

Machines vs. Industries?
The Political Economy of Development
in
The Peel Watershed

by

Gordon Jack Daniel Ruby
B.A., University of Victoria, 2009

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of Political Science

© Gordon Jack Daniel Ruby, 2011
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

Supervisory Committee

Machines vs. Industries?
The Political Economy of Development
in
The Peel Watershed

by

Gordon Jack Daniel Ruby
B.A., University of Victoria, 2009

Supervisory Committee

Dr. Warren Magnusson, (Department of Political Science)
Supervisor

Dr. Jamie Lawson, (Department of Political Science)
Departmental Member

Abstract

Supervisory Committee

Dr. Warren Magnusson, (Department of Political Science)

Supervisor

Dr. Jamie Lawson, (Department of Political Science)

Departmental Member

The Peel Watershed Planning Process began in the Yukon and Northwest Territories in 2004. This thesis describes the Peel Watershed Planning Commission and the main interests influencing the planning process. I explore the explanatory potential of several theories drawn from urban political economy -- John Logan and Harvey Molotch's growth machine thesis, Clarence Stone's regime theory, and Bob Jessop and Neil Brenner's account of rescaling the state -- and suggest that each of these theories can be used to explain certain aspects of Peel Watershed politics. Then I turn to the assimilationist literature on First Nations in Canada -- represented by the *1969 White Paper*, Tom Flanagan's *First Nations?*, *Second Thoughts* and Frances Widdowson and Albert Howard's *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry* -- and contrast it with an alternative literature, represented especially by Paul Nadasdy's *Hunters and Bureaucrats*. I argue that these literatures draw attention to aspects of the politics of planning that are neglected in the urban political economy literature, but are of obvious importance in the context of the Peel Watershed. Although questions of community preservation and wealth accumulation are central to the Peel Watershed planning process, worldviews and ways of life are also at stake. This suggests that we have to look at the politics of planning in very broad terms.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Supervisory Committee | ii |
| Abstract | iii |
| Table of Contents..... | iv |
| List of Tables | vi |
| List of Figures | vii |
| List of Acronyms | viii |
| Acknowledgments..... | ix |
| Dedication..... | x |
| Introduction..... | 1 |
| Chapter 1: The Peel Watershed Planning Commission | 12 |
| The Five Ws and the H of the Peel Watershed Planning Commission | 12 |
| The Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan | 16 |
| The Peel Watershed Planning Region: Issues and Interests..... | 18 |
| Summary..... | 25 |
| Chapter 2: Peel Watershed Politics..... | 26 |
| Environment..... | 26 |
| Tourism | 29 |
| Yukon Territorial Government..... | 30 |
| Mining | 35 |
| First Nations Governments | 38 |
| Oil/Gas/Coal | 44 |
| Other..... | 47 |
| Summary..... | 47 |
| Chapter 3: The Growth Machine Theory, Regime Theory and Rescaling the State: Reflections on Peel Watershed Politics..... | 48 |
| John Logan, Harvey Molotch and the Growth Machine Thesis | 48 |
| Growth Machine | 50 |
| Place Entrepreneurs | 52 |
| Typology of Places | 54 |
| Use and Exchange Value..... | 56 |
| Critical Literature on the GMT | 61 |
| Cox and Mair’s Critique of Urban Fortunes..... | 61 |
| Robert Lake’s Critique of Urban Fortunes..... | 63 |
| Jonas and Wilson 20 Years Later..... | 65 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| Allan Cochrane's Critique of the Growth Machine Thesis..... | 65 |
| Clarence Stone and Regime Theory | 69 |
| Rescaling the State | 73 |
| Jessop, Peck and Tickell's Critique of the Growth Machine Thesis..... | 74 |
| Bob Jessop and the Future of the Capitalist State..... | 77 |
| Bob Jessop and State Power | 81 |
| Neil Brenner and New State Spaces | 83 |
| Summary | 86 |
| Chapter 4: Indigeneity and Biocentrism: Hidden Ontologies/Epistemologies in the | |
| Course of Progress | 88 |
| Introduction..... | 88 |
| The White Paper..... | 89 |
| Flanagan's First Nations? Second Thoughts | 93 |
| Widdowson and the Aboriginal Industry | 95 |
| Paul Nadasdy, Hunters and Bureaucrats..... | 101 |
| Cruikshank, McClellan and Dobrowolsky | 106 |
| Summary | 113 |
| Conclusion | 114 |
| Bibliography | 128 |

List of Tables

| | |
|---|----|
| Table 1: Peel Watershed Planning Commission Members 2004-2011..... | 13 |
| Table 2: Peel Watershed Planning Region Land Management and Surface Area..... | 15 |
| Table 3: Planning Commission Key Report Releases..... | 16 |
| Table 4: Draft and Recommended Plan: Land Designation and Area..... | 17 |
| Table 5: Activities in the Planning Region..... | 19 |
| Table 6: Active Resource Claims/Licenses in the Planning Region..... | 22 |
| Table 7: Oil and Gas Resources Potential in Planning Region..... | 23 |
| Table 8: Subsurface Dispositions Slated for Land Withdrawal..... | 24 |
| Table 9: Premier Fentie's Speeches Outside of Yukon..... | 31 |
| Table 10: Yukon Regional Accords 2003-2009..... | 31 |
| Table 11: Yukon Party Campaign Financing and YMAB Appointments 2006-2009..... | 37 |
| Table 12: Yukon First Nation Selected Memberships and Engagements..... | 40 |
| Table 13: Total Expenditures on Exploration in the Peel Watershed by Present Owners (000s CDN \$)..... | 46 |

List of Figures

| | |
|--|----|
| Figure 1: Working Relationships in Plan Development..... | 14 |
|--|----|

List of Acronyms

| | |
|------|--|
| CAPP | Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers |
| EMR | Energy, Mines and Resources |
| TIAY | Tourism Industry Association of the Yukon |
| UFA | Umbrella Final Agreement (1993) |
| WTAY | Wilderness Tourism Association of the Yukon |
| Y2Y | Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative |
| YCOM | Yukon Chamber of Mines |
| YFN | Yukon First Nations |
| YTG | Yukon Territorial Government |

Acknowledgments

Thanks to Diane, Kimberly, Marilyn, Laurel, Joy, Kara and Shelly for making my life easier on a regular basis. Thanks to all of my colleagues who in the office and at social gatherings allowed me to defend my thesis well before the first draft was complete. Thanks to all the professors in the department who allowed me to pick their brains when I could not decide what to focus on. Thanks to Jamie Lawson for your extensive editorial comments on such short notice. And, thank you to Warren Magnusson for seeing potential in me and for taking me on as a grad student. Thank you for having the patience and insight to foster my curiosity.

Dedication

Each person has multiple roles and rationales that contradict one another as we live through life. I dedicate this thesis, first, to all those people who recognize these contradictions and confront them, not necessarily to resolve them, but explore them and to learn from themselves. Thank you to each and every person who helped me to explore my own contradictions. Other than my own lived experience, this thesis is the keystone of my journey so far. To all of the geologists, environmentalists, professors, friends, and acquaintances (especially those from UVIC, Camosun College, Yukon College and F.H.Collins): for me this thesis represents an indirect account of our interactions over the years – interactions which inform the core of my existence and the complexity of civilization as well.

To Ron Pearson, who emphasized the value of reading and who pushed me to attend post-secondary education, my life would be much different today if not for you. To Warren, John, Seymore, Rich and Jeffrey: let's not underestimate the value of long friendships and extended family. To my immediate family – Mary, Mark and Dave – I have lived vicariously through you and learned so much from you over the years, in ways you may never know. To Corrine and Ray, Denise, Mark and Rachelle for all of your love and support. To Arielle, Lyndsey, Brenda and Darrel: thank you for inspiring me to see more in myself and for helping me along the way. And, to any person who wonders why someone would work in mineral exploration in the Summer only to study political science (and not geology) in university, my hope is to show you 'the political' in ways that are not always apparent. Thank you for helping me to realize the importance of the following question: how is *that* political?

Introduction

Many histories suggest that over 10 000 years ago (before years were measured as they are now) the first peoples of what is now the Yukon travelled East (before there was an 'East'), across the Aleutian Islands (before the islands were named as such) to an area that now has layers of nomenclature from numerous languages and cultures. Although there is much dispute about the early history of the area – the first peoples have their own stories, and recent archaeological research suggests that there may have been people in the region long before the migrations at issue – it is clear that this area has been inhabited since long before the more recent establishment of settler societies and the formation of the Canadian state (with its federal, territorial and municipal administration). People now talk about a circumpolar north that encompasses many lands and peoples: the so-called Canadian North is only part of that. Many “homelands” are at issue, and as I shall argue in this thesis different worldviews and ways of life are at stake, quite apart from questions of community and economic development.

There are various strands of history woven throughout this part of the planet, some of which are especially relevant for the purposes of this thesis. For example, at a broader geographical scale, the circumpolar north spans “Alaska, Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Islands, and the northern areas of Russia, Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Canada,”¹ and while many consider the North to be a frontier or a homeland,² it has also become a region of analysis in world affairs. With issues such as climate change and energy security and

peak oil,³ it is clear that this region – with its melting ice and rich resources – will be the focus of many for years to come.

More narrowly, the political economy of the Canadian North has a long history of renewable and non-renewable resource exploitation⁴ with a highlight being the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline proposed in 1973 (the same year as the OPEC oil crisis) and delayed in 1977 by the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry.⁵ Despite this delay, there was a sustained emphasis on the need to develop the energy potential of the region – emphasis from both public and private actors.⁶

It was clear that while some recognized the Canadian North as a homeland, others viewed it as a ‘potential energy surplus’ for Canadians, as a source region for oil and gas.⁷ For those who recognized the North as a homeland and who lived there as well, the events surrounding the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry spurred a renewed debate on the need for land claims negotiations in Canada. Alongside the Mackenzie debate, the 1970s saw territorial governments and aboriginal title re-emerge in common law as well.⁸ At the same time, the 1970s marked a major turning point in world affairs, with the crisis of Atlantic Fordism as a system of production and the decline of the Keynesian National Welfare State as a system of large government and redistribution of wealth.⁹ This meant that during an era in the 1970s when the state was changing, the Canadian national state, with its constitutional jurisdiction over the Canadian North, was faced with new economic demands and opportunities as well as a challenge to negotiate land claims in the region.

While the history of development in the Canadian North is not new, it also cannot be explained without reference to the region of Western Canada – Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta and British Columbia in particular. With regard to Alberta, the history of oil

and gas in the province began as early as 1908, with the first industry trade association (the Oil Operators Association of Alberta) developed in 1926 and the Leduc, Alberta, oil well discoveries beginning in 1946.¹⁰ Moreover, at a time of increasing integration of a North American market for oil and gas (which continues today),¹¹ and a rejection (mainly in Alberta) of the short lived National Energy Policy in 1985, the proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline (if approved) would run South from the Northwest Territories to existing gas pipelines in northern Alberta (see Chapter 2). Again, this suggests that various actors -- Federal, Provincial, and Territorial; public and private -- had long terms plans for the Canadian North within a larger vision of development. In British Columbia, there is also a long history of aboriginal/settler relations¹² and patterns of development with logging and land use planning¹³ as well as oil and gas,¹⁴ and a substantial connection between mining companies in British Columbia and their investment in the Yukon Territory.

To narrow the scope even further, the Yukon is unique: from the history of the Yukon First Nations¹⁵ and the dynamics between First Nations, settler society and developments as far back as the Gold Rush in the late 1800s,¹⁶ much has changed in the territory since that time. The Yukon's constitutional foundations (beginning in 1898) have shifted through multiple forms of government,¹⁷ along with the construction of the Alaska Highway during the Second World War and the 1968 formation of the Yukon Native Brotherhood (during the same period as the Federal Government's controversial 1969 *White Paper*).¹⁸ Moreover, the 1973 document, *Together Today for Our Children Tomorrow*, presented to Ottawa that same year, represented a significant turning point as well;¹⁹ since that era, land claims negotiations have proceeded in both the Northwest Territories and the Yukon – a process that lasted for decades and is still ongoing. Land claims negotiations in the Yukon

culminated in the 1993 Umbrella Final Agreement (UFA),²⁰ which applied to the Canadian Government, the Yukon Territorial Government and all of the 14 Yukon First Nations.

With these histories in mind, the subject of my thesis is the Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan and the politics surrounding it. The Peel is a major sub-basin of the Mackenzie River, with an area twice the size of Vancouver Island. For many centuries, great herds of caribou have passed across it. Straddling the Northeast border of the Yukon Territory with four First Nations' traditional territories overlapping the region, the watershed also has a vast array of proven and unproven natural resources. Meanwhile, with its largely undeveloped and uninhabited landscape, it is an internationally renowned destination for eco-tourism, hunting and prospecting. For those of us who live in the South, it is clear that the Peel is one of the last pristine watersheds anywhere.

As a Yukoner, I am interested in this place because it is part of my home. When I was young, I used to draw pictures of a landscape, with large, snowcapped mountains in the background and a clear meandering river that flowed from the mountains towards a foreground of dense forest and a variety of wildlife. The landscape was so majestic that the sun in my picture had a happy face on it. Since that time, I saw firsthand the epitome of this landscape; I have worked in the Peel Watershed and postcards pale in comparison. In the two months I spent in the region in 2004, I witnessed many 'firsts'. One cold morning, outside my tent, I was metres away from a herd of over two-dozen caribou. In the afternoon, the same day, I was within a kilometre of a pack of almost a dozen wolves, who were presumably tracking the migration of the caribou. Other days, I encountered more than one bear and viewed a handful of sheep in an area only a few kilometres from outfitters and geologists sharing a remote airplane runway. It was a location immediately

beside a Canadian heritage river, with rafting tours passing by. In addition, I was also introduced to my first rough mineral samples of copper, iron, gold and uranium, and the local stories related to each – all within the same two months. Thus, it should be clear that the Peel Watershed is not just pretty. In fact, First Nations continue to use the land and there is also an interest in oil and gas, near a zone in which the Canadian federal government is especially interested – the Northwest Passage. It is within this region that the Peel Watershed Regional Land Use planning process has taken place since 2004.

Regional land use planning in the Yukon is supposedly designed to honour and implement First Nations land claims agreements. Through extensive collaboration between First Nations and non-First Nations, the process of regional land use planning essentially involves gathering information about the region. This includes: expressed preferences through public consultation, conservation priorities, resource assessments and land use scenarios. Since 2004, several key reports were released: the Issues and Interest Report in December of 2005; the Conservation Priorities Assessment Report in 2008; the Resource Assessment Report in September of 2008; the Land Use Scenario Methods Report in November 2008; the Scenario Options Report in January of 2009; the Draft Plan in April of 2009 and the Recommended Plan in December of 2009, with the Approved Plan expected in July of 2011. Thus, regional land use planning is a comprehensive process of gaining an awareness of various values in the region and attempting to reconcile and coordinate, existing and future land use. With enough clarity, land use proposals in the future will not conflict with an established regional land use plan.

I want to analyze the politics related to the Peel Watershed because I want to better understand my home in a way that complements my lived experience in that place. Also,

the outcome of the planning process will help to reflect and determine the pace of change in the Yukon for decades if not centuries, and so I am trying to develop some foresight in that respect. Lastly, I was sympathetic to many of the interests in the region before I undertook the thesis, and given that I had not followed the planning process from the beginning, I wanted to examine in depth how the politics had unfolded since that time, to see how the various interests fared during the process.

My original intent in the thesis was to apply Logan and Molotch's growth-machine theory to the Peel Watershed case – in part because it seemed to account for some of the things going on during the planning process, and in part because it was a challenging fit, since the theory had been developed to explain what happens in American cities, not in a remote area like the Peel Watershed. As expected, I found that I could explain some aspects of what was going on in the Yukon by referring back to this theory, but I found that more recent work – some of it developed in response to Logan and Molotch – such as by Cochrane, Stone, Jessop, and Brenner offered insights that enabled me to give a fuller and more faithful account. But, I also found that I had to go further to take proper account of the conflict of worldviews that is apparently involved in this case – a conflict not well represented in the recent political economy literature.

Peel Watershed politics is both new and familiar. It is new because the area of the Peel Watershed is largely undeveloped and some of the issues posed in relation to it would not come up in the South; but, it is familiar in that many of the interests and actors involved in debates about development are similar to ones we could identify elsewhere. Thus, it is possible to imagine the political alignments even if we don't know much about the Peel. There is an obvious tension between “full protection” and economic development. But, how

can we analyze this more precisely? I suggest that the urban political economy literature is instructive in this regard. Many of the key concepts can be applied to any place, including this one, even if it is not “urban” in the ordinary sense. I go to this literature, rather than the one on the political economy of resource development, because it has more to say about local political coalitions and local political conflicts. But, in the Yukon, we also have to address First Nations and their particular worldviews, which are not usually addressed in the political economy literature. How can we bring their perspectives into view?

In the first part of this thesis I will closely examine the planning process for the Peel Watershed, and attempt to identify the actors involved and the way they line up in relation to issues such as ecotourism, hunting, mining, oil and gas, and subsistence harvesting. Chapters 1 and 2 are largely descriptive of the process and the politics. However, the question arises as to how this particular case can be related to the wider literature in the social sciences and political science in particular. I want to make a double argument. First, I want to suggest that, although this is a remote area, it can be analyzed through the work of political economists who focus mainly on metropolitan economies. Relatively little conceptual adjustment is required. In chapter 3, I ask how the planning process and the politics surrounding it line up with the kinds of things that have been discussed in the urban political economy literature. I find that the theories I consider can be applied to Peel Watershed politics, even though each of the theories has its weaknesses and limitations. On the other hand – and this is the second part of my argument – I find that I have to go to a different literature, one coming from anthropology or ethnographic studies, to explain things that cannot be well understood within a political economy framework. I consider

that literature in chapter 4. I believe it has wider implications for the study of place-based conflicts over economic development

My ultimate argument is that, although one can understand Peel Watershed politics as an example of competition over the question of growth by actors with long established ties to political processes in the Yukon, operating in an era of shifting authority, emerging scales and a changing state, *we cannot simply view Peel Watershed politics as a competition over land use and profits. Instead, ways of life/worlds views are also at stake* – a reality that is often overlooked, in this place as elsewhere. The Peel Watershed planning process is supposed to reconcile differences and ensure a just result with respect to the Umbrella Final Agreement, the terms of reference of the Planning Commission, and the expressed interests of the people involved in public consultations. It is hard to see how that could occur if the diversity of what is at stake in process is not acknowledged. My main intent in this thesis is to draw attention to that diversity.

I have reviewed mainly online sources: newspaper articles; press releases; government, corporate and Environmental NGO (ENGO) websites; online reports related to the Peel Watershed planning process; and maps of the region indicating various economic, environmental, and social values. Aside from the Peel Watershed Planning Commission website, the Yukon News online and Mary Walden's blog *Peel Watershed News* provide the most accessible information on Peel Watershed politics, while the *Whitehorse Star* (the capital city's newspaper) and *CBC News* online also has content with regard to Peel Watershed politics.

While implementation of the 1993 Umbrella Final Agreement, (also referred to here on as the UFA) is ongoing today, each of the broader histories described above (the history of

development in the Canadian North as a frontier and a homeland, especially with attention to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline proposal; resource development in Alberta, British Columbia; the formation of the Circumpolar North as a region of analysis; the history of land claims and the constitutional foundations of the Yukon) provides context for the central focus of my thesis – the Peel Watershed Planning Process. For example, Chapter 11 of the UFA deals specifically with land use planning and while there has been some work published on the history of land use planning in the Yukon,²¹ the history of regional land use planning in the Yukon is quite recent. In fact, this process of planning – initiated by the UFA – has so far produced the first regional land use plan in the history of the Yukon, approved in June of 2009. In order for the thesis to be focused, manageable and relevant, I will concentrate on what will likely be the second regional land use plan to be approved – the Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan (see Chapter 2) a planning process that began in 2004, with the recommended plan submitted in December of 2009 and the Final Recommended Plan expected in July 2011 and a decision on the plan in October of 2011.

As a second example of how the histories relate to land use planning in the Yukon, the task of reassessing the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline project, after almost three decades, resumed in 2004 – the same year that the Peel Watershed planning process began. And, with the National Energy Board's conditional approval of the pipeline in December of 2010,²² the next day, the Yukon Territorial Government took a long awaited position on the Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan by opposing the plan.²³

Chapter 1 outlines the history and structure of the Peel Watershed Planning Commission and the processes involved in planning as it began in 2004. This includes an outline of both the draft (April 2009) and the recommended (December 2009) Peel Watershed regional

land use plans as well as a map and a description of First Nations' traditional territories (with reference to the UFA) that overlap in the Peel Watershed region. In addition, I will describe the main activities and interests in the Peel Watershed planning region and provide a summary of non-renewable resources as well. My goal in this chapter is to provide some context for how these planning processes came to be and to explain *what is at stake* in the region in order to clarify why the planning process has been controversial.

Chapter 2 outlines what I refer to as *Peel Watershed politics*. Peel Watershed politics includes not only the deliberations of the Peel Watershed Planning Commission, but all of the formal public consultation processes as part of the planning process, as well as the actions and statements of four First Nations and one non-First Nations governments, (also referred to here on as 'the Parties') and private actors – all of which affect the future of the Peel Watershed planning region. Granted, it is not clear where to draw a line between events and processes that can be considered part of Peel Watershed politics and those events and processes that cannot; however, in my thesis, I have tried to make the scope of analysis manageable, yet relevant and informative. In this case, Peel Watershed politics includes various interests such as environmentalism, tourism, the Yukon Territorial Government, mining, First Nations Governments, oil and gas and media.

In an effort to further characterize and explain Peel Watershed politics, *Chapter 3* draws from three main theoretical frameworks: John Logan and Harvey Molotch's *growth machine theory* (GMT) and the critical literature surrounding it and two more recent theories as well, namely Clarence Stone's *regime theory* (RT) and Bob Jessop and Neil Brenner's theory regarding *rescaling the state* (RTS). I apply each theory to Peel Watershed politics as described in Chapter 2 in order to help explain the latter. The central premise of this

chapter accepts that each of these three theories was not specifically intended to apply to a Northern – and largely undeveloped – setting. But the premise is that each theory has significant (and in fact, complementary) explanatory potential regarding Peel Watershed politics and what is at stake during the process. Basically, I suggest that many of the categories that each of the three theories employ help to characterize the various actors and interests in Peel Watershed politics, and of the place within which Peel Watershed politics occurs as well.

While Chapter 3 explains the constantly shifting landscape of actors, interests, scales and authorities in Peel Watershed politics – suggesting that land use, community and profits are at stake, *Chapter 4* suggests that worldviews/ways of life are at stake in Peel Watershed politics as well. To be clear, this chapter offers an additional (and to some extent complementary) perspective for thinking about Peel Watershed politics and what is at stake. It focuses mainly on the assimilationist literature in Canada and an alternative to the literature, with specific reference to politics and histories in the Yukon. After drawing from the 1969 *White Paper*, Tom Flanagan's *First Nations?*, *Second Thoughts* and Frances Widdowson and Albert Howard's *The Aboriginal Industry*, I offer an alternative perspective to the assimilationist literature with arguments and evidence from Paul Nadasdy's *Hunters and Bureaucrats*, Catherine McClellan's *Part of the Land, Part of the Water*, Julie Cruickshank's *Life Lived Like a Story* and Helene Dobrowolsky's *Hammerstones: A History of the Tr'Ondëk Hwëch'in*. My goal in contrasting these two literatures is to suggest that this problematic (which involves questions of knowledge, freedom, civilization, progress, participation in the economy, technology and science) resonates with questions about how we can think about Peel Watershed politics and what is at stake during this series of events.

Chapter 1: The Peel Watershed Planning Commission

The Five Ws and the H of the Peel Watershed Planning Commission

On October 15, 2004, the Peel Watershed Planning Commission (referred to as *the commission* or the *planning commission* from here on) was formed to provide direction in addressing the planning issues of the region. The Commission's mandate follows from first, the *Umbrella Final Agreement*²⁴ (UFA) (1993)– mainly *Chapter 11: Land Use Planning* – and second, the *Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement, Appendix C: Yukon Transboundary Agreement*²⁵ (1992), especially *Chapter 7: Land Use Planning and Protection of the Peel Watershed*. Basically, the commission operates under terms agreed upon in these two pivotal land claims agreements signed in the early 1990s.

Moreover, with eight proposed planning regions for the Yukon and only three of those eight accepted to date (the North Yukon, Dawson, and Peel Watershed Planning Regions), the Yukon Territory has no previous regional land use plans in place for these regions. At this point, the North Yukon Regional Land Use Plan – though approved in June of 2009 – is far from being fully implemented, and an approved Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan will influence development in the adjacent North Yukon Planning Region. However, the purpose of this thesis is to focus primarily on one planning region, the Peel Watershed.

In terms of its authority and composition:

[t]he [Peel Watershed Planning Commission] is an arm's-length, independent commission with members who are jointly nominated by the Yukon Government, Na-Cho Nyak Dun, Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, Gwich'in Tribal Council, and Vuntut Gwitchin governments ("Parties to the Plan"). The Commission works under financial agreement with the Yukon Land Use Planning Council.²⁶

Although the commission has not retained all six of its original members (see Table 1), it has maintained the inclusive form of representation noted above, as well as numerous working relationships (see Figure 1).²⁷

Table 1: Peel Watershed Planning Commission Members 2004-2011

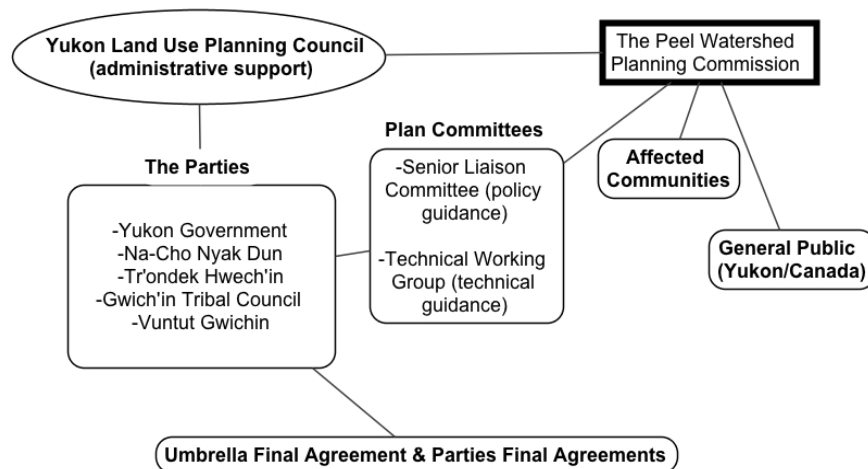
| | <i>Na-cho Nyak Dun</i> | <i>Yukon Government</i> | <i>Vuntut Gwichin/YG</i> |
|---------|--|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 2004-05 | Albert Genier | Sam Wallingham (chair) | Marvin Frost |
| 2005-06 | Albert Genier (chair) | Sam Wallingham | Marvin Frost |
| 2006-07 | Albert Genier (chair) | Sam Wallingham | Marvin Frost |
| 2007-08 | Albert Genier (chair) | vacant/Ray Hayes | Marvin Frost |
| 2008-09 | Albert Genier (chair) | Ray Hayes | Marvin Frost |
| 2009-10 | Albert Genier (chair) | Ray Hayes | Marvin Frost |
| 2010-11 | Albert Genier (chair) /Connie Buyck | Ray Hayes (2011 vice-chair) | Marvin Frost/ Robert Bruce Jr. |
| | Gwich'in Tribal Council | Yukon Government | Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in/YG |
| 2004-05 | Abe Wilson | Kenn Roberts | Steve Taylor |
| 2005-06 | vacant/Peter Kaye | vacant/David Loeks | Steve Taylor |
| 2006-07 | Peter Kaye | David Loeks | Steve Taylor |
| 2007-08 | Peter Kaye | David Loeks | Steve Taylor |
| 2008-09 | Peter Kaye | David Loeks | Steve Taylor |
| 2009-10 | Peter Kaye | David Loeks | Steve Taylor |
| 2010-11 | Peter Kaye | David Loeks (2011 chair) | Steve Taylor |

According to the Yukon Land Use Planning Council, the Territorial entity for land use planning, the terms for 2010 commissioners ended on October 15.²⁸ The new appointments for 2011 are reflected in Table 1. There have been several changes since the recommend plan was released in December of 2009. For example, the chair of commission has changed, the position of vice chair was created and commission members of the Yukon government hold both positions. Moreover, Albert Genier, an original member for the Na-Cho Nyak Dun and the former chair since 2005 was replaced by Connie Buyck, a Na-Cho Nyak Dun citizen. Lastly, Robert Bruce Jr. a Vuntut Gwichin citizen has replaced Marvin Frost, an original member of commission and the Yukon government/Vuntut Gwichin joint appointee. Overall, the recent changes to commission after the recommended plan was released suggest a new dynamic for discussion of the recommended plan because the

Yukon government has more control with the chair and co-chair positions on the commission and because the commission has lost part of its institutional memory with two new members as of 2011.

Figure 1: Working Relationships in Plan Development

Figure 1: Working Relationships in Plan Development



To clarify additional working relationships in plan development (see Figure 1), affected communities and the general public, including stakeholders, have made submissions and presentations to the commission throughout the planning process (discussed further below). Both plan committees – the senior liaison committee and the technical working group – provide guidance to the commission. Both committees also have representation from the four First Nations directly affected by the plan, namely the Na-Cho Nyak Dun, Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, Gwich'in Tribal Council, and Vuntut Gwitchin. All four first nations are involved under the UFA because part of their traditional territories and land use falls within the boundaries of the Peel Watershed planning region. The commission makes recommendations for both the settlement *and* non-settlement lands that comprise the region (see Table 2). Crucially, *The Parties*, here on also referred to as the *Parties to the*

Plan, are the five governments (Na-Cho Nyak Dun, Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, Gwich'in Tribal Council, Vuntut Gwitchin and the Yukon Territorial Government) that have final authority to approve, reject or suggest revisions for the draft, recommended and final recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan.

Table 2: Peel Watershed Planning Region Land Management and Surface Area

| Government | (Non)Settlement Lands²⁹ (%) | Total PW Area³⁰ (km²) |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| Yukon Government | 97.3 (public/non-settlement) | 66164 |
| Tet'it Gwich'in (NWT) | 2.32 (settlement) | 1577.6 |
| Na-Cho Nyak Dun | 0.38 (settlement) | 258.4 |
| Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in | 0.01 (settlement) | 6.8 |
| Vuntut Gwitchin | <0.01 | ? |
| Total | 100.01 | 68000 (approx.) |

The 14 Yukon First Nations' (YFN) traditional territories combine to encompass the entire Yukon Territory. Some of their traditional territories overlap; however, YFN *settlement lands*, though part of traditional territory, represent a small fraction of YFN traditional territory and Table 2 refers only to the percentage of YFN *settlement land* that falls within the Peel Watershed. Moreover, most of the Tet'it Gwich'in traditional territory is in the Northwest Territories (NWT); however, the Tet'it Gwich'in hold some settlement land in the Yukon via the *Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement, Appendix C: Yukon Transboundary Agreement*, mentioned above. In sum, the Vuntut Gwitchin, Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, Na-Cho Nyak Dun, and Tet'it Gwich'in traditional territories overlap with each other and with the Peel Watershed Planning Region in north-central Yukon.³¹

In addition to having part of their traditional territory in the Peel Watershed Planning Region, the Vuntut Gwitchin traditional territory extends to the Northwest, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in to the Southwest, the Na-cho Nyak Dun to the Southeast and the Tet'it Gwichin traditional territory to the Northeast of the planning region.

The Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan

In April 2009, after four and half years of extensive public consultation, assessment and reporting (see Table 3),³² the planning commission released its Draft Regional Land Use Plan, referred to here on as the *draft plan*.³³ According to a planning commission follow up, none of the Parties, and virtually none of the stakeholders and general public were satisfied with the draft plan. For some, the plan was too complex. For others there not enough provision for road access and development and for others there was too much provision for road access and development.

Table 3: Planning Commission Key Report Releases

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i>December, 2005</i> | <i>Issues and Interest Report</i> |
| September, 2008 | Conservation Priorities Assessment Report |
| September, 2008 | Resource Assessment Report |
| November, 2008 | Land Use Scenario Methods Report |
| January, 2009 | Scenario Options Report |
| April, 2009 | Draft Land Use Plan |
| December, 2009 | Recommended Land Use Plan |

Thus, after additional public consultation and revision, the planning commission released its Recommended Regional Land Use Plan referred to here on as the *recommended plan* in December, 2009. Table 4 compares the land use recommendations of the draft plan and the recommended plan.

Table 4: Draft and Recommended Plan: Land Designation and Area

| <i>Draft Plan Land Designation</i> ³⁴ | <i>Land Area (%)</i> | | <i>Recommended Plan Land Designation</i> ³⁵ |
|--|----------------------|-------------|--|
| | Draft 2009 | Recom 2009 | |
| <u>Tier I</u> | | | <u>Special Management Areas</u> |
| Ecosystem Protection | 15 | 2.1 | Heritage Management |
| <u>Tier II</u> | | 19.6 | Fish and Wildlife Management |
| Wilderness Conservation | 48 | 27.7 | Watershed Management |
| | | 31.2 | General Environmental Protection |
| <u>Integrated Management Zone</u> | | | <u>Integrated Management Areas</u> |
| Working Landscape | 37 | 19.4 | Nonrenewable Resource Opportunities |
| Higher Industrial Development Focus | 9 of 37 | | |
| Total of Planning Region | 100 | 100 | Total of Planning Region |
| Recommended Land Withdrawal | 59 | 80.6 | Recommended Land Withdrawal |

With regard to Table 4, whereas the draft plan (April 2009) recommended that a total of 59% of the planning region be withdrawn from nonrenewable resource activities though Tier I and most Tier 2 land designations, the recommended plan (December 2009) called for 80.6% of land withdrawals from new nonrenewable resources activities via numerous special management areas.³⁶ Indeed, although a majority of interests were satisfied with this recommendation, non-renewable resource stakeholders and sectors of the Yukon Territorial Government (YTG) – such as the Ministry of Energy, Mines and Resources – were not satisfied with either the draft plan or the recommended plan (discussed below).

To provide context to planning commission's recommendations, the original and current statement of intent indicates that:

[t]he goal of the [plan] is to ensure wilderness characteristics, wildlife and their habitats, cultural resources, and waters are maintained over time while managing resource use. These uses include, but are not limited to, traditional use, trapping, recreation, outfitting, wilderness tourism, subsistence harvesting, and the exploration and development of non-renewable resources. Achieving this goal requires managing development at a pace and scale that maintains ecological integrity. The long-term objective is to return all lands to their natural state as development activities are completed.³⁷

From this statement and further elaboration in the recommended plan, it is clear that from the beginning, the Commission was intent on making decisions that gave precedence to 1) ecosystem integrity and 2) communities and cultures, *before* it considered 3) which economic activities were possible.³⁸ Indeed, the Commission adopted the term *sustainable development* to guide its decisions. However, unlike *Our Common Future* (1987) – which coined the most popular definition of sustainable development as “[d]evelopment that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs”³⁹ – the commission employed an alternative definition found in the UFA (1993). According to the UFA, sustainable development “means beneficial socio-economic change that does not undermine the ecological and social systems upon which communities and societies are dependent.”⁴⁰ The latter definition, a centerpiece of the commission’s terms of reference, made the protection of ecological and social systems more of a priority than development. Needs in the second definition were more localized than the vague and thus problematic definition of needs in *Our Common Future*. Therefore, the emphasis was on respecting the immediate communities affected by the regional plan.

Despite the commission’s sustainable development mandate, statement of intent and terms of reference⁴¹ made explicit throughout the planning process, there been much controversy surrounding the Peel Watershed Planning Region.

The Peel Watershed Planning Region: Issues and Interests

It is not within the scope of this paper to describe each conflict regarding land use in the Peel Watershed Planning Region (planning region). There are over 50 detailed maps on the

commission website, representing different resource assessments, conservation priorities and three scenario options.⁴² A few examples will help to explain what is at stake.

Table 5: Activities in the Planning Region

| <u>Non-Industrial</u> | <u>Industrial</u> |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| Subsistence Harvesting | Mineral |
| Trapping | Oil and Gas |
| Big Game Outfitting | |
| Tourism and Recreation | |
| Forest Resources | |

With a planning area more than twice the size of Vancouver Island, one all-season road and no permanent structures, the planning region has tremendous value for many people; the region fosters a broad range of activities (see Table 5 below); each report in Table 3 (above) represents a compilation of data gathered from Elders, First Nations governments, hunters, trappers, renewable resources users, wilderness guides, recreationists and both public and private scientists (including biologists, ecologists and geologists of various specialization). The point is that many of these differing values overlap on the land to the extent that, according to the recommended plan, not all values could be fully realized at the same time. I will give three examples of existing conflicts.

First, with only one all-season highway (the Dempster Highway) running through the planning region, the region is relatively untouched by road infrastructure and associated traffic; this means that recreationists, trappers, hunters, wilderness guides, natural scientists, etc, can all benefit from an exceptionally rich ecosystem. Meanwhile, mining, oil and gas industries all require increased and reliable road and energy infrastructure in order to develop in the region. This would require increased deforestation to construct power lines, pipelines and roadways; water use in processing raw materials, resulting in contamination of sensitive ecosystems and possible water shortages in the region; noise

pollution, habitat and tourist disruption as a result of exploration and production activities as well as the construction and maintenance of permanent structures; thus, one set of values is likely threatened by another.

Second, some of the major findings in the recommended plan concern *affected First Nations* specifically, in that

their resource-use interests and rights depend upon intact regional ecosystems and landscapes in the Peel region...[Moreover, they] emphasized that a conservative and precautionary approach is necessary in this Plan to sustain current uses while maintaining future resources-use options for their citizens.⁴³

Thus, at least part of the plan is designed to honour affected First Nations' chosen way of life at this time. – This choice is heavily supported in the terms of the Umbrella Final Agreement, (which applies to all Yukon First Nations (YFN), the Yukon Territorial Government (YTG) and the Government of Canada). The subsequent *First Nations final agreements* are based on the UFA but include terms specific to each Yukon First Nation as well. Signed by the YTG, the Government of Canada and each of the 11 of 14 YFN, each final agreement reinforces this obligation to honour First Nations' chosen way of life.

There are currently final agreements between the YTG, Government of Canada and each of Tr'Ondëk Hwëch'in⁴⁴ (1998), Na-cho Nyak Dun (1993)⁴⁵ and the Vuntut Gwich'in⁴⁶ (1993). As an example of how these final agreements specifically inform the Peel Watershed planning process, the preamble of each of these three legally binding documents includes these statements:

- the parties to this Agreement wish to recognize and protect a way of life that is based on an economic and spiritual relationship between [the particular Yukon First Nation] and the land.
- the parties to this Agreement wish to encourage and protect the cultural distinctiveness and social well-being of [the particular Yukon First Nation].

- the parties to this Agreement wish to enhance the ability of [the particular Yukon First Nation] to participate fully in all aspects of the economy of the Yukon.

Thus, in addition to the remaining terms of the final agreements, these three statements suggest that the YTG, the Government of Canada and each of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, Na-cho Nyak Dun and the Vuntut Gwich'in are all seemingly bound by law to protect the First Nations' relationship to the land and their social well being, while promoting their ability to participate in all aspects of the economy. Although this does not require First Nations to participate in all aspects of the economy, nor does it suggest that each First Nation's economic preference is static. It does imply that certain commitments be fulfilled both within the regional land use plan and elsewhere in order to honour the final agreements.

Thirdly, the short-term economic potential of the region would be best realized through the extraction of non-renewable resources. I will outline the resource potential before I present the obstacles.

There are oil and gas basins in the region as well as coal and significant mineral deposits including, iron, uranium, copper and gold. The planning region is also largely unexplored. With regard to minerals, as of 2008 there were 219 known mineral occurrences and 13 known deposits in the Peel Watershed.⁴⁷ Table 6⁴⁸ (below) outlines the quantity and surface area of active claims and licenses in the planning region. Note that between 2005 and 2008, there was a fourfold increase in the number of claims. These claims and coal licenses represent only 5.1% of the surface area of the planning region, given that some coal licenses overlap with some mineral claims. However, many of the resource locations are currently inaccessible by road (discussed below).

Perhaps the most significant is the Crest Iron deposit (the largest of its kind in North America). Its mine life is estimated at 110 years, with production of iron ore pellets that could yield an estimated \$22 billion over time.⁴⁹

Table 6: Active Resource Claims/Licenses in the Planning Region

| <i>Resource Type</i> | <i>Number of Claims/Licenses</i> | <i>Area of Planning Region (km²)</i> | <i>Area of Planning Region (%)</i> |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| Coal | 9 | 1461 | 2.2 |
| Mineral (2005) | 2261 | approx. 450 | approx. 0.7 |
| Mineral (2008) | 10631 | 2118 | 3.4 |
| Iron Mica | 525 | 278 | 0.4 |
| Quartz | 10106 | 2040 | 3 |
| Combined Mineral and Coal | n/a | 3779 | 5.6 |
| Total Mineral and Coal With Overlap | n/a | 3455 | 5.1 |

Moreover, Table 7⁵⁰ (below) outlines the oil and gas potential of what remains a largely unexplored region. This means that most of the quantities shown to be within the planning region are not proven reserves but instead represent the best estimates based on available data within the 2008 Resource Assessment Report. For example, the Peel Plateau and Plain has no reserves, which means that the 2.9 trillion cubic feet of natural gas in Table 7 is only *inferred* to exist – suggesting a level of uncertainty about this resource. Moreover, the Bonnet Plume basin has only conceptual and speculative resources, not proven reserves.⁵¹ In fact, Eagle Plain basin is the only basin with reserves that are feasible enough to extract from the planning region and yet less than 5% of the Eagle Plain basin occurs within the planning region, with the remaining 95% in the adjacent North Yukon Planning Region (NYPR). This means that in the event of a decision to extract oil and gas from the Eagle Plain, development will take place first and largely remain in the NYPR because that is where the most proven reserves are.

Table 7: Oil and Gas Resources Potential in Planning Region

| | Oil in Millions of Barrels (MMbl) | Gas in Trillion Cubic feet (Tcf) | % of Basin That Occurs in the Planning Region | % of Total Planning Region | % of Yukon's Total Potential | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------|
| | | | | | Oil | Gas |
| <u>Within Peel Region</u> | | | | | | |
| Peel Plateau and Plain | n/a | 2.9 | 100 | 20 | n/a | 17 |
| Eagle Plain | 437 | 6 | 4.6 | 1.4 | 57 | 35 |
| Bonnet Plume | n/a | 0.8 | 100 | ? | n/a | 4.7 |
| Kandik | 99 | 0.7 | 19 | 1.6 | 12.9 | 3.8 |
| Total | 536 | 10.4 | n/a | >23% | 69.9 | 60.5 |
| <u>Outside of Peel</u> | | | | | | |
| Mackenzie Delta/Beaufort Sea | n/a | 13(45-52 potential) | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Prudhoe Bay | 22000 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Alaska North Slope | n/a | 10-12.6 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |

The main obstacle to realizing the subsurface resource potential of planning region (described above) is the current recommended plan. Recall that the draft plan (April 2009) called for 59% recommended land withdrawal, whereas the more recent recommended plan (December 2009) called for 80.6% recommended land withdrawal. In terms of the latter recommendation's effect on the subsurface resource potential of the region, Table 8⁵² outlines the amount of dispositions (licenses, claims and permits) slated for withdrawal within the Special Management Areas (SMAs) covering 80.6% of the planning region. Industrial surface or subsurface activities, such as exploration, may still continue on the existing dispositions in the SMA; however, new industrial surface or sub activities, such as advancement to the next stage of an existing mineral, coal or oil and gas exploration project may not occur.⁵³ Thus, without the prospect of future advancement in various forms of exploration, the risk is that the money invested in the exploration phase will not gain a

significant return because there will be no extraction, processing or sale of the resource allowed. This amounts to what could be considered a recommended land withdrawal for these areas.

Table 8: Subsurface Dispositions Slated for Land Withdrawal

| Subsurface Disposition | Area (km ²) | Proportion of Total Dispositions in Planning Region (%) | Remaining Area Available for Future Development (km ²) |
|---|-------------------------|---|--|
| Coal License | 1284 | 100 | 0 |
| Iron Mica Claim | 278 | 100 | 0 |
| Quartz Claim | 1324 | 87.5 | 190 |
| Quartz and Coal | 178 | 100 | 0 |
| Oil and Gas Permit | 166 | 18 | 754 |
| Oil and Gas Significant Discovery License | 0 | 0 | 70 |

In the sense that the claims would no longer be easily accessible, the recommended plan jeopardizes the future of 87.5% of all quartz claims in the region, claims which may have copper, gold, uranium and/or other potential. Moreover, the recommended plan undermines all of the coal licenses and the iron mica claims in the planning region, not only by placing them in SMAs but also prohibiting any winter or all-season road access other than the Dempster Highway (LMU2). This means that lack of future road access to new resources in the planning region will be a major barrier, in addition to the fact that no new industrial activities are permitted in 80.6% of the planning region. Under the recommended plan, the only subsurface resources that have significant potential to be developed in the remaining LMUs designated as Integrated Management Areas (IMAs) are oil and gas. From a mining industry perspective, without successful consultation and influence before the Approved Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan, the economic potential of coal and minerals in the planning region may not be realized.

Summary

In sum, these three examples demonstrate the range of possible land use conflicts with non-renewable resources values such as minerals and fossil fuels. Opposition could be classified as either 1) renewable resource/ecotourist/conservationist values or 2) First Nations' cultural, ecological and economic values. Although the Peel Watershed planning process follows largely from the UFA, given that regional land use plans of this magnitude are a new phenomenon in the Yukon Territory, the planning process is especially challenging. Although it seems clear from this chapter that not all values can be realized simultaneously, the next chapter explains how these various stakeholders have mobilized politically during the Peel Watershed Planning Process. Chapter 2 describes who lives in the Peel Watershed Region, who stands to benefit from development there and what existing claims and development there is.

Chapter 2: Peel Watershed Politics

To investigate the politics of the Peel Watershed, I have reviewed mainly online sources: newspaper articles; press releases; government, corporate and Environmental NGO (ENGO) websites; online reports related to the Peel Watershed planning process; and maps of the region indicating various economic, environmental, and social values.

I have divided the various agents involved in Peel Watershed politics into categories of main interest, namely: tourism, hard rock mining, environment, First Nations, government, oil/gas/ coal, and other. Clearly these categories are not mutually exclusive nor are they jointly exhaustive; however, they do provide a useful way to introduce the various interests involved in Peel Watershed politics and they depict the explicit interests (verified by numerous sources of information) of the agents within each column.

The current stage in the planning process is highly controversial, with the Recommended Land Use Plan (RLUP), released in December of 2010, stating that “80.6% of the planning region be given a high degree of protection.”⁵⁴ This is a ruling that most Yukoners and most First Nations support, while mining, oil, gas and the Yukon Territorial Government are generally opposed. The goal of this section is to explain 1) the main agents involved in Peel Watershed politics, 2) their immediate and projected interests, and 3) how they have influenced the planning process.

Environment

The Yukon branch of the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS) is perhaps the most active and influential environmental NGO involved in Peel Watershed politics. In

2003 – *before* the planning commission was established – CPAWS organized the Three Rivers Journey whereby “18 nationally prominent artists writers and photographers joined 26 people from Yukon and Northwest Territories communities in separate journeys down the Wind, Snake and Bonnet Plume Rivers of the Peel Watershed.”⁵⁵ One goal of the journey was to produce various works, as a way to testify to the beauty and value of the Peel Watershed and to raise awareness about the environmental aspects of the region. At least part of the body of knowledge produced from this journey was submitted to the planning commission for its assessments and reports in the years to follow.

Moreover, CPAWS and the Yukon Conservation Society (YCS) have collaborated to form the ‘Protect the Peel’ campaign. Karen Baltgailis (Executive Director of CPAWS) and Mike Dehn (Executive Director of YCS) constantly make statements in news articles about Peel Watershed politics.

Since the Three Rivers Journey, CPAWS and the Yukon Conservation Society (YCS) co-funded a public opinion survey to determine Yukoner sentiments with regard to commission decisions and what Yukoners thought should take place in the Peel Watershed planning region. The survey, apparently the first of its kind in the Yukon, revealed that a large majority of Yukoners supported protection of the Peel Watershed and that most Yukoners were not sympathetic to the interests of the mining industry in general.⁵⁶ Moreover, in the public consultation processes of 2009, regarding the draft plan, CPAWS and YCS commissioned and submitted to the planning commission a report⁵⁷ by Joan Kuyek (National Coordinator of Mining Watch Canada) analyzing mineral claims issues in the Peel Watershed. The report analyzed several documents used by the mining industry during the

planning process and found that the mineral resources in the region are currently unproven and unfeasible to extract and transport.

In addition, as part of its Big Wild campaign, Mountain Equipment Co-op is working with CPAWS to raise funds to protect the Peel Watershed.⁵⁸ The Small Change Fund, an international fundraising organization whose Canada headquarters is based in Toronto, is also helping to raise funds for the Peel Watershed (among other causes) on behalf the Yukon Conservation Society (YCS).⁵⁹

Both CPAWS and the Yukon Conservation Society (YCS) were fully in favor of the recommended plan's call for 80.6% protection. Ducks Unlimited in the Yukon has worked with the commission and the Tetl'it Gwich'in of the NWT as part of the Peel Watershed planning process.⁶⁰ They have also made several submissions during public consultation to the commission during the planning process. Finally, Northern Waters is a blog that publicizes wilderness-related events in the northern region of North America, including Peel Watershed politics.⁶¹

In terms of the most apparent international conservationist efforts, there are two noteworthy sources. First, the ongoing Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative (Y2Y), publicly launched in 1997, seeks to preserve numerous species' habitat and migration patterns. These span large parts of western North America, with the Peel Watershed as one of twelve priority areas to protect.

The Y2Y has a board of directors straddling Montana and Alberta, along with a broad network of partners across North America. CPAWS, The Wilderness Conservation Society of Canada, and The Yukon Department of Environment, Fish and Wildlife Management Branch are among the agents involved Peel Watershed politics who are also collaborating

on the Y2Y. “On the Yukon side, land-use plans can incorporate these findings to safeguard important summer ranges,” one report from the Wilderness Conservation Society of Canada suggests.⁶² Donald Reid and Justina Ray of the Wilderness Conservation Society of Canada also made a submission to the commission in response to the draft plan.

Wilderness International is an ENGO with offices in both Alberta and Germany. The organization has been working with the Tetl’it Gwich’in of the NWT since 2006 to promote conservation of the Peel Watershed through various German/Gwich’in student exchanges as well as the creation of numerous documentary films.⁶³

In sum, an active environmental network is raising awareness about Peel Watershed politics – especially in terms of the ecological and aesthetic integrity of the region. Agents include the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society, Yukon Conservation Society, Ducks Unlimited, Northern Waters, the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative (Y2Y), the Wilderness Conservation Society of Canada and Wilderness International. These agents are comprised of local, regional, national and international interests. Judging by the recommendations of the recommended plan, this environmental network has significantly influenced the Peel Watershed Planning Process.

Tourism

Perhaps a more moderate interest, though still in favour of protecting the Peel Watershed, is the wilderness tourism industry of the Yukon. First, the Tourism Industry Association of the Yukon (TIAY) opposes mining in the region, given that the activities of mineral exploration and drilling have disrupted the wilderness tourism industry. However, whereas TIAY initially supported protection of 40% of the Peel Watershed,⁶⁴ in September of 2010, TIAY supported 80.6% protection in the recommended plan.⁶⁵

Second, the Wilderness Tourism Association of the Yukon (WTAY) has participated as a stakeholder in the planning process. It supports the 80% protection recommendation.⁶⁶

Also, groups like Walden's Guiding and Outfitting (WGO) also have an interest in wilderness tourism in the region⁶⁷ and Mary Walden started a blog in 2009 entitled *Peel Watershed News* to cover many new developments that take place in the region.⁶⁸ Other outfitters are also present in the Peel Watershed planning region and their businesses will be affected by the regional plan; however, Bonnet Plume Outfitters (BPO) is the only outfitting business with a written submission to the commission.

Yukon Territorial Government

The Yukon Territorial Government as a whole is divided in its involvement in Peel Watershed politics. It is useful to divide its description into three sections: 1) The Premier, 2) Department of Environment, 3) Department of Energy Mines and Resources. There are other departments in the YTG; however, these three sections are sufficient for assessing the YTG's involvement in Peel Watershed politics.

First, Dennis Fentie has been Premier of the Yukon since 2002, which means that he has overseen the planning process since it began the following year. In 2003, the Federal Government gave control of land, water, minerals and forestry resources to the YTG, following control of oil and gas in 1998. Since he first came to power, the Premier has demonstrated an expansionist strategy for the Yukon (see Table 9).⁶⁹

Table 9: Premier Fentie's Speeches Outside of Yukon

| Date | Location | Event |
|------|-------------------|--|
| 2002 | Calgary | Resource Expo (First Speaking engagement as newly Elected Premier) |
| 2003 | Juneau, Alaska | Rail Road Conference |
| 2004 | Calgary | Petroleum Club of Calgary |
| 2004 | Calgary | 4th Annual Arctic Gas Symposium |
| 2004 | Houston, Texas | Alaska Pipeline Symposium |
| 2005 | Toronto | Empire Club of Canada: Alaska Highway Natural Gas Pipeline and Alaska Yukon Railway Proposal |
| 2007 | Toronto | Economic Club of Toronto |
| 2007 | Anchorage, Alaska | Pacific Northwest Economic Region |
| 2008 | Calgary | Arctic Gas Symposium |
| 2008 | Edmonton | Edmonton Chamber of Commerce |
| 2009 | Ottawa | Public Policy Forum at the Rideau Club |
| 2009 | Calgary | Arctic Gas Symposium |

In each speech since 2002, the Premier's message has been emphasizing the need for increased oil and gas and transportation infrastructure in the North. He has promoted initiatives such as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Project (MVPP), the Alaska Highway Pipeline (AHP) and the Alaska/Yukon Railway Proposal - all of which would result in unprecedented economic and geographical changes in the North. Especially relevant to Peel Watershed politics, the Premier has often suggested that a successful AHP and MVPP would make possible the extraction of oil and gas reserves in the Yukon. Thus, the Premier was promoting oil and gas in the region before regional land use plans for North Yukon and the Peel Watershed Planning Region were complete, and thus, before the Parties to the plan decided together what kind of regional land use plan was best.

Table 10: Yukon Regional Accords 2003-2009

| | | |
|------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 2003, 2007 | NWT | Intergovernmental Relations Accord |
| 2003, 2008 | Alaska | Intergovernmental Relations Accord |
| 2003, 2006 | NWT, Nunavut | Northern Cooperation Accord |
| 2004 | British Columbia | Intergovernmental Relations Accord |
| 2008 | Champagne and Asihihik | Intergovernmental Relations Accord |
| 2009 | Alberta | Intergovernmental Relations Accord |
| 2009 | Na-Cho Nyak Dun | Intergovernmental Relations Accord |

In addition, the Premier has been active in signing numerous regional accords (see Table 10), the effect of which is not clear. The point is that the Yukon is actively becoming part of a regional strategy of intergovernmental cooperation. In the context of the current YTG agenda and western North America's significant resource potential, this could increase the chances of additional, integrated energy and transportation infrastructure, including pipelines. This would have significant implications for the planning region, a region currently with very little transportation infrastructure.

Although he was not on record for some time as being opposed to the recommended plan, Premier Fentie has been characterized as interfering with the "Environment Department's assessment of what's needed to protect the Peel River watershed,"⁷⁰ whereby he reduced a 22 page technical document⁷¹ to a four page document⁷² before it was submitted for consideration as part of the draft plan. Eventually, the Yukon government was unofficially opposed to the recommended plan as of December 17, 2010 and officially opposed on February 21, 2011.⁷³

In its technical reports, the Department of Environment favours significant protection of the planning region. Moreover, as an advisory body to the Department of Environment, "Chapter 16 of the Umbrella Final Agreement recognizes the Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board (YFWMB) as 'the primary instrument of Fish and Wildlife management in the Yukon.'"⁷⁴ The Board's April 2009 report, *Yukon Fish and Wildlife: A 20:20 Vision*, includes a public opinion phone survey consistent with the CPAWS/YCS survey mentioned above. Thus, the board has helped to clarify that Yukoners generally support increased environmental protection in the Yukon.⁷⁵ The Department of Environment in general has

expressed the significant ecological integrity, uniqueness and sensitivity of the planning region.

Third, compared to other Yukon Government departments, Energy Mines and Resources (EMR) has been quite influential; with the Yukon Minerals Advisory Board (YMAB) advising EMR, the latter has enhanced its capacity to gather information and insight regarding how it should best develop the mining industry in the Territory. Comprised mainly of executives at various levels in the mining industry, the Minerals Advisory Board has recently begun to voice strong opposition to the commission's deliberations,⁷⁶ suggesting 1) that the latter is overstepping its mandate by making strong recommendations for high levels of protection in the region, and 2) that the Yukon government should reject the plan.⁷⁷

The effect of the YMAB's claim could be to reduce the ability of the commission to recommend environmental protection. However, the recommended plan's call for 80.6% land withdrawal with no additional all-season transportation access could suggest otherwise, depending on whether and under what terms the final plan is approved. Moreover, YMAB has also suggested in the past that the Yukon Environmental and Socioeconomic Assessment Board (a board established in 2003 for assessing any large scale development projects) might be exceeding its mandate, evolving into a second regulatory body.⁷⁸ These YMAB recommendations would significantly curtail the capacity for environmental protection in the Yukon, and thus, in the planning region.

The Yukon Geological Survey – the geosciences and technical arm of EMR –explores regions in the Yukon on behalf of the government and publicizes recent mining, oil and gas developments in the Territory, including those in the Peel Watershed planning region.

Though apparently neutral regarding planning process, the Yukon Geological Survey effectively promotes development simply by raising awareness, both domestically and internationally, of the Yukon's mineral potential.

The Yukon also provides financial incentives for mining. The Yukon Mining Incentive Program (YMIP) whereby the Yukon government reimburses portions of investment in prospecting and exploration at various scales, at times between \$15 000 and \$50 000 per year depending on the scale of the project.⁷⁹

With EMR's ability to promote mining in the region, a joint press release from the Chiefs of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in (Eddie Taylor), Tet'it Gwich'in (Wilbert Firth), and First Nation of Na-Cho Nyak Dun (Simon Mervyn) claims that:

[i]n May, the draft [Peel Watershed] Plan was finally released. Shortly afterward it was revealed the department of Energy, Mines and Resources has been directing the show for the Government of Yukon. The views of the department of Environment were suppressed and never made known to the Commission.⁸⁰

This statement relates partly to the fact that Premier Fentie censored the Department of Environment's report and indeed, the *Yukon News* received word of the incident and a copy of the original document that was censored.⁸¹ Moreover, in February of 2011, the Yukon Government took an official position on the recommend plan stating in their general response that:

The Yukon government recognizes that the Peel watershed is a unique area that includes many areas of environmental and cultural significance as well as identified non-renewable resources. We are seeking a Final Recommended Plan ("the Final Plan") that recognizes, accommodates and balances society's interest in these different feature of the region."⁸²

Moreover, the general response, signed by Patrick Rouble, Minister of Energy Mines and Resources, stated that "[t]he Yukon government is looking for a less complex and more streamlined land management regime in the Final Plan." Recall that in the annual reports,

the Yukon Minerals Advisory Board called for more participation from the Yukon Environmental and Socioeconomic Assessment Board (YESAB), suggesting that the planning commission had overstepped its mandate. It is notable that the YESAB prepared the detailed response from the Yukon Government regarding the recommended plan – exactly what YMAB called for several years before 2011.

Thus, since 2003, the YTG promoted an increase in transportation infrastructure such as rail. Also, through institutions including the Yukon Geological Survey, Yukon Minerals Advisory Board and Yukon Environmental And Socioeconomic Assessment Board, the YTG facilitated an increase in non-renewable resource development in the territory, such as oil, gas and minerals. What role do these resource industries and First Nations Governments play in Peel Watershed politics?

Mining

The mining sector is quite active in Peel Watershed politics. First, the Yukon Chamber of Mines (YCOM) opposed the draft plan,⁸³ and the ‘preservation lobby’ as well. Its opposition continues, with YCOM President Carl Schulze as spokesperson.⁸⁴

Mining company executives are influential. Steven Quin is an especially important agent, judging by his multiple affiliations; he is a member of the YCOM, president of the Yukon Minerals Advisory Board, and he is the President of Capstone Mining Corporation (formerly Sherwood Copper). This company developed the Minto Mine, which continues to operate. Capstone Mining and other large mining companies recently formed the Yukon Gold Mining Alliance, “a marketing consortium of qualified Yukon exploration, development & mining companies committed to increasing awareness of the Yukon and member companies in the capital market.”⁸⁵ The Alliance recently hosted two Yukon forums in New York and

Toronto.⁸⁶ In 2009 the YTG sent representatives to China, Japan and South Korea⁸⁷ significantly boosting the international profile of mining in the Yukon.

Also, at the Roundup in Vancouver, an annual conference for geologists and mining companies to network and share information, the Yukon delegation consisted of Capstone Mining (Steven Quin), the YTG (Mike Burke of the Yukon Geological Survey) and Lang Michener. The latter is an international law firm with origins in Toronto and one of its headquarters in Vancouver; part of its business plan centres on mining.⁸⁸ This example suggests that there has been an increasingly substantial capacity exists for raising the profile and the appeal of mining in the Territory.

Also, for at least the past 4 years a substantial proportion of the campaign contributions to the Yukon Party (YTG) originate from mining companies – many of which are headquartered in Vancouver (see Table 11).⁸⁹ Exceptions include energy and transportation companies such as ATCO and Trans Canada Pipeline, both from Calgary, and Pacific and Arctic Railway Navigation from Skagway, AK. This suggests two things: first, that the patronage from mining companies has a significant influence on YTG policy, which includes its position on the recommended plan. Second, there is a possible conflict of interest by having significant campaign contributors appointed to the Yukon Minerals Advisory Board. By having campaign contributors and a minerals advisory board comprised mainly of people outside the Yukon, government policy might not favour the interests or demands of most Yukoners. In these ways, the mining industry also has considerable influence in Peel Watershed politics.

Table 11: Yukon Party Campaign Financing and YMAB Appointments 2006-2009

| | Origin of Company | Contribution (\$) | On YMAB? (Year) |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 2006 | | | |
| Access Mining Consultants (Alexco) | Whitehorse, YT | 500 | 06 – 07 |
| Alexco | Vancouver, BC | 5000 | 06 – 09 |
| Arctic Inland Resources | Dawson City, YT | 500 | |
| ATCO Ltd. | Calgary, AB | 2000 | |
| E. Caron Diamond Drilling | Whitehorse, YT | 5000 | |
| Eagle Plains Resources Ltd. | Cranbrook, BC | 1000 | |
| Golden Hill Ventures | Whitehorse, YT | 5000 | 07 – 09 |
| Pacific and Arctic Railway Navigation | Skagway, AK | 3000 | |
| Sherwood Copper | Vancouver, BC | 1000 | 07 – 09 |
| Stratagold | Whitehorse, YT | 2500 | |
| Summit Aggregates | Whitehorse, YT | 2500 | |
| Tintina Mines Ltd. | Whitehorse, YT | 1000 | |
| Trans Canada Pipeline | Calgary, AB | 5000 | |
| Western Copper Corp. | Vancouver, BC | 1000 | 07 – 09 |
| YGC Resources | Vancouver, BC | 5000 | |
| Yukon Zinc | Vancouver, BC | 2500 | 06 – 09 |
| Total (\$) | | 42500 | |
| % of total contributions >\$250 | | 40.50% | |
| 2007 | | | |
| Alexco | Vancouver, BC | 5000 | 06 – 09 |
| Eagle Hill | Vancouver, BC | 5500 | |
| International KRL | Vancouver, BC | 2500 | |
| Logan Resources | Vancouver, BC | 2500 | |
| North American Tungsten | Vancouver, BC | 2000 | 07 – 09 |
| Total (\$) | | 17500 | |
| % of total contributions >\$250 | | 94.40% | |
| 2008 | | | |
| Minto Explorations Ltd. (Capstone/Sherwood Copper) | Whitehorse, YT | 9000 | 07 – 09 |
| Total (\$) | | 9000 | |
| % of total contributions >\$250 | | 80% | |
| 2009 | | | |
| North American Tungsten | Vancouver, BC | 500 | 07 – 09 |
| Selwyn Resources (Yukon Zinc) | Vancouver, BC | 1500 | 06 – 09 |
| Underworld Resources | Vancouver, BC | 5000 | |
| Western Copper Corporation | Vancouver, BC | 750 | 07 – 09 |
| Yukon Zinc Corporation/ (Selwyn) | Vancouver, BC | 3000 | 06 – 09 |
| Total (\$) | | 10750 | |
| % of total contributions >\$250 | | 84.90% | |

Although it is not clear what the effect of this calibre and scope of marketing will be on the Peel Watershed specifically, awareness of mining in the Yukon is likely to increase, especially if the mining industry and the YTG remain close.

First Nations Governments

There are 14 Yukon First Nations (YFN). Three YFN are involved as Parties of the planning process. They, along with the Tet'it Gwich'in of the NWT (the fourth First Nation represented the planning process), support 100% protection of the planning region. However, this does not mean that they are against all development. As Chief Eddie Taylor explained, “[w]e support mining. But we don’t want to see mining in the Peel. Some places are best left as they are.”⁹⁰

Each YFN has their own development corporation and is actively involved in numerous projects within their traditional territory and in the Yukon in general. For example, following the Minto Mine’s official opening on Selkirk First Nation’s traditional territory in 2007, Selkirk First Nation Chief Darin Isaac became a member of the YMAB, and Minto Mine’s Stephen Quin was appointed as chair of the YMAB.⁹¹ Significant royalties accrue to the Selkirk First Nations from the Minto Mine project.

The Council of Yukon First Nations, here on also referred to as the *CYFN* or *the Council* has spoken out on the Peel Watershed Planning process. Initially comprised in 1973 as a way to promote and settle land claims agreements, the Council has supported protection of the Peel in various ways. For example, in 2002 they moved to set up a planning commission for the Peel Watershed and to direct

the Yukon Government to suspend any oil and gas development activities within the Peel River watershed area and not issue any new dispositions within that area until a regional land use planning commission is established and:

- i) a regional land use plan for the NND Traditional Territory is approved by the NND and Government; or
- ii) the NND and Government jointly approve the portion of the regional land use plan related to the Peel River watershed area.⁹²

In 2007, the Council voted to lobby the Yukon Territorial Government to ensure the clean up of abandoned oil and gas well sites in the Peel Watershed.⁹³

To be clear, the CYFN is not a government. However, as former Grand Chief of the Council, Andy Carvill explained:

[the CYFN] represent[s] first nations governments that are members of the council...There are, however, some first nations that are not members of CYFN. We try to represent the members as best we can on various issues. The direction comes from the people in the communities as well as from the chiefs, the leaders of those communities. But again, there are some members we do not represent. We do not speak on their behalf.⁹⁴

CYFN is a significant voice for Yukon First Nation. However, as Carvill alluded to, the Council has lost several YFN over the past two decades: the Kwanlin Dun, Ross River and Liard First Nations opted out in the 1990s and the Vuntut Gwitchin (a Party to the planning process) in 2008.⁹⁵ Since 11 of the 14 YFN have settled their land claims, the *raison d'être* of the CYFN is in question. Moreover, after being explicitly in favour of protecting the Peel Watershed from mining activities,⁹⁶ Carvill, who had been Grand Chief of the CYFN since 2005, resigned from the position in March of 2010.⁹⁷ This event had possible implications for the planning process, as the recommended plan was under review during that time. The interim and newly elected Grand Chief of the CYFN, Ruth Massie, won against her only opponent, Joe Jack, by a margin of 38-13, following the election of July 13, 2010. This is especially noteworthy given that Massie is the Chair of the Alaska Highway Aboriginal Pipeline Coalition also referred to as AHAPC.

Comprised of members from 5 of the 14 Yukon First Nations, with several YFN observers, the Alaska Highway Aboriginal Pipeline Coalition has no authority to speak on behalf of any of the YFN governments. AHAPC mainly conducts research and provides information to interested First Nations on the proposed Alaska Highway Pipeline Project. But, Ruth Massie's election as grand Chief suggests a possible new direction for the CYFN, one that, among many things, is more open to First Nation's support for oil and gas development. This may have some influence on Peel Watershed politics. However, none of the 4 aboriginal Parties to the planning process are members or observers of the AHAPC. The Vuntut Gwitchin is the only First Nation member of the planning committee that is not part of the CYFN (see Table 12).

Table 12: Yukon First Nation Selected Memberships and Engagements

| | CYFN | AHAPC | Peel Plan | North Yukon Regional Land Use Plan | YFN Resource Conference (2010) | Northern Partnerships Summit (2010) |
|--|------|----------|-----------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Carcross/Tagish First Nation | * | * | | | * | |
| Champagne and Aishihik First Nations | * | * | | | * | |
| Ehdiitat Gwich'in Council (NWT) | * | | | | | |
| First Nation of Na-cho Nyak Dun | * | | * | | * | * |
| Gwichya Gwich'in Council (NWT) | * | | | | | |
| Kluane First Nation | * | * | | | | |
| Little Salmon Carmacks First Nation | * | | | | | |
| Nihtat Gwich'in Council (NWT) | * | | | | | |
| Selkirk First Nation | * | | | | | |
| Ta'an Kwach'an Council | * | * | | | * | |
| Teslin Tlingit Council | * | observer | | | | |
| Tet'it Gwich'in Council (NWT) | * | | * | | | * |
| Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in | * | | * | | | * |
| White River First Nation | * | observer | | | | |
| Kaska/Kaska Dena Council (YT/BC) | | observer | | | | |
| Vuntut Gwitchin | | | * | * | | * |
| Kwanlin Dun First Nation | | * | | | * | |
| Liard First Nation | | observer | | | | |
| Ross River First Nation | | | | | | |

With regard to the four First Nations directly involved as Parties to the Plan, the terms of current negotiations on the recommended plan were not made public. In addition to the Peel plan, the Vuntut Gwich'in were also involved in the North Yukon Regional Land Use Plan whereby, although the approved 2009 plan called for what could be considered a 50% land withdrawal, the other "50% is Integrated Management Area (IMA), and can be considered the working landscape [while] 80% of the IMA has a higher development focus."⁹⁸ Part of the IMA includes the Eagle Plains basin that straddles the North Yukon Planning Region and the Peel Watershed Planning Region. This suggests probable development of the basin, with the prior provision of an access management plan.⁹⁹ Thus, the Vuntut Gwich'in might be willing to agree to oil and gas development in part of the Peel planning region as well.

Meanwhile, recall that the other three First Nation Parties to the Plan drafted a joint press release in 2009 stating that they supported economic development, but not mining in the planning region. This was evident in a 2010, open letter from the Chiefs of the Na-cho Nyak Dun and Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in to the then newly appointed Yukon Environment Minister John Edzerza. They suggested that Minister Edzerza wrongly spoke on behalf of all First Nations in the Peel Watershed when he stated that "the First Nations probably have not ruled out any kind of economic development activities that might be available to them in that region because it's a massive amount of land." In the letter, the Chiefs also stated that "protection of the headwaters of the Peel River and the entire Peel watershed is of paramount importance to us. We are not interested in seeing further development of non-renewable industries or roads in the Peel watershed."¹⁰⁰

During that same month (April 2010), the four Parties signed a Porcupine Caribou Harvest Management Plan with the YTG, outlining allowable harvesting practices to manage the herd.¹⁰¹ This species is arguably the most integral to First Nations' traditional and their ongoing subsistence harvesting. Indeed, this example suggests that the parties can find a middle ground in some instances because the Parties to the Plan can agree on the importance of sustaining Porcupine Caribou in the Yukon.

Since the release of the recommended plan, these four parties were involved in two major conferences held in the Yukon. The first was the *Yukon First Nations Resource Opportunity Conference*¹⁰² on March 23-25th of 2010. The conference included presentations from several first nations, government officials and companies active in Yukon and BC. It covered various topics such as tourism, mining, power, finance and oil and gas as a way to showcase existing developments in these industries and to provide the conference participants with a forum to voice concerns and interests regarding future developments in the Yukon. The second conference, on May 19-20th of 2010, was entitled *Driving Our Economic Future: Northern Partnerships Summit 2010*¹⁰³. The conference organized various panels of Yukon government officials, executives from First Nations development corporations and executives from various economic sectors including, tourism, mining, oil and gas, transportation, power and infrastructure.¹⁰⁴ In terms of their positions regarding development in the Peel Watershed, the conferences in 2010 appear to have had no effect on the Parties to the Plan.

All Parties to the Plan signed a joint Letter of Understanding in January of 2011, agreeing on objectives, principles, consultation guidelines and timeframes for the planning process. The Parties agreed "the Senior Liaison Committee would serve as the primary conduit for

the intergovernmental consultation, supporting the principals [*sic*] of the parties” and that a key objective was to “endeavor to achieve consensus on a coordinated response to the recommended plan.”¹⁰⁵ In February 2011, each First Nations Party to Plan took an official position on the recommended plan, with a united First Nations response as well as a joint response from all Parties to the Plan, which includes the Yukon Territorial Government and the four First Nations. The joint response is limited to what the parties could agree upon, that

the Peel watershed is a unique area that encompasses many areas of cultural and environmental significance; and that, given the values and the largely pristine state of the region; selected areas will be excluded from development and afford high levels of protection.¹⁰⁶

The joint response also recommended that: 1) the planning commission be dissolved after the Final Plan is approved, 2) that there be a limited number of subsequent plans, such as sub-regional plans in the region, 3) that both plan variances and amendments after the plan is approved be minimized and 4) that the recommended plan be simplified into a working document. However, only Albert Peter, the Chair of the Senior Liaison Committee, signed the joint response.

The individual responses from each First Nation Chiefs and the united First Nations response appear more authoritative because the Parties concerned sign each response. Chief Simon Mervyn of the Na-cho Nyak Dun explained that they were not generally opposed to industrial development, as they have agreements with mining companies on their traditional territory. But they did not support these activities in the Peel Watershed.¹⁰⁷ Chief Eddie Taylor of the Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in argued that the plan did not reflect the views of the Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in and that the plan was too complex to work with.

¹⁰⁸ Chief William Koe of The Tet’it Gwich’in Council called for 100% protection of the

watershed, in order that it remains pristine, quiet and peaceful.¹⁰⁹ In fact, the united First Nations response to the recommended plan, also submitted in February 2011, called for 100% protection of the Peel Watershed and stated that

it is important to note that we are not generally opposed to industrial development. We do in fact support sustainable development in much of our traditional territories. We are prepared to enter into mutually beneficial Agreements with mining companies, oil and gas companies, and other industrial interests. But we do not support these activities in the Peel. This area is sacred to our peoples. It should not be subject to hasty exploitation without thinking of the legacy we leave for future generations or how we respect the value of our lands beyond resource extraction.¹¹⁰

In sum, these events and available evidence suggest that while they are better informed and connected to industry, the four First Nations who are Parties to the Plan are adamant about protecting the Peel Watershed. As Andy Carvill stated while he was Grand Chief in November of last year, “[Yukon First Nations] are adaptable to the change while at the same time maintaining a lot of their traditional beliefs and culture.”¹¹¹ But the analysis so far suggests that, the Peel Watershed is especially crucial to preserving Yukon First Nations traditional beliefs and culture.

Oil/Gas/Coal

There is currently no oil potential to warrant a pipeline in the near future; stakeholders are more concerned with the natural gas potential. However, to the extent that there is an interest in oil, the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP) submitted a document to the commission in response to the draft plan in 2009. CAPP’s four main points were that the plan 1) lacked balance with regard to multiple uses of the land 2) was complex, impeding *clarity and certainty* and 3) lacked access corridors. In conclusion, 4) CAPP opposed the use of *cumulative effects* as way to construct acceptable thresholds of industrial use in the region.¹¹² These issues are consistent with most industrial interests in

the region. Beyond 2009, there is scarce publicly available information regarding oil interests in the planning region.

Northern Cross (Yukon) Limited is proposing the *Dempster Lateral*, a natural gas pipeline that would run Southwest from Inuvik, NWT, along the Dempster Highway and through the NYPR and the planning region.¹¹³ The pipeline would transport at least the reserves that exist in the Eagle Plain Basin in the North Yukon Planning Region and Peel Watershed Planning Region (see above). Although more active in the North Yukon Regional Planning Process, than in the Peel process, Northern Cross made a submission to the commission, following the draft plan; Northern Cross called for additional road access and infrastructure as a necessary condition for exploring the Eagle Plain basin.¹¹⁴ Since 2007, the YTG has granted Northern Cross a total of 15 oil and gas permits.¹¹⁵ They hold several other permits in the region as well.¹¹⁶ However, the YTG has granted a number of these permits while the one-year moratorium on the Peel Watershed is in effect.¹¹⁷ This suggests a breach of the moratorium. Moreover, a director of Northern Cross, Rick Nielsen explains in his online biography that:

Nielsen is a businessman with various business interests in Yukon and Alaska and has served as Chairman of the Board of both the Whitehorse and Yukon Chambers of Commerce. Mr. Nielsen has recently completed an assignment as Chief of Staff to the Premier of Yukon.¹¹⁸

Companies such as Trans Canada/Foothills and Austrocan Petroleum have an interest in the planning region, and if either had submitted documents to the planning commission none are publicly available on the commission website. But in Nielsen's bio, one can observe the close ties between the YTG and natural gas interests. The problem for Northern Cross is that the recommended plan calls for no additional road access, despite Northern Cross's needs in the planning region. Perhaps in part as a response to this prohibitive

recommendation, Northern Cross participated in both 2010 Yukon conferences mentioned above (see First Nations section of the thesis). This suggests that the planning process Parties' perspectives on oil and gas access in the planning region changed since that time.

Two companies held all of the coal exploration licenses in the region at the time of the December 2009 recommended plan: Cash Minerals (Vancouver) and Anderson Mining Company Ltd (Yukon). While Anderson Mining made a presentation to the commission in 2005 regarding a proposed coal and railway development project in the Wind-River part of the planning region. The company has not since submitted any publicly available documents to the commission.

Cash Minerals (now Pitch Black as of June 2010)¹¹⁹, spent more than any other company on exploration in the planning region from 2005-2008 (see table 13).¹²⁰ But it has recently let its four coal exploration licenses expire. This leaves Anderson Mining with five licenses in the region.¹²¹ However, in light of the recommended plan calling for significant protection and no additional access even where the coal claims are located, the future of coal development in the planning region is not clear.

Table 13: Total Expenditures on Exploration in the Peel Watershed by Present Owners (000s CDN \$)

| Company | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 (partial year) | Total |
|--------------------------------|------|------|-------|---------------------|--------------|
| Cash Minerals | 1773 | 6872 | 16699 | 1564 | 26908 |
| International KRL | 78 | 588 | 1975 | 1546 | 4187 |
| Southampton/Strategic | | | | 85 | 85 |
| Fronteer/Rimfire | | 2249 | 5246 | 95 | 7590 |
| | | | 145 | | 145 |
| Tarsis | | | 27 | 30 | 57 |
| Totals from existing companies | 1851 | 9711 | 24094 | 3322 | 38978 |

Other

The Yukon Chamber of Commerce is the leading voice in the Yukon's business community. In a press release in June 2009, the Yukon Chamber of Commerce also opposed the commission's¹²² plan to protect large areas of the Peel Watershed.

The quality of life that we enjoy as First Nations, Yukoners and Canadians is and will continue to be made possible by a strong and sustainable economy, with diverse development, conducted in an environmentally and socially responsible manner for the benefit of all.¹²³

Summary

In sum, Peel Watershed politics is complex. It includes a number of key agents: conservationists, eco-tourists, outfitters, subsistence harvesters, Territorial and First Nations Governments, oil, gas, and mining companies and scientists of various disciplines. While some interests favour significant protection of the Peel Watershed, others assert their demand for increased development. Moreover, the general public influences Peel Watershed politics including Yukoners, Canadians, and international agents. As this chapter has shown, these agents – each have a particular agenda, but work together when their interests coincide. How can we explain this phenomenon? In what ways can one characterize Peel Watershed politics? In the next chapter, I will draw primarily from John Logan and Harvey Molotch's work *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place* as an explanatory framework for Peel Watershed politics. Furthermore, by examining the critical literature on Logan and Molotch and drawing from Clarence Stone's *regime theory* as well as Bob Jessop and Neil Brenner's discussion of *rescaling the state*, I will explain what is a stake and how we can contextualize Peel Watershed politics.

Chapter 3: The Growth Machine Theory, Regime Theory and Rescaling the State: Reflections on Peel Watershed Politics

John Logan, Harvey Molotch and the Growth Machine Thesis

In their work, *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place*, Logan and Molotch respond to neoclassical economists. Neoclassical economists assume that markets are mere meetings between producers and consumers, whose relations are ordered by the impersonal 'laws' of supply and demand – that is, effectively devoid of human interaction. Instead, Logan and Molotch assert that markets are social phenomena. Thus, the authors argue that “the fundamental attributes of all commodities, but particularly land and buildings, are the social contexts through which they are used and exchanged.”¹²⁴ This means that social relations provide a more concrete explanation of political economy compared to laws of supply and demand.

According to the authors, *Urban Fortunes*

[e]xplores the conflict between use and exchange values in cities, enumerates and examines the forms of this contradiction, and analyzes how it is ordinarily managed...[T]his conflict closely determines the shape of the city, the distribution of people, and the way they live together. Similarly, in light of this tension we can better understand the political dynamics of cities and regions and discover how inequalities in and between places--a stratification of place as well as individuals and groups--are established and maintained.¹²⁵

In this chapter, I will describe several key terms and typologies that Logan and Molotch use in *Urban Fortunes* while applying them to Peel Watershed politics. This is useful for two reasons. First, because while these categories were developed to describe the urban system in the United States, they also help to describe (largely rural) land use planning in Canada,

including in the North. In both the US and Canada, we can see that people have interests in place for numerous reasons and they work together to realize those interests.

The second reason for applying the growth machine thesis to Peel Watershed politics is because these categories provide guidance for research. On the one hand, analyzing news articles and other documents for a case study without referring to theory is a form of inductive reasoning. Each new piece of evidence helps to form and refine generalizations about the case study. On the other hand, using theory to help direct a research project is a form of deductive reasoning. Part of chapter 1 and most of chapter 2 in the thesis were informed by referring to *Urban Fortunes* first. However, the overall thesis is informed by both inductive and deductive reasoning. I accumulated evidence about the Yukon (inductive reasoning) by simply living and working in the Yukon for most of my life and building social relations as part of day-to-day life. Reading Logan and Molotch's work led to deductive reasoning in that *Urban Fortunes* and the growth machine theory helped me to understand my lived experience thus far.

Moreover, the growth machine theory helped not only to characterize the actors and interests represented in news articles and other documents but it also suggested which actors *might* be influential and thus provided at least a hypothesis to test in the case of Peel Watershed politics. For example, with a base understanding of the main industries in the Yukon, of mining and tourism, it is possible to guess that the Peel Watershed planning process would be controversial. However, by referring to *Urban Fortunes*, we can characterize the pro-development side as the growth coalition and see those opposed to development as a possible anti-growth coalition. We can then search for possibilities of

how or if a growth coalition and anti-growth coalition has formed and how those struggles have played out in the case of Peel Watershed politics.

Growth Machine

Logan and Molotch discuss several key concepts that help to explain Peel Watershed politics. One of their most useful concepts is the *growth machine*. Molotch defines the growth machine as “an apparatus of interlocking progrowth associations and governmental units.”¹²⁶ The rationale of the growth machine is that:

aggregate growth is portrayed as a public good; increases in economic activity are believed to help the whole community. Growth, according to this argument, brings jobs, expands the tax base, and pays for urban services. City governments are thus wise to do what they can to attract investors.¹²⁷

Thus, the decision for the growth machine is *not whether growth will occur but what kind of growth will occur*. However, in some cases an *anti-growth coalition* opposes the agenda of the *growth coalition*. Based on my analysis in chapter 2, the growth machine in Peel Watershed politics appears to include the Yukon Territorial Government, mining companies, oil and gas companies, real estate companies, and the people that comprise them. The anti-growth coalition is arguably comprised of conservationists, outfitters, ecotourists, and many ordinary Yukoners concerned about the quality of their local environment. Historically, most First Nations can also be included in the anti-growth coalition insofar as these various groups support the commission’s recommendation of 80.6% protection. While the planning commission recommended 80.6% protection of the planning region, the growth coalition is largely opposed to this because it limits opportunities for growth, notably by blocking new physical infrastructure such as roads

and rail, and large-scale extraction of non-renewable resources such as oil, gas and minerals.

Logan and Molotch explain that the growth machine opposes intervention that might stem growth and “unites behind a doctrine of *value free development* – the notion that free markets alone should determine land use.”¹²⁸ Value-free development essentially rejects the notion that government should regulate how land should be used, except in complementing market signals. The Peel Watershed planning process is inconsistent with value-free development, given that the planning process takes into account other values such as 1) public sentiment through extensive public consultation, 2) ecological diversity through long-term studies, and 3) traditional knowledge from First Nations.

Two examples of the logic of value-free development within Peel Watershed politics are pro-growth submissions to the public consultation process on the Peel Watershed since 2004 and statements from the Yukon Chamber of Mines. First, companies such as Chevron Canada Limited said that the Peel Watershed has ‘world class’ reserves¹²⁹ at a time in history when global mineral prices are high. Therefore, the market demands that these resources be extracted. Carl Schulze, President of the Yukon Chamber of Mines, articulates such a position. The Yukon News quotes him as saying that the planning commission “avoided a normal, science-based rationale and justice in favour of a quasi-religious basis.” This claim suggests that science is able to determine the supply of a particular natural resource: if the market demands that resources, then, based on normal, value-free development, the resources should be extracted where feasible. James Munson adds that “[t]he notion that pro-conservation groups stand on the side of ‘values’ while the mining

industry is science based is repeated throughout the correspondence,"¹³⁰ between the Chamber of Mines and the planning commission.

The criteria involved in determining value-free development are limited to the market (and science): we can see this rationale in the discourses of Peel Watershed politics. In the case of value free development via the market, the assertion that the Peel Watershed has world class resources at a time when mineral prices are high suggests that it only makes sense to develop those resources. Regarding the value free nature of science, the fact that scientific methods have proven the resources to be of a particular high quality necessitates that those resources be considered for exploitation, to the exclusion of other claims for protection.

Place Entrepreneurs

Logan and Molotch also provide useful typologies in characterizing Peel Watershed politics. The first concerns *place entrepreneurs*. These are a range of people with differing ability to influence and benefit from growth in a particular location.

First, *serendipitous entrepreneurs* are essentially homeowners who are passive in their attempt to influence growth. Although they benefit marginally from growth, as individuals they also have little influence over growth decisions. In the context of Peel Watershed politics, the serendipitous entrepreneurs are those people who own land and whose properties might rise in price simply because of growth in the planning region. Second, *active entrepreneurs* anticipate changes and speculate on the future of particular spots. Logan and Molotch explain that active entrepreneurs "strive to capture differential rents by putting themselves in the path of the development process."¹³¹ Within the Yukon, one can identify a broad range of active entrepreneurs. For example, people or companies may

decide to build real estate near an area that might become a national park, depending on the outcome of land use planning, in the hopes that property values of the real estate will increase. A second example is people who stake mineral, oil or gas claims in the region with the possibility that the region will become protected and – consequently – that the territorial government might have to compensate people for their claims. A third example is people who anticipate future growth in the region and thus, locate themselves and/or their business in the region so that they will be established in advance. Thus, they become competitive once the region begins to boom. Each of these examples can be related to the motivations of some entrepreneurs in the planning process.

Thirdly, *structural speculators* are the most influential type of entrepreneur. As Logan and Molotch explain,

[structural speculators] do not solely rely on their capacity to estimate future locational trends; they supplement such intelligence by intervening in that future...Their strategy is to create differential rents by influencing the larger arena of decision making that will determine location advantages."¹³²

In the context of Peel Watershed politics, structural speculators are the people and organizations influencing the territorial government and the federal government to make certain decisions in their favour. Examples include Northern Cross Yukon Limited, the Yukon Chamber of Mines (YCOM) and the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers. Each organization has the capacity and foresight to intervene in decisions about the future of the region. These kinds of decisions could include the YTG or federal government providing subsidies for development, such as mining, oil, gas or tourism, or rejecting/accepting the level of protection that the planning commission has recommended for the region. Especially in this context, the planning region is a small part of a larger

puzzle because structural speculators in this case have long term plans for a larger region within the Canadian North, if not more broadly.

This typology helps to distinguish the extent to which different people and organizations influence decisions about land based growth. For example, if one contrasts the influence that the YCOM with the influence that Yukoners in general have on the Yukon Government's decision to approve, reject or suggest revisions for the Peel plan, it suggests that it is not simply majority rule that determines the outcome of land use planning decisions; instead, some people and organizations have more capacity than others. While this might seem common sense, a typology has more explanatory potential. Structural speculators for example have a significant influence on the outcomes of land use planning because they can influence government actions during the planning process and also alter the final decision, as evidenced by the recent decision to revise the recommended plan. Thus, despite the efforts of many people to engaged in the planning process, their influence is somewhat limited by larger plans in the region, plans that are promoted most by structural speculators.

Typology of Places

With regard to long-term plans in the Peel Watershed politics, Logan and Molotch's typology of places is also helpful. The authors acknowledged that:

[g]iven the increased mobility of capital and the lower capacity of the State to enforce development conformity among localities, the future conditions of urbanization will be diverse... [with]...an uneven capacity to attract growth...In the future urban places will likely play one of five roles: (1) headquarters, (2) innovation centre, (3) module production and processing, (4) Third World entrepot, and (5) retirement site.¹³³

Logan and Molotch acknowledge that this typology is not exhaustive. Nor are all five places equally applicable for this thesis. But, the typology helps to locate multiple places involved in Peel Watershed politics within a larger system.

First, a *headquarters* is defined as a global centre for finance, transportation, culture and/or communication.¹³⁴ The authors suggest that New York is the main US headquarters. More recent works from authors like Saskia Sassen elaborate on New York's centrality, mainly as a finance capital of the world.¹³⁵ Headquarters are the main drivers of global economic and cultural change, initiating an international division of labour.

Innovation centers refer to centers of research and development (R&D) for technology and organization is central, such as Silicon Valley, or similar places in Japan and Germany. Logan and Molotch suggest that these places are not necessarily identical with headquarters. But they still play an important role in the larger system determining what to finance and produce.

Module Production Places are characterized as the sites for 'routine economic tasks'. These sites depend on control centers elsewhere and are expendable.¹³⁶ Although the production of goods is crucial in the larger system, the site of production is not so important. In this, sense module production places are often vulnerable to production relocations.

Given the scope of this thesis, these three places imply *a larger system of finance, R&D and production*. This system inevitably depends on raw materials. While the Yukon is not a headquarters, innovation center, or a module production place, it does have raw materials. Thus, while the provision of raw materials for the production of goods is not the *only* way to attract investment, the Yukon's capacity for economic growth currently relies to some

extent on attracting such investment. I am not suggesting that the Peel Watershed is a place that conforms exactly to a category in the typology above. Instead, I am suggesting that the places in the typology rely on raw materials in order to function and that the Peel Watershed hosts those raw materials. Therefore, the Yukon and the Peel Watershed fit into a larger system of production and distribution of goods. In order to satisfy the agenda of finance, R&D and production, the Peel Watershed must be open to various forms of development. Thus, the typology helps to explain partly why (and how) many entrepreneurs take an interest in the planning region.

Use and Exchange Value

People and organizations influence decisions about growth because they have interests in the land; Logan and Molotch suggest that each interest can be represented through the use and exchange values of each piece of real estate; However, Logan and Molotch's description of use and exchange value of place is not the same as the conventional Marxist understanding of use and exchange value and of commodities in general. Instead, the authors have adapted the terms for the purposes of neomarxist urban sociology. They suggest that use and exchange value can be classified in the following way. This might explain why so much of their other typologies turn on rent.

On the one hand, exchange values of place can be defined as essentially 'rents'.¹³⁷ The profit generated from a particular piece of real estate can be considered rent, which means that it is not simply rental income from renters that is classified as rent.

On the other hand, use values of place are arguably more multi-faceted than exchange value. Logan and Molotch offer six classifications for use values: *the daily round*, *informal support networks*, *security and trust*, *identity*, *agglomeration benefits* and *ethnicity*. I will

briefly define and give a possible example of each of these six listed above as they relate to Peel Watershed politics.

First, the *daily round* is essentially a person's *routine* in terms of where they and their family reside, work, shop, spend leisure time, etc. "Routes and timings have to be carefully worked out in order to achieve maximum benefits," according to Logan and Molotch. The Yukon is a large territory with a small population that – with exception of Whitehorse – is spread across the territory in small communities. At times the daily round in the Yukon might be geographically concentrated in the small community, while at other times people have to travel for hours to reach the capital (Whitehorse) in order to meet people, purchase goods, seek employment, etc.

Alternatively, the *daily round* could involve traveling over relatively long distances as part of hunting, or fishing in subsistence harvesting. Catherine McClellan in her book, *Part of the Land, Part of the Water*, discusses the *yearly round* – sometimes exceeding an area of 400 square kilometers – for various Yukon First Nations, as part of their seasonal hunting, fishing and berrying.¹³⁸ For most people who reside in Whitehorse though, the daily round resembles those of people in any other large settlement. The point is that each person develops a routine to satisfy their particular needs and that routine could be disrupted if development alters access to those needs or the availability of those needs. Thus, people seek to preserve their daily round.

Second, *informal support networks* consist of people that "provide life-sustaining products and services" outside of the formal economy.¹³⁹ Informal support networks in the Yukon are similar to those in most other places. Examples include baby sitting, yard work, job referrals, building political connections, etc. However, the *mixed economy* in the Yukon

includes additional forms of support. Many First Nations and a significant number of non-First Nations people participate in a *mixed economy* whereby their lives are sustained by both a *wage economy* and *subsistence harvesting* of animals. I include any hunters who kill for meat, people who fish to catch and keep and people who gather berries, herbs, etc. Consequently, these people often share meat from their hunting or fishing trips with their informal support networks. This idea of a mixed economy helps to distinguish the case study of Peel Watershed politics, from the conventional urban American setting of the growth machine framework, while still maintaining the explanatory potential of *use values in the Yukon*. This is important because it means that American urban settings are not the only locations where informal support networks develop. This implies that informal support networks are also at stake in regional land use planning if, for example, development results in substantial changes to an established community to the extent that the support network is compromised.

With regard to *security and trust*, Logan and Molotch explain that, “a neighborhood also provides a sense of physical and psychic security that comes with a familiar and dependable environment.”¹⁴⁰ This includes being familiar with people and various social landmarks to feel comfortable in one’s surroundings. Such a use value could apply to people in a more urban setting like Whitehorse, with typical subdivisions. It could also apply to people living in a more rural or remote setting, such as much of the undeveloped landmass in the planning region. While people in small communities usually all know each other, people who live close to largely undeveloped ecosystems tend to know the land well and can identify natural and often social landmarks.

Identity is another use value:

[a] neighborhood provides its residents with an important source of identity, both for themselves and others [thus,]...residents' stakes in place go well beyond the actual material conditions of a given place (for example, public services or park amenities), and involve the symbolic meanings that real estate takes on.¹⁴¹

Again, there are strong parallels between the sense of identity that comes from living in an American city such as Logan and Molotch imagine, and the sense of identity that comes from living in the Yukon, including the planning region. Despite the fact that real estate in the Territory is not as pervasive as in American cities, all ecosystems – including developed cities – inevitably take on symbolic meanings for the people who are part of them. This means, for example, that people living in the Yukon, in the planning region and who are involved in Peel Watershed politics also have a strong sense of identity and a stake in place.

Agglomeration benefits are simply the combination of the above use values in one particular area, which combine to create a more robust sense of 'neighborhood'. This means that agglomeration benefits are not a distinct use value, though it does emphasize the importance and added value of a combining use values for the resilience of a community or neighborhood.

Lastly, concerning *ethnicity* as a use value, Logan and Molotch suggest that "everybody you need is a member of your ethnic group."¹⁴² This definition suggests that *ethnicity* differs from race and it relates more to a shared lifestyle and a way of sustaining that lifestyle as well; As Logan and Molotch explain, "the critical point in understanding the construction of ethnicity is, not the interaction of ethnic groups on the streets, but the exchange and production forces that touch all groups and thereby help shape those interactions."¹⁴³ In other words, ethnicity includes a notion of economic interdependence, as opposed to simply common cultural characteristics like beliefs and customs, etc. In the Yukon, some people function exclusively within the wage economy, while others have a

mixed economy that entails more direct economic interdependence. This suggests that there are at least two economic interdependencies. These two ethnicities are not necessarily divided along homogenous racial differences.

In the Yukon, every piece of land has both a use and an exchange value. This assertion is slightly different than confining use and exchange values to real estate, especially because there is a substantial amount of crown land in the Yukon that is not on the real estate market, and thus is not (but could be) real estate. Nevertheless the point is that people use the land to generate profits. Even with mining, oil and gas companies, the legal claims that allow for exploration differ from crown land because the company only has rights to the mineral rights in the area and not the surface land itself. This means that one cannot legally build a skyscraper or a road unless its specific purpose relates to accessing subsurface resources such as mineral, oil and gas. Regardless, the land still has an exchange value and is still creating revenue, profits and/or surplus value in some way.

Ultimately, Logan and Molotch suggest that “the legal creation and regulation of places have been primarily under the domination of those searching, albeit sometimes in the face of use value counter-demands, for exchange value gains.”¹⁴⁴ In this respect, the differences between the American system and Peel Watershed politics are reconcilable. In both cases, the creation of place is occurring and is influenced by some place entrepreneurs whose primary concern is exchange values of place. For example, the Yukon Government promotes the Territory as open for business while offering non-renewable resources for development, including in the planning region. Arguably, each person also perceives various use values of place through the daily round, informal support networks. security and trust, identity and ethnicity.

Critical Literature on the GMT

The critical literature explains the GMT's strengths and limitations and both can be demonstrated in Peel Watershed politics. Key critiques from authors such as Kevin Cox and Andrew Mair, Robert Lake, Allan Cochrane, and Bob Jessop, Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell suggest that the GMT, cannot fully explain Peel Watershed politics.

Cox and Mair's Critique of Urban Fortunes

In a 1987 book review,¹⁴⁵ Cox and Mair critique several aspects of the GMT including 1) *the vagueness of the growth machine concept*, given that throughout the course of *Urban Fortunes*, Logan and Molotch constantly redefine and/or refine who is (or is not) part of the growth machine. What if, for example, ecotourists and Yukon First Nations were not opposed to growth *per se*, but instead were opposed to industrial development, in favour of a growing economy in wilderness tourism and subsistence harvesting? This would mean that they were not necessarily part of an anti-growth coalition but instead part of an opposing growth coalition within the growth machine. 2) the *applicability of use and exchange value*, given that use value is apparently restricted to the interests of *residents*, to the exclusion of *entrepreneurs*. Furthermore, Cox and Mair note Logan and Molotch's assertion that for most (industrial) capitalists the "primary attachment to place is through use values."¹⁴⁶ This suggests that not only residents but also industrial capitalists have needs other than exchange value of place, given that industrial capitalists use place to satisfy their essential needs of life as well. However, it is not clear which of the above use values are especially important to industrial capitalists. 3) Cox and Mair highlight the contradiction between Logan and Molotch's attempt to create an authentic urban sociology and their decision to make that focus manageable by relying upon local manifestations of

cosmopolitan political and economic forces.¹⁴⁷ They suggest instead that a broader politics is at play as well and in the case of Peel Watershed politics. Regional interests from British Columbia and Alberta in the form of non-renewable resource industries and preservationist and protectionist organizations; national interests in the form of the National Energy Board and the Canadian Northern Development Agency and transnational interests from Texas to Taiwan are likely influencing the planning process if not directly through the planning commission, at least through the Yukon government and by virtue of investment and continued interaction with the Yukon in general.

Cox and Mair refer to *local dependence* as an alternative to “land-rent, [as] the necessary condition for the formation of local business coalitions.”¹⁴⁸ Cox and Mair define local dependence as “a relation to locality that results from the relative spatial immobility of some social relations, perhaps related to fixed investments in the built environment or to the particularization of social relations.”¹⁴⁹ While the idea of local dependence could help to explain renewable and non-renewable resource industries’ attachment to place, it also explains Yukon First Nations and non-First Nations attachment. Each has invested time and energy into their locale, whether through mineral exploration and mining, developing hunting and touring routes, living off the land for generations, or simply being established long enough to form a sense of community.

Perhaps local dependence explains part of why local business coalitions form. But, what about coalitions that are comprised of non-local actors or coalitions that depend on localities other than their immediate surroundings? In their discussion of *urban specificity* – that is, locating “the precise geographical locus of the relations under discussion” Cox and Mair suggest that “[f]irms can be, and are, dependent at all manner of scales, ranging from

the neighborhood, through to the city to the metropolis, the region and beyond.”¹⁵⁰ In the context of Peel Watershed politics, this suggests that the *geographical locus varies* depending on the scale under discussion. For example, if the discussion is centered on a particular river or land claim, the scale is narrow compared to an entire watershed (such as the Peel), valley (such as the Mackenzie Valley) or migration pattern (of the Porcupine Caribou, for example). The image is increasingly complex when *one or more firms are dependent on more than one geographical locus for success*. For example, if a mining firm has multiple properties around the world or an outfitting company has several outposts in more than one province in Canada, more than one locus is under discussion. Thus, firms are dependent on various scales in order to achieve their objectives, This suggests that, although local dependence is an important explanatory factor, there is not necessarily only one locale on which people and organizations depend.

Overall, Cox and Mair’s critique of the GMT suggest that: 1) the growth machine concept does not clearly define who is inside or outside of the growth machine; 2) that use and exchange value are not mutually exclusive to each person; 3) that the scope of the GMT – while manageable – is too narrow to have sufficient explanatory value; 4) that local dependence serves as an alternative motivation to land-rents; 5) and, that firms are dependent on all manner of scales, effectively complicating what is at stake in any one place.

Robert Lake’s Critique of Urban Fortunes

Robert Lake is another often-cited critic of Logan and Molotch’s *Urban Fortunes*.¹⁵¹ Lake critiques the structure/agency relationship; the use value/exchange value duality; and, the question of scale in Logan and Molotch’s work.¹⁵²

Lake also asserts that the growth machine is perhaps not as powerful as Logan and Molotch suggest, at least not without an explanation of how that growth machine came to be.¹⁵³ Ken Coates' history of the Yukon¹⁵⁴ would be a useful start in helping to explain the growth machine in the Yukon. Paul Nadasdy, in *Hunters and Bureaucrats*, notes that “[b]usiness and government in the [Yukon] territory are dominated by a small number of business people who are long-time Yukoners.”¹⁵⁵ This is relevant because it suggests that there is an existing context of power relations in the Yukon through which one must first navigate in order to influence politics in the Territory. From other critiques of the GMT, one can infer that the growth coalition in Peel Watershed politics includes actors who reside outside of the Yukon as well, suggesting that the history of the growth machine that operates in Peel Watershed politics is therefore, multifaceted.

With regard to the stark distinction of *use and exchange value* between residents and rentiers respectively, Lake suggests that this former dichotomy oversimplifies “the full complexity of the relationships between these imperfectly comprehended actors.”¹⁵⁶ Instead, Lake rejects this mutually exclusive dichotomy suggesting that “residents seek to protect both use and exchange value...Residents behave at times like capital and at times like labor – but this behavior is consistent with the reproduction of capitalist social relations.”¹⁵⁷

In the context of Peel Watershed politics, this means that each person and organization involved has a complex agenda that could include both use and exchange values. One example of a complex resident is a homeowner who tries to ensure the protection of the region to maintain security and trust in a small community (on the use value side) while also maintaining the property value of their home as it borders a national park (on the

exchange value side). A second example is a geologist who tries to maintain a daily round near his or her community of choice (use value) while trying to develop a mineral property elsewhere to showcase to investors (exchange value). Lastly, an eco-tourist operator may try to preserve the Peel Watershed because it is linked to their identity as a Yukoner (use value) but also for the watershed's potential as a tourist destination, as thus, a source of profits (exchange value). The point is that *each person is capable of pursuing use and exchange values simultaneously.*

Like Cox and Mair, Lake suggests that "Logan and Molotch oversimplify the question of scale."¹⁵⁸ He explains that "rather than being synonymous with and limited to locality, place is the intersection of the local and the global."¹⁵⁹ The analytical framework in *Urban Fortunes* "forestalls the possibility of examining and understanding the constitutive role of local places in the mediation of global forces."¹⁶⁰ Again, it is clear that *Urban Fortunes* has not sufficiently addressed the question of scale, compared to the theoretical frameworks discussed below.

Jonas and Wilson 20 Years Later

In 1999, Andrew Jonas and David Wilson published, *The Urban Growth Machine: Critical Perspectives Two Decades Later*.¹⁶¹ This anthology is the most comprehensive collection of critical perspectives on Harvey Molotch's original 1976 article and Logan and Molotch's *Urban Fortunes*. I will draw primarily from Allan Cochrane and Bob Jessop et al.

Allan Cochrane's Critique of the Growth Machine Thesis

Allan Cochrane demands a more detailed explication of specific growth machines than Logan and Molotch provide, while his critique also helps to expand the scope of analysis beyond the local, drawing links between (if not fusing) the local and the global.¹⁶²

Cochrane suggests that the political process of the growth machine is not always easy to identify, and the concept of the growth machine that Logan and Molotch employ is therefore too malleable.¹⁶³ Cochrane prescribes *regime theory* as a way to address this problem because regime theory involves a detailed empirical analysis, similar to Clarence Stone's original work on Atlanta.¹⁶⁴

Following Logan and Molotch's 1987 work, *Urban Fortunes*, Clarence Stone published *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta 1946-1988* in 1989.¹⁶⁵ As an alternative to the growth machine theory, Stone's regime theory defined a *regime* as "the informal arrangements that surround and complement the formal workings of government authority."¹⁶⁶ The concept suggests that the government does not simply make decisions and subsequently inform the people through press releases or legislation; instead, informal discussions take place largely away from the public eye, resulting in decisions that are – to varying degrees – a compromise between business and government interests. However, once an informal decision is reached, the government formally presents the decision as though the government has made the decision unilaterally or with the public interest in mind, *without* reference to various informal discussions and actors that influenced the decision. The rationale behind regime, as Stone explains, is that:

[b]ecause informal understandings and arrangements provide needed flexibility to cope with nonroutine matters, they facilitate cooperation to a degree that formally defined relationships do not. People who know one another, who have worked together in the past, who have shared in the achievement of a task, and who perhaps have experienced the same crisis are especially likely to develop tacit understandings. If they interact on a continual basis, they can learn to trust one another and to expect dependability from one another. It can be argued, then, that transactions flow more smoothly and business is conducted more efficiently when a core of insiders form and develop an ongoing relationship.¹⁶⁷

Ultimately, Cochrane explains that it is not clear whether urban regimes exist in all places. However, Peel Watershed politics could best be thought of as being influenced by a regime. Given that there is significant politics ‘beyond the boundaries of government’,¹⁶⁸ it would be an oversimplification to suggest that the government alone decides whether or not to approve the recommended plan. For example, given that the Yukon Chamber of Mines has been lobbying government, and considering the active involvement of individuals and private businesses in influencing the planning process, a regime or regimes are clearly involved in Peel Watershed politics. This means that regardless of the planning commission’s recommended plan involving 80.6% protection, it will be difficult to have this recommendation adopted by all parties to the plan. Given that at least one regime (non-renewable resources interests) has been established in the Yukon for over a century and the Yukon government cooperates most within that regime, it is possible that the approved plan will call for less protection than the recommended plan.

Cochrane explains the problem regarding *local dependence* and *global competition*. Recall Cox and Mair’s article suggesting that in any city, ‘exchange values’ were not so much at stake as a sense of *local dependence*. Basically, residents depend on particular economies to make a living. This means that growth is important not for the sake of growth itself, but mainly because local residents and businesses cannot simply establish or reestablish a particular economy wherever they see fit.

For example, Jeremy Wilson in his book, *Talk and Log*, explains British Columbia’s forestry industry and what some might consider local dependence; noting that:

[t]he liquidation-conversion project gathered momentum as more and more workers, investors, suppliers, and government officials acquired a stake in maintaining or increasing timber harvest rates. This momentum increased as workers set down roots, as businesses designed to serve forest companies and workers sprouted in

forest-dependent communities across the province, as logging contractors mortgaged their futures to purchase rigs, as investors poured dollars into expanding logging and milling capacity, and as government bureaucracies set themselves up to monitor and facilitate the whole operation. The resulting patterns of dependency, and the associated political pressures, structured the policy space, establishing the boundaries between the politically feasible and unfeasible.¹⁶⁹

In the case of the Yukon, however, outdoor guides and outfitters cannot simply reestablish their touring and hunting routes elsewhere. Similarly, First Nations cannot simply look for new traditional territories, relocate burial grounds or drain one lake only to put water somewhere else. Minerals cannot be mined just anywhere; they are specific to particular locations in the earth's crust. Thus, local dependence is established by physical geography, ecology and geology as much as it is by cultural and sociological processes.

Cochrane explains that although it is important to recognize aspects of local dependence, "assumptions about local dependence fail to pick up on the ways in which globally driven strategies are being worked out locally, through the development of urban politics."¹⁷⁰ While local dependence is a key explanatory factor, it is perhaps mediated by globally driven strategies, strategies that rely upon *and* benefit from local dependence.

Local dependence on tourism, mining and cultural attachment is part of Peel Watershed politics; however, at least with regard to the market for tourism and mining, clientele and investors are often based outside of the territory, with foreign tourists and regional and international mining firms. Moreover, the ore or concentrate from mines is transported out of the Yukon to be processed. Yukoners do not consume the vast majority of products that are manufactured from these raw materials. In other words, planning is in place for raw materials to be part of a broader strategy of global distribution. In line with Cochrane's analysis, this suggests that while there is an element of local dependence in places like the Yukon, globally driven strategies also influence local politics. Therefore, in order to

understand Peel Watershed politics, it is important to search for sources of influence outside of the Yukon as well.

After critiquing the New Urban Politics of the GMT for being too *localist* and thus overlooking economic globalization, Cochrane explains that

[b]ecause of the ways in which social relations stretch across space, relations with those who are physically distant may be more important than with those who are physically closer... the urban politics of the twenty first century will be both a local politics and a global politics: the challenge to be faced by those seeking to analyze it effectively will be to hold both aspects together at the same time, without allowing either to dominate as a matter of principle.¹⁷¹

This means that while it is important to acknowledge the regional politics taking place in BC, Alberta and the NWT and how those developments are influenced by (mainly) the federal government in Canada and Canada–US trade relations, one must also look more broadly. With regard to distribution of raw materials to places outside of the Yukon and Canada also a global politics is at play. Similarly, the *circumpolar north* is a clear indication that decisions in the region are subject to additional authorities. This description of both local and global politics more accurately reflects Peel Watershed politics.

Clarence Stone and Regime Theory

Although the GMT has significant explanatory potential, regime theory also provides some insight into Peel Watershed politics. A regime in the Yukon includes investors from both inside and outside the territory who have grown accustomed to working with government regardless of the particular territorial party in power. Certain actors can therefore (re)establish informal relationships with government bureaucrats and ministers as a way to gain favour in decision making. Compared to actors who are new to the political landscape of the Yukon government, one could therefore gain advantage from being

established within a regime. In the context of Peel Watershed politics, regime theory helps to explain the relationship between the YTG and various natural resource-based companies. It suggests that, with the long history of mining and mineral exploration in the Yukon, this industry has established a regime with the territorial government. It also explains why the YTG extended exploration permits in the planning region during the planning process that began in 2004, despite a request from the planning commission to impose a staking moratorium on the planning region during the planning process. In other words, given that mining and mineral exploration have been key aspects of the Yukon's economy for over a century, informal relationships between government and established non-renewable resource companies as part of a regime.

The concept of a regime also helps to explain the YTG's decision to create and sustain the Yukon Minerals Advisory Board (YMAB) as part of Energy Mines and Resources (EMR). The advice from the YMAB is of course more transparent than the 'informal discussions' that Stone anticipates in his work. However, it is likely – given the example of Carl Schulze and the YCOM in communication with the commission – that informal discussions between business organizations and government are also taking place as part of the regime.

One might wonder why – given that ecotourism, outfitting and environmental organizations have existed in the Yukon for some time as well – is not there a similar environmentalist regime to influence government decisions in the way that natural resource companies do? The Yukon Conservation Society was founded in 1968; CPAWS extended into the Yukon in 1984 and ecotourism is also not new to the Territory. However, this is a less influential regime. Granted, this second regime could be considered more influential than the non-renewable resource regime in the sense that the former

encouraged the planning commission to call for 80.6% protection of the planning region. However, it is ultimately up to the parties to the plan to decide whether or not to approve the plan. In that case, the non-renewable resource regime has more influence over the Yukon Government which means that it has more authority overall. Thus, while the discussion of regimes might not explain the 80.6% recommendation by the planning commission, it does explain the Yukon government's decision to reject the recommended plan and to favour a resource development agenda throughout the planning process.

As Stone explains:

[a] regime thus involves not just any informal group that comes together to make a decision but an informal yet relatively stable group with access to institutional resources that enable it to have a sustained role in making governing decisions. What makes the group informal is not a lack of institutional connections, but the fact that the group, as a group, brings together institutional connections by an informal mode of cooperation.¹⁷²

The key point here is *capacity* – or lack thereof – in determining the influence by of informal group. Thus, non-renewable resource companies, with their longer history in the Yukon and greater access to institutional resources, are simply to have a greater advantage with issues such as Peel Watershed politics – if not by influencing the planning commission, at least by influencing Premier and the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources.

There are many possible outcomes to the planning process, but put simply the government will either accept the planning commission's recommendations, but simplify the plan to make it easier to understand, or the parties to the plan, including the Yukon government, could overturn the commission's recommendations. This suggests that the planning commission's authority is limited. Despite the fact that the planning commission recommendations embody years of research and public consultation, it is possible for the

parties to the plan to respond primarily to the recommended plan document and to decide if it meets their interests as well.

Will the YTG adhere to the will of the people and of the requests of the commission in their recommended plan? Is the government not supposed to represent the will of the people, and does it not have the *de jure* authority to do so? Stone describes this typical scenario and argues that this is not necessarily the case:

[e]ven though the institutions of local government bear most of the formal responsibility for governing, they lack the resources and the scope of authority to govern without the active support and cooperation of significant private interests. An urban regime may thus be defined as *the informal arrangements by which public bodies and private interests function together to be able to make and carry out governing decisions*. These governing decisions, I want to emphasize, are not a matter of controlling everything. They have to do with *managing conflict* and *making adaptive responses* to social change.¹⁷³

In this sense, although Premier Fentie has been characterized as controlling the future of the Yukon by attracting investment, promoting the Yukon as 'open for business', and favouring non-renewable resource companies with permits and subsidies, Clarence Stone's regime theory suggests that the YTG and other governmental authorities are instead managing conflict and making adaptive responses to social change. Given that non-renewable resource companies have more capacity than most to influence decisions informally and given that the Yukon is heavily subsidized by the federal government on an annual basis, the YTG is most likely to side with those actions and seek to promote economic growth. Therefore, private interests temper the public will, scientific research and traditional knowledge by influencing the final decision and form of the approved regional land use plan, regardless of the extent of their participation during the earlier stages of the planning process.

Lastly, Stone discusses the political economic motivations that usually cause government to promote economic growth:

[p]rivate ownership is less than universal, as governments do own and operate various auxiliary enterprises from mass transit to convention centers. Even so, governmental conduct is constrained by the need to promote investment activity in an economic arena dominated by private ownership. This political economy insight is the foundation for a theory of urban regimes.¹⁷⁴

Stone also defines private interests, explaining that “in practice, private interests are not confined to business figures. Labour union officials, party functionaries, officers in nonprofit organizations or foundations, and church leaders may also be involved.”¹⁷⁵

In sum, small scale governments depend upon growth; but, they lack the power to control the direction of growth by implementing each decision unilaterally based on public sentiment or government self-interest. Instead, governments must collaborate with private actors in order to attract investment and to ensure that decisions implemented will be legitimate in the eyes of significant private interests. Some private interests have more capacity than others to influence decisions, especially when they are part of an established regime.

Rescaling the State

In addition to the GMT and Regime Theory, a third theoretical framework suggests that the state itself is being rescaled. Although the national state is no longer the main scale to which all other scales (international, local, provincial, etc.) refer, the state retains an important role in mediating other scales (both existing and emerging) scales. Bob Jessop and Neil Brenner elaborate on *rescaling the state* (RTS).

Jessop, Peck and Tickell's Critique of the Growth Machine Thesis

Like Cochrane's analysis, Jessop, Peck and Tickell reject the idea that urban politics exists in isolation from wider economic processes. They stress the need to focus more on local economic and political structures as opposed to local actors and agency.¹⁷⁶ They do not advocate global structuralism; instead, their aim is to explore "the dialectic among different spatial scales of economic and political organization and emphasize the mutual constitution of structure and agency across different levels."¹⁷⁷ I will now discuss the different scales involved in Peel Watershed politics in order provide an example of Jessop, Peck and Tickell's explanatory power.

In the context of Peel Watershed politics, chapters 2 and 3 highlight the planning process but also explore the different spatial scales of economic and political organization involved, both formally and informally. *First*, by focusing on the history of the planning process, it is possible to understand the economics and politics at one scale. By examining the public submissions of various actors during the planning process, and by following newspapers as early as 2004, one can see how the efforts of some interests have changed. Understanding the history of the Yukon provides a second scale by which to understand Peel Watershed politics: it describes how land use planning emerged from a long process of land claims negotiations culminating in the Umbrella Final agreement in 1993. *Third*, by examining the Canadian North in general, far back as the inception of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline proposal in the 1970s, it is possible to understand 1) the most significant development to be proposed for the Canadian North to date, and 2) the impetus for land claims in the north in general. Both of these bear direct relation to the UFA of 1993 and the planning process that began in 2004.

Fourth, by examining a broader region such as the Canadian North, it is possible to see how politics that are geographically distinct from the planning region influence and are influenced by the Peel Plan. For example, an approved plan could create significant limitations on mining in the region. These would limit opportunities for Vancouver-based mining companies. Similarly, an approved plan could limit opportunities for Alberta-based oil and gas companies in the region, given that it would limit all three industries continuing exploration and development in the planning region.

Fifth, a broader examination of several Federal perspectives and decisions help to understand how the federal government views this part of the world in general. Two examples are first a map demonstrating Energy Mines and Resources' depiction of the North (Yukon and the Northwest Territories as a 'potential energy surplus in 1978, a year after the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry delayed the construction of the pipeline.¹⁷⁸ Second, is the National Energy Board's and the federal cabinet's decision to approve the Mackenzie Valley pipeline (with provisions) in 2011. Thus, consistent with Jessop, Peck and Tickell's analysis, the federal government influences and is influenced by, other scales.

Sixth, the *circumpolar north* and *Canada-US trade relations* are also involved in Peel Watershed politics. In the case of trade relations, there are plans within the wider region that include British Columbia, Alberta and Alaska within a larger scheme of extracting and distributing resources primarily for markets and investors outside of the Yukon and Canada. The circumpolar north, is a contested region and the outcome of this contestation is not entirely clear. Consistent with Jessop, Peck and Tickell's analysis, however, different scales of economic and political organization mutually influence one another.

What is the role of the state in constraining and enabling entrepreneurs to manipulate spatial relations and political systems today? Jessop, Peck and Tickell explain that while the state was the main subject of political action between 1945 and the early 1970s, that role shifted during the 1970s with the crisis of Fordism-Keynesianism. Although the national state lost its centrality, the state has not retreated as geographical relations were reorganized. The authors clarify how this new role of the state affects local politics:

[i]n reality, local politics exists within a complex hierarchy of state structures and can only exist by reaching accommodation with other elements in the hierarchy. Put simply, local politics does matter, but is structurally constrained by both local and extralocal economic forces and also, critically, the changing forms of local license permitted by national states.¹⁷⁹

How does Jessop, Peck and Tickell's analysis relate to development in the Canadian North and Peel Watershed politics? It suggests that during the early 1970s when the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline was first proposed, the Fordism-Keynesianism crisis began. The power of the Canadian state to influence industrial projects was changing during the same time period that the Federal government was developing a new approach to First Nations land claims. Specifically with regard to Peel Watershed politics, this analysis suggests that the outcome of the planning process will be determined by more than the planning commission; instead, the decision is likely to include 'other elements in the hierarchy' and that the national state will ultimately permit the decision to approve the recommended plan. This seems likely given that the federal government has longer term plans for the Canada's northern regions, for example, with the creation the Canadian Northern Development Agency in August of 2009 and the release of *Canada's Northern Strategy*.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, with the YTG's decision to reject the recommended plan following the National Energy Board's approval of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, there is evidence to suggest that

the federal government has significant influence on the planning process. However, the precise extent to which the federal government can influence the outcome is not clear. It is clear, applying Jessop, Peck and Tickell's analysis, that other actors have more influence in these decisions than they would have had 40 years ago, before the reorganization of the state structure; however, despite this increased influence, Jessop, Peck and Tickell conclude that

the political power of local business elites does not derive from some form of autonomous political capacity on the part of the business community, but is in this case 'licensed' by the state; it is the power of a structural-strategic position within a broader political system. Specifically, central government has created a series of (discursively as well as materially constituted) platforms" from which business elites can exercise political influence, albeit within a set of (centrally) predetermined parameters.¹⁸¹

Again, *the key point* is that although the power of the national state has changed, the state is not in retreat and – to a large extent – *sets the context* under which numerous actors can influence development. This provides a crucial link to Bob Jessop's more recent work, work that could help to explain the complexity of Peel Watershed politics in light of numerous state structures.

Bob Jessop and the Future of the Capitalist State

In his 2002 book, *The Future of the Capitalist State*, Jessop discusses the political economy of scale. Jessop draws from Swyngedouw to define scale as

the arena and moment, both discursively and materially, where socio-spatial power relations are contested and compromises are negotiated and regulated. Scale, therefore, is both the result and the outcome of social struggle for power and control...[by implication] theoretical and political priority...never resides in a particular geographical scale, but rather *in the process* through which particular scales become (re)constituted.¹⁸²

The point in this definition of scale is that scale is ever-changing and is influenced by material and discursive events, events that also constantly redefine political and economic agendas. With such a dynamic system, it is rarely – if ever – clear in which direction scales are changing. Jessop refers to this phenomena as the relativization of scale, defining it as “[t]he decreasing structured coherence among national economy, national state and national society that characterized the heyday of the postwar boom...”¹⁸³ To be clear, the relativization of scale suggests that there is no longer one primary scale in relation to which all other economic and political organizations define themselves.

Echoing his arguments in *The Urban Growth Machine, 20 Years Later*, Jessop explains that the dominant scale is no longer national and that non-state actors have gained influence in (re)constituting particular scales. However, in light of this (re)constitution, Jessop emphasizes that:

[t]he new political economy of scale does not involve a pregiven set of places, spaces or scales that are merely being reordered. Instead, new places are emerging, new spaces are being created, new scales of organization are being developed and new horizons of actions are being imagined – all in light of new forms of (understanding) competition and competitiveness.¹⁸⁴

Based on my earlier analysis here, it is clear that *there are numerous places, spaces and scales involved in Peel Watershed politics* – a reality that supports the merit of Jessop’s argument on the current *relativization of scale* taking place more broadly in the world. Thus, some scales are not as acutely defined as others. For example, while the official land boundaries of the Yukon Territory are not seriously contested, the future of large scale development would appeal to the emergence of new scales through geopolitical change. Also, a comparison of the draft and recommended plans indicates that the boundaries of

different zones within the plan have been changed as part of the planning process. Even at this small scale we can see that meaning and authority are contested. What type of development should take place in each sub-region? How should each region be designated on a map? Furthermore, consistent with Jessop's analysis of the relativization of scale, Lassi Heininen and Chris Southcott allude to the creation of *new* scales:

[a] new region has recently emerged in the world. Its geographical components have always existed, but its identity as a region is quite recent. It does not have a fixed border but is loosely defined as Alaska, Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Islands, and the northern areas of Russia, Finland, Sweden, Norway and Canada. To some it is known as the Arctic; to others it is a combination of the Arctic and Subarctic and is referred to as the circumpolar north. Until recently it has been a frontier rather than region. Since the 1970s, however, the notion of frontier has been pushed aside and replaced with the notion of homeland.¹⁸⁵

Overall, the point is that there are a significant number of scales involved, to the extent that *the national state is not the main scale in Peel Watershed politics*. I will explain the complexities linked to each scale to demonstrate that *indeed, new places, spaces and scales have been and are being asserted and contested (in what is commonly referred to as the Canadian north and surrounding areas) especially since the early 1970s*, and the crisis in Keynesian Welfare National State and Atlantic Fordism.¹⁸⁶ This suggests that the planning process is not as structured as simply the inputs of research and public consultation and the outputs of the planning commission's decision.

The Peel Watershed hosts overlapping *traditional territories* from both NWT and four Yukon First Nations. Second, both *Yukon and NWT territorial borders* intersect the planning region as well. Third, the *Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative (Y2Y)*, transcends Canada and US borders: it represents the Peel Watershed as only one ecosystem in a larger migration corridor. Fourth, *the Mackenzie Valley pipeline route*, although it does not enter the Yukon, would inevitably influence development in the whole region. This means that

the scale of the project extends beyond the pipeline route. Fifth, the *regional economies* of mining companies in BC (for example) and/or oil and gas companies based in Alberta also appropriate the Peel Watershed into a larger agenda. Sixth, the *circumpolar north* suggests an international embrace of region as well, with contested waters and resources at stake. Surely, this list is not exhaustive. The important point is that “new places are emerging, new spaces are being created, and new scales of organization are being developed.”¹⁸⁷

Jessop suggests that with the relativization of scale, there is a greater *eccentricity of spaces* compared to the years of Atlantic Fordism. This means, *first, that the* “Russian doll” framework¹⁸⁸ (i.e. nested hierarchies) from authors like Robert Dahl is too static. Instead, Jessop highlights several phenomena occurring as part of the relativization of scale. First, he describes a *loss of influence from larger territorial units*. They “have come to contain a decreasing proportion of the economic, political and social linkages of smaller units in their borders compared to the heyday of Atlantic Fordism.”¹⁸⁹ This loss of authority results in more autonomy for small units, compared to the nested hierarchy framework. In the latter case, larger units are generally more powerful than smaller ones. In the context of Peel Watershed politics, the former case could suggest that units like Calgary or Vancouver, Alberta or British Columbia or organizations based within these units have become more influential in the past four decades compared to the federal government or organizations within Ottawa. At the very least, it suggest that the federal government must negotiate more with smaller units, given that the former’s powers are no longer as robust.

Second, Jessop acknowledges the *growth of cross border regions*, with an overlapping of regions further complicating planning and decision making. Jessop suggests that many of these cross border regions are “promoted by their respective national state or a

supranational body.”¹⁹⁰ In the case of cross border regions surrounding the Peel Watershed politics, a number of different actors, including the national state, seek to promote regions such as Y2Y, the circumpolar north, YFN traditional territories, the planning region, etc. Nevertheless, the state is clearly involved and responsive to much of the development of these cross border regions as they affect the authority of the state.

Third, Jessop describes processes of *debordering* “that is, ‘changes resulting in the emergence of new political spaces that transcend territorially defined spaces without leading to new territorial demarcations (in other words, to a simple shift in borders)’”¹⁹¹ This phenomenon of debordering seems difficult to observe directly, but it suggests that political and economic forces are operating a scale that outpaces a need to represent new spaces territorially. In the context of Peel Watershed politics, the Peel Watershed and the surrounding areas have significant and increasing economic potential by international standards, coupled with internationally contested claims to sovereignty. This is so despite the fact that the borders of the claims to sovereignty are also being developed and contested.

In sum, the relativization of scale has led to a greater eccentricity of scale through a loss of influence from larger territorial units, the growth of cross border regions, and debordering. This suggests that many people and organizations contest the area surrounding Peel Watershed politics in many ways.

Bob Jessop and State Power

Although an appeal to *globalization* might help to explain Peel Watershed politics, it is not clear what *globalization* is. In his 2008 work, *State Power*, Jessop defines globalization

as “a multicentric, multiscalar, multi-temporal, multiform, and multicausal process.”¹⁹²

Although he elaborates on each of these qualities of globalization, the key point is that:

[t]aken together, these features mean that globalization is the complex, emergent product of many different forces operating on many scales. Hence, nothing can be explained in terms of the causal power of globalization – let alone inevitable, irreversible powers that are actualized on some intangible stage behind our backs or on some intangible plane above our heads. Instead it is globalizations (in the plural) that need explaining in all their manifold spatio-temporal complexity.¹⁹³

With regard to the Growth Machine Theory and its explanatory potential for Peel

Watershed politics, Jessop’s definition suggests that *one cannot explain any local event by referring to a local growth coalition being opposed (if at all) by a local anti-growth coalition.*

Instead, there are multiple forces on multiple scales influencing a locale. For example, the process of economic globalization creates new demand for raw materials. Meanwhile, national states seek economic growth in order to sustain increases in GDP, employment and to tax revenues. Moreover, territorial governments want more autonomy and to attract investment, employment and population growth. In the case of the circumpolar north, various states also attempt to exert sovereignty in the region. There are many more scales and forces involved, but the point is that a local growth coalition and an anti-growth coalition competing on a local stage does not explain the controversy around growth in a particular locale. Instead, globalization is complex and thus assertions of causation are problematic on any scale.

Similarly, with regard to Clarence Stone’s regime theory, the implication is that *we must expand the scope of influences within a regime to include more than government and businesses interests within a particular locale.* For example, in several of his speeches in 2007 and 2008, Dennis Fentie explained that “increasingly global interest is turning towards Yukon as explosive growth in demand for minerals, oil and gas, and other

resources has propelled commodity prices to historic highs,”¹⁹⁴ that the “Yukon is also on the map as a favoured place for mineral investment. This reputation will help through uncertain times, but we need to recognize that we are in a global competition for that investment,”¹⁹⁵ Furthermore,

[g]iven the strength of the global economy and the rise of Asian economies, we have the potential to be a significant part of the Pacific gateway region. With this in mind, we see the need for further infrastructure development to support sustainable economic development – such as a natural gas pipeline connecting Alaska producers to southern markets, and a rail link connecting the Alaska Railroad, through Yukon, to the North American rail system.¹⁹⁶

If these statements by Premier Fentie are an indication of current political and economic outlook of the YTG, then in the context of Jessop’s definition of globalization, these *appeals to globalization suggest that decisions by the YTG are once more informed by interests outside of the immediate city of Whitehorse or the Yukon Territory in general*. However, the extent to which the Yukon is actively seeking to promote itself on a ‘global stage’ on the one hand, compared to how much global interest is ‘turning towards’ the Yukon on the other hand, is not clear. In other words, there is a dynamic between actors in the Yukon *promoting* the Yukon as a place to invest and actors outside the Yukon *seeking* the Yukon as a place to invest. Both of which affect the outcome of the planning process and Peel Watershed politics. Regardless, the Yukon government’s decision to reject the recommended plan in 2010 was motivated by influences and consideration outside of the immediate expressed preferences of Yukoners or the recommendations of the planning commission.

Neil Brenner and New State Spaces

Neil Brenner’s book, *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood* resembles Bob Jessop’s work in that both relate to the phenomena of *state rescaling*. In his

2004 work, Brenner explains rescaling of the state, noting that “national states are being qualitatively transformed, and not dismantled under contemporary geoeconomic conditions.”¹⁹⁷ While some contend that the state is collapsing or disappearing, authors like Brenner suggest that *the state is changing* – albeit in a significant way. Thus, one of his key arguments is that “national state *institutions* continue to play key roles in formulating, implementing, coordinating, and supervising urban policy initiatives, even as the primacy of the national scale of political-economic life is decentered.”¹⁹⁸

While Brenner’s work focuses primarily on changes in Western Europe, these changes in, and actions by, national state institutions are elsewhere, such as in Peel Watershed politics. For example, recall the National Energy Board’s approval the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.¹⁹⁹ The Yukon Territorial Government expressed opposition to the recommended plan the next day.²⁰⁰ As I suggested above, one might suggest that there is merely a coincidence between two decisions affecting the same geographical region. However, given that there has been roughly a year of pressure on the Yukon government to express its view on the recommended plan (as a significant party on the commission), this suggests that national decisions in Canada have a significant influence in regional land use planning decisions in the Yukon, despite the fact that the territory gained control over natural resources in 2003. Following these events, less than a month later, the federal Cabinet approved the Mackenzie Gas Pipeline as well.²⁰¹

Overall, Brenner explains the implications of state rescaling by suggesting that:

[r]ather than treating cities and city-regions as mere subunits of national administrative systems, I suggest that urban policy – broadly defined to encompass all state activities oriented towards the regulation of capitalist urbanization – have become an essential political mechanism through which profound institutional and geographical transformation of national states is occurring.²⁰²

With Brenner's explanation in mind, this means that Peel Watershed politics is about much more than conventional regional land use planning and decision-making based on scientific evidence and public consultation.

In the context of the GMT and RT, the key contribution of rescaling the state to Peel Watershed politics is that although there might be a growth machine and/or a regime developing in the Yukon, these political economic dynamics are developing at a time where *the state itself is being rescaled*. Thus, paradoxically, while rescaling the state (RTS) helps to *clarify* the political economic milieu of Peel Watershed politics by suggesting competing scales involved in decision making, RTS also *complicates* the milieu because no one scale is primary.

The implication is that, despite the formal aspects of the Peel Watershed planning process and the official scale of the planning region, there is much more taking place than what is immediately apparent. The political economy literature suggests that the Peel Watershed and the Yukon is part of a larger economic system and that people within that system have both use and exchange value interests attached to the region. Thus, it is important to locate the Yukon and the Peel within that system if we are to understand how different actors view that part of the world. It is also useful to acknowledge that actors have multiple interests in the region and that those interests often play out socially as opposed to simply manifesting in the market through laws of supply and demand.

Moreover, in addition to the publicly accessible information on the planning process and the politics surrounding it, Clarence Stone suggests that much of the decision making is informal, between government and private interests and part of a regime. Thus while we can access some information about aspects of that regime through social media and news

media in the case of Peel Watershed politics, other negotiations, while influential, are not as accessible. Regardless of these informal processes, it is the parties to the plan that officially decide whether to accept, reject or alter the recommended plan.

Meanwhile, the Peel Watershed planning process and the informal politics behind decision making are not isolated from the broader political economy. Jessop and Brenner's work suggests that the state is being rescaled and that various scales are competing for dominance. In the case of Peel Watershed politics, the various scales include the Yukon to Yellowstone Conservation Initiative; the geopolitics of the Circumpolar North; the Mackenzie Valley pipeline initiative; the approved North Yukon Regional Land Use Plan; Canada/US trade relations; and integrated oil and gas pipeline infrastructure. Each of these various scales affect Peel Watershed politics because the decision of this planning process affects the success of their initiatives, whether conservation or development. Although one can never understand all of the politics that influence a particular decision, these various scales help to provide a more complete image.

Summary

In sum, the growth machine thesis, regime theory and rescaling the state each has descriptive potential for Peel Watershed politics. Logan and Molotch's typologies of place entrepreneurs, place and use and exchange values suggest that each place is complex, with different capacities to influence change and varied functions within a larger process of growth. However, the critical literature on the GMT raises questions about use and exchange value, the local and the global, structure and agency, local dependence, urban specificity and the meaning of place in relation to people. Do people relate to place mainly

through use and exchange values? This is a topic of discussion in Chapter 4. Moreover, *regime theory* emphasizes a more detailed analysis of development and thus, a keener understanding of the (largely informal and interdependent) relationship between government and private interests and the differences in capacity of both to influence development, with government largely, managing conflict and making adaptive responses to social change. Lastly, a rescaling of the state suggests that authority and the foci of development are constantly shifting and that while the state is not in retreat, it has changed substantially in the past four decades. Thus the state still 'licenses' the power of local business elites. However, there is currently competition for dominance from existing and emerging new scales, some of which have loose if not indefinable geographical borders. The implication is that the political economy of development in the Peel Watershed is more complex than simply a growth vs. an anti growth coalition comprised of an autonomous government and single scale.

Chapter 4: Indigeneity and Biocentrism: Hidden Ontologies/Epistemologies in the Course of Progress

Introduction

With the changes described above as part of Peel Watershed politics, it is easy to conclude that substantial change is taking place. Globalization is this shift that began in its current form as early as the late 1960s and early 1970s. Although much of the process can be analyzed in terms offered by these theories in chapter 3 – ones that highlight the “growth machine,” local regimes, and state rescaling – there are other dimensions of what has occurred that are better understood in terms of conflicting worldviews of the sort that Paul Nadasdy and other anthropologists have highlighted. In other words, there are certain issues that are not addressed within the political economy literature, It is not simply land use, regime politics, or the dominance of a particular scale that is contested in Peel Watershed politics. Instead, worldviews/ways of life are at stake as well. The goal of this chapter is primarily to understand, first, that multiple worldviews exist and, second, to describe how those worldviews interact in general and during the planning process.

This chapter describes the problematic evident in two development literatures. First, I will describe the assimilationist literature, drawing from the federal White Paper (1969), Tom Flanagan and Frances Widdowson and Albert Howard’s work. Second, I will present an alternative literature from authors including Paul Nadasdy, Julie Cruickshank, Catherine McClellan and Helen Dobrowolsky. The problematic of these two literatures is evident in Peel Watershed politics as well.

I chose these particular texts for two reasons. First, regardless of the fact that the texts in the assimilationist literature are not authoritative or well respected works in their field, they articulate the most common arguments I have heard in favour of development and with regard to First Nations in general both in my life and work in the Yukon and while attending post-secondary education in Victoria. Thus, I chose to respond to the arguments I heard most often. I wanted to familiarize myself with part of the recent history behind the assimilationist argument, exemplified in the White Paper, and I also wanted to study more recent manifestations of these arguments, in part because Widdowson and Flanagan have been advisors to higher levels of Canadian government. This means that to ignore their arguments is to ignore how at least certain actors in Canadian government are approaching development and indigenous-state relations.

Second, I chose these texts because they are specific to the general location of my case study. I chose to focus on Indigenous literature that concentrates on the Yukon in works from Nadasdy, Crucikshank, McLellan and Dobrowolsky. Given that the First Nations directly represented in the planning process are mainly from the Yukon, it seems reasonable to limit my texts to work completed in the Yukon as well. To do otherwise is to generalize far beyond the specific context of the case study.

The White Paper

In 1969, the Canadian federal government released the *Statement of the government of Canada on Indian Policy* (The White Paper) during the same time period as what authors like Jessop describe as the peak of Fordism and the beginning of the decline of the Keynesian Welfare National State. The Mackenzie Valley pipeline was first proposed in the late 1960s and 1970s. This event, along with the Calder case, the Baker Lake case and the

James Bay case signaled a new phase of land claims for First Nations in Canada for decades to come. I will summarize the 1969 White Paper and draw from key assertions to show how its logic endures today evident in authors including Frances Widdowson and Albert Howard²⁰³ and Tom Flanagan.²⁰⁴ While these authors emphasize that First Nations in Canada do not have a claim to exceptionalism and should function under the same modern conditions of progress and positivism, there is more at stake in Peel Watershed politics, than Widdowson and Howard's and Flanagan's analyses suggest.

The 1969 White Paper acknowledged that “[t]o be an Indian is to be a man, with all man's needs and abilities. To be an Indian is also to be different. It is to speak different languages, draw different pictures, tell different tales and to rely on a set of values developed in a different world.”²⁰⁵

This opening phrase is a clear indication that the Federal Government *recognized* the distinct values and worldviews of ‘Indians’. What followed in the White Paper is an evaluation of Indian values and their world as both relate to the project of the Canadian state. The release of this paper is especially interesting because it occurred during the era that authors such as Bob Jessop identify as the beginning of the end of Keynesian welfarism and hence of the centrality of the national state. As the national state was in transition, it was also attempting to integrate First Nations more fully into the Canadian mainstream. In Canada, this becomes necessary as alternate identities grown in strength, and as the economic foundations of Canadian projects must project further into the frontier.

The White Paper asserted that “to be an Indian must be to be free – free to develop Indian cultures in an environment of legal, social and economic equality with other Canadians.”²⁰⁶ In other words, the Canadian state would set the overall framework in which

Indians could be free: as distinct from any other Canadians, Indians were merely cultural groupings.

Based on its logic, the Canadian government needed to create policies that would lead to a certain goal of 'full, free and non-discriminatory' in Canadian society. This participation could be achieved through equal status, opportunity and responsibility, which Indians did not currently have. Moreover, the paper explained that "[n]o Canadian should be excluded from participation in community life, and none should expect to withdraw and still enjoy the benefits that flow to those who participate."²⁰⁷

The assumption was that the federal government determined what counted as participation in Canadian society. First Nations, with their mixed economies, did not participate in Canada: their actions did not fit within the formal economy (taxes, wages, etc.) and did not consist of developing the kind of services and physical infrastructure that many Canadians have. First Nations were not sufficiently participating in Canada.

While the federal government desired *integration*, it also viewed *cultural preservation* as essential. With regard to this dual objective, the White paper stated that:

[f]or many years Canadians believed the Indian people had but two choices: they could live in a reserve community, or they could be assimilated and lose their Indian identity. Today Canada has more to offer. There is a third choice - a full role in Canadian society and in the economy while retaining, strengthening and developing an Indian identity which preserves the good things of the past and helps Indian people to prosper and thrive.²⁰⁸

Several authors to whom I will refer have already stated that it is not sufficient to characterize First Nations worldviews as capable of simply being incorporated into existing political processes. By this rationale, the 1969 White Paper was naïve to suggest that it was possible to do so.

In an effort to end treaties between Canada and First Nations, the paper explained that:

[t]he Government and the Indian People must reach a common understanding of the future role of treaties. Some provisions will be found to have been discharged; others will have continuing importance. Many of the provisions and practices of another century may be considered irrelevant [in] light of a rapidly changing society and still others may be ended in mutual agreement.²⁰⁹

That treaties eventually come to an end was controversial; although the assertion that some provisions and practices were from *another century*, the White Paper had no explicit examples of such practices. Ultimately, the White Paper suggested that Indians needed to help themselves, arguing that:

[a] policy can never provide the ultimate solutions to all problems. A policy can achieve no more than is desired by the people it is intended to serve. The essential role of the Government's proposed new policy for Indians is that it acknowledges that truth by recognizing the central and essential role of the Indian people in solving their own problems. It will provide for [the] first time, a non-discriminatory framework within which, in an atmosphere of freedom, the Indian people could, with other Canadians, work out their own destiny.²¹⁰

This concluding remark in the White Paper exemplifies the assimilationist logic of the White paper in general. While the document argued that First Nations had to work to solve their own problems, the federal government would determine the framework under which they would do so. Moreover, the assumption that the framework was non-discriminatory is problematic in the same way that Logan and Molotch's criticize value-free development. In fact, as the authors show in *Urban Fortunes*, development is inevitably laden with values. The White Paper was unable to develop a non-discriminatory framework that would allow First Nations to have "a full role in Canadian society and in the economy while retaining, strengthening and developing an Indian identity which preserves the good things of the past and helps Indian people to prosper and thrive."²¹¹ The crucial point is that *despite the White Paper being rejected, the logic – that First Nations were uncivilized and need to assimilate – has been developed in contemporary discourse* as well.

Flanagan's First Nations? Second Thoughts

In 2000, Tom Flanagan published *First Nations? Second Thoughts*, with a second edition in 2008. His work was a response to the “aboriginal orthodoxy,” which he described as:

an emergent consensus on fundamental issues...widely shared among aboriginal leaders, government officials and academic experts...weav[ing] together threads from historical revisionism, critical legal studies, and the aboriginal political activism of the last thirty years.²¹²

My goal is to analyze *one* of Flanagan's eight main arguments – *namely, his reference to whether or not First Nations are civilized* – because it relates directly to my assertion that there is more at stake in Peel Watershed politics than land use and wealth accumulation, etc. I intend to show how Flanagan's logic is consistent with the 1969 White Paper and to evaluate his assertion that all people necessarily exist within one world – a world of progress and industrialization – to the exclusion of other worldviews.

Like the White Paper, civilization is one of Flanagan's core beliefs. He explains that

[t]hreads of progress are visible in the fabric of civilization. Developments in science and technology have led to a cumulative increase in mastery over nature. Advances in social organization have created larger and more complex societies, thus making the division of labour more elaborate and effective. These developments have led to increases in human numbers and longevity, the flowering of the arts and sciences, and a refinement of human relationships, manifest in the abolition of slavery, democratic control over government, and legal equality between women and men. Although the word ‘progress’ is out of fashion, there is no other term to describe such achievements. Although human history does not march towards utopia, it has brought about demonstrable betterment of the human condition.²¹³

Although this is only one of Flanagan's core beliefs, this belief is the most relevant for the purposes of the present thesis; it acknowledges that science and technology have led to increases in mastery over nature, which fits within a narrative of progress. It also acknowledges that there are such things as civilization and progress, propelled by the arts and sciences. These are to be valued.

Furthermore, with regard to the merits of civilization, Flanagan rejects cultural relativism, as inconsistent with civilization, and asks:

[i]f one culture is simple and another complex, is not the latter also superior to the former in some sense? Increasing complexity is a hallmark of progress in scholarship and science, as well as of technical advances in engineers, commerce, and athletics. Why not in culture generally?²¹⁴

His argument is that because First Nations' culture is simple and Western civilization complex, the latter is superior to the former. However, complexity – by Flanagan's definition – is measured by a division of labour and a particular kind of technology. Therefore, because First Nations' traditional cultures do not dominate nature with increasing complexity, they have not demonstrated sufficient signs of progress and civilization. Despite this assertion that First Nation's traditional culture is uncivilized, Flanagan recounts how First Nations came to be assimilated into Canadian culture, and ultimately explains that:

Indians and Inuit have adopted the civilized mode of life. They work, buy and sell, and invest in the economy. They acquire literacy and education, both basic and advanced. They vote and in other ways participate in political decision making. Obviously not all is well...[b]ut it is important to grasp that not everything has failed. In the largest context, the policy of civilization has succeeded.²¹⁵

But if the project of civilization has in these ways been successful, he over generalizes for all Indians and Inuit to make his claims and ignores the extent to which there are active struggles against the project of "civilization". He also understates the extent to which civilization has been *unsuccessful*, given that the criteria for civilization themselves have created many problems, often at the expense of other worldviews/ways of life.

Lastly, to respond to possible accusations of racism in light of his argument, Flanagan explains that:

[i]ndeed, ethnocentrism and racism abound in history, and denigration of other cultures is often based merely on unfamiliarity. But civilization as explained here is an objectively definable way of life, and societies that adopt it obtain a demonstrable increase in power of nature and over uncivilized societies.²¹⁶

In sum, Flanagan suggests that First Nations' traditional ways of life are simple, and thus, uncivilized. Overall, this form of civilization is based on objective standards, and demonstrable superiority. Given that Indians and Inuit conform to these standards, they too are now civilized because they buy, sell and invest in the economy, acquire both simple and complex literacy and education and participate in Canadian politics, all the while increasing their power over nature. With Flanagan's argument in mind, (especially his definition of complexity) I want to suggest, first, that there are different forms of complexity in cultures and second, that objective and pervasive are not the same. The standards by which Flanagan characterizes civilization are dominant within modern discourse. However, this dominance does not mean that the criteria are objective – a point that I will argue further below. This assertion calls into question assumptions about which forms of *complexity* should be used to define *civilized*, and the extent to which particular standards can be considered *objective*.

Next, I want to characterize Frances Widdowson and Albert Howard's arguments as consistent with aspects of the White Paper and Flanagan's work before I describe an alternative literature.

Widdowson and the Aboriginal Industry

In their 2008 work, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry* (2008), Widdowson and Howard's arguments closely resemble the assimilationist/integrationist logic of the 1969 White Paper and Tom Flanagan's recent work. However, while the White Paper and Flanagan

acknowledged that First Nations *have* a distinct way of life, Frances Widdowson and Albert Howard – also assimilationists – suggest that First Nations *do not have* a distinct way of life. Instead, the author's question the existence of traditional knowledge and the legitimacy of aboriginal ways of life, referring to them as *Neolithic*, and therefore uncivilized.²¹⁷ My intent is to elaborate on their arguments in order to show the extent of consistency in the assimilationist literature and to introduce an alternative (most of which is directly relevant to research in the Yukon) in order to present two possible interpretations of Peel Watershed politics.

To be clear, Widdowson and Howard are dismissive of the separate worldview that aboriginal peoples hold.²¹⁸ The authors argue, like Flanagan, that a qualitative cultural gap exists between Aboriginals and Western civilization. They suggest that Aboriginals need to be part of progress – specifically defined – to the exclusion of many traditional practices.

Although Flanagan and Widdowson and Howard's works discusses the value of progress and civilization, Widdowson and Howard characterize their argument as motivated by *historical materialism*, explaining that:

[h]istorical materialism assumes that the means used by human beings to produce and reproduce their existence is the foundation for historical development and social progress. Such an understanding maintains that human societies have evolved through technological advancement and a greater division of labour, but that these developments also have increased stratification to the point that private ownership by one group deprives another of access to basic resources. The result is accelerated class antagonisms and the apparently irreconcilable conflicts that plague human societies. Addressing these conflicts requires socializing ownership so that goods and services are produced not to obtain profits but to satisfy human need.²¹⁹

Similar to Tom Flanagan's arguments about *objectivity*, Widdowson and Howard contend that their statements about evolution are *statements of fact*, not value. The authors explain that

[t]hose groupings that exhibit characteristics that are closest to those of our earliest ancestors are classified as “primitive.” Others that have evolved out of later forms are classified as “advanced.” Although these adjectives are often rejected today because it is implied that they are insulting to the groups to which they are applied, using this terminology does not require a value judgment. Recognition of evolutionary principles is not a statement about whether or not evolution is “good” or “bad”; it is merely to make a statement of fact. We do not argue that reptiles are “superior” to amphibians because they appeared later in evolutionary development. Thus to refer to the hunting and gathering mode of production as primitive is not to denigrate the people who practice it. It is merely to recognize that, although the practice continues to exist today, it resembles a mode of production of our ancestors more than that of agricultural or industrial societies (which evolved out of hunting and gathering societies).²²⁰

The argument is consistent with Flanagan’s analysis in that there are stages within a process of cultural evolution. While Flanagan refers to difference as either civilized or uncivilized, Widdowson and Howard refer to primitive or advanced., Widdowson and Howard use the terms to characterize (as primitive) First Nations’ hunting and gathering mode of production – also known as subsistence harvesting. The author’s suggests that *technology* is more advanced when it enlarges the sources of subsistence.²²¹ This is definition of technology is important because it acknowledges the level of subsistence (productivity) as the main criterion by which we can gauge technology, as opposed to alternative criteria such as sustainability. In practice, this point suggests that an economy that is both broader in scope and depends on non-renewable resources and large-scale projects is more advanced than subsistence harvesting (hunting and gathering) and thus, more evolved, according to Widdowson and Howard.

While it is possible to suggest that some practices are more primitive than others, it is not possible to suggest that this statement is value free. The entire narrative of progress and civilization was socially constructed over hundreds of years and thus, although the language within that narrative is often *framed* as objective, it is instead a statement of

value, not a statement of fact. Moreover, Widdowson and Howard's reference to reptiles overlooks the fact that the evolution of reptiles was a biological one that took place over long time scales, not a cultural process. The latter can only be thought of as evolution in a particular, subjective sense of history way. Thus my argument is that, contrary to Widdowson and Howard's position, *statements about cultural evolution are value laden*. Similarly, although these arguments are present in the discourse around Peel Watershed politics, they too are *value laden, not value free*.

Furthermore, consistent with Widdowson and Howard's arguments that evolution has rendered hunting and gathering obsolete, the authors also assert that *science supersedes traditional knowledge*. According to Widdowson and Howard, *traditional knowledge* is defined as a combination of *local* and *indigenous knowledge*. *Local knowledge* is "the knowledge that one obtains from residing in a particular area, and observing and interacting with it for extended periods of time;" whereas indigenous knowledge according to the authors maintains that "a particular race of people has special knowledge not available to others (generally for "spiritual" reasons).²²² The authors are dismissive of indigenous knowledge and discount local knowledge of First Nations, explaining that

[t]his is basic information that most people (including "westerners") have about where things are located (how to find local landmarks, for example), as well as a practical understanding of general environmental characteristics (i.e., that a particular river's current makes swimming dangerous).²²³

More specifically, the authors state the methodology of science "has evolved *out of* "traditional knowledge." Rather than being a "way of knowing," traditional knowledge is a precursor to the scientific method."²²⁴ This means that traditional knowledge can only be validated once it is subjected to the scientific method.

Overall, the point according to Widdowson and Howard is that the methodology of science is authoritative in comparison to other forms of knowledge, given that no knowledge is culturally specific.

With regard to the superiority of the scientific method, Widdowson and Howard contend that:

[L]ocal impressions and opinions about ecosystems are only hypotheses that must be subjected to testing before being considered knowledge, and this process cannot be undertaken by local knowledge practitioners, regardless of their experience or “wisdom.” This is a question of method, not the particular attributes of individuals. It is incorrect to claim that local knowledge is “systematic,” or that it has “confirmed” or “proved that some scientific results were incorrect” as its observations are a byproduct of subsistence activities, and scientific methods must be used to determine if traditional knowledge claims are accurate.²²⁵

To be clear, that logic is that the scientific method is more rigorous and more objective than other forms of knowledge, and thus science must always be used to appraise information to the exclusion of other modes. With regard to the superiority of science, Widdowson and Howard add that

[T]he value of science is not that its research is always “right,” but that the methods used are revised and conclusions discarded if they are shown to be inadequate. In this way a more comprehensive understanding of the world can gradually emerge over time.²²⁶

The problem, I argue, is that this statement ignores the political economy of ideas in the scientific realm.²²⁷ The science of climate change is an example of how new scientific methods, such as climatology, are introduced but challenge and often threaten existing assumptions about the world. Thus, old methods and practices are not necessarily discarded the moment that they become inadequate.²²⁸ The result is that the scientific method (while not only fallible) often has a *lag* when new methods are adopted.²²⁹ For example, if it was clear that traditional knowledge *was* legitimate, it is difficult to formally

acknowledge those implications without risk. Paul Nadasdy explains that biologists must frame their arguments within the discipline of biology. Thus, it is not possible for them to fully incorporate traditional knowledge into their reports without risking scrutiny or loss of employment.²³⁰ Lastly, similar to their value for the *scientific method*, Widdowson and Howard contend that *science* itself is *superior* and also *incommensurable* with traditional knowledge. The authors explain that

[s]cience has made great advancements in explaining the nature of material forces, from the laws of thermodynamics to the composition of chemical bonding to the theory of evolution, and these insights provide direction to further studies. Traditional knowledge, on the other hand, is not guided by empirically tested theories; it has made no progress in the refinement and advancement of theories or the forming of new ones. Supernatural forces are believed to cause natural occurrences, and as a result, traditional knowledge comes into direct conflict with scientific explanatory frameworks such as the theory of evolution. It is for this reason that concerns have been raised about the incommensurability of the two “knowledge systems.”²³¹

While science has made progress in human understanding, traditional knowledge has not. It will become clear below that the author’s definition of science as a whole overlooks the extent to which *particular sciences (plural) contradict one another*, an argument that calls into question a general notion that science as a whole is superior.

In sum, Widdowson and Howard suggest that Western civilization is more advanced than First Nations, due to the former’s division of labour, technology and its use of science and the scientific method. This means that First Nations who participate in hunting and gathering economy and who hold traditional knowledge are primitive and thus uncivilized. This conclusion is a statement of *fact*, according to Widdowson and Howard.

The assimilationist literature, represented by the *1969 White Paper, First Nations, Second Thoughts?* and *The Aboriginal Industry* characterizes First Nations in Canada as uncivilized and primitive compared to the civilized and advanced Canadian society as part of Western

civilization in general. This characterization is objective and fact based – as opposed to subjective and value laden – according to the literature. However, authors such as Paul Nadasdy suggest otherwise.

Paul Nadasdy, Hunters and Bureaucrats

Although authors like Widdowson and Howard champion science as the gauge by which one should appraise the contributions and worldviews of First Nations, Paul Nadasdy argues that

despite their adoption of a consistent set of rules and the institutionalization of purposive-rational action, modern capitalism and science, like all cultural systems, are ultimately grounded in subjective values, which themselves derive from non-rational sources. So, although modern Euro-Canadian bureaucrats pursue their objectives “rationally,” those objectives are themselves based on subjective values and non-rational assumptions about the world. Furthermore, the rationalization of bureaucratic and scientific functions serves to legitimize the assumptions underlying bureaucratic objectives. This, in turn, obscures – and in effect legitimizes – the non-rational assumptions that underlie the whole system.²³²

In other words, science is not based on objective standards, and thus, cannot be held as a universal gauge by which to measure information. Indeed modern science has its own foundations.²³³ Nadasdy’s argument was published after Flanagan (2000) but before Widdowson (2008), but it is a major response to both authors. While Flanagan and Widdowson suggest that there is progress and an identifiable, *objective* way to achieve it (by adopting science and the division of labour and technology of civilization), Nadasdy suggests that neither capitalism nor science is objective, and thus that *idea of progress itself is subjective*. My goal is not to clarify the nature of progress, but instead to suggest that science is not objective, and thus, there are no universal forms of knowledge. Therefore, while my assertion does not suggest that First Nation’s knowledge is universal or objective, it also discounts the notion that science and progress are.

Furthermore, Nadasdy's assertion regarding the value-laden nature of science resonates with Logan and Molotch's statement that *development is not value free*. In other words, neither science (as Flanagan, Widdowson and Howard and Carl Schulze of the YCOM suggest) nor development is value free. Therefore, there are no objective standards with which to appraise knowledge; thus, any framework that operates based on certain standards, including science, is bound to have the same exclusionary effects. Equally important on a more practical level, it is not clear to what extent the commission and the Parties in the planning process are operating under a framework that exclusively relies upon science to appraise traditional knowledge and statements from public consultation in general. Given that the commission recommended 80.6% protection of the region, it is likely that they used a diverse array of criteria to make their decision, recognizing what was at stake in the planning process.²³⁴ However, as we will see below, the First Nations Parties to the Plan argued that the recommended plan did not accurately reflect their values. Overall, if neither science nor development is value free, *there is much at stake in advocating for certain forms of development or certain scientific methods* during the planning process. Thus, knowledge integration in the planning process is value laden indeed.

In an effort to explain the political and epistemological dimensions of knowledge integration, Paul Nadasdy states that:

any attempt at knowledge integration is at least as much a political process as an epistemological one. It makes no sense to talk about the integration of two abstract systems of knowledge [namely, science and traditional knowledge,] in isolation because knowledge systems do not exist in isolation. Neither government biologists nor Kluane people are merely vessels containing different kinds of knowledge. They are social beings embedded in a system of unequal power relations that not only have a direct bearing on what qualifies as knowledge but that also dictate how they can interact with one another and what kinds of actions are seen as legitimate.²³⁵

This is a crucial statement from Nadasdy because it helps to explain the process of negotiation during cross cultural communication (for example) in the planning process and Peel Watershed politics. It suggests that forms of knowledge are at stake during the exchange, which supports my assertion that not all views can be easily reconciled by the standards of science or by a conventional Western understanding of land use planning. With regard to value laden development and knowledge, some argue that to acknowledge certain forms of development or certain worldviews is to move away from complexity, progress and civilization; recall that the standards of complexity and thus of civilization and progress that Flanagan, Widdowson and Howard use are 1) the division of labour and 2) technology (which, for Widdowson and Howard is the ability to increase the means of subsistence). But, crucially there are alternatives to these forms of complexity as a measure of value. For example, Nadasdy considers complexity related to 3) ontologies/worldviews. He explains that:

[s]cientific knowledge and practice are compartmentalized...Historians of science and sociologists have argued that this compartmentalization has more to do with the politics of institutionalized knowledge production in the West than it does with corresponding divisions in the "real" world...This compartmentalization has profound effects on the ways in which it can be used. This is especially obvious to those who do *not* accept the basic assumptions underlying compartmentalization.²³⁶

Nadasdy uses hunting to describe this complexity, explaining that:

Euro-North American and Aboriginal hunting are not so easily compared. Anthropologists have long noted that hunting is not simply a matter of killing animals; rather, it is a set of practices that are deeply embedded in specific sets of relations and ideas about how humans should relate to one another as well as to animals...For them, hunting has always been much more than just a pleasant pastime. To put it simply, for First Nations people living in the Arctic and Subarctic, hunting is synonymous with life itself...Despite huge changes to their way of life, hunting remains *absolutely vital* to their lives²³⁷

This is an example of how *complexity is related to worldviews*. Therefore, whereas the worldview of most conventional sciences view humans as separate from nature, making the conception of each relatively simple in relation to the other. Alternative worldviews posit a *relational* quality to the world. The point is that the *type* of complexity one uses to determine the level of civilization or progress is important, because it privileges certain material and ideational qualities over others.

Moreover, in some instances, the worldview inherent in modern science and industrialized economies lacks complexity; to be clear, it is *not* the case that all science lacks the forms of complexity of many First Nations' worldviews. For example, while authors like Widdowson and Howard explain that "one of the essential characteristics attributed to science is its deployment of skeptical rigor to understand the material causes of natural phenomena,"²³⁸ Nadasdy responds by asking:

[w]hat, then, are we to make of fields like quantum physics and ecology, which challenge even out most fundamental assumptions about the world – and specifically those upon which science is supposedly based (such as our belief in the subject-object dichotomy and the primacy of physical causation)? Are they not science?²³⁹

Nadasdy's argument addresses the heart of Widdowson and Howard's argument regarding the validity of science over First Nations' worldviews. It suggests that even within the science that these authors champion, the reductionist, compartmentalized nature of some science is criticized. In fact, quantum physics and ecology – relatively new disciplines closely resemble the holistic worldview of First Nations (for example, in terms of their value of relationality) This suggests that based on ones definition of complexity, it is possible for both science *and* other worldviews to be considered *more complex* than the science and industrial civilization that most institutions value today.

To be clear, the worldview that these new sciences suggest resemble the worldviews of many First Nations because they recognize a relational quality between humans and the ecosystems *of which humans are a part*. This relational quality differs from the separation in conventional science between humans and their environment or nature, also referred to as the subject-object dichotomy or anthropocentrism. Thus, despite criticism from the White Paper, Flanagan, Widdowson and Howard that certain worldviews are complex, while others are not, certain scientific methodologies and scientific disciplines are discounting the assumptions *within* science to which many individuals, disciplines and bureaucracies still adhere in land claims, co-management and perhaps land use planning as well.

Nadasdy explains that “[a]t a conference on traditional knowledge, I once heard a wildlife biologist ask a member of the Kluane First Nation, “What exactly is ‘traditional knowledge?’” She responded, “Well, it’s not really ‘knowledge’ at all; it more a way of life.”²⁴⁰ Nadasdy’s point is that knowledge and ways of life are intrinsically related for Kluane First nations, but I want to suggest that, in light of the culturally contingent nature of science, that knowledge and ways of life are also connected to one another for people and organizations that practice sciences – in fact all people. Knowledge integration therefore becomes challenging if not problematic, if one understands that it is not simply knowledge that is contested, but ways of life in general. This crucial point relates directly to the efforts of knowledge integration in the planning process. The UFA, the planning commission’s terms of reference and the commission’s definition of sustainable development (see page 21 of thesis) all suggest the importance of knowledge integration in the planning process. Out of respect for First Nations involved, statements from public

consultation regarding traditional knowledge were not made publicly available. However, it is clear that the recommendation for 80.6% protection in the recommended plan was informed in part by respect for preserving other worldviews/ways of life. While some might consider knowledge integration to be largely value-free, based on the standards of objective science to determine land use and future wealth accumulation, the very notion of knowledge integration misses the point because entire ways of life and worldviews are at stake in the process. Thus, it is not a matter of the objectively superior form of knowledge or way of life gaining favour over other lesser forms of knowledge. Instead, power imbalances are involved in determining outcomes, a point that Nadasdy recognizes in his work. Thus, the planning process is multifaceted indeed.

Cruickshank, McClellan and Dobrowolsky

How can one understand multiple worldviews in the Yukon and Peel Watershed politics? With regard to traditional knowledge, aside from public statements in Chapter 3, there is scarce publicly available online evidence on the traditional knowledge in the planning process. However, numerous authors have published works in the past few decades on several Yukon First Nations, works that give some indication of the worldviews at stake in Peel Watershed politics.

Catherine McClellan's work, *Part of the Land, Part of the Water: A History of Yukon*

Indians provides an instructive definition of *worldview*:

[a] people's *worldview* means the picture or vision they have, not just of their immediate surroundings, but of the universe and everything in it – the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountains and rivers, plants and animals, spirits, humans, other creatures and other worlds. Worldview means a people's understanding of how the many things that exist are related to one another. It also means a people's system of values – that is, their beliefs about what is good and what is bad. So it includes their beliefs about how they should act toward one another, toward other beings, and

towards themselves. A worldview is something a person builds up slowly over a lifetime. It is hard to talk directly about such important matters, and most people express their worldview indirectly, by the way they act, by the choices they make and by the stories they tell. But a people's worldview is the very heart of their culture, because it gives order and meaning to life. It guides what people do and shapes their emotions. It is their worldview that the elders try to pass on to the young.²⁴¹

Within the context of my argument, this definition applies to all people, including First Nations, environmentalists, geologists, outfitters, tourists, government officials, newspaper editors and bloggers, political scientists, etc. The quotation also suggests how complex a worldview is for a person. It is a cosmology, a value system, a way of ordering their world, one's beliefs. Moreover, a person's worldview is not static. If their surroundings are significantly altered, so is their worldview. This is the case not only for First Nations, but for *all* people; the histories and ongoing politics of science, technology and empire can easily support such a statement.

McClellan elaborates on the complexity of the Yukon Indian worldview, suggesting that each local group varies slightly and no one person knows it all. Language evolves as expressions of different worldviews. Meaning is lost in the translation of these worldviews to English, which suggests how difficult it is to understand other worldviews.²⁴² The problem is especially apparent when First Nations are being asked to translate their worldviews so that they can be understood during public consultation. The point is that although one can not fully understand other worldviews, that does not mean that worldviews can or should be factored out of co-management nor land use planning.

To give examples of alternative worldviews, Julie Cruickshank's work *Life Lived Like a Story*, consists of interviews with three elders from the Yukon Territory. One of the elders, Kitty Smith explained in 1974 that "[m]y roots grow in jackpine roots...I grow here. I

branch here.”²⁴³ While Smith’s statement is a simplified aspect of her worldview regarding her relationship to the land, Cruickshank clarifies the nature of oral stories, explaining that:

[o]ral storytellers [such as Kitty Smith] seem well equipped to correlate seemingly unrelated ideas to show their interconnections; researchers who try to winnow “facts” from oral accounts and relate them to documents “facts” may be less successful. An alternative approach treats oral tradition not as evidence but as a window on the ways the past is culturally constituted and discussed in different contexts. For example, named places and landscape features figure prominently in this volume...By imbuing place with meaning through story, narrators seemed to be using locations in physical space to talk about events in chronological time.²⁴⁴

In this sense it is possible to see how a description of place – as having particular *use values* (as Logan and Molotch suggest) might be inadequate for conveying the meaning that people attach to their home. In other words, there is a risk in converting the stories that people tell about their home into particular use values.

Virginia Smarch of the Inland Tlingit at Teslin, Yukon described part of her worldview,:

[t]here is so many things that the native person knows – exactly where an animal should be at a certain time of the day, or where they might be at feeding time, or different things like that. That’s why I don’t hesitate to say an old native person is part of the land, part of the water, because when they used to go around in this country they didn’t stay in one place long enough to make a mess.²⁴⁵

More directly relevant to the planning process, Helene Dobrowolsky’s book

Hammerstones: A History of the Tr’Ondëk Hwëch’in (a Yukon First Nation that holds a seat on the commission and as a Party in the planning process) was published in 2003 – the year before the planning process began. In Chapter 12 of *Hammerstones*, it is clear that there were conflicting views about the extent to which the *Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in* had control over their tradition and heritage. Their 2000 vision statement advocated reestablishing their traditional culture, reclaiming their identity and rightful place. While one statement suggested it was too late, another suggested that a concerted effort at revival was taking place.²⁴⁶ With regard to that effort, Angie Joseph-Read explained that “[w]e tend to

overlook the importance of recognizing the cultural part of our language. We need to educate other people that our Identity-Language-Culture are all one. One cannot survive without the other.”²⁴⁷ Does this statement from Joseph-Read about the *Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in* apply any less to *other* Identity–Language–Cultures? These readings also respond to the idea of Widdowson and Howard that indigenous knowledge is static and thus anchored in the past.

While providing a history of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, *Hammerstones* suggests that:

[t]he citizens of the Tr'Ondëk Hwëch'in have amply demonstrated that theirs is not a marginal culture to be erased by a seemingly dominant society. Despite the problems still to be overcome, the Tr'Ondëk Hwëch'in have proven their ability to thrive in today's world while honouring their heritage. Today, they continue to draw their strength from the lands of the mighty Yukon River, the rugged Tombstone Mountains and the numerous creeks and forests that sustained them for thousands of years.²⁴⁸

In 2010, numerous First Nations took a public position on the recommended plan development. In an interview at Duo Lakes (in the Peel Watershed), the *Yukon News* quoted Na-cho Nyak Dun elder Jimmy Johnny saying that “[i]f you're living on this land, you're going to survive by it...[t]his is where I feel like I belong...I call it my home, and I feel like I belong here. Right here, right on this very spot.”²⁴⁹ At a 2010 public meeting in Fort McPherson regarding the recommended plan, several First Nations spoke. “The world is running out of water,” explained Fred Ross, “and in a few years it'll be as important as oil and gas. And we'll have all the fresh water here... Our people have survived here for 20,000 years just from the land. We can't let development take it over.”²⁵⁰ Mary Teya, a Gwich'in elder from Fort McPherson observed

[w]e see that things are happening because of development. We know there is pollution. We know that our land is being destroyed. Even our people are being destroyed... We want to continue to be healthy. We want our families to continue to be healthy. It's the last we've got. We hear about the [Alberta] oilsands, poison leaking into the rivers... we need to ask for total protection.²⁵¹

Recall that in February 2011, the First Nations Parties to the Plan took official positions on the recommended plan, effectively explaining their worldviews/ways of life. Chief Simon Mervyn of the Na-Cho Nyak Dun explained that

[a]s we have emphasized throughout the planning process, the lands and waters of the Peel have unparalleled cultural and ecological significance for our peoples. They have sustained us in body and spirit for thousands of years. The Peel Watershed comprises one of largest [sic] undeveloped mountain watersheds in North America that provides critical habitat for a variety of fish and wildlife.²⁵²

Chief Eddie Taylor of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in argued that the recommended plan “does not adequately reflect the cultural, heritage, and wilderness values identified by the [Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in],”²⁵³ and that traditional knowledge is not accurately reflected in the plan. Chief William Koe of the Tetl'it Gwich'in explained that

[w]e live downstream of all the rivers in the Peel, we drink the waters, we eat the fish, we hunt caribou and we eat berries from the land and waters of the Peel. What happens there will affect our way of life, our health, our future and most importantly, the future of our children and grandchildren.²⁵⁴

In their response, they also attached an earlier document from their former Chief Wilbert Firth, a document that reaffirmed the Umbrella Final Agreement's definition of sustainable development as “beneficial socio-economic change that does not undermine the ecological and social systems on which our communities and societies are dependent on.” This definition was intended to be a guide for regional land use planning in the Peel. Thus, the Tetl'it Gwichin acknowledged that their communities and societies are dependent on ecological and social systems, a statement that is consistent with my assertion that worldview/ways of life are stake in Peel Watershed politics. The Na-Cho Nyak Dun explain that

as we have emphasized throughout the planning process, the lands and waters of the Peel have unparalleled cultural and ecological significance for our peoples. They have

sustained us in body and spirit for thousands of years. The Peel Watershed comprises one of largest [sic] undeveloped mountain watershed in North America that provides critical habitat for a variety of fish and wildlife.²⁵⁵

Overall, the point is that many people's worldviews are changing in different ways. We can see from statements over thirty years ago a definition of worldview and a general explanation about how worldviews change over a lifetime. We can see how in the past four decades, First Nations in the Yukon and the North in general have formed land claims, pipeline coalitions and development corporations that invest in non-renewable resource activities. Meanwhile leaders such as Andy Carvill explain the dynamic nature of First Nations worldview in that they can adopt new forms of technology while maintaining traditional practices. And we can see from the First Nations Chiefs of the parties to the plan that they value industrial activities in some areas while they wish to protect the Peel Watershed 100%.

These examples from several Yukon First Nations are only a few. McClellan's work also discusses the effects of a changing worldview on people, acknowledging that:

[e]ach society has a unique worldview, but as times change, worldviews may also change. Historical events sometimes even bring in new ideas so fast that for some individuals the whole world seems to lose its meaning and they themselves lose their direction. In such times, the old and the young find that they no longer share the same ideas about nature and the universe and how to behave in it. Their values may differ sharply. Some people have become very unhappy during such times. Some grow angry and discouraged when they see the old ways changing. Others find pleasure and excitement in trying to fit together whatever seems best of both the old and the new ideas.²⁵⁶

Here, one can see variation in the young and the old but also between individuals and between societies as well. Similarly, as Nadasdy explains in his work on the Kluane First Nations, with regard to diversity of groups and individuals:

[c]ertainly, there are tensions and contradictions among various beliefs, practices, and values to which Kluane people subscribe; but there is no simple way to map and

particular set of beliefs and practices onto a corresponding subset of Kluane people; rather, all subgroups – regardless of how they are constituted – are themselves heterogenous, cross-cut by numerous other types of difference... Perhaps even more important, individual Kluane people are themselves often inconsistent – their beliefs, practices and values depending to some extent on the social context within which they are enacted. Thus tensions exist not only *among* individuals with different beliefs and practices but also *within* individuals. At the same time, however, there are also some cultural assumptions that are widely shared by most Kluane people in most circumstances.²⁵⁷

In addition to the variation amongst Kluane First Nations, Nadasdy also recognizes that “[t]he range of opinions and experiences among First Nations peoples is as broad and diverse as it is among Euro-Canadians.”²⁵⁸ It is difficult and often inaccurate to generalize between different people, let alone different Yukon First Nations, not to mention (as authors like the White Paper, Flanagan and Widdowson attempt to do) indigenous people as a whole. Thus, my intent is not to place a static image of a particular worldview on any person or group, but crucially, to provide instead evidence that alternative worldviews exist and to suggest that worldviews are at stake and changing as we speak. This is crucial because, although First Nations’ worldviews/ways of life are changing, it does not fundamentally alter their claims to indigeneity in ways that a static understanding of First Nations worldviews would suggest. In fact, everyone’s worldview is changing by virtue of exposure to new information. Thus, in a very real sense, the Peel Watershed politics is an event whereby the process and the outcome of the planning process is challenging people to assert their own worldviews/ways of life. This is precisely what each interest is attempting to describe when they engage in the planning process; however, often their ways of life are framed in terms of how the land is useful for particular purposes, whether ecotourism, mining, subsistence harvesting, etc. As complex as the planning process is, each decision, each land designation, each regional land use plan sets the condition of

possibility for Yukon First Nations and others to decide their way of life. Especially if we compare these planning processes to places that are decidedly urban, we can see that something characteristically different is at stake in their particular worldview and the possibilities for change.

Summary

In sum, the assimilationist/integrationist literature from works such as the 1969 *White Paper, First Nations, Second Thoughts* and *The Aboriginal Industry* defined: *freedom* as conforming to Canadian standards; *participation in the economy* as being part of a wage economy and subject to taxation; *civilization* as the mastery of nature and increased complexity in both the division of labour and technology (defined as advanced when it increases the means of subsistence); and *science* as objective. But it is clear that *these are all contested concepts*: there are no universally applicable definitions for them, especially when one considers the history of science, technology and empire. For some people: *freedom* involves self-government or self determination, *participation in the economy* includes hunting and gathering or subsistence harvesting; civilization is defined as progress through sustainability and as increased complexity defined through ontologies and worldviews, and science defined as subjective and culturally contingent knowledge. In these ways, it is clear that for every society, group and person, worldviews/ways of life are at stake in politics.

Conclusion

In conclusion, one can see how earlier developments in the Canadian North inform regional land use planning in the Yukon. The Mackenzie Valley pipeline proposal, the crisis of Atlantic Fordism and the decline of the Keynesian Welfare National State in the early 1970s produced a sustained interest in energy for the region. There has since been constant pressure to develop Canada's last frontier. However, since that time, Yukon First Nations have gained much authority regarding development in the Territory, in the Peel Watershed planning process as well. There is much at stake in the region, with its pristine, undeveloped landscape, its natural resource potential, and the connection to land and animals that many people have, particularly Yukon First Nations.

It is clear that the Peel Watershed Planning Process takes place within a context of mining, oil and gas, Canada-US economic integration and the regional political economy of Western Canada surrounding it. However, since 2004, the Peel Watershed Planning Commission worked to develop a recommended regional land use plan with sustainable development in mind. The commission has gathered and taken into account much information about the region, including expressed preferences, traditional knowledge and scientific evidence. During the planning process, many interests have influenced the planning commissions deliberations and decisions encompassed in all of the reports released to date, up to the recommended plan, released in December 2009.

Some actors have influenced the process more than others. The recommended plan's call for 80.6% protection of the region is the result of engaged input from the beginning of the planning process, engagement from environmentalists, the wilderness tourism industry, the general public and Yukon First Nations governments. Meanwhile the Yukon government and non-renewable resources interests have simultaneously been part of a growth coalition, a pro-development regime and process of globalization that has caused the demands for the development to increase in many places in the world. Despite the planning commission's recommendation, these phenomena will also influence the planning process, to the extent that the Yukon government will not likely approve 80.6% protection of the watershed let alone full protection. Instead, with the emphasis on development from powerful interests, the precise future of the Peel Watershed planning region, during the final stages of the planning process, is unclear.

One can understand the politics of the region by applying political economy literature from authors such as Logan and Molotch (growth machine theory), Clarence Stone (regime theory) and Bob Jessop and Neil Brenner (rescaling the state). The authors' theories help to explain the politics of the Peel Watershed by suggesting that although the concept of the growth machine may initially help us to characterize the actors and interests in a particular locale, the inner workings of decision making is more complex. Clarence Stone suggests that government is always in negotiation with existing regimes as a way to ensure that decisions are legitimate in the eyes of powerful private interests. Moreover, one of government's main foci is to manage conflict, and not to lead in decision-making.

In Peel Watershed politics, it is evident that while the government is actively promoting the Yukon as a place for growth, it is also managing conflict amongst various interests.

Furthermore, there are multiple forces on multiple scales influencing a locale. This means that outcomes involving land use planning are difficult to locate causally, given that globalization has decentred the state. Thus, the Peel Watershed is simultaneously part of various politics, only one of which is regional land use planning. Others include the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Project, the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative, the Yukon Government's attempt to attract investment from abroad and to increase infrastructure projects, with its control over resources comparable to any province. Sustainable development is becoming increasingly difficult to achieve in the Yukon, especially with numerous land use conflicts in the region. Similar to Logan and Molotch, can one encompass what is at stake in terms of use values?

Authors such as Flanagan and Widdowson and Howard echo aspects of the 1969 *White Paper*, suggesting a deterministic outlook of integrating First Nations into civilization within Canada. Flanagan suggests that the Canadian culture is more civilized, more complex, while Widdowson and Howard argue that a qualitative gap exists between Aboriginals and Western Civilization. However, Nadasdy argues that the supposedly objective criteria of progress, civilization, the advancement of technology and the methods of science, effectively marginalize First Nations worldviews/ways of life as well as particular sciences such as ecology and quantum physics. The value-laden nature of science and growth is also overlooked in Peel Watershed politics.

Moreover, as Cruickshank, McClellan and Dobrowolsky have suggested, each person has a dynamic worldview and in the case of First Nations, those worldviews are often lost in translation or misunderstood. Although worldviews change over time, the Yukon First Nations involved in Peel Watershed politics suggest that in an era of globalization, with

resource scarcity and industrial developments as part of their economies, First Nations people nevertheless have a particular relationship to the land and animals that informs their worldview/way of life. This is not something that can be represented by Logan and Molotch's use values. With the exceptional significance of the Peel Watershed in sustaining their worldview/way of life, it is a large part of what is stake in Peel Watershed politics.

In terms of generalizing the arguments in the thesis, we can think about other cities, big cities. Few think about First Nations claims. In New York or Chicago, no one thinks about them. So the urban political economy literature is not sensitive to these kinds of issues. Whose land is it? What about different ways of relating to the land that are not bound up with making money, growing, expanding, etc? One might argue that one thing that you learn from listening to First Nations people in the Yukon is that these issues are always at stake and there is always a question there. Could we be relating to each other in a totally different way? There may be a wider significance to these people that are attached to the watershed and they don't look at the world the way many do. If it applies to the Peel Watershed, maybe it applies to every other place. It is not just about use value; it is not just about using the place. Instead, this is about what the place is and who people are and about a way of life.

¹Lassi Heininen and Chris Southcott, *Globalization and the Circumpolar North*. (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2010), 1.

² Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry and Thomas R. Berger. *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry*, (Ottawa, Ont: Supply and Services Canada, 1977).

Hugh Brody, *Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North*, (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre Ltd., 1987).

³ Cy Gonick, ed. *Energy Security and Climate Change: A Canadian Primer*, (Black Point, N.S: Fernwood Pub, 2007), 92.

Thomas Homer-Dixon and Nick Garrison, *Carbon Shift: How the Twin Crises of Oil Depletion and Climate Change Will Define the Future*. (Toronto: Random House Canada, 2009).

⁴ K. J Rea, *The Political Economy of the Canadian North: An Interpretation of the Course of Development in the Northern Territories of Canada to the Early 1960's*, (University of Toronto Press, 1968).

⁵ Martin O'Malley, *The Past and Future Land: An Account of the Berger Inquiry into the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline*, (Toronto: P. Martin Associates, 1976).

Patrick Scott, *Stories Told: Stories and Images of the Berger Inquiry*, (Yellowknife, NT: Edzo Institute, 2007).

⁶ Earle Gray, *Super Pipe: The Arctic Pipeline, World's Greatest Fiasco?* Toronto: Griffin House, 1979. James E Gander and Fred W. Belaire. *Energy Futures for Canadians, Summary: Long-Term Energy Assessment Program (LEAP): Report of a Study*. (Ottawa): Energy, Mines and Resources Canada, 1978).

⁷ James E. Gander and Fred W. Belaire. *Energy Futures for Canadians, Summary : Long-Term Energy Assessment Program (LEAP): Report of a Study*, (Ottawa: Energy, Mines and Resources Canada, 1978), 12.

⁸ Mel Watkins, *Dene Nation, the Colony within* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1977).

Gurston Dacks, *A Choice of Futures: Politics in the Canadian North* (Toronto: Methuen, 1981).

R. Quinn Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit since the Second World War* (Kingston, Ont: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).

Robert McPherson, *New Owners in their Own Land: Minerals and Inuit Land Claims*. (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003).

Ann McElroy, *Nunavut Generations: Change and Continuity in Canadian Inuit Communities*, (Long Grove, Ill: Waveland Press, 2008).

⁹ Bob Jessop, *The Future of the Capitalist State*, (Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Polity, 2002), 172-213.

¹⁰ Doug Macdonald, *Business and Environmental Politics in Canada* (Peterborough, ON ; Orchard Park, NY: Broadview Press, 2007), 162-170.

¹¹ Stephen Clarkson, "The Governance of Energy in North America: The United States and Its Continental Periphery," in *Governing The Energy Challenge: Canada and Germany in a Multi-Level Regional and Global Context*, Burkard Eberlain and G. Bruce Doern, eds. (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 2009), 99-121.

¹² John S. Lutz, *Makúk : A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations*, (Vancouver ; Toronto: UBC Press, 2008).

¹³ Jeremy Wilson, *Talk and Log: Wilderness Politics in British Columbia, 1965-96*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998).

Karena Shaw and Warren Magnusson, *A Political Space: Reading the Global through Clayoquot Sound*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

¹⁴ Hugh Brody, *Maps & Dreams*, (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981).

¹⁵ Catharine McClellan and Lucie Birckel. *Part of the Land, Part of the Water: A History of the Yukon Indians*. (Vancouver; Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987).

¹⁶ Kenneth Coates and William R. Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun: A History of the Yukon*. [2nd ed.], (Montreal & Kingston: London: Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

- ¹⁷ Gurston Dacks, *Devolution and Constitutional Development in the Canadian North* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990).
- S. Smyth, "The Constitutional Context of Aboriginal and Colonial Government in the Yukon Territory." *Polar Record* 29, no. 169 (1993): 121-126.
- S. Smyth, "The Constitutional Status of Yukon Territory," *Polar Record* 26, no. 159 (1990): 289-292.
- S. Smyth, *The Yukon's Constitutional Foundations* (Clairidge Press, 1999).
- ¹⁸ Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Jean Chretien. *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969*, ([Ottawa]: [Queen's Printer], 1969).
<http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ai/arp/ls/pubs/cp1969/cp1969-eng.pdf>
- ¹⁹ Yukon Native Brotherhood, *Together Today for our Children Tomorrow: A Statement of Grievances and an Approach to Settlement by the Yukon Indian People*. ([Whitehorse, Yukon Territory]: [s.n.], 1973).
http://www.eco.gov.yk.ca/pdf/together_today_for_our_children_tomorrow.pdf
- ²⁰ Canada. *Umbrella Final Agreement between the Government of Canada, the Council for Yukon Indians and the Government of the Yukon*. (Ottawa: Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1992).
<http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/al/lcd/ccl/fagr/ykn/umb/umb-eng.pdf>
- ²¹ F. Duerden, S. Black and RG Kuhn. "Evaluation of the Effectiveness of First Nations Participation in the Development of Land-use Plans in the Yukon," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 16, no. 1 (1996): 105-124.
- ²² "Mackenzie Gas Pipeline Ok'd," *CBC News*, December 16, 2010,
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2010/12/16/mackenzie-pipeline-neb.html>
- ²³ "Yukon Disagrees with Peel Watershed Plan," *Yukon News*, December 17, 2010,
 Plan,"<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2010/12/17/yukon-peel-watershed-response.html>
- ²⁴ *Umbrella Final Agreement*, Council of Yukon First Nations Official Website,
http://www.cyfn.ca/uploads/qj/R_/qjR_0e8qO21gk95uB_IKGg/umbrellaFinalAgreement.pdf.
- ²⁵ *Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement*, Gwich'in Tribal Council Official Website: Documents, <http://www.gwichin.nt.ca/documents/GCLCA.pdf>
- ²⁶ *Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan*, Mandate and Context – December 2009 (revised January 2010), 1-1. Official Website
<http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/RLUP.html>
- ²⁷ *Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan*, 1-1.
- ²⁸ Yukon Land Use Planning Council Official Website, "Peel Watershed Planning Commission submits Recommended Plan for Approval," Official Website,
http://www.planyukon.ca/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=38&Itemid=1
- ²⁹ *Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan*, 2-2.
- ³⁰ *Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan*, 2-1.
- ³¹ Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board, *Traditional Territories of Yukon First Nations and Settlement Areas of Inuvialuit and Tetlit Gwich'in*, Official Website
http://www.yfwmb.yk.ca/assets/client/File/RRC/fn_trad_terr_map_large%20file.jpg
- ³² Peel Watershed Planning Commission, "The Path to a Recommended Land Use Plan," Official Website, http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/img/This%20could%20be%20it!_Dec09.gif
- ³³ *Draft Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan*, Official Website,
<http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/DLUP.html>.
- ³⁴ *Draft Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan*, v.
- ³⁵ *Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan*, v.
- ³⁶ *Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan*, Appendix D-3.

-
- ³⁷ *Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan*, 1-4.
- ³⁸ *Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan*, 1-6.
- ³⁹ *Our Common Future: Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development*, Chapter 2: Towards Sustainable Development, 1, in UN Documents, <http://www.un-documents.net/ocf-02.htm>.
- ⁴⁰ UFA, Chapter 1, 7.
- ⁴¹ *Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan*, 1-2, 1-3.
- ⁴² Peel Watershed Planning Commission, Maps and Posters, Official Website, <http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/downmapo.html>.
- ⁴³ *Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan*, iii.
- ⁴⁴ *The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in Final Agreement, 1998*, on Council of Yukon First Nations Official Website, <http://www.cyfn.ca/uploads/MB/UN/MBUNJ9zgZJAIWdiVwvxG1g/trondekHwechinFA1.pdf>.
- ⁴⁵ *The Na-Cho Nyak Dun First Nation Final Agreement, 1993*, on Council of Yukon First Nations Official Website, <http://www.cyfn.ca/uploads/x1/ry/x1ryMmZmq5nuOTosskG6IQ/nachoNyakDunFA1.pdf>.
- ⁴⁶ *The Vuntut Gwichin First Nation Final Agreement, 1993*, on Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Official Website, <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/al/lcd/ccl/fagr/gwich/vun/vun-eng.pdf>.
- ⁴⁷ Peel Watershed Planning Commission, *Resource Assessment Report, 2008*, 46. Official Website, <http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/downpldo.html>
- ⁴⁸ *Resource Assessment Report*, 47-48.
- ⁴⁹ *Resource Assessment Report*, 19, 50.
- ⁵⁰ *Resource Assessment Report*, 36-40.
- ⁵¹ *Resource Assessment Report*, 36.
- ⁵² *Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan, Appendix D: LMU Descriptions and Summary Statistics*, D-5.
- ⁵³ *Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan, Appendix D: LMU Descriptions and Summary Statistics*, D-3.
- ⁵⁴ *Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan: Summary*, 4, on Official Website. <http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/RLUP.html>.
- ⁵⁵ Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society – Yukon Branch, “The Three Rivers Journey,” Official Website, <http://www.cpawsyukon.org/peelwatershed/journey.html>.
- ⁵⁶ Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society – Yukon Branch, “Peel Watershed Survey,” <http://www.cpawsyukon.org/peel-watershed/2009-peel-survey-results.pdf>.
- ⁵⁷ Yukon Conservation Society and Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society – Yukon Submission of “Analysis of Mineral Claims Issues in the Peel Watershed” Report, Peel Watershed Planning Commission Official Website, http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/input/Stk_hldr_ltrs/DLUP/Mineral%20Claims%20Issues%20in%20the%20Peel%20-%20Kuyek%20%202009-03-23%20all.pdf.
- ⁵⁸ The Big Wild, “The Peel Watershed,” Official Homepage, <http://www.thebigwild.org/category/tags/peel-watershed>.
- ⁵⁹ The Small Change Fund, “Protecting Yukon’s Peel Watershed,” Official Homepage, <http://smallchangefund.org/projects-funded/protecting-yukons-peel-watershed-a-global-legacy>.
- ⁶⁰ Tethit Gwich’in “Annual Report, 2005-2006,” Official Homepage, <http://www.gwichinplanning.nt.ca/publications/annualReport/AnnualReport2005-2006.pdf>.
- ⁶¹ Northern Waterways Official Website, The Peel Watershed, <http://northernwaterways.com/blog/?p=50>.

-
- ⁶² John L. Weaver, "Summary: Conserving Caribou Landscapes in the Nahanni Trans-Border Region," *WCS Canada Conservation Report* No. 4, (May 2008), 2.
<http://www.wcscanada.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=lgYuGuB1wUA%3d&tabid=2541>.
- ⁶³ Wilderness International, "Project Western Arctic," Official Website,
<http://www.wilderness-international.org/en/conservation-projects/project-western-arctic/>.
- ⁶⁴ Tourism Industry Association of the Yukon, "Peel Watershed Press Release, 2009,"
<http://www.tiayukon.com/Documents/Peel%20Press%20Release%20062609.pdf>.
- ⁶⁵ TIAY, Stakeholder/Public Information Session, September 15, 2010.
<http://www.peelconsultation.ca/Downloads/TIA-Peel-Watershed-Public-Consultation-FNL-Rev-1-Sept-15-2010.pdf>
- ⁶⁶ Wilderness Tourism Association of the Yukon, "Achievements,"
<http://www.wtay.com/achievements.aspx>,
- ⁶⁷ Walden's Guiding and Outfitting, Official Website, <http://www.waldensguiding.com/peel.html>.
- ⁶⁸ *Peel Watershed News*,
<http://peelwatershed.blogspot.com/>.
- ⁶⁹ Government of Yukon, Premier Fentie, Speeches,
<http://www.yukonpremier.ca/fr/speeches.html>.
- ⁷⁰ "Yukon premier accused of meddling in Peel watershed planning work," *CBCNews*, June 23, 2009,
<http://www.cbc.ca/canada/north/story/2009/06/23/fentie-peel-planning.html>.
- ⁷¹ Yukon Territorial Government, Department of Environment, "Peel Watershed Memo, June 2009,"
http://www.yukon-news.com/news_docs/2009/june/19/Enviro_Memo.pdf.
- ⁷² Yukon Territorial Government, "Environment's Assessment of the Peel LUP Scenario Report," Peel Watershed Planning Commission Official Website,
http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/input/Stk_hldr_ltrs/Scenarios/late/Environment_Comments_on_the_Peel.pdf.
- ⁷³ "Rewrite Peel plan: Yukon Government, First Nations," *CBC News*, February 21, 2011,
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2011/02/21/yukon-peel-planning-response.html>
- ⁷⁴ Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board. Official Website. <http://www.yfwmb.yk.ca/>.
- ⁷⁵ Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board, *Yukon Fish and Wildlife: A 20:20 Vision*,
<http://www.yfwmb.yk.ca/assets/client/File/Reports/2020%20Results%20Analysis%20by%20DataPath.pdf>.
- ⁷⁶ Yukon Minerals Advisory Board, Annual Report - 2008,
http://www.emr.gov.yk.ca/mining/pdf/ymab_annual_report_2008.pdf, 24.
- ⁷⁷ Yukon Minerals Advisory Board, Annual Report - 2009,
http://www.emr.gov.yk.ca/mining/pdf/ymab_annual_report_2009.pdf, 2, 13.
- ⁷⁸ Yukon Minerals Advisory Board, Annual Report - 2006-2007,
http://www.emr.gov.yk.ca/mining/pdf/ymab_report2006_07.pdf, 5.
- ⁷⁹ Yukon Territorial Government, "Yukon Mining Incentives Program," Official Website,
http://www.geology.gov.yk.ca/ymip.html#what_is_ymip.
- ⁸⁰ Wilbert Firth, Simon Mervyn and Eddie Taylor, "Chiefs Speak About Peel Watershed Plan," July 29, 2009, Peel Watershed Planning Commission Official Website,
http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/input/DLUP_Stk_hldr_ltrs.html.
- ⁸¹ James Munson, "Fentie interfered in the Peel Watershed plan," *Yukon News*, June 19, 2009, <http://www.yukon-news.com/news/13282/>
- ⁸² Patrick Rouble, Minister, Energy Mines and Resources, "Response to Recommended Peel Watershed Land Use Plan," February 21, 2011,

http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/YG_response_RLUP.pdf

⁸³ Yukon Chamber of Mines, June 2009 Newsletter, <http://www.ycmines.ca/June09.pdf>.

⁸⁴ Yukon Chamber of Mines, March 2010 Newsletter, [http://www.ycmines.ca/Mar2010\(2\).pdf](http://www.ycmines.ca/Mar2010(2).pdf).

⁸⁵ Yukon Gold Mining Alliance, Official Website, <http://www.ygma.ca/>.

⁸⁶ Yukon Gold Mining Alliance, "Yukon Gold Mining Alliance Hosts Forums in New York City and Toronto – April 20th and 22nd," Official Website, http://www.ygma.ca/_resources/PR_Backgrounder.pdf.

⁸⁷ Mining Yukon Web Portal, News and Events, <http://miningyukon.com/newsevents/newsarchives/>.

⁸⁸ Lang Michener Official Website, Vancouver Branch, Mining, <http://www.langmichener.ca/uploads/content/LMMiningVancouver0208.pdf>.

⁸⁹ "Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on Election Financing and Political Contributions," 2006-2009. <http://www.electionsyukon.gov.yk.ca/campaign.html>.

Yukon Mineral Advisory Board Annual Reports, 2005-2009. Yukon Minerals Advisory Board Members. <http://www.emr.gov.yk.ca/mining/ymab.html>.

⁹⁰ Firth et al. "Chiefs Speak about Peel Watershed Plan."

⁹¹ Yukon Minerals Advisory Board. "Annual Report, 2006-2007," http://www.emr.gov.yk.ca/mining/pdf/ymab_report2006_07.pdf.

⁹² Council of Yukon First Nations, "22nd Annual General Assembly, July 15-18, 2002, Minutes," 26-27. Official Website. <http://www.cyfn.ca/uploads/Ju/vY/JuvYz2SbeMgmqIYIFAus2w/150702.pdf>.

⁹³ Council of Yukon First Nations, 27th Annual General Assembly, July 31 to August 2, 2007, Minutes," 23. Official Website.

<http://cyfn.ca/uploads/AC/DN/ACDNLQMvhOAgmxXEDtZ39A/310707.pdf>.

⁹⁴ Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development. *Minutes of Proceedings*. 2nd Session, 40th Parliament, Meeting 37, 2009, Andy Carvill, 1050.

<http://www2.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?DocId=4232799&Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=40&Ses=2>

⁹⁵ Jason Unrau, "Grand Chief Assesses Commanding Mandate," *Whitehorse Star*, July 15, 2010. <http://whitehorsestar.com/archive/story/grand-chief-assesses-commanding-mandate/>.

⁹⁶ CBC News, "Yukon tourism industry chimes in on call to ban Peel watershed mining," <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/north/story/2009/05/20/yukon-tia-peel.html>.

⁹⁷ Council of Yukon First Nations Press Release, March 30, 2010, http://www.cyfn.ca/uploads/Xu/Or/XuOrT8u8Jj2lkxs0_tGbog/GrandChiefResignation.pdf.

⁹⁸ *Final Recommended North Yukon Land Use Plan*, x. on North Yukon Planning Commission – Publications, Official Website.

http://nypc.planyukon.ca/index.php?option=com_docman&task=cat_view&gid=111&Itemid=338.

⁹⁹ *Final Recommended Plan*, 5-26.

¹⁰⁰ Mary Walden, "First Nations Reprimand Edzerza," *Peel Watershed News*, April 20, 2010. <http://peelwatershed.blogspot.com/2010/04/first-nations-reprimand-edzerza-for.html>.

¹⁰¹ Yukon Territorial Government, "Harvest Management Plan for Porcupine Caribou Herd Signed in Whitehorse," April 29, 2010.

<http://www.gov.yk.ca/news/2010/files/10-072.pdf>.

¹⁰² C3 Alliance Corp, "Yukon First Nations Resource Opportunities Conference," C3 Alliance Corp Official Website, http://www.c3alliancecorp.ca/_mgxroot/page_10798.html.

¹⁰³ Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, "Driving Our Economic Future: Northern Partnerships Summit 2010," Official Website, http://www.trondek.ca/downloads/nps_program_final.pdf.

-
- ¹⁰⁴ “Rewrite Peel Plan, Yukon Government, First Nations,” *CBC News*, February 21, 2011, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2011/02/21/yukon-peel-planning-response.html>
- “Yukon Peel River planning muddied,” *APTN National News*, February 25, 2011, <http://aptn.ca/pages/news/2011/02/25/yukon-peel-river-planning-muddied/>
- ¹⁰⁵ Eddie Taylor et al, “Joint Letter of Understanding (LOU) on Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Planning Process,” January 20, 2011, http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/joint_lou_peel_jan20_2011.pdf
- ¹⁰⁶ Albert Peter, Chair, Senior Liaison Committee, “Joint Response to the Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan,” February 18, 2011, http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/SLC_response_RLUP.pdf
- ¹⁰⁷ Simon Mervyn, First Nation of Nacho Nyak Dun, “Response to Recommended Peel Watershed Land Use Plan,” February 18, 2011, http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/NND_response_RLUP.pdf
- ¹⁰⁸ Eddie Taylor, “TH Response to the Peel Watershed Planning Commission’s Recommended Plan,” February 18, 2011, http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/TH_response_RLUP.pdf
- ¹⁰⁹ Chief William Koe, Tetl’it Gwich’in Council, “Response to the Peel Watershed Planning Commission’s Recommended Plan,” February 15, 2011, http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/TGC_response_RLUP.pdf
- ¹¹⁰ Norma Kassi, Eddie Taylor, Simon Mervyn, Richard Nerysoo, , “Response to Recommended Peel Watershed Land Use Plan,” February 18, 2011, http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/FN_joint_response_RLUP.pdf
- ¹¹¹ Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development. *Minutes of Proceedings*. 2nd Session, 40th Parliament, Meeting 37, 2009, Andy Carvill, 1100. <http://www2.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?DocId=4232799&Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=40&Ses=2>.
- ¹¹² Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers, “CAPP Comments on Draft Peel Watershed Land Use Plan,” Peel Watershed Planning Commission Official Website, http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/input/Stk_hldr_ltrs/DLUP/CAPP%20DLUP%20Response.pdf
- ¹¹³ Northern Cross (Yukon) Limited, “Infrastructure,” Official Website. <http://www.northerncrossyukon.ca/infrastructure.php>.
- ¹¹⁴ Northern Cross (Yukon) Limited, “Submission re: Draft Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan (April 28, 2009),” Peel Watershed Planning Commission Official Website. http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/input/Stk_hldr_ltrs/DLUP/NorthernCross%20DLUP%20Response.pdf.
- ¹¹⁵ Mary Walden, “Firm pays pittance for Yukon oil & gas rights,” *Peel Watershed News*, June 13, 2010, <http://peelwatershed.blogspot.com/2010/06/firm-pays-pittance-for-yukon-oil-gas.html>.
- ¹¹⁶ *Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan*, 2-12.
- ¹¹⁷ Mary Walden, “Yukon Oil/gas Call Goes Out Despite Caribou, Peel Concerns,” *Peel Watershed News*, May 7, 2010, <http://peelwatershed.blogspot.com/2010/05/oil-gas-call-goes-out-despite-caribou.html>.
- ¹¹⁸ Northern Cross, “Directors,” Official Website. <http://www.northerncrossyukon.ca/directors.php>.

-
- ¹¹⁹ Marketwire, "Cash Minerals Changes Name to Pitch Black Resources Ltd. and Completes Share Consolidation," *Marketwire*, June 24, 2010, <http://www.marketwire.com/press-release/Cash-Minerals-Changes-Name-Pitchblack-Resources-Ltd-Completes-Share-Consolidation-TSX-VENTURE-CHX-1281061.htm>.
- ¹²⁰ YCS and CPAWS, "Analysis of Mineral Claims Issues in the Peel Watershed," 5.
- ¹²¹ Mary Walden, "Coal explorers let Peel Licenses lapse," *Peel Watershed News*, February 15, 2010, <http://peelwatershed.blogspot.com/2010/02/coal-explorers-let-peel-licences-lapse.html>.
- ¹²² Yukon Chamber of Commerce, "June 2009 Press Release," Official Website, <http://www.yukonchamber.com/june16-2009.htm>.
- ¹²³ <http://www.yukonchamber.com/PDF/Peel%20Watershed%20Press%20Release.pdf>
- ¹²⁴ John R Logan and Harvey Luskin Molotch, *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), 1.
- ¹²⁵ Logan and Molotch, , *Urban Fortunes*, 2.
- ¹²⁶ Logan and Molotch, , *Urban Fortunes*, 32.
- ¹²⁷ Logan and Molotch, , *Urban Fortunes*, 33.
- ¹²⁸ Logan and Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, 32.
- ¹²⁹ Chevron Canada Limited, Draft Plan Response, http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/input/Stk_hldr_ltrs/DLUP/Chevron%20Canada%20DLUP%20Response.pdf.
- ¹³⁰ James Munson, "Miners say Peel Commission endorsed quasi-religious values," *Yukon News*, August 11, 2010, <http://www.yukon-news.com/news/19224/>.
- ¹³¹ Logan and Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, 30.
- ¹³² Logan and Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, 30.
- ¹³³ Logan and Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, 258.
- ¹³⁴ Logan and Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, 258.
- ¹³⁵ Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2001).
- ¹³⁶ Logan and Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, 269.
- ¹³⁷ Logan and Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, 23.
- ¹³⁸ Catharine McClellan and Lucie Birckel, *Part of the Land, Part of the Water: A History of the Yukon Indians*, (Vancouver; Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987), 150-160.
- ¹³⁹ Logan and Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, 104.
- ¹⁴⁰ Logan and Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, 105.
- ¹⁴¹ Logan and Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, 107.
- ¹⁴² Logan and Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, 109.
- ¹⁴³ Logan and Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, 109.
- ¹⁴⁴ Logan and Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, 37.
- ¹⁴⁵ K. R., Cox and A. Mair, "Urban Growth Machines and the Politics of Local Economic Development," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 13, no. 1 (1989): 137-146.
- ¹⁴⁶ Cox and Mair, "Urban Growth Machines," 139.
- ¹⁴⁷ Cox and Mair, "Urban Growth Machines," 139.
- Logan and Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, 12.
- ¹⁴⁸ Cox and Mair, "Urban Growth Machines," 142.
- ¹⁴⁹ Cox and Mair, "Urban Growth Machines," 142.
- ¹⁵⁰ Cox and Mair, "Urban Growth Machines," 143.
- ¹⁵¹ Robert Lake, "Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place: A Commentary," *Urban Geography* 11, (1990): 179-184.
- ¹⁵² Lake, "Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place," 179.

-
- 153 Lake, "Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place," 180.
- 154 Kenneth Coates and William R. Morrison, *Land of the Midnight Sun: A History of the Yukon*. [2nd ed.] ed. (Montreal & Kingston : London : Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).
- 155 Paul Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon*, (Vancouver; Toronto: UBC Press, 2003), 155, 156.
- 156 Lake, "Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place," 182.
- 157 Lake, "Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place," 182.
- 158 Lake, "Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place," 183.
- 159 Lake, "Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place," 183.
- 160 Lake, "Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place," 183.
- 161 A. E. G. Jonas and D. Wilson, *The Urban Growth Machine: Critical Perspectives Two Decades Later* (State University of New York Press 1999).
- 162 Allan Cochrane, "Redefining Urban Politics for the Twenty First Century," in Jonas and Wilson, *The Urban Growth Machine*.
- 163 Cochrane, "Redefining Urban Politics," 115.
- 164 Clarence Stone, *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946-1988*, (University Press of Kansas, 1989).
- 165 Clarence Stone, *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946-1988*, (University Press of Kansas, 1989).
- 166 Stone, *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta*, 3.
- 167 Stone, *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta*, 4.
- 168 Cochrane, "Redefining Urban Politics," 116.
- 169 Jeremy Wilson, *Talk and Log: Wilderness Politics in British Columbia, 1965-96*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), 339.
- 170 Cochrane, "Redefining Urban Politics," 120.
- 171 Cochrane, "Redefining Urban Politics," 122.
- 172 Stone, *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta*, 4.
- 173 Stone, *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta*, 6.
- 174 Stone, *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta*, 7.
- 175 Stone, *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta*, 7.
- 176 Jonas and Wilson, *The Urban Growth Machine*, 142.
- 177 Jonas and Wilson, *The Urban Growth Machine*, 142-43.
- 178 Gander and Belaire. *Energy Futures for Canadians*, 12.
- 179 Jonas and Wilson, *The Urban Growth Machine*, 151-52.
- 180 Canada, *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, our Heritage, our Future = Stratégie Pour Le Nord Du Canada : Notre Nord, Notre Patrimoine, Notre Avenir = Kanataup Ukiuqtaqtumiunginnut Upalungaijautingat : Ukiuqtaqtuvut, Iliqkusivut, Sivuniksavullu*. (Ottawa): Governmentt of Canada, 2009. <http://www.northernstrategy.ca/cns/cns.pdf>
- 181 Jonas and Wilson, *The Urban Growth Machine*, 159.
- 182 Jessop, *The Future of the Capitalist State*, 178.
- 183 Jessop, *The Future of the Capitalist State*, 179.
- 184 Jessop, *The Future of the Capitalist State*, 179.
- 185 Lassi Heininen and Chris Southcott, *Globalization and the Circumpolar North*, (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2010), 1.
- 186 Jessop, *The Future of the Capitalist State*, 175.
- 187 Jessop, *The Future of the Capitalist State*, 179.
- 188 Robert Dahl, "The City in the Future of Democracy," *The American Political Science Review* 82, no. 2 (Dec 1967), 953-970.

-
- ¹⁸⁹ Jessop, *The Future of the Capitalist State*, 180.
- ¹⁹⁰ Jessop, *The Future of the Capitalist State*, 180.
- ¹⁹¹ Mathias Albert and Lothar Brock, "Debordering the World of States: New Spaces in International Relations," *World Society Research Group*, (Technical University Darmstadt; Johann Wolfgang Goethe University Frankfurt, 1995), 4, quoted in Jessop, *The Future of the Capitalist State*, 181.
- ¹⁹² Bob Jessop, *State Power: A Strategic-Relational Approach* (Cambridge ; Malden, MA: Polity, 2007), 178.
- ¹⁹³ Jessop, *State Power*, 179.
- ¹⁹⁴ Government of Yukon, Premier Fentie's Speeches, Economic Club of Toronto Breakfast Meeting April 10, 2007, 12.
<http://www.yukonpremier.ca/pdf/economicclubtorontoapr10-07.pdf>
- ¹⁹⁵ Government of Yukon, Premier Fentie's Speeches, 36th Annual Yukon Geoscience Forum – November 24, 2008, Whitehorse, 2.
http://www.yukonpremier.ca/pdf/geoscience_forum_2008.pdf
- ¹⁹⁶ Government of Yukon, Premier Fentie's Speeches, Pacific Northwest Economic Region Anchorage, Alaska July 25, 2007, 4.
http://www.yukonpremier.ca/pdf/pnwer_speakingnotes_fentie_july07.pdf
- ¹⁹⁷ Neil Brenner, *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood* (Oxford [UK] ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 1.
- ¹⁹⁸ Brenner, *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*, 3.
- ¹⁹⁹ Government of Canada, National Energy Board, Official Website, "National Energy Board Approves Mackenzie Gas Project," Press Release, December 16, 2010, <http://www.neb-one.gc.ca/clf-nsi/rthnb/nwsrls/2010/nwsrls20-eng.html>
- ²⁰⁰ "Yukon Disagrees with Peel Watershed Plan," *CBC News*, December 17, 2010.
<http://www.cbc.ca/canada/north/story/2010/12/17/yukon-peel-watershed-response.html>
- ²⁰¹ Greg Weston, "Mackenzie Gas Pipeline to get Cabinet OK," *CBC News*, January 12, 2011,
<http://www.cbc.ca/money/story/2011/01/11/mackenzie-pipeline-cabinet-approval.html>
- ²⁰² Brenner, *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*, 2.
- ²⁰³ Frances Widdowson and Albert Howard, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry: The Deception Behind Indigenous Cultural Preservation* (Montreal & Kingston; London; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008).
- ²⁰⁴ Tom Flanagan, *First nations? Second thoughts*, (McGill Queens University Press, 2000).
- ²⁰⁵ Jean Chrétien, *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian policy*, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), 1.
- ²⁰⁶ Chrétien, *Statement of the Government of Canada*, 1.
- ²⁰⁷ Chrétien, *Statement of the Government of Canada*, 10.
- ²⁰⁸ Chrétien, *Statement of the Government of Canada*, 13.
- ²⁰⁹ Chrétien, *Statement of the Government of Canada*, 20.
- ²¹⁰ Chrétien, *Statement of the Government of Canada*, 24.
- ²¹¹ Chrétien, *Statement of the Government of Canada*, 13.
- ²¹² Flanagan, *First Nations? Second Thoughts*, 4.
- ²¹³ Flanagan, *First Nations? Second Thoughts*, 9.
- ²¹⁴ Flanagan, *First Nations? Second Thoughts*, 31.
- ²¹⁵ Flanagan, *First Nations? Second Thoughts*, 45.
- ²¹⁶ Flanagan, *First Nations? Second Thoughts*, 46.
- ²¹⁷ Widdowson and Howard, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry*, 12.
- ²¹⁸ Widdowson and Howard, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry*, 11.
- ²¹⁹ Widdowson and Howard, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry*, 14-15.
- ²²⁰ Widdowson and Howard, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry*, 54.

-
- 221 Widdowson and Howard, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry*, 54.
- 222 Widdowson and Howard, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry*, 235.
- 223 Widdowson and Howard, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry*, 235.
- 224 Widdowson and Howard, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry*, 235.
- 225 Widdowson and Howard, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry*, 239.
- 226 Widdowson and Howard, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry*, 239.
- 227 Goÿran Therborn, *Science, Class, and Society: On the Formation of Sociology and Historical Materialism*, (London: NLB, 1976).
- 228 Mike Hulme, *Why we Disagree about Climate Change: Understanding Controversy, Inaction and Opportunity*. (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- 229 Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 3rd ed. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
- 230 Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats*, 267.
- 231 Widdowson and Howard, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry*, 240.
- 232 Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats*, 8.
- 233 E. A Burt, *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Science*, (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2003).
- 234 "Protect 80% of Peel Watershed from Staking: commission," *CBC News*, December 4, 2010, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2009/12/03/peel-commission-report.html>
- 235 Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats*, 113.
- 236 Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats*, 123.
- 237 Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats*, 63-64.
- 238 Widdowson and Howard, *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry*, 240.
- 239 Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats*, 137.
- 240 Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats*, 63.
- 241 McClellan and Birckel, *Part of the Land, Part of the Water*, 250.
- 242 McClellan and Birckel, *Part of the Land, Part of the Water*, 251-52.
- 243 Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story*, 163.
- 244 Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story*, 347.
- 245 McClellan and Birckel, *Part of the Land, Part of the Water*, 322.
- 246 Helene Dobrowolsky, *Hammerstones: A History of the Tr'Ondëk Hwëch'in* (Tr'ond'ek Hw'ech'in, 2003), 109.
- 247 Dobrowolsky, *Hammerstones*, 112.
- 248 Dobrowolsky, *Hammerstones*, 117.
- 249 James Munson, "Peel Watershed: you use it, you lose it," *Yukon News*, August 13, 2010, <http://www.yukon-news.com/news/19252/>
- 250 Phillip Morin, "Fort McPherson opposes Peel Watershed Mining," *CBC News*, September 24, 2010, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2010/09/24/north-peel-watershed-ft-mcpherson.html>
- 251 Morin, "Fort McPherson opposes Peel Watershed Mining,"
- 252 Simon Mervyn, First Nation of Nacho Nyak Dun, "Response to Recommended Peel Watershed Land Use Plan," February 18, 2011, http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/NND_response_RLUP.pdf.
- 253 Eddie Taylor, "TH Response to the Peel Watershed Planning Commission's Recommended Plan," February 18, 2011, http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/TH_response_RLUP.pdf

-
- ²⁵⁴ William Koe, Tetl'it Gwich'in Council, "Response to the Peel Watershed Planning Commission's Recommended Plan," February 15, 2011,
http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/TGC_response_RLUP.pdf
- ²⁵⁵ Chief Simon Mervyn, First Nation of Nacho Nyak Dun, "Response to Recommended Peel Watershed Land Use Plan," February 18, 2011,
http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/NND_response_RLUP.pdf.
- ²⁵⁶ McClellan and Birckel, *Part of the Land, Part of the Water*, 250.
- ²⁵⁷ Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats*, 19.
- ²⁵⁸ Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats*, 240.

Bibliography

- Brenner, Neil. *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*. Oxford [UK] ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Brody, Hugh. *Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North*. Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre Ltd., 1987.
- Brody, Hugh. *Maps & Dreams*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981.
- C3 Alliance Corp, "Yukon First Nations Resource Opportunities Conference," C3

- Alliance Corp Official Website.
http://www.c3alliancecorp.ca/_mgxroot/page_10798.html.
- Canada, *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, our Heritage, our Future = Stratégie Pour Le Nord Du Canada : Notre Nord, Notre Patrimoine, Notre Avenir = Kanataup Ukiuqtaqtumiunginnut Upalungaijautingat : Ukiuqtaqtuvut, Iliqkusivut, Sivuniksavullu*. (Ottawa): Government of Canada, 2009.
<http://www.northernstrategy.ca/cns/cns.pdf>.
- Canada. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Jean Chrétien. *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969*, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969.
<http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ai/arp/lis/pubs/cp1969/cp1969-eng.pdf>.
- Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development. *Minutes of Proceedings*. 2nd Session, 40th Parliament, Meeting 37, 2009.
<http://www2.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?DocId=4232799&Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=40&Ses=2>
- Canada. *Umbrella Final Agreement between the Government of Canada, the Council for Yukon Indians and the Government of the Yukon*. Ottawa: Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1992.
<http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/al/lde/ccl/fagr/ykn/umb/umb-eng.pdf>.
- Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers. "CAPP Comments on Draft Peel Watershed Land Use Plan." Peel Watershed Planning Commission Official Website.
http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/input/Stk_hdr_ltrs/DLUP/CAPP%20DLUP%20Response.pdf.
- Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society – Yukon Branch. "Peel Watershed Survey."
<http://www.cpawsyukon.org/peel-watershed/2009-peel-survey-results.pdf>.
- Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society – Yukon Branch. "The Three Rivers Journey." Official Website. <http://www.cpawsyukon.org/peel-watershed/journey.html>.
- CBC News. "Yukon premier accused of meddling in Peel watershed planning work," *CBC News*, June 23, 2009.
<http://www.cbc.ca/canada/north/story/2009/06/23/fentie-peel-planning.html>.
- CBC News. "Yukon tourism industry chimes in on call to ban Peel watershed

- mining," *CBC News*, May 20, 2009.
<http://www.cbc.ca/canada/north/story/2009/05/20/yukon-tia-peel.html>.
- Chevron Canada Limited. Draft Plan Response.
http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/input/Stk_hdr_ltrs/DLUP/Chevron%20Canada%20DLUP%20Response.pdf.
- Chrétien, Jean. *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian policy*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969.
- Clarkson, Stephen. "The Governance of Energy in North America: The United States and Its Continental Periphery" In *Governing The Energy Challenge: Canada and Germany in a Multi-Level Regional and Global Context*, Burkard Eberlain and G. Bruce Doern, eds. University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 2009, 99-121.
- Coates, Kenneth and William R. Morrison. *Land of the Midnight Sun: A History of the Yukon*. [2nd ed.], Montreal & Kingston: London: Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.
- Cochrane, Allan. "Redefining Urban Politics for the Twenty First Century." In Jonas and Wilson, *The Urban Growth Machine*.
- Council of Yukon First Nations, "22nd Annual General Assembly, July 15-18, 2002, Minutes," 26-27. Official Website.
<http://www.cyfn.ca/uploads/Ju/vY/JuvYz2SbeMgmqIYIFAus2w/150702.pdf>.
- Council of Yukon First Nations, "27th Annual General Assembly, July 31 to August 2, 2007, Minutes," 23. Official Website.
<http://www.cyfn.ca/uploads/Ju/vY/JuvYz2SbeMgmqIYIFAus2w/150702.pdf>.
- Council of Yukon First Nations Press Release, March 30, 2010.
http://www.cyfn.ca/uploads/Xu/Or/XuOrT8u8Jj2lkxs0_tGbog/GrandChiefResignation.pdf.
- Cox, K. R., and A. Mair. "Urban Growth Machines and the Politics of Local Economic Development." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 13, no. 1 (1989): 137-146.
- Cruikshank, Julie. *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990.
- Dacks, Gurston. *A Choice of Futures: Politics in the Canadian North*. Toronto: Methuen, 1981.

- Dacks, Gurston. *Devolution and Constitutional Development in the Canadian North*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990.
- Dahl, Robert. "The City in the Future of Democracy." *The American Political Science Review* 82, no. 2 (Dec 1967), 953-970.
- Dobrowolsky, H. *Hammerstones: A History of the Tr'Ondëk Hwëch'in*. Tr'ond'ek Hw'ech'in, 2003.
- Duerden, F., S. Black and RG Kuhn. "Evaluation of the Effectiveness of First Nations Participation in the Development of Land-use Plans in the Yukon." *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 16, no. 1 (1996): 105-124.
- Duffy, R. Quinn. *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit since the Second World War*. Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.
- Ferman, B. *Challenging the Growth Machine: Neighborhood Politics in Chicago and Pittsburgh*. University Press of Kansas Lawrence, 1996.
- Firth, Wilbert, Simon Mervyn and Eddie Taylor. "Chiefs Speak About Peel Watershed Plan." July 29, 2009. Peel Watershed Planning Commission Official Website. http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/input/DLUP_Stk_hldr_ltrs.html.
- Flanagan, Tom. *First nations? Second thoughts*. McGill Queens University Press, 2000.
- Gander, James E and Fred W. Belaire. *Energy Futures for Canadians, Summary: Long-Term Energy Assessment Program (LEAP): Report of a Study*. (Ottawa): Energy, Mines and Resources Canada, 1978).
- Gonick, Cy, ed. *Energy Security and Climate Change: A Canadian Primer*. Black Point, N.S: Fernwood Pub, 2007, 92.
- Government of Canada. National Energy Board. Official Website. "National Energy Board Approves Mackenzie Gas Project." Press Release, December 16, 2010, <http://www.neb-one.gc.ca/clf-nsi/rthnb/nwsrls/2010/nwsrls20-eng.html>.
- Government of Yukon, Premier Fentie's Speeches, Economic Club of Toronto Breakfast Meeting April 10, 2007, 12. <http://www.yukonpremier.ca/pdf/economicclubtorontoapr10-07.pdf>.
- Government of Yukon, Premier Fentie's Speeches, 36th Annual Yukon Geoscience Forum – November 24, 2008, Whitehorse, 2. http://www.yukonpremier.ca/pdf/geoscience_forum_2008.pdf.

- Government of Yukon, Premier Fentie's Speeches, Pacific Northwest Economic Region Anchorage, Alaska July 25, 2007, 4.
http://www.yukonpremier.ca/pdf/pnwer_speakingnotes_fentie_july07.pdf.
- Gray, Earle. *Super Pipe: The Arctic Pipeline, World's Greatest Fiasco?* Toronto: Griffin House, 1979.
- Gwich'in Tribal Council. Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement, Official Website, <http://www.gwichin.nt.ca/documents/GCLCA.pdf>.
- Heininen, Lassi and Chris Southcott. *Globalization and the Circumpolar North*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2010.
- Homer-Dixon, Thomas and Nick Garrison. *Carbon Shift: How the Twin Crises of Oil Depletion and Climate Change Will Define the Future*. Toronto: Random House Canada, 2009.
- Hulme, Mike. *Why we Disagree about Climate Change : Understanding Controversy, Inaction and Opportunity*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Jessop, Bob. *State Power: A Strategic-Relational Approach*. Cambridge ; Malden, MA: Polity, 2007.
- Jessop, Bob. *The Future of the Capitalist State*. Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Polity, 2002.
- Jonas, A. E. G., and D. Wilson. *The Urban Growth Machine: Critical Perspectives Two Decades Later*. State Univ of New York Pr, 1999.
- Kassi, Norma, Eddie Taylor, Simon Mervyn and Richard Nerysoo. "Response to Recommended Peel Watershed Land Use Plan," February 18, 2011,
http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/FN_joint_response_RLUP.pdf
- Koe, William. Teet'it Gwichin'in Council. "Response to the Peel Watershed Planning Commission's Recommended Plan." February 15, 2011.
http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/TGC_response_RLUP.pdf.
- Kuhn, Thomas S.. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 3rd ed. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Lake, R. "Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place: A Commentary." *Urban Geography* 11, (1990): 179-184.

Logan, John R and Harvey Luskin Molotch. *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987.

Lutz, John S.. *Makúk : A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations*. Vancouver ; Toronto: UBC Press, 2008.

Macdonald, Doug. *Business and Environmental Politics in Canada*. Peterborough, ON ; Orchard Park, NY: Broadview Press, 2007.

Marketwire. "Cash Minerals Changes Name to Pitch Black Resources Ltd. and Completes Share Consolidation." *Marketwire*, June 24, 2010.
<http://www.marketwire.com/press-release/Cash-Minerals-Changes-Name-Pitchblack-Resources-Ltd-Completes-Share-Consolidation-TSX-VENTURE-CHX-1281061.htm>.

Mary Walden, "Coal explorers let Peel Licenses lapse," *Peel Watershed News*, February 15, 2010,
<http://peelwatershed.blogspot.com/2010/02/coal-explorers-let-peel-licences-lapse.html>.

Mary Walden, "Firm pays pittance for Yukon oil & gas rights," *Peel Watershed News*, June 13, 2010,
<http://peelwatershed.blogspot.com/2010/06/firm-pays-pittance-for-yukon-oil-gas.html>.

McClellan, Catharine and Lucie Birckel. *Part of the Land, Part of the Water: A History of the Yukon Indians*. Vancouver; Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987.

McElroy, Ann. *Nunavut Generations: Change and Continuity in Canadian Inuit Communities*. Long Grove, Ill: Waveland Press, 2008.

Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry and Thomas R. Berger. *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry*. Ottawa, Ont: Supply and Services Canada, 1977.

"Mackenzie Gas Pipeline Ok'd," *CBC News*, December 16, 2010.
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2010/12/16/mackenzie-pipeline-neb.html>.

McClellan, Catharine and Lucie Birckel. *Part of the Land, Part of the Water: A History of the Yukon Indians*. Vancouver ; Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987.

McPherson Robert. *New Owners in their Own Land: Minerals and Inuit Land Claims*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003.

- Mervyn, Simon. First Nation of Na-cho Nyak Dun, "Response to Recommended Peel Watershed Land Use Plan," February 18, 2011.
http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/NND_response_RLUP.pdf.
- Molotch, Harvey. "The city as a growth machine: toward a political economy of Place." *American Journal of Sociology* 82, no. 2 (1976): 309-332.
- Morin, Phillip. "Fort McPherson opposes Peel Watershed Mining," *CBC News*, September 24, 2010,
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2010/09/24/north-peel-watershed-ft-mcpherson.html>.
- Munson, James. "Fentie interfered in the Peel Watershed plan," *Yukon News*, June 19, 2009. <http://www.yukon-news.com/news/13282/>
- Munson, James. "Miners say Peel Commission endorsed quasi-religious values." *Yukon News*, August 11, 2010. <http://www.yukon-news.com/news/19224/>.
- Munson James, "Peel Watershed: you use it, you lose it," *Yukon News*, August 13, 2010. <http://www.yukon-news.com/news/19252/>.
- Nadasdy, Paul. *Hunters and Bureaucrats : Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon*. Vancouver; Toronto: UBC Press, 2003.
- North Yukon Planning Commission. *Final Recommended North Yukon Land Use Plan*, x. Official Website.
http://nypc.planyukon.ca/index.php?option=com_docman&task=cat_view&gid=111&Itemid=338.
- Northern Cross, "Directors," Official Website.
<http://www.northerncrossyukon.ca/directors.php>.
- Northern Cross (Yukon) Limited, "Infrastructure," Official Website.
<http://www.northerncrossyukon.ca/infrastructure.php>.
- Northern Cross (Yukon) Limited, "Submission re: Draft Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan (April 28, 2009)," Peel Watershed Planning Commission Official Website.
http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/input/Stk_hdr_ltrs/DLUP/NorthernCross%20DLUP%20Response.pdf.
- Northern Waterways. "The Peel Watershed." Official Website.
<http://northernwaterways.com/blog/?p=50>.

O'Malley, Martin. *The Past and Future Land: An Account of the Berger Inquiry into the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline*, Toronto: P. Martin Associates, 1976.

Our Common Future: Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, Chapter 2: Towards Sustainable Development, 1, in UN Documents. <http://www.un-documents.net/ocf-02.htm>.

Jessop, Bob. *The Future of the Capitalist State*, Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity, 2002.

Peel Watershed Planning Commission, Draft Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan, Official Website, <http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/DLUP.html>.

Peel Watershed Planning Commission, Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan, Mandate and Context – December 2009 (revised January 2010), 1-1. <http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/RLUP.html>.

Peel Watershed Planning Commission, Resource Assessment Report, 2008, 46. Official Website, <http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/downpldo.html>.

Peel Watershed Planning Commission, “The Path to a Recommended Land Use Plan,” Official Website. http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/img/This%20could%20be%20it!_Dec09.gif.

Peel Watershed Planning Commission, Maps and Posters, Official Website, <http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/downmapo.html>.

Peel Watershed Planning Commission, *Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan: Summary*, 4. Official Website. <http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/RLUP.html>.

Peter, Albert. Chair, Senior Liaison Committee. “Joint Response to the Recommended Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Plan.” February 18, 2011. http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/SLC_response_RLUP.pdf.

“Protect 80% of Peel Watershed from Staking: commission,” *CBC News*, December 4, 2010, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2009/12/03/peel-commission-report.html>.

Rea, K. J. *The Political Economy of the Canadian North: An Interpretation of the Course of Development in the Northern Territories of Canada to the Early 1960's*, University of Toronto Press, 1968.

“Rewrite Peel Plan: Yukon government, First Nations,” *CBC News*, February 21, 2011.

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2011/02/21/yukon-peel-planning-response.html>.

Rouble, Patrick. Minister, Energy Mines and Resources. "Response to Recommended Peel Watershed Land Use Plan." February 21, 2011.

http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/YG_response_RLUP.pdf.

Sassen, Saskia. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Scott, Patrick. *Stories Told: Stories and Images of the Berger Inquiry*, (Yellowknife, NT: Edzo Institute, 2007).

Shaw, Karena and Warren Magnusson. *A Political Space: Reading the Global through Clayoquot Sound*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

Smyth S. "The Constitutional Context of Aboriginal and Colonial Government in the Yukon Territory." *Polar Record* 29, no. 169 (1993): 121-126.

Smyth S. "The Constitutional Status of Yukon Territory." *Polar Record* 26, no. 159 (1990): 289-292.

Smyth S., *The Yukon's Constitutional Foundations* (Clairidge Press, 1999).

Stone, Clarence. *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946-1988*. (University Press of Kansas, 1989).

Stone, Clarence. "Urban Regimes and the Capacity to Govern: A Political Economy Approach." *Journal of urban affairs* 15, no. 1 (1993): 1-28.

Taylor, Eddie. "TH Response to the Peel Watershed Planning Commission's Recommended Plan." February 18, 2011.

http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/TH_response_RLUP.pdf.

Taylor, Eddie et al. "Joint Letter of Understanding (LOU) on Peel Watershed Regional Land Use Planning Process." January 20, 2011.

http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/dmdocuments/joint_lou_peel_jan20_2011.pdf.

Tet'it Gwich'in. "Annual Report, 2005-2006." Official Homepage.

<http://www.gwichinplanning.nt.ca/publications/annualReport/AnnualReport2005-2006.pdf>.

Therborn, Göran, *Science, Class, and Society: On the Formation of Sociology and Historical Materialism*. London: NLB, 1976.

Tourism Industry Association Yukon, Stakeholder/Public Information Session, September 15, 2010.
<http://www.peelconsultation.ca/Downloads/TIA-Peel-Watershed-Public-Consultation-FNL-Rev-1-Sept-15-2010.pdf>.

The Na-Cho Nyak Dun First Nation Final Agreement, 1993. Council of Yukon First Nations Official Website,
<http://www.cyfn.ca/uploads/x1/ry/x1ryMmZmq5nuOTOsskG6IQ/nachoNyakDunFA1.pdf>.

The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in Final Agreement, 1998. Council of Yukon First Nations Official Website,
<http://www.cyfn.ca/uploads/MB/UN/MBUNJ9zgZJAIWdiVwvxG1g/trondekHwechinFA1.pdf>.

The Vuntut Gwichin First Nation Final Agreement, 1993. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Official Website.
<http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/al/lcd/ccl/fagr/gwich/vun/vun-eng.pdf>.

The Big Wild. "The Peel Watershed." Official Homepage.
<http://www.thebigwild.org/category/tags/peel-watershed>.

The Small Change Fund. "Protecting Yukon's Peel Watershed." Official Homepage.
<http://smallchangefund.org/projects-funded/protecting-yukons-peel-watershed-a-global-legacy>.

Tourism Industry Association of the Yukon, "Peel Watershed Press Release, 2009," Official Website.
<http://www.tiayukon.com/Documents/Peel%20Press%20Release%20062609.pdf>.

Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, "Driving Our Economic Future: Northern Partnerships Summit 2010." Official Website.
http://www.trondek.ca/downloads/nps_program_final.pdf.

Umbrella Final Agreement, Council of Yukon First Nations Official Website.
http://www.cyfn.ca/uploads/qj/R_/qjR_0e8qO21gk95uB_IKGg/umbrellaFinalAgreement.pdf.

Unrau, Jason. "Grand Chief Assesses Commanding Mandate." *Whitehorse Star*, July 15, 2010. <http://whitehorsestar.com/archive/story/grand-chief-assesses-commanding-mandate/>.

- Walden Mary. "First Nations Reprimand Edzerza." *Peel Watershed News*, April 20, 2010. <http://peelwatershed.blogspot.com/2010/04/first-nations-reprimand-edzerza-for.html>.
- Watkins, Mel, *Dene Nation, the Colony within*. Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1977.
- Weaver, John L.. "Summary: Conserving Caribou Landscapes in the Nahanni Trans-Border Region." *WCS Canada Conservation Report* No. 4, (May 2008). <http://www.wcscanada.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=lgYuGuB1wUA%3d&tabid=2541>.
- Weston, Greg. "Mackenzie Gas Pipeline to get Cabinet OK," *CBC News*, January 12, 2011, <http://www.cbc.ca/money/story/2011/01/11/mackenzie-pipeline-cabinet-approval.html>.
- Widdowson, Frances, and Albert Howard. *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry: The Deception Behind Indigenous Cultural Preservation*. Montreal & Kingston; London ; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008.
- Wilderness International. "Project Western Arctic." Official Website. <http://www.wilderness-international.org/en/conservation-projects/project-western-arctic/>.
- Wilson, Jeremy. *Talk and Log: Wilderness Politics in British Columbia, 1965-96*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998.
- Yukon Chamber of Commerce. "June 2009 Press Release." Official Website. <http://www.yukonchamber.com/june16-2009.htm>.
- Yukon Conservation Society and Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society. "Yukon Submission of 'Analysis of Mineral Claims Issues in the Peel Watershed' Report." Peel Watershed Planning Commission Official Website. http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/input/Stk_hldr_ltrs/DLUP/Mineral%20Claims%20Issues%20in%20the%20Peel%20-%20Kuyek%20%202009-03-23%20all.pdf.
- "Yukon Disagrees with Peel Watershed Plan," *Yukon News*, December 17, 2010, Plan," <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2010/12/17/yukon-peel-watershed-response.html>.
- Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board. Official Website. <http://www.yfwmb.yk.ca/>.
- Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board, "Yukon Fish and Wildlife: A 20:20

- Vision,” Official Website
<http://www.yfwmb.yk.ca/assets/client/File/Reports/2020%20Results%20Analysis%20by%20DataPath.pdf>.
- Yukon Gold Mining Alliance. “Yukon Gold Mining Alliance Hosts Forums in New York City and Toronto – April 20th and 22nd.” Official Website.
http://www.ygma.ca/_resources/PR_Backgrounder.pdf.
- Yukon Land Use Planning Council, “Peel Watershed Planning Commission submits Recommended Plan for Approval,” Yukon Land Use Planning Council Official Website.
http://www.planyukon.ca/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=38&Itemid=1.
- Yukon Native Brotherhood. *Together Today for our Children Tomorrow: A Statement of Grievances and an Approach to Settlement by the Yukon Indian People*. Whitehorse, Yukon Territory]: [s.n.], 1973.
http://www.eco.gov.yk.ca/pdf/together_today_for_our_children_tomorrow.pdf.
- Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board, Traditional Territories of Yukon First Nations and Settlement Areas of Inuvialuit and Tetlit Gwich’in
http://www.yfwmb.yk.ca/assets/client/File/RRC/fn_trad_terr_map_large%20file.jpg.
- Yukon Minerals Advisory Board. “Annual Report.”
 -2006-2007.
http://www.emr.gov.yk.ca/mining/pdf/ymab_report2006_07.pdf.
 -2008.
http://www.emr.gov.yk.ca/mining/pdf/ymab_annual_report_2008.pdf.
 -2009.
http://www.emr.gov.yk.ca/mining/pdf/ymab_annual_report_2009.pdf.
- “Yukon Peel River planning muddied,” *APTN National News*, February 25, 2011,
<http://aptn.ca/pages/news/2011/02/25/yukon-peel-river-planning-muddied/>
- Yukon Territorial Government. Department of Environment. “Peel Watershed Memo, June 2009.”
http://www.yukon-news.com/news_docs/2009/june/19/Enviro_Memo.pdf.
- Yukon Territorial Government, “Environment’s Assessment of the Peel LUP Scenario Report,” Peel Watershed Planning Commission Official Website,
http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/downloads/input/Stk_hdr_ltrs/Scenarios/late/Environment_Comments_on_the_Peel.pdf.

Yukon Territorial Government, "Harvest Management Plan for Porcupine Caribou Herd Signed in Whitehorse," April 29, 2010.
<http://www.gov.yk.ca/news/2010/files/10-072.pdf>.

Yukon Territorial Government. "Premier Fentie – Speeches." Official Website.
<http://www.yukonpremier.ca/fr/speeches.html>.

Yukon Territorial Government. "Yukon Mining Incentives Program." Official Website. http://www.geology.gov.yk.ca/ymip.html#what_is_ymip.