strengthen the internal social cohesion of their communities, and to guide their interactions with their non-aboriginal neighbours and with governments.

Eastern Ontario's Ardoch Algonquin First Nation (AAFN) is one such group. AAFN members carry out cultural activities such as canoe building, hunting, trapping and harvesting wild rice on their traditional lands at the headwaters of the (Canadian) Mississippi, Madawaska, and Rideau rivers, lands that are part of a larger unresolved land claim made by Ontario's Algonquin peoples (Sherman, 2008). In recent decades, AAFN members have found themselves embroiled in conflicts over three particular issues: government licensing of outsiders to commercially harvest AAFN's wild rice beds; uranium exploration on AAFN's traditional lands; and, objections from non-aboriginal neighbours to AAFN's construction of a community cultural centre on publicly-held land. In the first two of these conflicts, AAFN members found their interests were shared by non-aboriginal residents of the area, strengthening relations between the two groups and aligning them against the provincial government and outside private interests. In the third case, however, AAFN members are at odds with their non-aboriginal neighbours, with the government's position uncertain.

In response to this ongoing environment of uncertainty and confrontation, AAFN members are increasingly drawing upon *miyo-pimaadiziwin* (AAFN's term for the Algonquin spiritual ecology), traditional Algonquin principles, knowledge and practices, to guide their relations with outsiders and to strengthen community

cohesiveness. This article reports findings from a multi-year participatory research project that sought to understand AAFN *miyo-pimaadiziwin*, to describe how it is understood and practiced by community members, and to use these insights as a lens to better understand the current and future trajectory of relations between AAFN members, governments, and outside interests engaged in resource development in this region. While AAFN members hope their *miyo-pimaadiziwin*-based values will foster mutual respect with non-aboriginal neighbours, the results are undetermined. However, what is plainly clear is that *miyo-pimaadiziwin* has traditionally been fundamentally at odds with rural and resource development strategies being promoted by the provincial government, meaning the potential for future and ongoing conflict is great. Although the two land strategies in contention are in many ways different, this analysis identifies some possible future areas of reconciliation in which the two approaches share common goals. The findings from the study contribute to broader scholarly efforts that seek to better understand the challenges faced by non-status First Nations in preserving cultural knowledge and traditional land-based activities more generally.

2. Background

2.1 Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), Co-Management and Algonquin Miyo-Pimaadiziwin

Canadian First Nations were traditionally non-literate, and little historical self-documentation exists of their traditional land use practices and understanding of the natural environment, often described as traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) (Inglis, 1993). TEK was accumulated over centuries of traditional land-based activities and transmitted orally and through experiential learning from one generation to the next. TEK

is consequently flexible in its incorporation of changing environmental conditions or socio-cultural realities on a 'real-time' basis. TEK guides its holders' interactions with the non-human world and with one another, while simultaneously regulating actions that can potentially affect future generations. TEK provides, " an intellectual foundation for an indigenous theory and practice of politics and ethics, centered on natural places and connection to the natural world, which is capable of generating a conservation ethic on the part of those who follow its principles" (Pierotti and Wildcat 2000, p. 1335) Non-aboriginal scholars may see TEK as providing aboriginal peoples an informational basis for land management and land use planning, along with a spiritual ecology/land ethic of the type wished for by Leopold (1949). However, for traditional aboriginal groups TEK goes well beyond this, and forms the very core of their identity. Many find it assists them in (re)asserting sovereignty over their physical and social spaces in the face of non-aboriginal administrative regimes (Huitema, 2000), examples including Northern Alberta's Lubicon Lake Cree (Hill, 1995).

Federal and provincial land use and management regimes often emphasize the need to incorporate the knowledge, practices and beliefs of aboriginal people in co-management agreements surrounding resource management (Berkes *et al.*, 1991). Research by leading TEK scholar Fikret Berkes has provided the foundation for several territorial co-management agreements between First Nations and the federal and/or provincial governments, which often are a condition included in land claim processes and a precondition for resource development on traditional aboriginal lands (*ibid*; Moller *et al.*, 2004). Co-management requires a sharing of knowledge between western academics, government researchers and decision makers and aboriginal elders, leaders and other

community members. In practical terms, co-management entails using a combination of western (scientific) and traditional aboriginal methods of monitoring the abundance of a certain resource, in many cases animal populations. This method allows policy makers to refer to the vast local knowledge of aboriginal people (Carlsson and Berkes, 2005).

In Canada, however, only recognized aboriginal groups have been the object of TEK research. Unfortunately, lack of federal recognition or status has to date been one of the principal reasons policy makers have discredited the traditional knowledge of non-status groups, refusing to share with them environmental management responsibilities. As documented in this project, traditional knowledge is not limited to official ‘Indians.’ By ignoring the traditional knowledge of non-status aboriginal groups, governments miss opportunities to gain insight into a wealth of knowledge that is relevant to present-day land management strategies, and which often dovetails with recent directions in formal land management processes.

In recent decades, eastern Ontario’s non-status Algonquins have turned to *miyo-pimaadiziwin*, a TEK-grounded spiritual ecology (Sherman, 2008). Algonquins have traditionally perceived the natural environment as being an interconnected web of relations, in which humans are not separate from the Natural World, but firmly embedded within it. *Miyo-pimaadiziwin* instils in its practitioners a spiritual duty to maintain an intimate relationship with the Algonquin homeland, known today as the Ottawa River watershed. *Miyo-pimaadiziwin* “is the epistemological theory that shapes our understandings of the world and our relationships with the Natural World. [This teaching] refers to the ability to live the ‘good life’ with a ‘good heart and mind’ ” (Sherman, 2008, pp. 70-71). Other First Nations sharing Algonquian linguistic lineage also use similar

terms, such as the Cree *mino-pimatisiwin*, which carries similar meaning and implications (see Settee, 2007).

2.2 Who are the Ardoch Algonquins?

Over 11,000 Algonquins currently live in the Ottawa River watershed, divided among nine officially recognized communities and a number of smaller, non-status groups, including the AAFN (Algonquin territory, 2012). The Algonquin people are part of a larger grouping of nations, including the Nipissing, Odawa and Ojibwe, who speak *Anishinaabemowin* (Algonquian) languages (Johnston, 1976). According to their creation stories, Algonquins have occupied the Ottawa River valley since time immemorial; archaeological records show that their ancestors have occupied the Ottawa River valley for at least 6,000 years (Funk, 1978). Historical documentation, survey records and oral traditions indicate their traditional settlement patterns, commonly consisting of small family groups living in permanent sites at strategic locations along waterways (Huitema, 2000). As European intrusion into their traditional lands expanded in the 19th century, Algonquin chiefs demanded to be compensated by colonial authorities for the loss of their traditional territories and livelihoods. In 1851, reserve territories were set aside for their occupation at River Desert (now Kitigan Zibi) and Lake Temiscaming, Quebec. A third territory at Golden Lake, Ontario was granted to them in 1873. Many Algonquin families relocated to these reserves and were thus granted official Indian status. Families who refused to abandon their traditional territories were not recognized by the authorities, meaning they and their descendants have never been officially recognized as status Indians (Holmes, 1998).

By the turn of the 20th century, mines, lumber mills, railroads and settlers' farms had spread across traditional Algonquin lands (Armstrong, 1976). Algonquin families who had chosen to remain near the present-day hamlet of Ardoch, Ontario, gradually adopted settlers' lifestyle and livelihoods that included a combination of subsistence farming, lumbering, trapping and guiding non-aboriginal hunters (Lovelace, n.d.). Their children were sent to public schools, and some families adopted Euro-Canadian names. Eventually, Algonquin homes became largely indistinguishable from the surrounding settlement. Forty years ago, under the leadership of (now Elder) Harold Perry, the descendants of the original Algonquin families of Ardoch and surrounding areas of North Frontenac township came together to form an official organization, the Ardoch Algonquin First Nation and Allies (AAFNA), whose key mandate is to publicly reassert Algonquin sovereignty over the traditional Algonquin homeland and protect members' interests. AAFNA does not make public official membership lists; current membership likely numbers several hundred.

Like other non-status First Nations, AAFNA must continually negotiate its socio-political and legal status with government and society outside the statutory framework of the Indian Act. AAFNA leaders publicly state that 'foreign governments' lack legal jurisdiction to define who is "Indian", and only Algonquin people have the right to determine membership in their community (Paula Sherman, interview, April, 2011). As one AAFNA member elaborated:

For me, rediscovering and reshaping my identity has been a real issue. The colonial game of proving who is Indian on paper directly contradicts the mission and philosophy of AAFNA. Ardoch decides what its citizenship laws are. This is something I cherish about Ardoch. The colonial bureaucracy decides on your identity with all the paperwork according to its own political agenda and its nation-building objectives. A lot of First Nations people forget that the minute you start

acquiescing to that, that you start letting that colonial mindset dictate the way you live and your relations with others, you're done. That's why we resist the government-imposed definition. (anonymous AAFNA member, personal communication, February, 2010) .

3. Land-Use Conflicts on AAFNA Territories in Recent Decades

Recent decades have witnessed AAFNA actively engaged in non-violent conflicts with governments and outside private interests over land and resources on AAFNA members' traditional territories. Three key events provide important background for understanding the context within which AAFNA members have developed a reinvigorated commitment to *miyo-pimaadiziwin*.

The first event is known locally as “the Rice War”. In the mid-1800s, during a time of drought and famine for the Ardoch Algonquin families, members of their close allies to the west, the Mississauga First Nation, brought wild rice (*manoomiin*) to be planted in Algonquin territory, in an attempt to save their friends from starvation (Sherman, 2008, p. 17). Elder Harold Perry and his ancestors have continuously tended to the community's wild rice beds in what is today called Mud Lake for over 150 years. The Perry family, which has lived on the shores of Mud Lake since before the time of European contact, and other Ardoch-area Algonquins, consider it their responsibility to protect the *manoomiin* in perpetuity. AAFNA members have never commercially harvested the rice, using it only for subsistence and cultural purposes.

In 1981 the Ontario government, which considers Mud lake and the wild rice beds to be on Crown land (the term for publicly-owned land in Canada), sold rice harvesting permits to a non-Aboriginal-owned enterprise (Pawlick, 2008, p. 167). An alliance of Ardoch Algonquins, other First Nations, and local non-Aboriginal residents physically blocked harvesting boats from accessing the lake, leading to a twenty-seven-day standoff

with police. The AAFNA-led alliance held successfully, and attempts to commercially harvest the rice were abandoned.

In 2006 Crown land in the vicinity of Crotch Lake on traditional AAFNA territory was staked by a private company for uranium exploration without AAFNA foreknowledge. Under Ontario's *Mining Act*, mineral exploration is freely permitted on most public and many private lands. Non-aboriginal landowners whose properties were also staked had no legal means to stop the exploration, and quickly joined AAFNA members in blocking road access to the sites. AAFNA leaders Bob Lovelace and Paula Sherman were subsequently arrested for refusing to comply with a court order to vacate the site, collectively fined \$40,000, and sentenced to six months imprisonment. These were later overturned on appeal, after Lovelace had served three months of his sentence. The mining company went bankrupt, its shareholders losing confidence in its ability to win its legal battles. Throughout the confrontation, the Ontario government refused to formally acknowledge AAFNA's aboriginal rights and title to their traditional lands.

AAFNA has for years planned to build a cultural centre on the eastern shore of Pine Lake, where community members could hold meetings and social events, and offer programs to non-members to about Algonquin history and culture. The province of Ontario expects AAFNA to comply with provincial and municipal building regulations, but since the site is on unceded Algonquin territory, AAFNA refuses to do so. Neither side is willing to make concessions, and negotiations are now at a stalemate. In contrast to the AAFNA-non-aboriginal alliances formed during the uranium mining conflict, many of its non-aboriginal neighbours do not support AAFNA in its plan, claiming it

unfair for AAFNA to bypass provincial and municipal regulations when non-aboriginals cannot.

4. Methods

This eighteen-month study (September 2009-April 2011) employed a mix of qualitative methods commonly practiced in participatory, ethnographic and geographic research (Berg, 2004; Limb & Dwyer, 2001; Pain, 2004). AAFNA leaders and community members were consulted in the creation and execution of the project. The project began with secondary research of existing literature on TEK, Algonquin history, and publications on *miyo-pimaadiziwin* by scholars specializing in Algonquian history, spirituality and culture (e.g. Holmes, 1998; Huitema, 2000; Lovelace, n.d.; Morrison, n.d., Settee, 2007; Sherman, 2007; 2008 and many others). Primary information about AAFNA *miyo-pimaadiziwin* was gathered through direct participant-observer method common in ethnographical and cultural anthropological research (Jorgensen, 1989; Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994). Frequent visits were made to the community, where I participated in regular AAFNA cultural activities, monthly community meetings, and special events such as the annual *Manoomiin* Festival (community pow-wow), where I worked as a volunteer. A wilderness excursion with an AAFNA Elder allowed me to observe TEK in practice on the land. When attending community events and observing interactions among AAFNA members and with others, I took careful notes as soon as possible after each interaction. To collect further primary information and to better interpret my own observations, I conducted lengthy, semi-structured interviews with four community leaders about their own views relating to TEK, *miyo-pimaadiziwin*, and their significance for AAFNA identity and culture. The semi-structured method allowed

participants to help guide the interview and discuss themes not included in my original questions (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002). My interview questions also covered such areas as challenges posed by the Ontario government's current land use strategy and interviewees' outlook for the future of AAFNA-Ontario relations.

Information obtained from my field research was classified into generalized categories (e.g. "cultural", "manifested land management", etc) for easier analysis and scanned for trends and convergences in AAFNA members' explanation of Algonquin spiritual ecology and my own observations of it in practice. This also enabled me to generate a systematic comparison between AAFNA's *miyo-pimaadiziwin*-based understanding of appropriate land management and the Ontario government's land management strategies as outlined in Ontario's *Rural Development Plan* (2004), *Mineral Development Strategy* (2006) and *Rural Economic Development Program* (2008). Project findings were formally presented to AAFNA members for comment and approval. Highlights from the project that capture key aspects of AAFNA *miyo-pimaadiziwin* and its significance now follow.

5. Highlights of the Project's Findings

5.1 Representation of Miyo-Pimaadiziwin by AAFNA Members to One Another

AAFNA holds monthly meetings open to all community members, where decisions are made collaboratively and *miyo-pimaadiziwin* is displayed and reproduced. Topics frequently discussed at these meetings include fund raising, relations with governments and non-aboriginal residents of the area, issues relating to land management (e.g. hunting and fishing allowances, wild rice harvesting and processing, etc.) and administrative matters. Although the meetings are formal and structured, the leadership

allows all members to have a say in AAFNA affairs, especially in decisions about land management. Meetings usually begin with leaders making short presentations about pressing issues. AAFNA leaders carefully avoid expressing their own feelings on a given topic as it is being discussed, maintaining a neutral tone while the benefits and disadvantages of a certain proposed activity or plan are thoroughly discussed by all in attendance. At one meeting, AAFNA's consensus-based approach to decision making was described to attendees as being analogous to a canoe expedition, in that for a canoe to move efficiently in the desired direction, all must paddle in unison. In other words, all members must agree on an issue before any action or decision is taken, with no one person having authority to make decisions on the behalf of other members.

When AAFNA members are divided on an issue, particularly one related to the land, Honorary Chief and Elder Harold Perry is always called on, and his advice is invariably heeded by the community. Perry is among the oldest members of the community, and was the leader of AAFNA resistance during the Rice War. He also has the most experience and knowledge of traditional Algonquin land-based activities, most notably canoe building. He is old enough to recall a time past when there were many Algonquin trappers in the region, who would meet each year in his father's home to discuss the coming season's trapping activities, and how traplines would be allocated. Perry is as a bridge between the ancient ways of *miyo-pimaadiziwin* and efforts of younger members to reintegrate them in present-day land use plans.

5.2 Miyo-Pimaadiziwin as Expressed to the Outside Community

The annual *Manoomiin* Festival provides the AAFNA an opportunity to celebrate their culture and serves as a vehicle through which they represent *miyo-pimaadiziwin* to

the broader population. It attracts several hundred aboriginal and non-aboriginal visitors each September and is organized so that outsiders with little to no knowledge of aboriginal culture feel welcome. Visitors are given opportunities to engage with AAFNA members in cross-cultural discussions and to learn more about *miyo-pimaadiziwin* as a land ethic. One example is a “talking circle” organized for non-aboriginal attendees, to explain how AAFNA uses *miyo-pimaadiziwin* as a general governance tool. Two AAFNA leaders described how the annual *manoomiin* harvest and its attendant practices are ways by which ancient traditions continue to inform and guide present-day community life. Attendees’ questions were numerous and showed appreciation for this window into a world that can otherwise appear difficult to access. At the closing of the Festival, AAFNA drew the winning ticket for a highly successful eight month-long fundraising draw, the first prize being a canoe hand built by Elder Perry. At the draw, Perry’s canoe-building skills were praised by AAFNA leadership during a speech delivered to those in attendance. The choice of the first prize is significant. A canoe is the highest material symbol of Algonquin-ness and that people’s attachment to their traditional landscape. Offering a canoe built by Perry as the first prize reflects the high regard in which AAFNA members hold their Elder and his traditional Algonquin knowledge.

5.3 Miyo-Pimaadiziwin as Practiced and Lived by an Ardoch Algonquin Elder

Most opportunities for me to observe *miyo-pimaadiziwin* were at formal settings or the somewhat artificial environment of an interview. In August, 2010, I accompanied Chief Perry on a wilderness excursion onto AAFNA’s traditional lands. The Perry family has occupied the same site on Mud Lake since beyond memory. His parents actively

practiced the traditional Algonquin subsistence lifestyle, which revolves around canoeing, hunting, fishing, and trapping fur-bearing animals, and these skills were transmitted to Elder Perry through repetition, practice and tutelage from his parents. This excursion provided me an unstructured opportunity to experience of *miyo-pimaadiziwin* as practiced privately, without an audience.

The day began with a greeting from Perry and his wife, after which we spent an hour or so fixing holes in the roof of his workshop (in the Algonquin tradition, young people are expected to help Elders in any way they can, especially if they seek to gain knowledge from them.) While we worked, Perry described his daily trek to elementary school when he was a child:

It was quite a long walk through the bush to get to school. Back in those days, my family lived off bush meat—we didn't have any supermarkets around. I would carry my rifle on the walk to school and hunt partridge and hare on the way, trying to do my part to put food on the table. I would also set snares and check them from time to time. But I would never take more than what I needed from the bush. My family never knew starvation, and we were lucky to be well fed and healthy, but we only used what was needed to get by, never anything more.

After chores, we prepared to go into the bush to patch up one of his hand-built canoes stored some miles away at Fawn Lake (see Map 7). Perry carefully and methodically prepared his tools and materials. He described how the canoe is intrinsically intertwined with the traditional Algonquin identity and was once perhaps the most important object to Algonquins. Canoeing was not only a means of transportation but also imperative to self-defence, hunting and fishing—thus to survival. Perry explained Algonquins treated their canoes with utmost respect, keeping them in prime condition, free of scratches or blemishes. He still follows this practice.

On our walk through the forest, Perry made frequent stops to describe the plant and animal species encountered. Arriving at a flooded clearing, he said

There's a beaver dam around here. You can learn a lot about how to treat the land and the water by watching the beaver. They know how to create balance around them. Even though they cut down trees and flood some of the landscape, their presence in the forest creates balance, harmony and abundance for a great variety of both water and land species, giving us [Algonquins] a model of how to act within our homeland.

When we got to Fawn Lake, Perry repaired a small fissure in the belly of one of his canoes. He explained that when interacting with the canoe, one's every movement has to be executed slowly and respectfully, with purpose—never rushed. “You can't be in a hurry when doing these kinds of things. Being hasty means a lack of respect for your canoe”. When finished, Perry guided me to his “secret” blackberry patch, concealed by high brush, a short distance from the main deer trail. While eating the wild berries, of which Perry seemed particularly fond, he described how as a child he would sometimes come home late from school after having collected berries on his walk home. Long a staple of the traditional Algonquin diet, Perry told me hunters would know the exact locations of blackberry and other wild fruit patches throughout their territory, and knew when a black bear would be in the berry patch. He observed,

Knowledge of those things is really important to us Algonquins. It's not just about having fun hunting and fishing, picking berries and harvesting the rice. It's about food security for the community, being self-sufficient. My ancestors and my family were self-sufficient. We were able to get by thanks to our knowledge of the land and its animals and plants.

After eating many blackberries, Perry debated taking me fishing, but judged the lake level was too high (which he pointed out was strange for that time of year) and that, consequently, the fishing would be poor. He then took a quick nap under a maple tree, a species traditionally tapped by Algonquins in the spring to make maple syrup. That

evening, when we got back to Perry's home, his wife had (quite apropos) prepared for us a meal including wild rice (from Mud Lake) pudding. The wild rice, Perry observed, is harvested communally in late August to early September by AAFNA members using traditional tools. AAFNA's annual communal wild rice harvest led by Perry is a particularly important event with regard to teaching the younger generations the importance of self-sufficiency and food security. Perry remarked,

Harvesting the rice with modern tools and machinery would be disrespectful to it. It's necessary to maintain that connection to the rice, which is impossible if you use modern tools and motor boats. That physical relationship with the land is what has allowed us Algonquins to thrive in this environment and achieve balance with nature.

This summary of that day spent in the company of Perry is only a coarse overview of *miyo-pimaadiziwin* as it is practiced by an Elder in his people's traditional territory. AAFNA TEK is highly place-specific, having evolved from Algonquin "canoe culture", and values land skills, hunting and gathering skills, and a deliberate behaviour of being a member of natural systems and not an observer or manipulator of them.

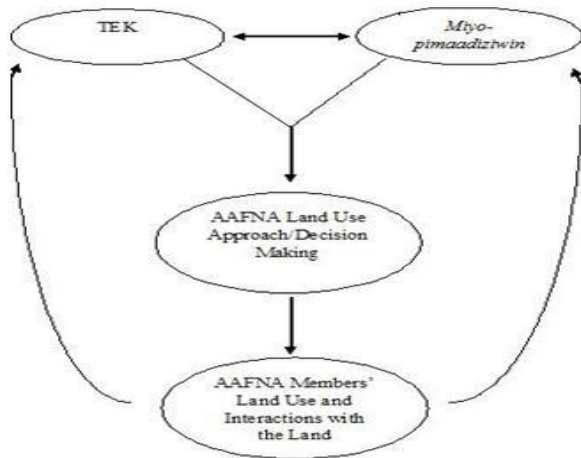
Elder Perry's most subtle actions while on the land are the product of generations of intimate interaction with this territory's dense network of lakes and rivers. Younger AAFNA members seek to recapture and re-appropriate these to be the foundation of their spiritual and cultural identity. AAFNA's consensus-based decision-making, their self-representation to others through the *Manoomin* festival and other representations of *miyo-pimaadiziwin* not described here are clearly and deliberately derived from what I observed being practiced on the land by Elder Perry. It is therefore unsurprising that AAFNA members are publicly reasserting control over their ancestral lands and react

quickly to perceived threats to that land, for *miyo-pimaadiziwin* originates from the land and cannot be practiced in isolation from it.

Reliance on *miyo-pimaadiziwin* presents a future challenge for AAFNA. Leaders acknowledge it is increasingly difficult to entice young Ardoch Algonquins to participate in traditional activities and thereby maintain a strong land-based identity. Some interviewees attributed this to the fact that AAFNA members are dispersed over a large area and lack a spatially defined community. Since AAFNA dedicates much of its time and energy to securing funding for its activities, less time is available for cultural activities. Members believe AAFNA youths should have more contact and interaction with elders and hope to establish more cultural programs and land-based activities for them. Whether this challenge can be met remains to be seen.

Figure 1 below is a visual representation of AAFNA's land ethic, based on its TEK and *miyo-pimaadiziwin*, summarizing the points discussed in this section. In this model, the assumption is that Ardoch Algonquin TEK and *miyo-pimaadiziwin* are linked to, and mutually reinforce, one another. In turn, both Algonquin TEK and *miyo-pimaadiziwin* influence AAFNA's land use strategies and decision making in equal measure and on an ongoing basis. Ultimately, AAFNA members' interactions with the land are informed by AAFNA's land use approach. However, AAFNA members' relationships with the land, and the knowledge continually gained through land use and occupation, also add new information to AAFNA's TEK and *miyo-pimaadiziwin*, which, due to their nature, continue to evolve indefinitely.

Figure 1. AAFNA's land ethic



6. Implications of AAFNA *Miyo-Pimaadiziwin* for Relations with Non-Aboriginal Neighbours and the Ontario Government

6.1 Good Indians Gone Bad: Miyo-Pimaadiziwin and AAFNA's Relations with its Non-Aboriginal Neighbours

Non-Aboriginal support for AAFNA's *miyo-pimaadiziwin*-inspired land use vision has been strongest when both parties' interests are aligned, such as during the uranium exploration episode described above. Great public outcry arose over the incarceration of AAFNA leaders, and the opinion section of the local newspaper, *Frontenac News*, contained many comments by local residents supporting AAFNA's blockade. The contrasts between residents' descriptions of the AAFNA and government's positions are notable. One resident wrote, "Lovelace and Sherman are trying to protect the integrity of *their* land from the devastation of uranium mining, which will affect *us all* far beyond the immediate area and poison the land, air and water forever" (Muysson, 2008, par. 11, my emphasis). She then compared Lovelace and Sherman to internationally recognized peace leaders:

In my eyes, Paula Sherman and Robert Lovelace now join the ranks of Nelson Mandela and Rosa Parks in their fight against injustice. Ultimately this travesty of justice and the results of willful ignorance of the dangers of uranium mining will rest squarely on the shoulders of [Ontario] Premier Dalton McGuinty (par. 15).

Another reader wrote that the mining conflict was not simply an Aboriginal issue, and that

[m]any misunderstand this as a local Native land claim. This is a fight for *all people* everywhere who want an Earth to safely live upon. Algonquins have a *special legal place* in this protest, yes. But your neighbours, local lands, cottages, lakes, other mining sites, world organizations, and religious groups—are involved (Bate, 2008, par. 19, my emphasis).

Expressing the need to address what she considers the deeper problems of systemic racism and discrimination in society, another Frontenac resident wrote that

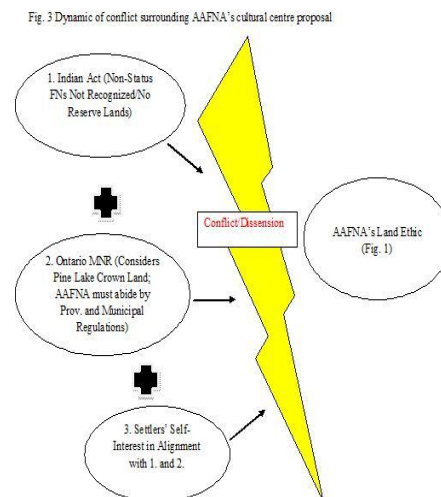
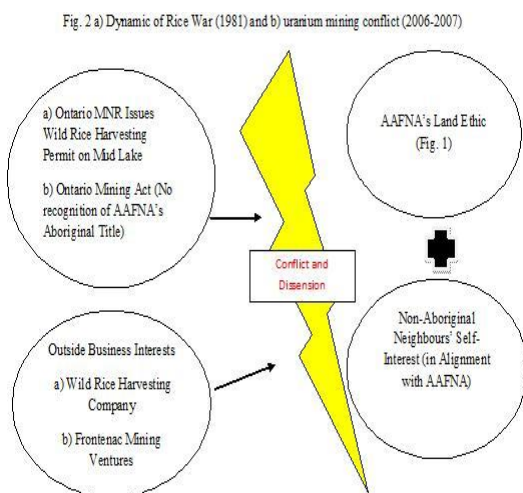
Justice Cunningham failed to understand the Ardoch Algonquins' *constitutional rights* and Ontario and Canada's duty to consult with them regarding use of Crown land. His decision to incarcerate Bob Lovelace and inflict a heavy fine reflects the *colonialist bias* of the courts. I'm ashamed of our legal system (Cedar, 2008, par. 26, my emphasis).

It is difficult to overlook the fact that each writer states they believe that AAFNA holds title and/or special legal rights over the land in question, and that government official and the mining company have infringed upon these. By contrast, when, shortly after the uranium conflict, AAFNA announced its intention to build a cultural centre on Crown land, public support for the AAFNA and the idea that Crown land was actually unceded AAFNA territory quickly vanished. One *Frontenac News* letter in particular encapsulates the non-aboriginal residents' views of AAFNA's plan:

Frankly, I am confused. Why do we have a building code and environmental assessment regulations? Are they meaningless or optional? How can a group of people not abide by *our* laws and then justify *their* actions by saying *they* have history here? I have history here. I also do my best to follow the laws of *our* country because I want to live in peace with my neighbours. All I ask is that my neighbours do the same (Derue-Lane, 2007, par. 3, my emphasis).

AAFNA’s actions have been consistent with their land ethic throughout these conflicts and their interludes. Non-aboriginal residents, lacking an understanding of *miyo-pimaadiziwin*, are sympathetic to AAFNA traditions and land use when it serves their own purposes. During the impasse over mining, non-aboriginal residents saw AAFNA’s claim to Aboriginal title as the only robust way to mount a legal challenge; when AAFNA members attempt to establish a tangible symbol of their sovereignty (as is the case during with the Pine Lake contention), non-aboriginals feel threatened. AAFNA members feel they are judged by their neighbours according to a “good Indian/bad Indian” dichotomy. An AAFNA member expresses this sentiment when defending a fellow Ardoch Algonquin who was criticized by local non-aboriginal residents for refusing to purchase an Ontario licence to hunt on unceded Algonquin land: “As long as he [fellow AAFNA member] is a good little Indian and plays by your rules, you love him. But when he stands up for what he believes in and what he was taught as a kid, he’s no longer a good person” (quoted in Pawlick, 2008, p. 211).

Figures 2 and 3 below highlight the different dynamics underpinning the conflicts discussed above.



The above conceptual model distinguishes the dynamic of the Pine Lake contention from that of the Rice War and uranium mining conflicts. As depicted in this model, the main difference in the Pine Lake case is the lack of non-aboriginal support for AAFNA. Non-status First Nations like AAFNA do not possess defined territories or reserve lands, unlike status groups. As a result, the Ontario government considers AAFNA's ancestral territories as Crown land. In the Pine Lake case, the province affirmed that AAFNA must abide by any and all provincial and municipal building codes and regulations if it was to build a cultural centre on publically owned land. The non-aboriginal locals, who must also observe provincial and municipal regulations, felt AAFNA's resistance was unfair and that their actions amounted to little more than a display of contempt for civil order. Consequently, for the most part the local non-aboriginal population aligned itself with government policy makers against AAFNA. The Ardoch Algonquins, refusing to recognize the province's authority and claim to the land, remained adamant to follow its traditional governance strategy based on TEK and *miyo-pimaadiziwin*. In this contention AAFNA was not only resisting the federal and provincial legislative structures but also pressure from their non-aboriginal neighbours to follow the "rules" just like everyone else.

6.2 Miyo-Pimaadiziwin and Relations with the Ontario Government

AAFNA has tense relations with the Ontario government on virtually every issue that arises between them. Table 1. compares results of an analysis of key provincial government planning documents pertaining to rural land use with AAFNA's *miyo-pimaadiziwin* land ethic translated to a similar format and language. As can be seen, the

two sides have fundamentally different approaches to land management in terms of the types of land use activities that are considered appropriate, knowledge base upon which is founded the decision of what constitutes “appropriate” (i.e. land management approach), and how such activities should be executed.

Table 1. Objectives of the two approaches

	Ontario Land Management Approach	AAFNA Land Ethic
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Create a rural economy that attracts/maintains investments -Reinvigorate rural areas, promote socioeconomic vitality -Allow rural areas to increasingly contribute to the greater provincial economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -To exercise social/spiritual responsibility as Algonquins to protect the ‘homeland’ -To maintain the Natural World’s replenishment cycles and to strive for proportion and balance <i>vis-à-vis</i> development - Food/Energy security
Epistemological origins	Rationalism, Reductionism, western science	<i>Miyo-Pimaadiziwin</i> , The Guiding Principles, “circular” thinking
Legal framework	British Common Law (Constitutional/Statute Law)	Algonquin (Customary) Law (derived from <i>miyo-pimaadiziwin</i>)
Geographical scale of interest	The province in its entirety	Ottawa River watershed (traditional Algonquin homeland)
Knowledge base	Western science, Neoliberal economic principles	TEK, Elders, decentralized knowledge sharing, transmission/acquisition of knowledge through maintaining an active relationship with the land
Timeframe	Determined according to political mandate	Multigenerational, “inextinguishable spiritual responsibility”
Main Objective(s)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Economic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Ensure Ontario’s rural areas can compete in today’s global marketplace -Social: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - -Promote public well-being and prosperity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Create a local/regional, self-sustaining economy less dependent on global market forces - -Betterment of local communities, increased

-Spiritual:	----- - -None	community involvement and participation ----- - -Fulfilling the Algonquin spiritual duty of maintaining a close relationship with the land
Leadership structure	Hierarchical	“Transactional” (interactive)
Decision maker(s)/power holder(s)	Government policymakers	All community members
Environmental management strategy	-Encourage economic opportunities related to natural resources extraction while minimizing negative environmental impacts	-Manage human behaviour and interaction with the Natural World in the Ottawa River watershed (watershed approach) -Recognizing and protecting the Natural World’s “intrinsic right to carry out its duties with minimal obstruction from human enterprise” (Paula Sherman, interview, April, 2011)
Environmental protection/regulation framework	Provincial policies, legislation, regulation relating to environmental protection	Algonquin Law, in accordance with The Guiding Principles and <i>miyo-pimaadiziwin</i>

(Sources: Ontario Rural Plan (2004); Ontario Mineral Development Strategy (2006); Ontario Rural Economic Development Plan (2008) and AAFNA members’ interview data)

It is worth observing that AAFNA “land use planning” is place-specific; the Ontario government’s is not, and so it is not surprising their respective land management visions have opposite objectives and strategies for realizing these. The traditional Ontario government and traditional Algonquin approaches to land management have to date been largely irreconcilable. The values and goals entrenched in a place- and consensus-based

land use model are inherently antithetical to the ones encompassed in a neoliberal, generic managerial ethos. AAFNA states it will continue to exercise its sovereignty over the Algonquin homeland and fulfill its spiritual obligation to protect its ancestral territories from “reckless development”.

In recent decades there has been a shift in the scientific community’s approach toward environmental management. A growing number of scientific studies seem to be pointing to the need for policy makers to adopt a broader, more comprehensive, land management strategy (Bohn and Kershner, 2002). Much in line with AAFNA’s vision (outlined in Table 1), this approach calls for the establishment of larger, ecologically significant management areas like watersheds, instead of the more narrow-focused jurisdictional approach that divides ecosystems into smaller management zones (ibid.; Sabathier *et al.*, 2005). The Ontario government has enacted legislation consistent with this new scientific current. The province’s *Clean Water Act* and corresponding Source Water Protection programme explicitly recognize that understanding and managing whole watersheds is the key to maintaining the quality of its aquifers. This requires close communication and cooperation between the many communities located within a watershed. Algonquins have a centuries-old tradition of watershed management, which underlines their cosmology and cultural organization. As a group with TEK so well-suited to considering the networks of relations that make up complex ecosystems such as watersheds, AAFNA could provide the province meaningful input on more holistic watershed management, were the province to recognize AAFNA presence and experience, and work with the Ardoch community toward greater partnership.

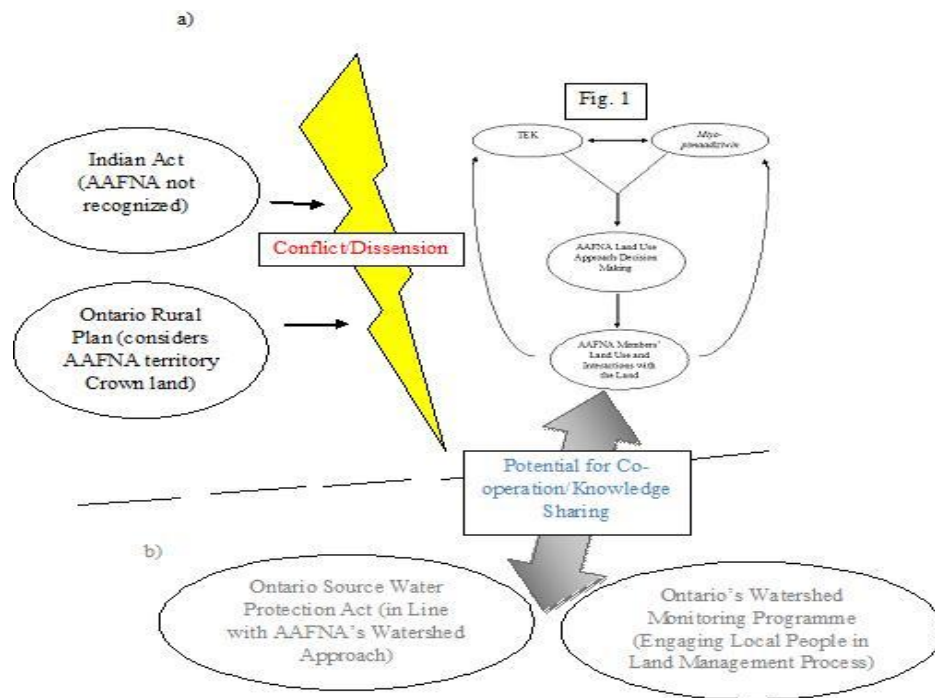
AAFNA's governance model also seeks to engage local residents, both aboriginal and non-aboriginal, in the processes of land use and management. AAFNA believes that the best way to manage the land is to include the input and observations of all persons living on it. One possible way to strive toward a land/resource 'co-management agreement' between local residents and the Ontario government would be for policy makers to periodically host community meetings across the territory being managed. In recent years the Ontario government has put in place an environmental management project that aims to more actively involve local residents, an approach similar to AAFNA's. The Mississippi River Watershed Watch programme relies on local volunteers to systematically monitor the quality of the Mississippi River and its tributaries. This local knowledge and data is then used to supplement scientific studies so policy makers have a wider array of information and evidence at their disposal to make the soundest management decisions possible.

Empowering local communities and their residents is one main objective of rural land management that is shared by AAFNA and the Ontario government. Regular community meetings—taken after AAFNA's model—would be an ideal setting for local residents to share their observations about changing environmental conditions, fluctuations in species populations and any other relevant land management information. Policy makers could then compile the data gathered at the community meetings to assist in gaining a more complete understanding of the management area and keep track of changes through the years. Such a process would allow environmental managers to more effectively and meaningfully incorporate forms of local/traditional knowledge and observations into the scientific literature, resulting in the creation of stronger decision

making tools relating to land management, in particular within the context of the Watershed Watch programme.

The province’s rural land management strategy and practices, supported by various legislations, has traditionally been radically opposed to AAFNA’s place- and consensus-based land use and governance strategies. However, the above analysis and discussion allows us to conclude that the two approaches are in fact reconcilable in some regards. Should future co-operation and collaboration relating to land management take place between AAFNA and the Ontario government, the dynamic of their currently strained relationship would change. The following model illustrates both: a) the present-day nature of the AAFNA-Ontario government relationship and b) the possible future scenario assuming co-operation and knowledge sharing between the two parties.

Fig. 4 a) Present-day AAFNA/Ontario government relations/ b) potential future AAFNA/Ontario government relations



Separate from AAFNA's traditional governance structure/land ethic (described in Fig. 1) are government institutional processes and legislative frameworks, namely the Indian Act and Ontario's provincial land use strategy and their corresponding policies and regulations. Due to their traditionally different natures, values and goals, the institutional and traditional governance processes exist in opposition to one another. AAFNA leaders and other members, who are unwavering in their adherence to traditional Algonquin knowledge and values, consider the federal and provincial institutional processes as a threat to their ancestral territories—thus to their livelihoods. As a result, relations between AAFNA members and the Ontario government are disharmonious and the potential for heated disagreement and conflict remains high. In the second scenario, two provincial legislations are presented as possible entry points for Ardoch TEK and *miyo-pimaadiziwin*, implying that they are in some ways compatible and share common goals.

7. Conclusion

By virtue of their falling outside the binary definitions of Indian/non-Indian dictated by the Canadian government, non-status First Nations have an opportunity to renegotiate the term “Indian”. In doing so, these groups have the potential to create new definitions and understandings of the term that are more relevant to and respectful of their own histories, cultures and realities. AAFNA is pursuing such a course through *miyo-pimaadiziwin*, its members asserting that their identity is “conferred to us with stories and knowledge about our ancestors' way of life, not with papers” (anonymous AAFNA member, personal communication, February, 2010). AAFNA members intend to keep providing the mainstream society with a living example of how to find present-day

relevance in the ancient Algonquin—and more generally indigenous—ways. “There’s middle ground, but not between the government and indigenous societies. The middle ground is between humans. Our role and spiritual duty as a community is to continue to educate mainstream society, and to share our knowledge about an alternative way of life, which was taught to us by our homeland...and we’re not giving up” (Bob Lovelace, interview, April, 2011).

Interviewees in different ways expressed their strong belief that all humans share an innate desire to seek balance with the Natural World, in an “indigenous” way. AAFNA members believe the current societal order and organization is unsustainable, and that climate change and food and energy security will soon become pressing concerns. The challenges that will arise from these issues, they argue, will force western society to effect significant transformations in the ways it has conceptualized the position of human beings in relation to place and time. AAFNA realizes that it cannot impose its vision on other communities. Rather, it rationalizes that it can and must provide a viable environmental ethic as a model for the broader collective, allowing society to “concentrate on teaching the children to provide for themselves in a replenishing way. We [AAFNA] need to share this knowledge with all Ontarians and Canadians” (Bob Lovelace, interview, April, 2011).

Through its many trials and tribulations, AAFNA maintains an overarching belief that it must act as a model society to help reawaken in all humans the intrinsic consciousness that stems from *miyo-pimaadizwin*—a term I personally have come to understand as, essentially, a profound sense of belonging to the land. Whether it will be successful in doing so remains to be seen. It is clear that AAFNA’s non-Algonquin

neighbours and the Ontario government share few of the key sentiments encompassed by *miyo-pimaadiziwin*. In their recent history, the Ardoch Algonquins' identity has stood up to the many challenges presented by the advent and pervasiveness of western lifeways. However, AAFNA is confident that by leading through example and over time educating its neighbours, the mainstream will come to accept that it is in its interest to assist in the maintenance and strengthening of a way of life and its corresponding knowledges that have since time beyond memory proven a true and universal survival value.

AAFNA's governance strategy, deeply rooted in the traditional Algonquin spiritual ecology, has similarities with those of other non-status First Nations in Ontario and the rest of Canada. AAFNA and other like-minded communities have begun to embrace traditional teachings that had long been forgotten due to the sociocultural repercussions of a centuries-old colonial legacy. These communities have in recent years come to readopt and once again practice traditional activities on the land steeped in ancient knowledges and customs. The hope is that the reintroduction of traditional knowledge in present-day land management and governance strategies will assist these groups in reasserting their territorial sovereignty and rebuilding a collective identity, as well as guiding their relations with governments and the broader society. Faced with the ever-increasing threat of environmental (and cultural) degradation from government and corporate resource development projects on their traditional territories, more and more First Nations across Canada are conceptualizing and realizing self-developed TEK-based land ethics to reaffirm their self-perceived role as custodians of the land. This analysis of AAFNA's experiences in reasserting *miyo-pimaadiziwin* on the unceded Algonquin homeland sheds light on the nascent—but quickly expanding—current that has seen

indigenous groups the world over reintroducing traditional governance models as a way of blocking potentially nefarious development projects on their lands.

Berkes' research on the foundation of TEK and its methods of transmission has been instrumental in the creation of co-management agreements between aboriginal groups and the federal and provincial governments. One of the key ideas espoused by the Berkes school literature is that it is possible to reconcile western (scientific) and indigenous knowledge relating to environmental management. By combining the two knowledge systems and creating a holistic approach, policy makers have at their disposal a more effective and comprehensive approach to land management. However, Berkes work TEK research and work on co-management has so far only focused on federally recognized aboriginal groups such as the Inuit and James Bay Cree. The field research and data presented here suggest that non-status groups like AAFNA also possess TEK that is relevant and useful to the broader society. The Ardoch community is eager to share this knowledge with Ontario, for it believes that in it is contained the essence of an alternative to the western model of spatial and societal organization. AAFNA remains optimistic that, in time, it will be given a chance to do so.

Chapter 3 – Summary and Conclusions

3.1 “Closing the Circle”

This project has documented how traditional Algonquin knowledge and *miyo-pimaadiziwin* jointly lay the foundation upon which lies AAFNA’s current environmental governance strategy and vision, and which place it in opposition to, and sometimes conflict with, governments, outside interests, and its non-Aboriginal neighbours (illustrated in Figure 1., section 3., Chapter 1). *Miyo-pimaadiziwin* serves as an ethical tool to guide AAFNA members' relations with the land and other human beings, including human institutions like governments. Canada's Indian Act delegitimizes aboriginal groups like the Ardoch Algonquins’ who claim sovereignty on their traditional homeland outside the parameters of the Act. The Indian Act facilitates the execution of the Ontario government's land use and management regime, which is heavily dependent on large-scale resource development projects in rural Ontario, on AAFNA lands. The combined effects of these federal and provincial government processes work against AAFNA’s values and interests, and present an ongoing threat to the integrity of AAFNA traditional lands and the social cohesion of AAFNA itself. In the absence of any change in this dynamic, such as a renewed government commitment to land claim negotiations with non-status Algonquin groups, tensions and occasional conflicts between AAFNA and the Ontario government (as illustrated in Figure 1.3) will persist. AAFNA will continue to openly challenge the “colonial authority”, and its leadership asserts that nothing will stop it from realizing its traditional Algonquin vision on the homeland. This, I submit, is a loss to our society, for eastern Ontarians could benefit greatly from AAFNA TEK, and the AAFNA way of using *miyo- pimaadiziwin* as an organizing principle to

land management is in some aspects to current directions being pursued by the Ontario government in recent resource management strategies and legislation. The following sections, which summarize the key findings of the project, should be seen in this context.

3.2 The Nature of the Conflict and AAFNA's Distrust for "Foreign" Governments

One of the main economic strategies outlined in Ontario's Rural Plan is to continue to foster growth in Ontario's traditional rural industries. Growth in these industries is seen as the key to reinvigorating stagnant rural economies. This strategy is irreconcilable with AAFNA's understanding of responsible development, which is informed by *miyo-pimaadiziwin*. The current prevalent economic ideal of 'limitless' economic growth is, as described by Sherman, reckless and dangerous, as it fails to consider the limits of the Natural World. To the AAFNA leadership, Ontario's rural development strategy is an affront and a challenge to Algonquins' spiritual responsibility as stewards of the land for all Ontarians. Ontario's current rural development vision "delegitimizes and ridicules indigenous peoples' claim of spiritual and social responsibility to the land in order to promote a Eurocentric vision of limitless economic growth based on unchecked resource extraction" (Paula Sherman, interview, April, 2011). Furthermore, the AAFNA leadership views the government of Ontario's mandate to promote the public good (the reasoning behind all policy documents) as dishonest and illegitimate. AAFNA believes that any policies or strategies related to development in the Ottawa River valley must be conceived in partnership with the Algonquin people. Nevertheless, the Ardoch Algonquins believe that this is unlikely to happen, as "they [government of Ontario] see the "Algonquin Commons" as a resource, a gravel pit, a

uranium mine, a forest to be cut. They do not see it as an ecosystem or an environment [...] (Bob Lovelace, interview, April, 2011). Therefore, in the eyes of AAFNA leaders, the Province's current rural land management policy consists in "continuing to support and promote a society that depends on unbridled resource extraction" (ibid.). Consequently, the central vision and strategies contained in Ontario's Rural Plan are almost entirely opposed by the Ardoch Algonquin leadership.

According to Lovelace, small-scale rural economic activities are the key to responsible long-term management of AAFNA's traditional territory:

Algonquins respect replenishment cycles of crops and wild rice and always let seeds return to the soil, never trying to maximize harvests, in contrast to present-day management principles [as those outlined in the Ontario Rural Plan]. It is very important to implement such strategies and approaches to environmental management. We must diversify our economy, and that's how Algonquins existed in this territory [...] The land has been crippled by logging, mining and other reckless rural development (interview, April, 2011).

Since the Constitution Act was passed in 1982, the federal government has established the Office of the Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians, whose responsibilities include taking part in negotiations between Métis and non-status groups and the provinces. Many Métis groups are finding success in dealing with the Federal Interlocutor, and have noticed an improvement with regard to the recognition of their aboriginal title and rights. Although this could be seen as a possible strategy for AAFNA, the Ardoch community refuses to negotiate with the federal and provincial governments through an interlocutor. The AAFNA leadership has expressed to me that it would only participate in a negotiation process on a 'nation-to-nation' basis—that is only if the community is recognized as an autonomous First Nation with territorial sovereignty. According to AAFNA, this cannot be achieved by calling upon the Federal

Interlocutor's assistance and/or guidance. What is more, AAFNA articulates a position of distrust *vis-à-vis* all levels of government, which are considered illegitimate, foreign governments operating on Algonquin land. The Ardoch Algonquins claim that throughout the history of AAFNA's dealings with governments—from the colonial era to the present-day federal and provincial model—the community has been deceived and disappointed time and again. As a result, AAFNA considers it is naïve to believe governments would ever aid the community in its struggle for territorial sovereignty. As the situation stands, AAFNA refuses to consult or co-operate with any and all federal and provincial institutions.

The Ardoch Algonquins believe their land management strategy presents an alternative to its mainstream, western counterpart. However, this community recognizes that it is neither practicable nor necessary to replicate the Algonquin society of centuries ago. Rather, it contends that the broader society can stand to gain from the use of indigenous knowledge systems. AAFNA leaders consider this enterprise to be indispensable to the creation of a more equitable, sustainable society.

3.3 The “Middle Ground”: What Can Ontario Learn from AAFNA TEK?

In the context of contemporary land management in (eastern) Ontario, AAFNA's traditional governance model has relevant concepts that deserve to be considered by government policy makers. As it stands, Ontario's approach to rural development and environmental management focuses on managing individual resources. Management areas are determined by political boundaries that divide the province into a variety of administrative jurisdictions, such as regions, counties, townships and municipalities.

AAFNA's approach to land management is different from Ontario's model in that it does not divide territories into small administrative areas with borders and boundaries. With water bodies traditionally being so vital to Algonquin culture and livelihood, AAFNA believes in managing territories with a 'watershed approach.' In this approach, the land is not arbitrarily divided with geopolitical boundaries; rather, watersheds become the focus of management. AAFNA Elders and leaders believe that the most effective, sustainable way to manage the land is to monitor the health of the entire watershed. This method calls for considering the "downstream" effects of humans' interactions with the land. The Ardoch Algonquins believe that governments should implement land management regimes that encompass entire watersheds instead of jurisdictions with no connection to the physical landscape that surrounds them. Implementing a watershed management strategy would also engage local people more than the current management regime. AAFNA argues that if a watershed management approach were implemented, policy makers would be obliged to stop all uranium mining (and other destructive projects), as an analysis of downstream impacts and effects would demonstrate that the risks associated with it greatly outweigh its short-term economic benefits.

In recent decades there has been a shift in the scientific community's approach toward environmental management. A growing number of scientific studies seem to be pointing to the need for policy makers to adopt a broader, more comprehensive, land management strategy (Bohn and Kershner, 2002). Much in line with AAFNA's vision, this approach calls for the establishment of larger, ecologically significant management areas like watersheds, instead of the more narrow-focused jurisdictional approach that divides ecosystems into smaller management areas (ibid.; Sabathier *et al.*, 2005). This

paradigm shift in environmental management science is due to the increasingly popular notion in the scientific and/or academic community which puts forth that the most efficient way to take on complex, far-reaching environmental management dilemmas is to manage whole ecosystems (in other words, studying ecosystem dynamics) instead of individual resources or species (Heathcote, 2009; Kaufman *et al.*, 1994).

On a more helpful note, the Ontario government has enacted legislation that is compatible with this vision. The province's *Clean Water Act* and corresponding *Source Water Protection Act* programme explicitly recognize that understanding and managing whole watersheds is the key to maintaining the quality of its aquifers. This requires close communication and cooperation between the many communities located within a watershed. Rural communities are encouraged to promptly report any perceived threats to fresh water sources in order to prevent extensive, potentially harmful impacts. The multijurisdictional approach to environmental management promoted by such legislations is certainly in line with AAFNA's watershed approach. To my thinking, Ontario would benefit from consulting with AAFNA on questions relating to the watershed approach to land management. Algonquins have a centuries-old tradition of watershed management, which underlines their cosmology and socio-cultural organization. Therefore, AAFNA can no doubt provide the province with valuable advice on how to create a more holistic management scheme.

The AAFNA governance model also seeks to engage local residents, both aboriginal and non-aboriginal, in the processes of land use and management. AAFNA believes that the best way to manage the land is to include the input and observations of all persons living on it. One possible way to strive toward a land/resource 'co-

management agreement' between local residents and the Ontario government would be for policy makers to periodically host community meetings across the territory being managed.

AAFNA conducts monthly community meetings, in which members are encouraged to share their observations about the state of the 'homeland', in particular about traditional land-based activities such as hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering. The meetings, open to all AAFNA members and the general public, are held once a month, with few exceptions, and their goal is to involve AAFNA members in community decision making. Although the meetings are formal and organized, the leadership strives to allow all members to have a say in AAFNA affairs. This is especially the case when it comes to making decisions about land management. The discussions, which are unstructured and undirected, take as long as needed and no one is denied the opportunity to share his/her comments, opinions or concerns. Individual members' knowledge about the land is particularly of value to AAFNA, and has a significant influence on land management policies. For example, at one meeting, AAFNA members were discussing regulations for the upcoming hunting season. One AAFNA member reported an increase in deer sightings in a particular area and a decrease in sightings in another area, as compared to observations he had made a year before. Other hunters in attendance then confirmed the validity of his statements. AAFNA members at the meeting then voted to modify the deer harvest allotment for that year accordingly. During this and other exchanges, I found that every point of view is given equal consideration. It is not uncommon for community leaders to renounce on a certain position after being

convinced by other members that it is not likely conducive to the appropriate course of action.

When making community decisions, AAFNA tries as much as possible to achieve general agreement among all members present. Witnessing members' interactions and debates at monthly meetings has enabled me to determine that AAFNA leaders are not at the top of a hierarchical power structure, but rather act as facilitators in attaining consensus-based decision making. The AAFNA leadership does not have any real authority over other members, and their ideas and opinions are not held in higher regard than others'.

The Ontario government could stand to benefit from empowering local residents and actively engaging them in its land management strategy. Building strong rural communities is already one of the main objectives outlined in Ontario's Rural Strategy. Interestingly, in recent years the Ontario government has put in place an environmental management project that aims to more actively involve local residents. The Mississippi River Watershed Watch programme relies on local volunteers to systematically monitor the quality of the Mississippi River and its tributaries. The data recorded by the volunteers is submitted to the local Conservation Authority (CA) (36 CAs in Ontario), mandated to protect and manage natural resources—especially water—in conjunction with local residents, policy makers and other government organizations. This local knowledge and data is then used to supplement scientific studies so policy makers have a wider array of information and evidence at their disposal to make the soundest management decisions possible.

The empowerment of local communities and residents is one main objective that is shared by AAFNA and the Ontario government. Regular community meetings—taken after AAFNA’s model—would be an ideal setting for local residents to share their observations about changing environmental conditions, fluctuations in species populations and any other relevant land management information. Policy makers could then compile the data gathered at the community meetings in order to gain a broader understanding of the management area and keep track of changes through the years. I believe such a process would allow environmental managers to more effectively and meaningfully incorporate forms of local/traditional knowledge and observations into the scientific literature, resulting in the creation of stronger decision making tools relating to land management, in particular within the context of the Watershed Watch programme.

The table below summarizes the above discussion and highlights the main areas of possible reconciliation between the AAFNA and Ontario government land management approaches.

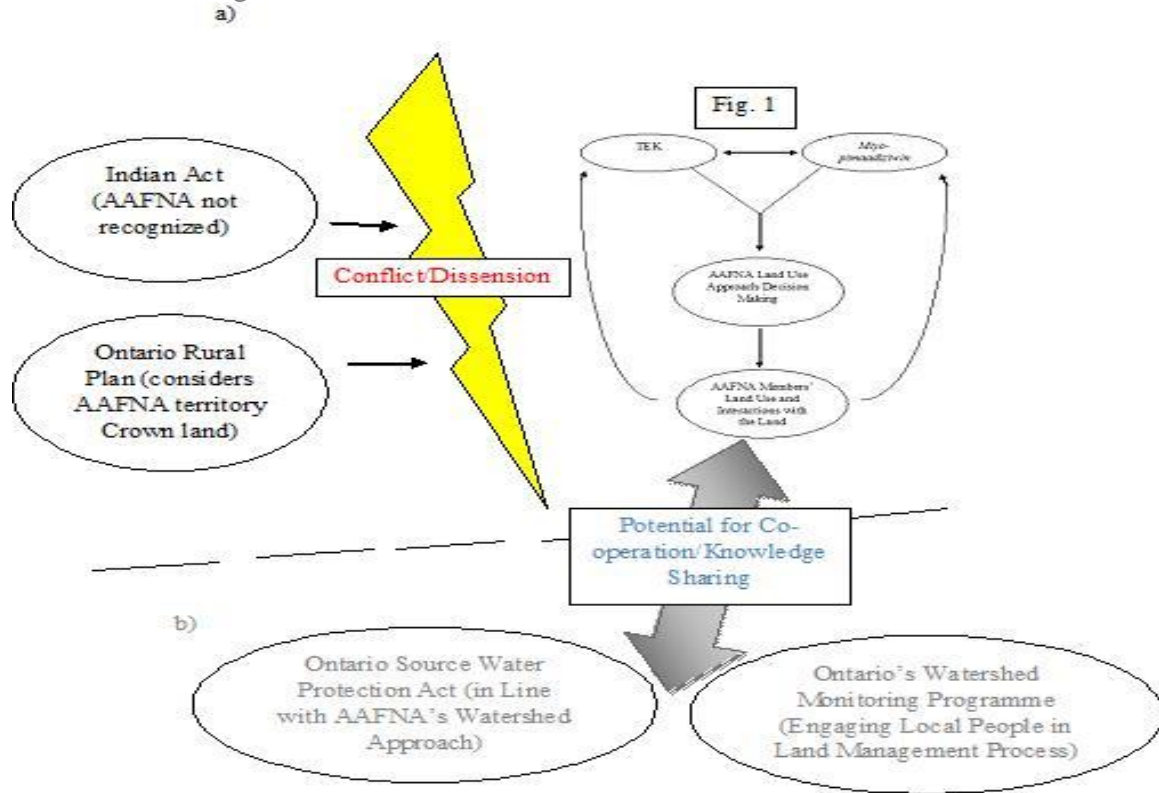
Table 3. Potential areas of reconciliation between the two land management approaches

	AAFNA Land Ethic	Ontario Government Approach
Land Management Scale	-Watershed approach as spatial unit for land management	-Ontario Source Water Protection Act; Conservation Authorities Act
Management Principle(s)	-Traditional governance approach (based on TEK and <i>miyo-pimaadiziwin</i>)	-Sustainable development (e.g. sustainable forestry regulations)

<p>Role of Local People in Land Management</p>	<p>-Ongoing community participation/engagement of community members in the land management process</p>	<p>-Citizen engagement in the monitoring of watersheds (e.g. Mississippi River Watershed Watch programme)</p>
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Over past decades, the relationship between AAFNA and the Ontario government has been marked by conflict and dissension. The province’s rural land management strategy and practices, supported by various legislations, has traditionally been radically opposed to AAFNA’s place- and consensus-based land use and governance strategies, deeply rooted in traditional Algonquin knowledge and teachings. However, the above analysis and discussion allows us to conclude that the two approaches are in fact reconcilable in some regards. In terms of the land management scale, Ontario seems to be making modest efforts to move towards a more global, comprehensive approach (i.e. establishing larger management areas) in line with AAFNA’s land management principles. Should future co-operation and collaboration relating to land management take place between AAFNA and the Ontario government, the dynamic of their currently strained relationship would change. The following model illustrates both: a) the present-day nature of the AAFNA-Ontario government relationship and b) the possible future scenario assuming co-operation and knowledge sharing between the two parties.

Fig. 4 a) Present-day AAFNA/Ontario government relations/ b) potential future AAFNA/Ontario government relations



Separate from AAFNA's traditional governance structure/land ethic (described in Fig. 1) are government institutional processes and legislative frameworks, namely the Indian Act and Ontario's provincial land use strategy and their corresponding policies and regulations. Due to their traditionally different natures, values and goals, the institutional and traditional governance processes exist in opposition to one another. AAFNA leaders and other members, who are unwavering in their adherence to traditional Algonquin knowledge and values, consider the federal and provincial institutional processes as a threat to their ancestral territories—thus to their livelihoods. As a result, relations between AAFNA members and the Ontario government are disharmonious and the potential for heated disagreement and conflict remains high. In the second scenario, two provincial legislations are presented as possible entry points for Ardoch TEK and

miyo-pimaadiziwin, implying that they are in some ways compatible and share common goals.

Today, AAFNA remains in the uncertain position of having to continuously negotiate its role within Ontario society. Its designation as a non-status community by the federal government makes for further challenges. Paradoxically, however, this position can prove to be advantageous to the Ardoch Algonquins, in comparison to status First Nations. The fact of being unrecognized by Canada carries the interesting challenge of having to keep aware of larger provincial, national and international realities. Both the aboriginal and non-aboriginal populations of rural eastern Ontario are currently facing harsh economic realities. Both groups believe they have legitimate reasons to feel slighted by provincial and federal policies regarding their life conditions, as well as their perspectives for the future. Both are experiencing similar difficulties in their efforts to create a dynamic, viable economy. These two groups have evolved together in the same environment, and both intend to continue inhabiting this area. According to Lovelace, a desirable outcome would be that these two groups succeed in reaching common goals, in terms of how they will see their respective communities exist cooperatively and thrive together, despite present-day harsh socioeconomic times. In the following passage, Lovelace intimates his understanding of finding “middle ground” between AAFNA and its non-Aboriginal neighbours:

There’s middle ground, but not between the government and indigenous societies. The middle ground is between people. Our settler neighbours came here because they are victims of colonialism; however, most of them are incognizant of this fact. More people are finding that they are intellectually and spiritually weak. Therefore, there are more and more people seeking for answers. That’s where our [Algonquin] knowledge becomes key (interview, April, 2011).

3.4 The Future of Ardoch Algonquin TEK: Challenges and Opportunities

3.4.1 The Challenge of Achieving Consensus

Miyo-pimaadiziwin and TEK continue to provide inspiration and guidance with regard to AAFNA's current land ethic, and these teachings remain a decision making compass for all Ardoch Algonquins. As discussed in preceding pages, AAFNA's consensus-based decision making governance strategy has helped the Ardoch Algonquins find equitable solutions to various problems. The AAFNA leadership agrees that the consensus-based approach has, through the years, acted as a unifying force that has strengthened community bonds, especially during trying episodes. Nevertheless, achieving consensus among all AAFNA members has its share of challenges and is in some cases impossible. In some instances, when the community is faced with a challenge, some members disagree on how to address the situation.

During my field research, I heard about one particular episode during which the Ardoch Algonquins were polarized by one member's suggestion that AAFNA open up a cigarette shop as a source of revenue for the community. At one community meeting, the proponent elaborated on his position. The AAFNA member recognized that such an enterprise is hardly compatible with AAFNA's *miyo-pimaadiziwin*, but argued that the community sorely needs reliable sources of revenue and that many First Nations communities have greatly benefitted from operating "smoke shops." This member's argument convinced many Ardoch Algonquins, who became in favour of the smoke shop proposal. The members who refused to stray from the traditional Algonquin teachings, which forbid the sale of tobacco (and other sacred plants), were strongly opposed to this business endeavour. Ultimately, the AAFNA leadership looked to the advice of Chief

Harold Perry, who quashed the proposal as it was against *miyo-pimaadiziwin*. However, some members were bitter at Chief Perry's position and renounced their AAFNA membership. This episode is just one example demonstrating the challenges of consensus-based decision making: it is virtually impossible for AAFNA to select a course of action that satisfies all its members. Although the leadership and guidance of Perry have a stabilizing effect on AAFNA, it remains to be seen whether the community will be able to maintain its cohesion during similar divisive events in the future, in the absence of Perry.

Another challenge with AAFNA's consensus-based decision making lies in the difficulty of achieving consensus with other non-status Algonquin First Nations. AAFNA has long had poor relations with most other non-status Algonquin groups in eastern Ontario. Most of AAFNA's disagreements and conflicts with those groups revolve around their respective interpretations of Algonquin traditions and teachings relating to interactions with the environment. What is considered acceptable in one First Nation may be deemed an affront to the traditional Algonquin way in another.

For example, during the uranium mining impasse, AAFNA remained staunchly opposed to uranium mining exploration and drilling on traditional Algonquin territories. Although the province and Frontenac Mining Ventures tried to settle a compensation deal with AAFNA, the Ardoch leadership made it clear that their only interest was in protecting their lands from uranium mining—not in receiving compensation. On the other hand, the Sharbot Lake Algonquin First Nation (SLAFN), based a few kilometres south of Ardoch, was willing to negotiate with the Ontario government in the name of all Ottawa River valley Algonquins. Under the leadership of Chief Doreen Davis, SLAFN

showed its willingness to strike a deal with the province to allow uranium exploration in North Frontenac. The AAFNA leadership considered Chief Davis' move to be a betrayal and an insult to traditional teachings. Clearly, AAFNA and SLAFN had different political strategies and understandings of what it means to be Algonquin. Any future cooperation between these two communities is therefore unlikely, and consensus impossible.

3.4.2 The Future of AAFNA TEK

Through his words and actions, Elder Harold Perry, AAFNA's principal TEK holder, humbly guides AAFNA toward a course of action that is respectful of the old Algonquin ways. He is intent on showing his fellow AAFNA members that the traditional Algonquin lifestyle and teachings are not only still relevant but are, in fact, the only way in which humans can interact with their environment in a sustainable, respectful way. The AAFNA leadership has stated that it is committed to making sure Algonquin TEK is passed on to current and future generations. To this end, AAFNA organizes a variety of cultural activities that allow young members to interact with Elders on the land. The goal of these activities is to provide opportunities for Elders to actively transmit their knowledge of Algonquin traditions, such as hunting, fishing, trapping, harvesting wild rice, berries and medicinal plants, to younger generations. Every year AAFNA hosts an Algonquin culture camp, during which Elders give talks about TEK to AAFNA youths. Young AAFNA members then take part in wilderness activities in order to put their newly acquired TEK into practice. AAFNA also organizes an annual *manoomiin* camp on Mud Lake to coincide with the wild rice harvest. During the *manoomiin* camp, young Ardoch Algonquins learn about the cultural significance of the wild rice as well as traditional harvesting methods from Elder Perry. The wild rice is then harvested by the

AAFNA youths under the leadership and supervision of Perry and other community leaders. These and other steps have been taken by AAFNA to prevent Ardoch Algonquin TEK from disappearing along with the older generations.

However, AAFNA leaders have admitted that it is becoming increasingly difficult to entice young Ardoch Algonquins to participate in these cultural activities. Some interviewees have attributed this lack of participation to the fact that AAFNA members are dispersed over a large area and lack a formal community organization. It is therefore a challenge for Ardoch leaders to project a strong and consistent identity for its membership. Also, since AAFNA is constantly looking to secure sources of funding to remain functional, little time and resources remain for cultural activities such as the ones outlined above. To me, AAFNA youths require much more contact and interaction with TEK holders like Perry for Ardoch Algonquin TEK to be effectively and meaningfully transferred. As the matter stands today, much more time and resources need to be dedicated to establishing and promoting “on-the-land” cultural programs and activities if AAFNA hopes to perpetuate the legacy of its Elders. Whether this challenge can be met remains to be seen. I believe that failure to do so would, unfortunately, result in the gradual loss of a vast and sophisticated knowledge system developed in the Algonquin homeland over the course of centuries.

3.5 Contributions of this Research to the Broader Scholarship

As was demonstrated throughout this thesis, TEK and *miyo-pimaadiziwin* have acted as powerful forces for galvanizing a previously loosely-knit non-status First Nation. Like many other First Nations across Canada, such as the Lubicon Lake Cree, AAFNA has conceived a territorial management strategy founded on ancient indigenous teachings

and values to reassert its sovereignty on traditional Algonquin lands. The documentation of Ardoch Algonquin TEK contained in this thesis can serve as a model to understand how abstract principles contained in aboriginal spiritual ecologies are translated by various First Nations into practicable land management strategies. This knowledge can help guide western academia toward a more complete understanding of traditional (or customary) governance structures, which have in recent years witnessed a resurgence in indigenous communities across the globe. An increasing number of non-status First Nations are choosing to adopt alternative, traditional land management approaches in the face of mounting pressure from governments and corporations seeking to engage in resource extraction ventures. In my view, it is essential for academia to have access to a translation of this traditional knowledge and spiritual ecology into concrete, academic language in order to gain a more meaningful and thorough understanding of past, present and future impasses and conflicts involving indigenous groups and governments.

3.5.1 Expanding Berkes' Co-Management Approach to Include Non-Status Groups

As discussed in the opening pages of this document, the Berkes school has advanced that the key to devising successful environmental co-management strategies is to engage the local aboriginal populations, who are first-hand 'users' of natural resources. Failing to acquire their support means that the plans conceived by scientists and policy makers in boardrooms will fail to be implemented on the field. By incorporating TEK into official environmental management policies and practices, there is at once a broader knowledge base and a greater chance of meaningful cooperation and successful co-management agreements between governments and aboriginal groups. In recent decades, a variety of different co-management agreements have been brokered between aboriginal

groups and governments. In particular, aboriginal groups that, for various reasons, did not sign treaties are increasingly reaffirming territorial sovereignty in the form of land claims. In the Canadian Arctic, for example, four Inuit land claims agreements have been negotiated and resolved with the federal government. Each land claim agreement establishes a co-management strategy for natural resources, in which scientific studies and Inuit knowledge are combined to monitor environmental conditions and specific resources. These agreements called for the creation of resource and wildlife conservation boards that consist of government scientists, policy makers, and local Inuit people.

Berkes' research on the foundation of TEK and its methods of transmission has been instrumental in the creation of co-management agreements between aboriginal groups and the federal and provincial governments. One of the key ideas espoused by the Berkes school literature is that it is possible to reconcile western (scientific) and indigenous knowledge relating to environmental management. By combining the two knowledge systems and creating a holistic approach, policy makers have at their disposal a more effective and comprehensive approach to land management. Several cases point to the success of co-management strategies and other partnerships between aboriginal groups and governments.

It is important to recognize, however, that today's co-management agreements have only come to fruition because both sides recognize the other's historical and political legitimacy. Berkes work has focused on federally recognized aboriginal groups. Unlike the Ontario government, many of AAFNA's non-aboriginal neighbours have come to respect and value Ardoch TEK. During my time spent in AAFNA community meetings and cultural activities, I witnessed several instances where local non-aboriginal

residents came to the AAFNA leadership to learn about Ardoch TEK. Chief Harold Perry once told me that he is regularly visited by his non-aboriginal neighbours for questions concerning appropriate land use and management. I have observed that many of AAFNA's neighbours frequently consult with the Ardoch community before engaging in activities that can potentially have impacts on the land. To these people, AAFNA is seemingly regarded as having moral authority and legitimacy on its ancestral territories. Thus, AAFNA TEK is held in high regard and members are commonly consulted to discuss issues pertaining to the land.

I recall one particular community meeting in which one non-aboriginal neighbour came to the Ardoch leadership to call upon their TEK. Before the meeting, a man showed up and introduced himself to AAFNA leaders in attendance and asked them if they could assist him in resolving a concern he had about a spot on his land on which he intended to build some storage units. The AAFNA leadership invited the man to share his concern during the meeting. Later, the Kingston resident said he had reason to believe that the land he intended to build on was part of an ancient Algonquin burial site. He described the nature of the rock formations he discovered while excavating the area. The AAFNA leaders listened attentively to the details shared by the concerned resident. Due to the shape of the rocks and their proximity to the St. Lawrence River, one of the AAFNA leaders believed that there were grounds to warrant an on-site investigation by archaeologists and Algonquin Elders and leaders. Eventually, the hunch of the AAFNA leader was shown to be founded; the piece of land was indeed an old Algonquin gravesite. In light of this evidence, the Kingston man immediately gave up his plan of building on that site.

Throughout this thesis, I have included several examples of AAFNA's TEK as it is conceived and practiced, or lived. My field research and data suggest that non-status groups like AAFNA also possess TEK that is relevant and useful to the broader society. Indeed, TEK is not limited to status groups, which have traditionally been the only groups considered in TEK research. I agree with AAFNA's position that Ontario can benefit from TEK and traditional teachings. The Ardoch community is eager to share this knowledge with Ontario, for it believes that in it is contained the essence of an alternative to the western model of spatial and societal organization. AAFNA remains optimistic that, in time, it will be given a chance to do so.

3.5.2 Summary of AAFNA's Land Ethic

According to all interviewees and AAFNA members with whom I had the chance to discuss, the place-specific, traditional governance model is a globally emerging force and environmental management tool. Lovelace believes that "Ardoch is taking the lead in Canada with regard to customary [traditional] governance [...] We need to demonstrate through our actions that this model is a viable alternative to the one set out by western governments. We all share the natural world and a common condition" (interview, April, 2011, my emphasis). Through my research, I have been especially impressed by the insistence of the Ardoch Algonquin community members that we must recognize that all human beings share a common condition. All interviewees have (in different ways) expressed their strong belief that all humans share an innate proclivity to seek balance with the Natural World, in an "indigenous" way.

Over time AAFNA has learned to accept that change happens at a slow pace, and that most members will not be able to see their deeper aspirations fulfilled in their

lifetime. Undeterred by this fact, AAFNA leaders and other members fully intend to keep providing the mainstream society with a living example of how to find present-day relevance in the ancient Algonquin—and more generally indigenous—ways. Contained in the following lines is the overriding message of AAFNA community to the global community:

We need to open our minds and hearts to common human goals and not become a close-minded, exclusionary society. Being Algonquin is about our way of life, not about excluding other groups of people; it's about personal choices, community choices, community actions. It consists in living within replenishment cycles. You cannot write it down on paper (Bob Lovelace, interview, April, 2011).

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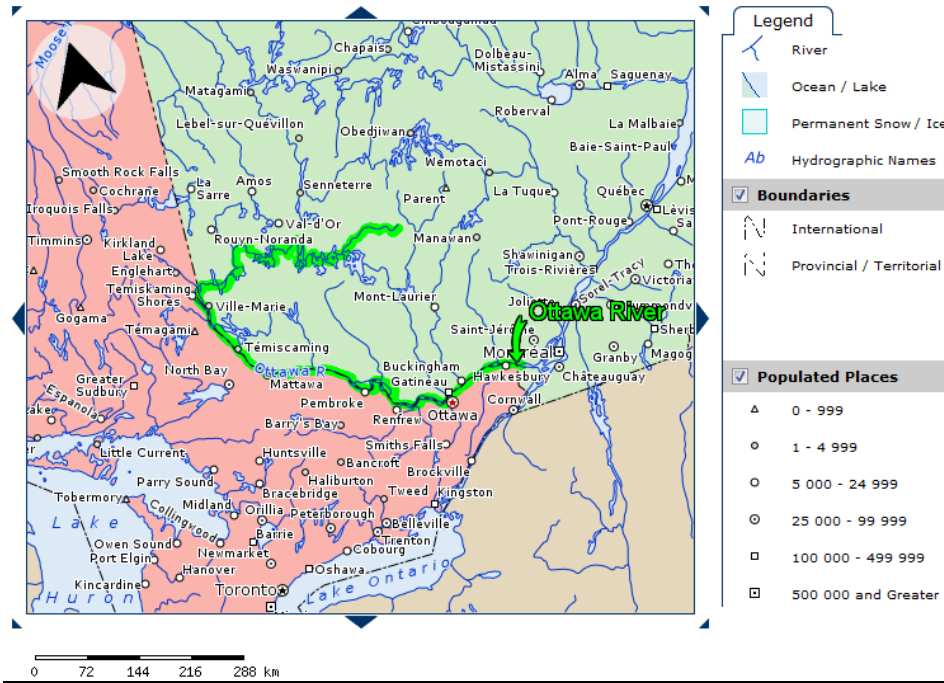
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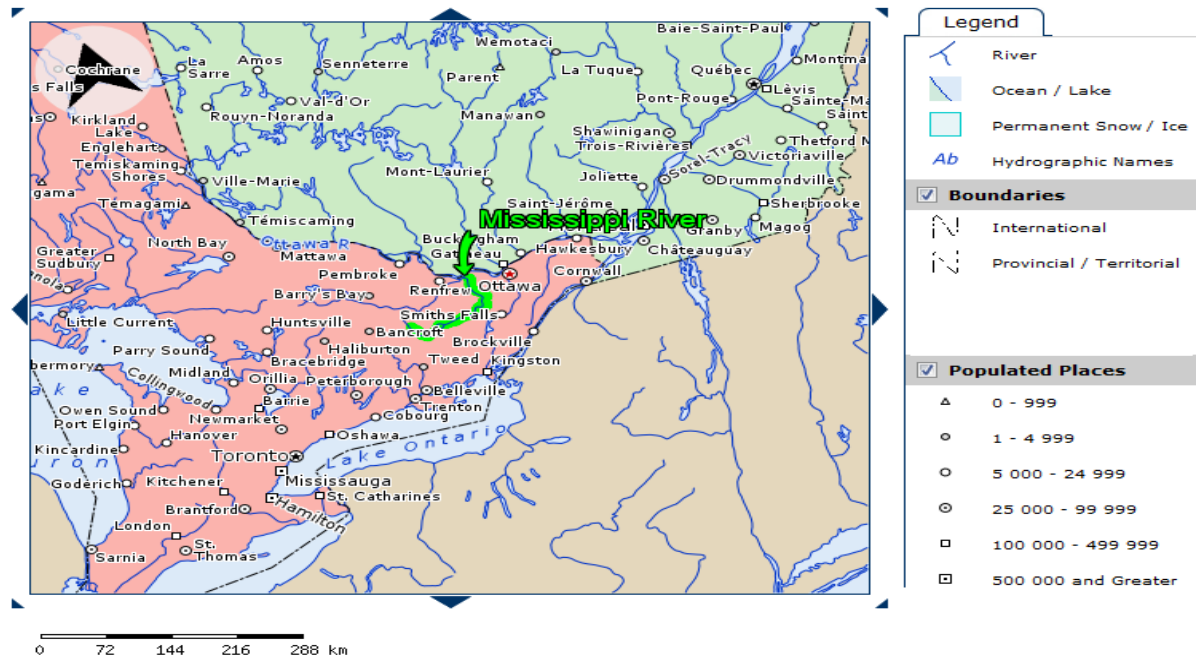
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Appendix

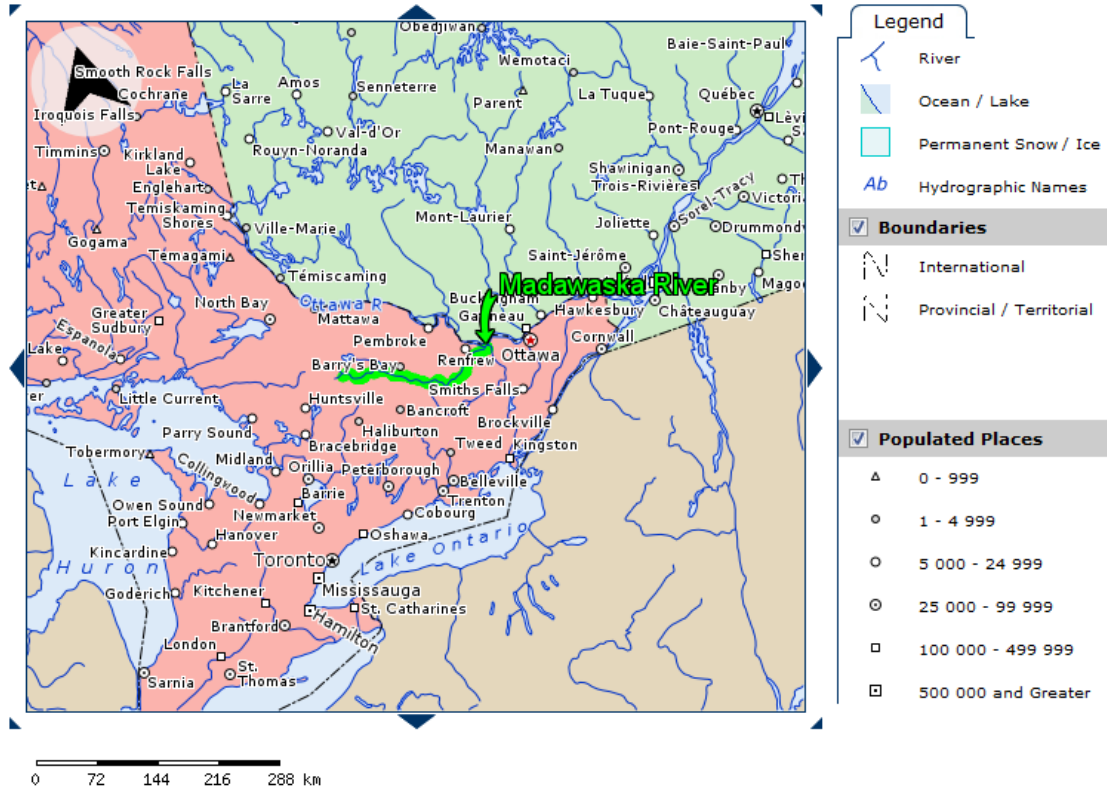
Map 1. Ottawa River



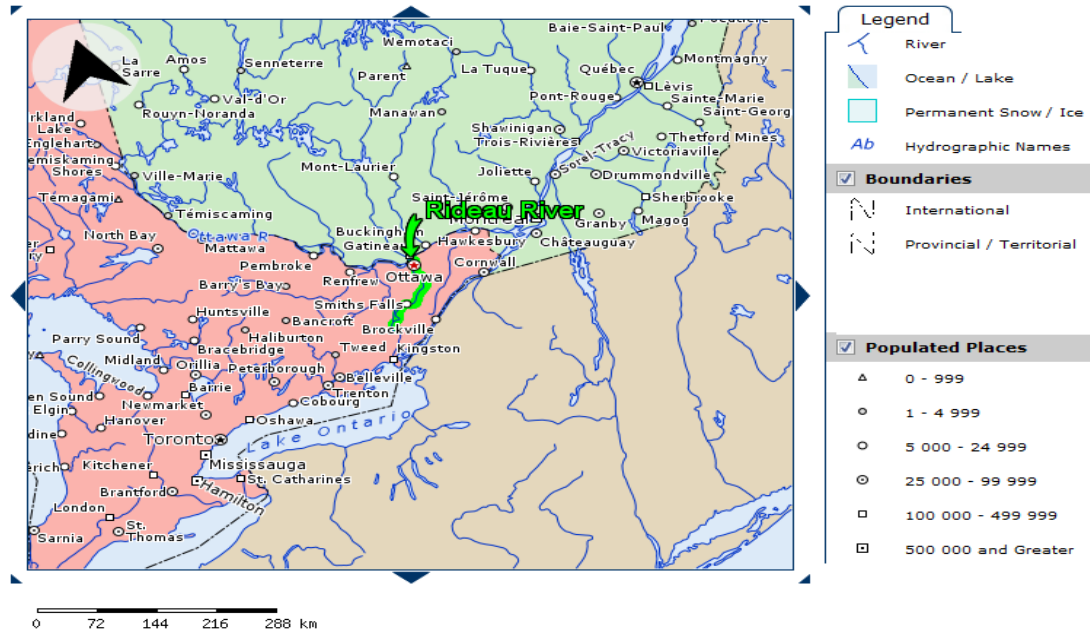
Map 2. (Canadian) Mississippi River



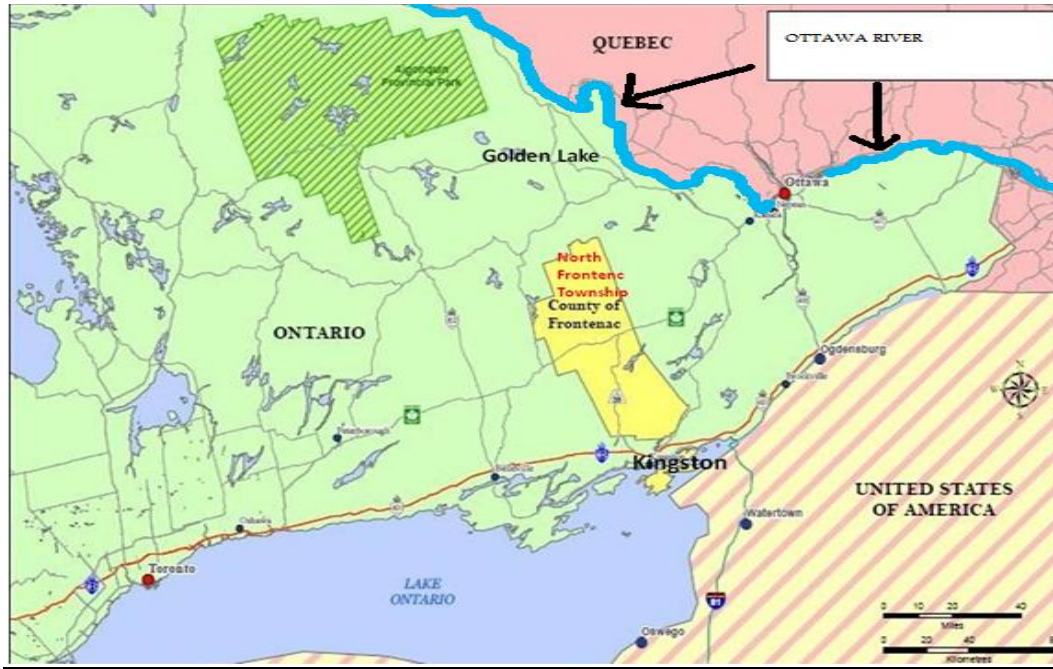
Map 3. Madawaska River



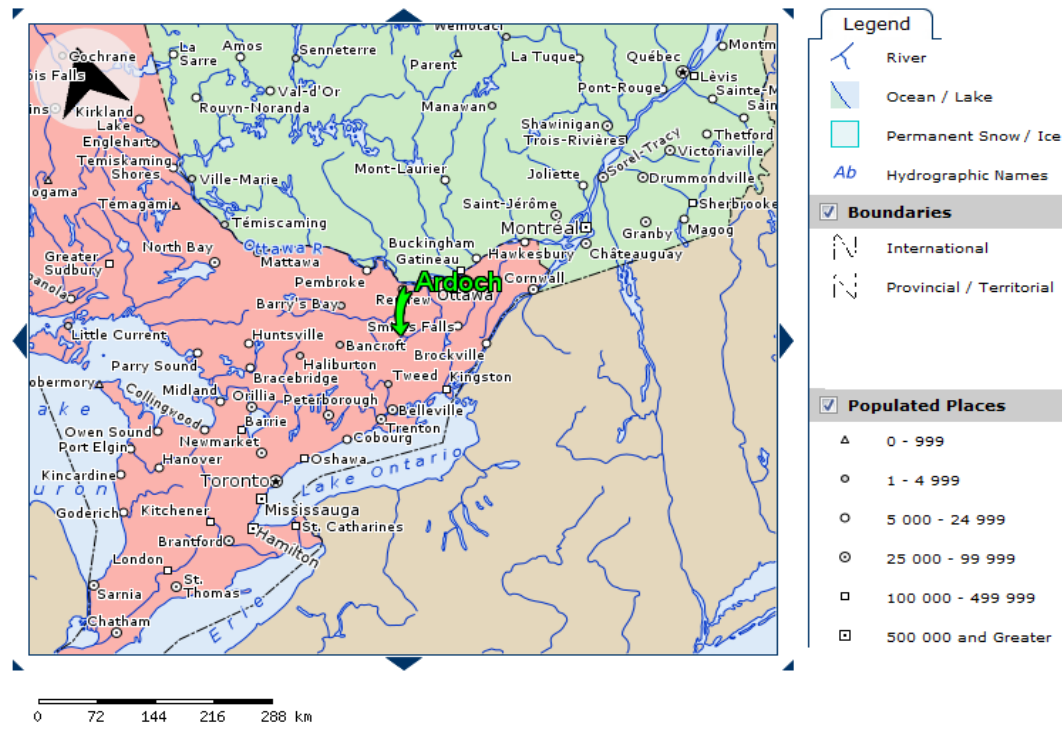
Map 4. Rideau River



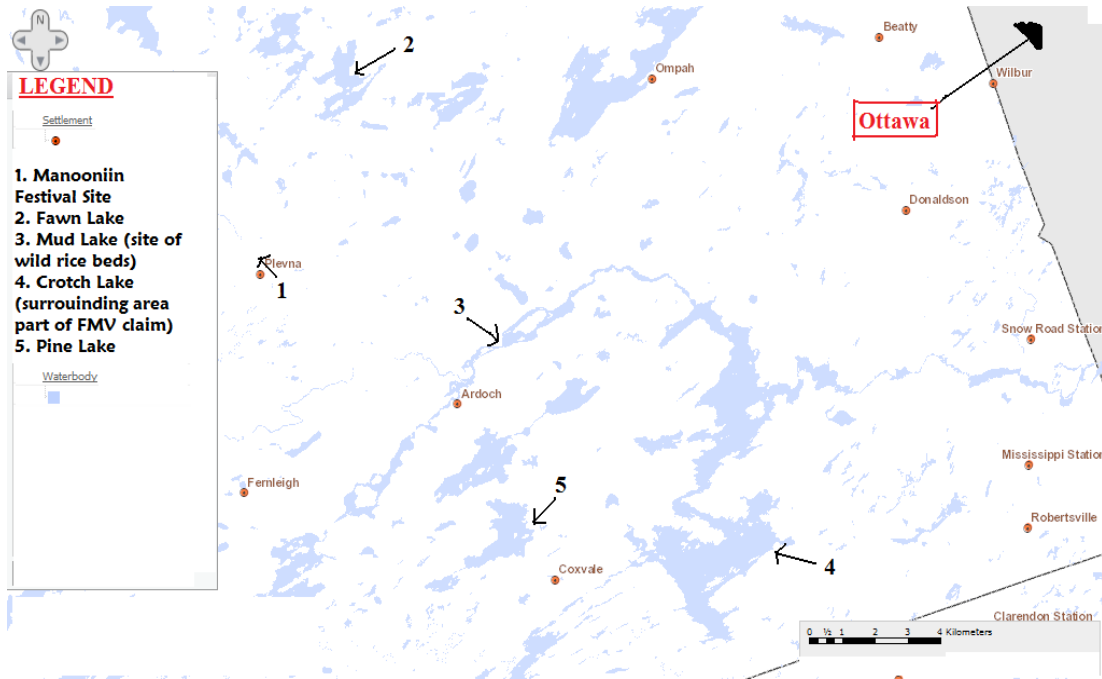
Map 5. Frontenac County (and North Frontenac Township) in Eastern Ontario



Map 6. Ardoch (as an AAFNA Reference Point/Location) in eastern Ontario



Map 7. Important AAFNA Sites in North Frontenac Township



Map 8. Location of Golden Lake Reserve

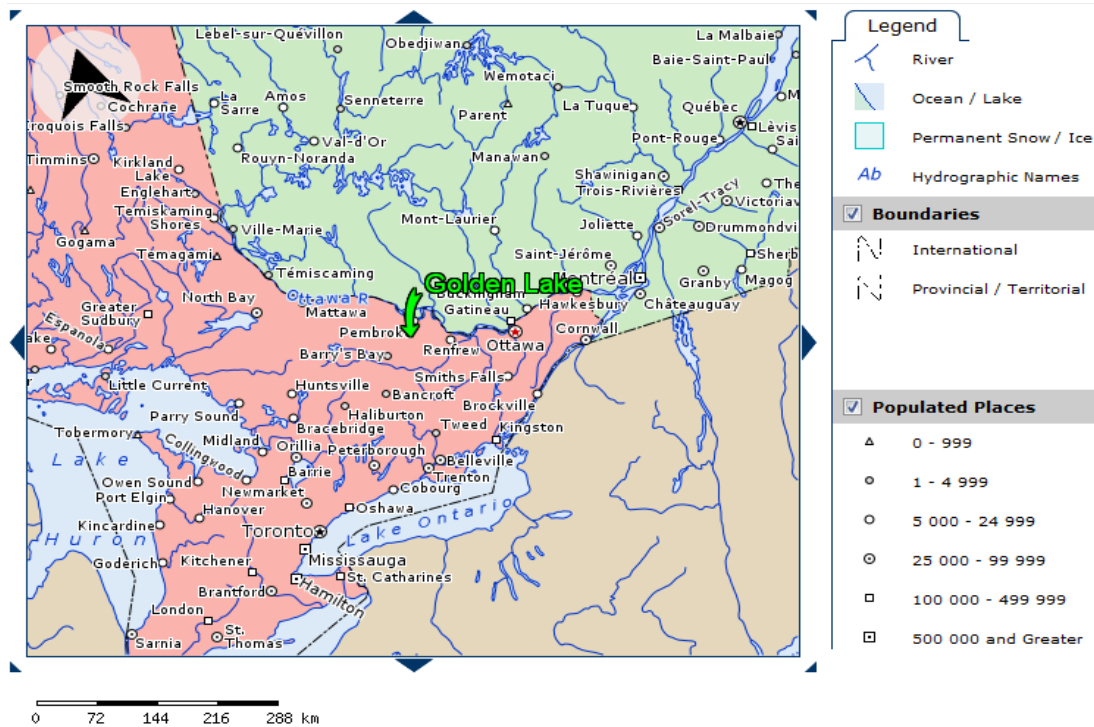


Photo 1.



AAFNA's wild rice (*manoomiin*) beds on Mud Lake (taken from Elder Harold Perry's property).
(Photo credit: Miguel Sioui)

Photo 2.



Different view of the *manoomiin* beds on Mud Lake
(Photo credit: Miguel Sioui)

Photo 3.



Harold Perry (left) and Bob Lovelace (right) working on canoes in Perry's workshop
(Photo credit: Miguel Sioui)

Photo 4.



Harold Perry (left) and Bob Lovelace (right) in conversation.
(Photo credit: Miguel Sioui)

Photo 5.



View from Elder Harold Perry's property
(Photo credit: Miguel Sioui)

Photo 6.



Elder Harold Perry (right) and I (left) at his home
(Photo credit: Miguel Sioui)

Photo 7.



View of the the pow-wow site, traditional arbour (centre) and the surrounding the crowd at the *Manoomiin* Festival.

(Photo credit: Kevin Wight)

(Source: <http://www.freewebs.com/manoominfestival/apps/photos/photo?photoid=36341188>)

Photo 8.



The *Manoomiin* Festival attracts a large number of AAFNA's non-Aboriginal neighbours.

(Photo credit: Candy Bilow)

(Source: <http://www.freewebs.com/manoominfestival/apps/photos/photo?photoid=36341917>)

Field Research Activities and Dates

Date	Activity
February 7, 2010	AAFNA meeting
March 7	AAFNA meeting
April 4	AAFNA meeting
May 2	AAFNA meeting
June 6	AAFNA meeting
August 29	Volunteering at AAFNA table at Silver Lake Pow-Wow and dinner discussion with Mireille Lapointe (in her home)
August 30	Wilderness excursion with Elder Harold Perry
September 3-5	Volunteering at <i>Manoomiin</i> Festival
October 3	AAFNA meeting
November 7	AAFNA meeting
December 5	AAFNA meeting
January 26, 2011	Discussion with Elder Harold Perry about

	canoes and <i>manoomiin</i>
February 6	AAFNA meeting
March 6	AAFNA meeting
March 29-April 7	Interviews with AAFNA leadership (Mireille Lapointe, Bob Lovelace, Elder Harold Perry, Paula Sherman) and Elder William Commanda (Kitigan Zibi Algonquin First Nation); AAFNA meeting

Guiding Principles of the Ardoch Algonquin First Nation

The Ardoch Algonquin First Nation and Allies (AAFNA) is a confederation of Algonquin families who have lived in the Ottawa' River watershed since time immemorial and who are currently situated in the area described by the Mississippi, Madawaska, Rideau, and Tay watersheds. These families express a desire to preserve Algonquin language, culture and territorial jurisdiction by working together and maintaining an enduring sense of Algonquin community.

Purpose and Objectives

The Algonquin people are a living, dynamic people who have occupied the Ottawa River valley and surrounding territory for at least the last 3000 years. Their roots are in the archaic traditions of Turtle Island (North America). Over time the Algonquin people have adapted to a wide range of conditions and have been influenced by many events. Today they remain a strong and distinct people. The Ardoch Algonquin First Nation and Allies strives to maintain the Algonquin people and tradition by addressing the following objectives.

1. AAFNA will maintain a strong focus on preserving family and kinship through social, ceremonial, traditional and personal expression by supporting community gatherings and events.
2. AAFNA will assert its political presence in the Ottawa Valley and surrounding area to preserve Algonquin jurisdiction in land, economy, resource management, social relationships and in asserting Aboriginal rights and title.
3. AAFNA will engage in the protection of the environment both locally and globally in keeping with the sacred responsibility to the earth.
4. AAFNA will promote among all of its members the value of learning. In particular, AAFNA will facilitate the retention. of the Algonquin language, manners, customs and worldview.
5. AAFNA will offer to each member the protection of the collective community and each member will offer protection to any other member and to the collective community.
6. AAFNA will promote the healthy well-being of the community and of its members. AAFNA will engage in activities where the well-being of all people can be addressed.
7. Ardoch will be recognized as the Centre of the Ardoch Algonquin First Nation and shall always remain the Head Office.

Governance

1. The Ardoch Algonquin First Nation is governed by the General Assembly of its members. A General Assembly can be held at any time of the year and questions in the form of referendum may be brought to the Assembly for ratification. The rules of "consensus" and "mutual respect and benefit" must be observed. Any member may speak: and be heard on any question at a General Assembly The General Assembly gives guidance to the Family Heads Council.

2. The regular business of AAFNA is conducted by the Family Heads Council, which is formed by representatives of Core AAFNA Families. Each Core Family shall appoint a spokesperson to represent them at the Family Heads Council.

3. AAFNA Family Heads Council may appoint or dismiss a Chief, spokespersons, negotiators, representatives, financial managers, resource managers, or messengers to conduct its business. All individuals representing AAFNA under these designations shall act as spokespersons only for Family Heads Council and shall represent all AAFNA members at all times.

4. The authority to make agreements or treaties, recognise, borrow or lend, payor collect accounts, distribute assets, accept members, rests with the full consent (consensus) of the Family Heads Council.

5. Family Heads Council may consent for AAFNA to be represented in a collective of other Algonquin communities or communities of other Aboriginal people for the purposes of mutual respect and benefit in as much as such a coalition does not compromise or surrender Algonquin jurisdiction, rights, title or the fundamental principles upon which AAFNA is founded.

Membership

A person will be recognized as a member of AAFNA and be entitled to the protection, rights and responsibilities of AAFNA when:

1. The person is of Algonquin descent and a member of a recognized family and has by consensus been accepted by Family Heads Council.

2. The person is a recognized spouse of an AAFNA member with consent of Family Heads Council.

3. The person is a recognized adopted child of an AAFNA member with consent of Family Heads Council.

4. A person who by consent of Family Heads Council and is recognized through a community adoption ceremony before the General Assembly of AAFNA.

Membership may be terminated by mutual consent (consensus) of Family Heads Council when:

1. An individual requests their membership to be terminated.
2. An individual refuses by word or action to comply with policies, guiding principles and the spirit of mutual respect and benefit which, have been agreed upon by mutual consent (consensus) of Core Family Spokespersons at Family Heads Council.

Relationships

AAFNA may enter into relationships with other communities, governments or nations for the purpose of mutual respect and benefit. Relationships include but are not exclusive to agreements, treaties and political coalitions. Relationships must be established by consensus of Family Heads Council. The following principles will guide AAFNA relationships.

1. Relations with Canada and its provinces should be understood to be adversarial. While historically Algonquins have offered the Crown an alliance of peace and friendship this offer has been consistently abused and undermined by the Crown's laws, policies and actions. It must be understood that Canada and its provinces are living on the bounty of Aboriginal land and resources with no real intention of making full restitution or return of our lands and resources.

2. Relations with other Algonquin Communities should recognize that Algonquins are a People first, and not a Nation State, and therefore relationships among themselves should be guided by the fundamental principles of Algonquin relations not by western notions of governance.

3. Relations with people, organizations, or groups other than the Crown or Algonquin communities should be entered into for the purposes of meeting AAFNA objectives. These relations shall not constitute membership or political affiliation in any form.

4. AAFNA membership, governance and guiding principles shall never be compromised to achieve or accommodate relationships with other Algonquin or non-Algonquin communities or governments.

(Source: Guiding Principles of the Ardoch Algonquin First Nation, n.d.)

Interview Questions

1. Ardoch Algonquin identity and culture:

- Tell me about yourself, your childhood, your family history.
- Tell me about your own understanding/interpretation of (Ardoch) Algonquin identity and culture.
- Describe the meaning of Algonquin spiritual ecology and *miyo-pimaadiziwin*.
- What does it mean to you to be an Ardoch Algonquin?
- What do *miyo-pimaadiziwin/The Guiding Principles* mean to you as an Algonquin?
- Do these teachings influence the way you live your life and your relationship with your social and physical surroundings?

2. Traditional land use/management and the Ontario rural development strategy:

- What kinds of activities constitute traditional Algonquin land use/management in eastern Ontario?
- What are the spiritual/cultural motivations behind your own personal relationship with the land?
- Describe the Ardoch Algonquin land ethic/vision of appropriate land use?
- What are the ways in which this land ethic influences and guides your own personal relationship and interaction with the land?
- Who taught you what you know about traditional Algonquin land use activities (such as hunting, fishing, trapping, harvesting wild rice, etc.)?
- In which ways does your Ardoch Algonquin view of appropriate land use differ from Ontario's rural development strategy?
- Are there any similarities between the two visions? Are they reconcilable?
- If AAFNA was to produce a land use/management strategy for eastern Ontario, what would be its main objectives and what are the steps it would take in order to achieve its goals?

-What are some challenges to AAFNA posed by Ontario's rural development strategy?

- What is your outlook on the future of AAFNA-Ontario relations?

-What would need to change in order for AAFNA-Ontario relations to improve and for current conflicts to be resolved and for possible future conflicts to be avoided?