

Protecting Place Through Community Alliances:
Haida Gwaii Responds to the Proposed Enbridge Northern Gateway Project

by

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BA, University of British Columbia, 2008

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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This research contributes to the emerging dialogue concerning power relationships and the alliances that are challenging current frameworks in an attempt to create positive change. Worldwide, local people in rural places are threatened by development paradigms and conflicting social, political, economic, and ecological values. Large-scale development, such as the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project (NGP), provide a tangible example of our failing systems and make the interplay of these elements palpable. Increasingly, communities are coalescing to challenge the current models and economically motivated agendas threatening Indigenous sovereignty and local lifeways. Central to these coalitions are Indigenous peoples who are aligning with non-Indigenous neighbours to renegotiate power relationships. This research examines these dynamic alliances and uses Haida Gwaii's resistance to the NGP as an example of the formidable strength of community coalitions mobilized by intersecting values. To contextualize the NGP within the broader discourse, I problematize Canada's environmental assessment process and consider how media portrays the growing resistance to the proposed project. Drawing on information presented through the environmental assessment, I analyze the main messages and shared values of Haida Gwaii citizens opposed to the NGP. This thesis focuses on this unanimous and galvanizing resistance, which is largely motivated by the reliance on local food sources and an embodied connection to Haida Gwaii shared by Island citizens. The continued denial of Aboriginal title and rights was inherent throughout this consideration and is an underlying theme throughout the analyses.

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Dedication

This is dedicated to my remarkable nephews who have provided balance and reminded me how fun life is when I could have lost sight.

Chapter 1 – Setting the Stage for the Proposal

But with opposition parties, environmentalists and, importantly, aboriginal groups lined up, the impending tussle over Northern Gateway is promising to make the 1993 struggle to protect-old growth forests in Clayoquot Sound look like a teddy bear picnic (Yaffe 2011).

Globally, large-scale development projects pose a grave threat to rural, subsistence-reliant, and Indigenous communities. Recent examples of resource development projects in lands encompassed by Western Canada include, the (New) Prosperity Mine proposal put forward by Taseko Mines, the ongoing Mackenzie Valley Pipeline application by Mackenzie Gas, and the Keystone XL put forward by the TransCanada Corporation, to name just a few. Because of the threat of these exploitative development projects, regulators, investors, communities, and the media (Coumans 2011:S29), in addition to Indigenous peoples and even some industries, are calling for change. A look into the discourse of these development projects demonstrates that the world remains entrenched in systems that polarize economics and the environment; consequently, people are forced to value one over the other. The following will outline my thesis, which considers the broader discourse around the proposed Enbridge Northern Gateway project (referred to throughout as ‘Northern Gateway’, ‘the proposal’, or abbreviated as ‘NGP’), analyzes the shared values motivating a resistance to the proposal on Haida Gwaii, and considers the power and potential of community alliances calling for change.

Conflicts over natural resources are a complex interplay of legal and institutional frameworks, ownership and governance, and political and public power (Barker 2001:233). The struggle to retain regional stewardship roles from state and industry agendas can result in social conflicts, an unfortunate reality experienced by the ‘local poor’ worldwide (Guha and Martinez-Alier 1998:xxi). In Canada, this is evident in

Indigenous communities that are increasingly forced to defend local lifeways from exploitative industries and must strive to assert their rights against the powerful colonial state.

Indigenous Peoples Pushing Back

To varying degrees, Indigenous peoples are affected by natural resource development, which is often exploitative and counter to Indigenous belief systems that hold respect for the land and all its life forms (see Turner *et al.* 2000). These opposing paradigms polarize local and traditional knowledge systems against global and scientific information, allowing the latter greater authority in decision-making processes (Blaser *et al.* 2004:2). With a disregard for local and often rural people, large-scale resource development is often imposed on Indigenous communities as a means of ‘advancement’ without meaningful consultation or collaboration with local residents (see Barras 2004). Indigenous peoples continuously find themselves in subordinated relationships with the state and engaged in an ongoing fight for their lands and livelihoods, indicating an urgent need to re-envision these relationships and power-sharing with local and Indigenous communities (Blaser *et al.* 2004).

With increased attention to ‘sustainability’, development is being re-envisioned and paradigms are beginning to shift to realize more effective and progressive stewardship of the world’s finite resources. Working with the Cree Nation, Craik (2004:179) documented that in the face of destructive development, local Indigenous people are asking, “Where does a long-term solution come from?” Many stakeholders and interest groups are posing this question and exploring potential solutions to global environmental threats. Ultimately, this could result in redefined relationships between people and places

and result in more inclusive concepts of sustainability (see McGregor 2004 for a review of Indigenous peoples' concepts of 'sustainability'). Thus, in spite of ongoing colonial control, Indigenous peoples are pushing back against Western agendas, asserting their collective rights, and questioning destructive development paradigms by re-negotiating their roles as responsible stewards (Blaser *et al.* 2004:10).

There is often a disconnect between local residents' values and those of the decision makers' influencing development projects. "Behind every large project there is an analysis of why it makes economic sense to build it. There are also environmental, social and political reasons of importance" (Craik 2004:177). Craik observes that local people who stand to be affected by development projects are those most likely to express concerns about social and environmental implications, whereas the decision-makers who are often far removed from the region value monetary benefits of development over environmental integrity. This is exemplified in the case of the Northern Gateway and the resistance to stop the proposal, with industry and politicians adamantly supporting the proposal and local residents vehemently opposed to it. Increasingly, Indigenous peoples are gaining attention as active agents organizing movements against exploitative development projects (Scott 2001:424). Drawing on the Innu experience documented by Barker (2001:249), Indigenous people are not opposed to development in principle, but rather, struggle to assert their positions and protect their livelihoods from development against the dominant Western agenda (see also McGregor 2004).

There is a growing global movement calling for meaningful change to the federal and corporate systems that have proven destructive for Indigenous and local communities. Moving beyond this detrimental 'business as usual' method requires a new,

inclusive concept of sustainability and a revisioning of human-environment relationships. Although there is increasing attention to these issues, I would argue that we are in the initial stages of renegotiating existing systems that exploit people and places. With my research, I aspire to fuel this discussion and analyze the strength of organized coalitions that are pushing on our current systems and re-defining power relationships.

The Proposed Enbridge Northern Gateway Project

Within Canada, the proposed NGP is forcing local communities to defend their homelands and livelihoods against industry, perpetuating the polarization of economics and the environment. Much more than a project with isolated issues and mitigatable impacts, the NGP represents Canada's energy future and projects potentially dangerous implications for our environmental state (Panofsky 2011:144). The NGP proposes twin pipelines to transport bitumen diluted with condensate—a highly toxic and corrosive substance comparable to paint thinner. The pipelines would run from the oil sands in central Alberta to Kitimat on British Columbia's coast, at which point the bitumen would be loaded on to Very Large Crude Carriers (commonly referred to as 'supertankers') and exported to markets in the United States and Asia (Fig. 1).

According to the their website, the company has, "worked hard to ensure that the project will create a lasting legacy of local investment, tax revenue, and jobs for the North, over and above the tremendous benefits created by access to new and growing markets for Canadian natural resources" (Enbridge Northern Gateway 2012). It continues on to cite the significant person years of employment (4,100) from which British

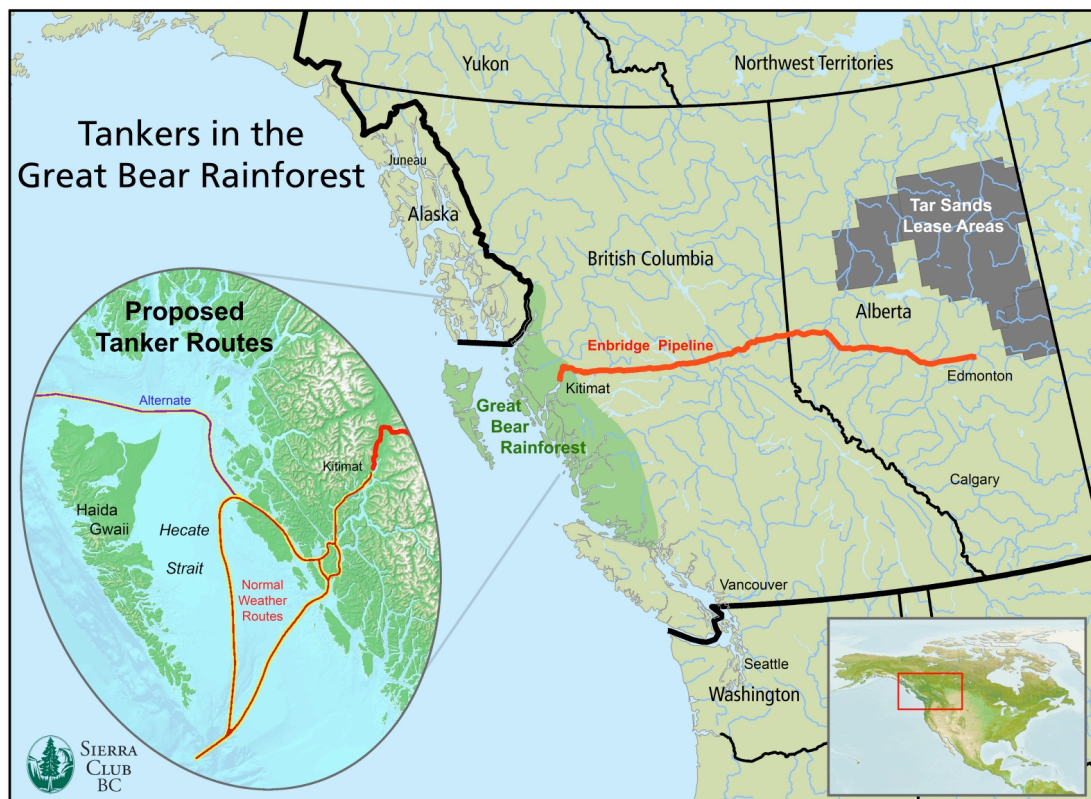


Figure 1 Tar Sands Pipeline and Tanker Traffic. Published with permission © Sierra BC

Columbians would benefit, and millions of dollars in revenue that the province would see from the proposal. Particularly relevant to this research and to the public discourse on the NGP, I paraphrase Enbridge’s website that indicates the proposal will benefit Aboriginal communities and may provide the opportunity to foster a positive relationship between “Aboriginals and industry.” “We appreciate that some Aboriginal groups have concerns about the Northern Gateway. We are working hard to address those concerns and determined to find solutions” (Enbridge Northern Gateway 2012). Again, paraphrasing the company’s website, they tout “extensive consultation” with some 40 “Aboriginal groups” across British Columbia and Alberta, the company states that they have

established and maintained collaborative relationships with Indigenous peoples throughout the project proposal and application.

In spite of these assurances of economic and employment benefits and ‘extensive consultation’ with Indigenous communities, opposition to the proposal is fierce and growing, while the Prime Minister, several federal ministries, and industries consistently vocalize support for the multi-billion dollar proposal in public media (see Rowland 2011). The Northern Gateway proposal is proving to be one of the most contentious issues in Canadian history, a message that was recently reinforced in the mainstream discourse by Calgary journalist and award-winning author Andrew Nikiforuk who said, “The proposal may well spark one of the greatest political and economic battles in Canadian history” (Nikiforuk 2011). Indeed, within subsistence-reliant communities across the proposed pipeline and tanker route, the resistance against the Northern Gateway is multivocal, as the proposal threatens traditional and contemporary cultures, economies, ecosystems, and livelihoods. With so much at stake, the issue is literally existential; the proposal jeopardizes the health and well-being of whole communities.

An Alliance of Opposition

There is a growing body of literature in the academic community focusing on grassroots and community-based movements, but few have focused specifically on the mobilization of diverse alliances. “Indigenous peoples’ struggles are now carried on within complex transnational networks and alliances that traverse the boundaries between the state, markets, and civil society” (Blaser *et al.* 2004:1). Blaser (2004:17) and colleagues further draw attention to the networks of solidarity and social movements coalescing regionally, nationally, and internationally. They have observed that, “these

movements have the potential, through these alliances, to disrupt emerging structures of governance”.

Communities threatened by large-scale development are helping to foster this dialogue and increased attention is focused on the strength of unified, diverse peoples. Emotionally charged coalitions comprised of individuals that do not share a collective identity or history are coming together in unprecedented ways (Larsen 2003:75-78). With the strength of these alliances, community coalitions have proven the ability to maintain and protect regional livelihoods from the threat of powerful outsiders and industries. Considering these important and transformative partnerships, Larsen (2003:74-75) states that, “coalitions formed through interethnic alliances are particularly relevant to political ecology, in understanding a shared sense of place, and offer the potential for new forms of resource management.” The NGP is a catalyst for community coalitions, with some 150 Indigenous Nations officially opposed to the proposal throughout British Columbia, Alberta, north into Canada’s territories, and south into the United States. Additionally, municipalities throughout British Columbia have passed resolutions independently opposing the NGP; this illustrates that regardless of proximity to the areas potentially affected by the proposal, there is a solid coalition of people with a shared desire to protect the natural environment put at risk by the Northern Gateway.

Haida Gwaii: a Snapshot for Context

It is helpful here to provide a high-level overview of the history and demographics of the Islands (note: ‘Haida Gwaii’ and ‘the Islands’ are used interchangeably). Here I highlight selected literature of Haida Gwaii’s culture, history, and geography. A full review of this work remains outside the scope of this project,

though throughout the thesis I provide further context and information to Island demographics as needed.

Located in what is now remote Northwestern British Columbia, Haida Gwaii (formerly known by the colonial name, ‘Queen Charlotte Islands’) is an isolated archipelago, home to a wealth of life, including the Indigenous Haida (‘Haida’ translates to ‘people’ in English). Archaeological work on Haida Gwaii has found evidence of over 10,000 years of human occupation (see Fedje and Mathewes 2005). According to the Haida, this diverse ecosystem has been home from time immemorial. Over millennia, and still today, these unique Islands provide a home like no other, where nature and culture enable a rich lifestyle for the people who call Haida Gwaii home.

There are seven municipalities and unincorporated communities on Haida Gwaii—Sandspit, on Moresby Island—and the remaining six on Graham Island: Queen Charlotte, Tlell, Port Clements, Masset, Old Massett, and Skidegate. The latter two became reserves during settlement on Haida Gwaii and today are largely comprised of a Haida population. According to the 2011 Census, the Islands have a total population of approximately 4,000 people (Statistics Canada 2012).

Nearly 40 years ago, in response to essentially the same issue—a proposed oil port and associated supertankers exporting bitumen through Northern British Columbia—COAST was formed. In the 1970s, the organization stood for the ‘*Coalition Against Supertankers*’, and today the name was resurrected with one slight difference, the acronym stands for ‘*Communities Against Supertankers*’. ‘Communities’ is utilized by the informal organization in both the narrowest and broadest senses; it encompasses Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, citizens of Haida Gwaii and non-Islanders, and

so on. Therefore, while CoASt is primarily composed of Haida Gwaii citizens, it is inclusive of communities across the province, Canada, and international communities that support resistance against the NGP.

Because Haida Gwaii is geographically isolated, Island communities are in a unique position; the Pacific Ocean engulfs the Islands providing a physical boundary around the lands that allows local communities to assert themselves as a distinct unit. The Islands represent all sectors of society: Indigenous and non-Indigenous, various levels of government, industries, business owners, and whole communities—young and old—who are reliant on the generous and bountiful natural ecosystems. With this cross-section of people establishing common ground and shared values—to protect a sense of home and quality of life—Haida Gwaii has started to re-establish sovereignty and stewardship roles based on traditional values. For example the *Kunst'aa Guu – Kunst'aayah* Reconciliation Protocol was signed between the provincial government and Haida Nation in 2009, marking a significant and unprecedented agreement towards reconciliation and shared-decision making on Island.

Research Objective, Purpose, and Questions

Because the dynamics of community alliances are understudied, my research contributes to an emerging dialogue analyzing the coalitions that are calling for significant changes to current social and environmental injustices. The Northern Gateway is galvanizing different interest groups to coalesce in meaningful ways and provides an avenue for renegotiating Indigenous-state relationships. This thesis investigates how communities have organized to form alliances, extrapolates the local and shared values

inherent within the NGP resistance on Haida Gwaii, and considers the power and potential of community alliances.

Central to widespread and fierce opposition along the NGP and tanker route are Indigenous peoples who maintain a marginalized and disempowered position in society. In alliance are non-Indigenous neighbours that also stand to be negatively affected by exploitative development projects of this nature. By asking key questions, my research on Haida Gwaii explores the relationships forming in response to the NGP and how these alliances function to help protect local lands and lifeways. Inherent within this consideration is the history of Indigenous-state relationships, a complex issue relevant to a discussion of large-scale development projects, where power inequalities are palpable (Barker 2001:233).

Project Layout and Chapters

Regarding terminology, I opt to use the term ‘Indigenous’ to refer to the historical inhabitants of a given region (the opposite being, ‘non-Indigenous’). While this term is commonly applied to global Indigenous peoples, I also draw on it to refer to regional peoples and cultures occupying North America, particularly what is now referred to as ‘Canada’. I use the term ‘Aboriginal’ to refer to Canada’s first peoples within a political and legal context. This term will be found throughout my writing, especially regarding title and rights. Similarly, ‘Indian’ is used if and when it is appropriate, such as, when discussing an Indian Band Council. A popular catchphrase today is ‘First Nations’, but given that it is not recognized politically or legally (see Booth and Skelton 2011a), I will only use this term in a direct quote. Recognizing that Indigenous *peoples* hold rights to self-determination and sovereignty, I use the plural form when referring to a group of

people who maintain their collective rights (see Benjamin *et al.* 2010). I use the term ‘Nations’ to refer to a group of individuals, through collective rights or governing body, that share a common history and region, such as, the Council of the Haida *Nation*. Finally, I use ‘Islanders’ or ‘Island citizens’ to refer to both Haidas and non-Haidas who consider Haida Gwaii home.

The current chapter provides the background and contextual information necessary for a robust examination of my project. Informed by work in anthropology, social theory, and political ecology, this chapter offers an overview of the discourse related to large-scale development, the NGP, and my research questions and objectives.

Building on the general summary presented here, Chapter 2 presents a critique of the Canadian environmental assessment process, including an overview of different types of EAs, one of which is the federal Joint Review Panel (JRP) process, which the NGP was assigned in 2010. I consider the potential consequences of colliding ontologies that can be overshadowed within dominant Western paradigms. Ultimately, I argue that the EA process is embedded in a colonial paradigm reinforcing and perpetuating failed Indigenous-state relationships while neglecting to acknowledge outstanding claims to Aboriginal title and rights.

In Chapter 3, I present my methods and outline both my data and analysis. There were two analyses conducted as part of this research project; the first is a media analysis, the second is an analysis of the NGP discourse on Haida Gwaii. My data came solely from the JRP transcripts where community members provided their opinions and concerns regarding the NGP. This section describes my process of analyses and outlines

potential limitations to my research. To illustrate my personal and passionate opposition to the NGP, I present a brief summary of my positionality within the research.

Chapter 4 presents the NGP narrative by analyzing mainstream media coverage between January 1 – June 15, 2012. The media is an integral stakeholder for the public within any social or environmental movements; therefore, this chapter considers the influence and operationalization of media frames. Last, I look at who is permitted voice in an attempt to unveil some of the biases and assumptions within the NGP narrative and public discourse.

Chapter 5 presents the first of two chapters of data analysis, which is supplemented by a review of relevant literature. The risk of losing local food sources was one of the predominant concerns expressed by Island citizens throughout the environmental review. This chapter includes an overview of global, national, and Indigenous realities of food scarcity, discusses the imperative relationship between food and health, and considers the intimate connection between food harvesting and culture. In closing, I argue that the NGP not only threatens Indigenous and local lifeways, but infringes on Aboriginal rights.

Chapter 6 examines another prominent issue that was identified by Islanders speaking out against the NGP: a sense of place and belonging. After a brief review of space, dwelling, and landscape, and defining the integral concept of place, I consider the similarities and differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous senses of place. Based on Islanders' sentiments against the NGP, I argue that there is an embedded, shared sense of belonging on Haida Gwaii. This visceral sense of belonging is practically and philosophically mobilizing local people to coalesce to protect their place.

Chapter 7 brings the shared values uncovered throughout this analysis—that is, food and a sense of place—together. This chapter reinforces the fundamental issue of Aboriginal title and rights within the NGP discourse and considers narratives as a potential means for transcending cross-cultural communication barriers; providing an avenue for Indigenous peoples to assert sovereignty. I reconsider the importance of, and inspiration in, diverse community alliances that are calling for a re-envisioning of our current systems. I draw on the Coastal First Nations as a case study for successful alliance formation and contextualize the potential of fostering effective relationships based on the Haida Gwaii experience.

Chapter 8 presents my personal reflections on the research process and my concluding thoughts on the NGP resistance on Haida Gwaii.

Chapter 2 – Environmental Assessments: Unapologetically Colonial Processes

Because the Northern Gateway proposes a pipeline extending from Alberta to British Columbia, crossing this provincial boundary subjects the proposal to a federal rather than provincial environmental assessment (EA). EA processes are a complex interaction of politics, economics, history, and Indigenous-state relationships, and therefore, must be placed within this context in order to conduct an effective analysis (Panofsky 2011:70). Existing research indicates that Indigenous peoples are marginalized and disadvantaged throughout EA processes (Booth and Skelton 2011b:372), therefore, in line with Place and Hanlon (2011:167), I argue that they enable colonial institutions that delegitimize ‘traditional knowledge’ and different ontologies. In this chapter I outline Canada’s EA system and problematize Indigenous participation in the process by considering the country’s colonial history and outstanding contentions to Aboriginal title and rights. Finally, I explore the implications of colliding ontologies and worldviews in an EA review process, which is exemplified in the Enbridge Northern Gateway Joint Review Panel (abbreviated as ‘NGP JRP’).

About Federal Environmental Assessments

According to the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency (CEAA 2010:1), “The environmental assessment provides an effective means of integrating environmental factors into planning and decision-making processes in a manner that promotes sustainable development.” In 1992, the *Canadian Environmental Assessment Act (CEA Act)* was introduced and is overseen by CEAA. As outlined in the *CEA Act*, the purpose of a federal EA is to identify potential adverse environmental effects of a proposed

development project and provide mitigation strategies for any potential environmental impacts that are identified.

As described by Booth and Skelton (2011b:386), there are four levels of EAs: screenings, class screenings, comprehensive studies, and review panels. In the latter review process, the Minister may appoint any mediator or panel members who are unbiased and free from a conflict of interest. This level of review is assigned when a proposed project poses ‘significant adverse environmental effects or public concerns’ (*CEA Act* 2010:32-4). According to the *CEA Act*:

- A review panel shall, in accordance with any regulations made for that purpose and with its term of reference,
- (a) ensure that the information required for an assessment by a review panel is obtained and made available to the public;
 - (b) hold hearings in a manner that offers the public an opportunity to participate in the assessment;
 - (c) prepare a report setting out:
 - i. rationale, conclusions and recommendations of the panel relating to the environmental assessment of the project, including any mitigation measures and follow-up program, and
 - ii. a summary of comments received from the public; and
 - iii. submit the report to the Minister and the responsible authority (*CEA Act* 2010:35).

Given the potential impacts of the Northern Gateway, the proposal was assigned a JRP in 2010; the anticipated completion date of the current review is the end of 2013. At the time of appointment, the Panel Chair, Sheila Leggett, was vice-Chair of the National Energy Board (NEB). With a background in biology and experience as an environmental consultant, Ms. Leggett has been involved with several regulatory panels (NEB | CEAA 2012). Kenneth Bateman, also a member of the NEB, is an energy lawyer and has been involved with numerous pipeline hearings. Hans Matthews, the third Panel member and

also a member of the NEB, is a professional geologist with experience promoting mining development in Ontario, particularly within Indigenous communities.

Under the *CEA Act*, any review panel considers: the environmental effects of the project, the significance of such effects, comments from the public, mitigation measures, and any other matter deemed relevant to the review (*CEA Act* 2010:22). Like any EA, the NGP JRP is a quasi-judicial tribunal that is dually mandated by CEAA and, in this case, the NEB because the proposal involves the transportation of bitumen. After receiving the final report from the Panel, the Minister of Environment will make it available to the public, and, if the project is approved, will provide a permit and oversee any potential mitigation measures recommended by the Panel.

In 2010, the British Columbia Environmental Assessment Office (BCEAO) and the NEB signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) (NEB | BCEAO 2010). The MOU states that when considering trans-boundary projects, such transmission pipelines, federal review processes can be considered equivalent to provincial reviews. It recognizes that under the *BC Environmental Assessment Act*, the Minister can accept another Party or jurisdiction's assessment of an energy project. Therefore, a decision by the NEB stands for a decision that would have otherwise required authorization from the BCEAO. Further, the MOU indicates that a provincial certificate is not necessary, although permits and authorizations are still required. Notably, under the current Liberal government, the BCEAO registered as an Intervenor within the current federal process (described later in this chapter). In August, 2012, the provincial New Democrat Party (NDP) criticized the 2010 MOU and declared their Party would withdraw from the Agreement if elected. Further, the NDP announced they would introduce a "Made in B.C." review to reassert

the province's authority and to help ensure that Aboriginal interests are fully recognized within the process (Fleming 2012).

Members of the public and local governments were allowed to participate in three different ways within the NGP JRP. The general public was encouraged to make oral statements, allowing individuals up to ten minutes to present their views at community hearings conducted along the pipeline and tanker route. Additional hearings will be held in Kelowna, Vancouver, and Victoria in early 2013. Members of the public and organizations could also opt to register as Intervenors, making them official Parties in the process and allowing them full access to submit information requests, call witnesses to provide evidence, and cross-examine evidence throughout the review. The process of participation at this level becomes quite technical, and to be effective, Intervenors require a moderate understanding of Canadian law. The third level of participation was reserved for Government participants, that is, "government organizations at the federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal levels" (NEB | CEAA 2012).

It is notable, particularly within a colonial context, that Indigenous governments such as Indian Bands, Tribal Councils or treaty groups, are not recognized as government participants within the Panel's definition. Therefore, this one label both literally and symbolically captures the colonialism of EA processes, and I see four inherent issues here. First, it impinges on Indigenous participation in the process by denying their sovereign governing bodies. Second, it demonstrates a continued, systemic marginalization of Indigenous peoples. Third, it operationalizes the ongoing neglect of Aboriginal title and rights. Lastly, it contrasts with the significance of communities to

Indigenous peoples by forcing individuals to voice opposition rather than the collective, which further segments shared values and Indigenous ontologies.

There are different phases to the process and community hearings. First, the Panel attends community hearings to receive oral evidence from Intervenors and oral statements from the public. Next, the Panel holds final hearings that provide all Parties the opportunity to present technical information, cross-examine evidence, and provide final arguments. Again, this phase of the hearings is largely reserved for Parties with legal counsel. To further illustrate the process and different phases of hearings, the following excerpt was taken from the Panel Chair's introductory address at the oral evidence hearings in Skidegate:

Kenneth, Hans and I are all members of the National Energy Board and have been tasked to make decisions under both the *National Energy Board Act* and the *Canadian Environmental Assessment Act* for the Northern Gateway Pipelines Limited Partnership Application. The NEB is an independent quasi-judicial regulatory body. Our decisions as a Panel will be based solely on the relevant information we obtain through this joint review process. Quasi-judicial means that we function like a civil court, we are in fact a court of record and that's why you'll see us follow certain formalities and procedures as we go along in the next few days. All of the oral evidence that's given through the community hearings is transcribed and you can get copies of those transcripts on our website; they get posted on a daily basis.

The process for the joint review includes two sets of hearings, the community hearings – we're here today for a part of that – where interested parties and participants can provide evidence to the Panel orally, and the final hearings, which will begin in September, where Northern Gateway and other parties can be asked questions about their evidence and provide their final arguments to the Panel.

We're here today for the community hearings to listen to oral evidence from intervenors that have previously registered with the Panel. As we've outlined previously, oral evidence is only that information, which is relevant to the matters the Panel will be considering and cannot be provided as written evidence. This will primarily be oral traditional knowledge such as that given by Aboriginal peoples. Sharing your traditional knowledge and your personal knowledge and experiences on the impacts that the proposed project may have

on you and your community and how any impacts could be eliminated or reduced is of great help to us [Sheila Leggett, Panel Chair, NEB Hearing transcript, 21 Mar 2012].

The Chair provided variations of this introduction at the start of each phase of hearings, which oriented the presenters and audience to the formal and quasi-judicial process.

Our Colonial State

The relationship between ‘colonizer’ and ‘colonized’ is complex, often muted, deeply entrenched, and thus, naturalized within dominant Western societies. From first contact, the dynamics between ‘colonizer’ and ‘colonized’ were multilayered and resulted in inequalities and power struggles that remain evident in many facets of contemporary life. Throughout the process of colonization, Indigenous peoples provided a gauge from which to measure and define what, or who, was ‘civilized’ (Fabian 1983; Stocking 1987). In 1871, British Columbia joined the confederation, shifting the locus of power governing Indigenous peoples from Europe to Canada (Panofsky 2011:32-33). The vast landscapes perceived by settlers as ‘unexploited’ were subject to confiscation and taken by colonizers for ‘development’. Indigenous-state relationships formed upon initial contact were founded in an imperialistic framework and, still today, Indigenous peoples are denied restitution or recognition of Aboriginal title in British Columbia and throughout Canada. While some Indigenous governance systems have been established—such as the Council of the Haida Nation (CHN)—imposed federal systems remain commonplace, such as Indian Bands. Such power inequalities are embedded throughout modern institutions and processes and are reified in the modern EA process in Canada.

In her review of the EA process, Panofsky (2011:35) argues that Canada continues to allow racial hierarchies and national mythologies that support white settler communities as the dominant authority. It is within this colonial framework that Indigenous ontologies, worldviews, and modern rights are dismissed by the state, demonstrating the need to further renegotiate power relationships and continue to dismantle imperialistic frameworks that oppress Indigenous peoples. Increasingly, Indigenous peoples are testing the foundations upon which our current institutions are based and helping to develop new paradigms and possibilities.

Aboriginal Title and Rights: Consultation and Accommodation

...[the Haida Nation] would be sitting across the table from the Crown, the governments of Canada and British Columbia in their full authority and responsibility in addressing an issue such as this Enbridge Project...that threatens to have such pervasive impacts on who we are as a people and an ancient and continuing culture. In a just world, in a fair world, that's how we'd be addressing this [Miles Richardson NEB Hearing transcript, 21 Mar 2012].

Most Indigenous peoples maintain distinct cultures, traditions, languages, and unique ideological connections within their natural environments (Turner *et al.* 2000:1276). Turner *et al.* (2000:1276) argue that the continuity and health of Indigenous cultures requires the maintenance of guardianship roles in their ancestral territories, which leads to critical questions of Aboriginal title and rights. The Northern Gateway and NGP JRP makes the interplay between Indigenous land use, unsettled Aboriginal rights, and Canada's colonial institutions palpable. Speaking to these complex interactions, Panofsky (2011:4) indicates that the NGP is, "at the forefront of energy, environmental, and Aboriginal rights in Canada".

Indigenous peoples have long been refused equal rights to their settler counterparts (Panofsky 2011:97-98). Across Canada, with a majority of British Columbia as an

exception, Indigenous Nations signed treaties ceding and surrendering their traditional territories. Although outside the realm of this consideration, it is notable that historic treaties are the subject of heated debate concerning the intent and ethics of signed treaties (see Asch 2002). Because the Indigenous peoples of British Columbia by and large did not sign treaties, many are engaged in contemporary treaty negotiations to have their title and rights recognized by the state. These negotiations are highly contentious and often lengthy processes by which Indigenous peoples are asked to narrow their territorial governance and rights based on cultural practices (Thom 2008). Today, economically-motivated development projects in traditional territories that the state considers ‘unsettled’ with respect to Aboriginal title and rights, contribute to a discourse of contestation over land use and resource management (Place and Hanlon 2011:163).

In 1982, Aboriginal rights were placed within the *Canadian Constitution*, notably outside of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (see Borrows 1997a; Booth and Skelton 2011b). However, as Borrows (1997a) outlines, this did not resolve any questions of Aboriginal rights within Canada, but instead has resulted in some thirty years of debate on what constitutes ‘Aboriginal rights’. In *R. v. Sparrow* (1990), the Chief Justice decided that Aboriginal rights are those activities, “integral to the distinctive culture of the aboriginal group claiming the right...A practical way of thinking about this problem is to ask whether, without this practice, tradition or custom, the culture in question would be fundamentally altered or other than it was.” According to Borrows (1997a) this definition restricts Indigenous development and confines Aboriginal rights to pre-contact practices. From a critical anthropological perspective, it is not only concerning and problematic, but erroneous to view culture as static; holding peoples to historic pasts and

viewing cultures in only retrospective terms inherently contradicts the fluidity of culture (see Niezen 2003). The *Indian Act* (R.S.C. 1985) does not address Aboriginal title and rights, but instead represents a paternalistic and archaic document that systemically works to constrain Indigenous governmental powers (Borrows 1997b:418-419). Still today, the *Indian Act* allows the Minister of Indian Affairs final authority over many aspects of Aboriginal life and imposes, for example, the reserve system, the structure of the Band Council, and Indian status criteria – none of which are based on inherent, pre-existing rights.

In Canada, case law states that the government has a duty to meaningfully consult and accommodate Indigenous peoples with regards to activities that may infringe on title and rights within their ancestral territories. Further, there is a duty to accommodate the continued exercise of these rights to the greatest extent possible (see *Haida Nation v. British Columbia* [2004] and *Taku River Tlingit FN v. British Columbia* [2004]). The loose and open-ended terminology in these decisions allows for great flexibility and fails to define ‘meaningful’ consultation or hold any concrete obligation to ‘accommodate’ Aboriginal peoples with respect to decision-making in their traditional territories.

The duty to consult was addressed in the *Haida Nation v. BC* case in 2004. Here, it was found that the Crown has a moral and legal duty to negotiate with the Haida, particularly in regards to unresolved claims to Aboriginal title and rights. The level of consultation depends on the strength of their case and the severity of the potential adverse affects and states that consultation will take place in ‘good faith’. Therefore, ‘meaningful’ consultation has not been prescribed by the courts, nor have they provided any details as to what constitutes appropriate ‘accommodation’ of Indigenous peoples’ concerns with

respect to title and rights (Booth and Skelton 2011b:371). Additionally, Aboriginal peoples are not granted veto power; therefore, the very nature of these decisions continues to deny title and rights by failing to meaningfully share decision-making powers.

In spite of these ambiguities and limitations, Aboriginal title and rights provide legal impetus for Indigenous peoples to participate in modern EA processes (Booth and Skelton 2011b:370). However, in their study of Indigenous participation in EAs, Booth and Skelton (2011b) spoke with several Nations currently involved in federal reviews and heard consistent concerns about the institutional neglect of Aboriginal title and rights throughout the process. “Rights are very real and urgent issues for the First Nations, as they do not believe that the Canadian or British Columbia governments, nor the agencies which approve and regulate industrial development, acknowledge or respect these rights, but they are foundational to the First Nations. In their opinion, their rights have been violated” (Booth and Skelton 2011b:391).

In line with this, Panofsky (2011:6) argues that there are severe limitations to the quality of Aboriginal participation in the EA process and a lack of engagement and consultation. While conducting research on the NGP JRP among the Wet’suwet’en Nation, Panofsky spoke with many local Indigenous people about their participation in the process and heard overwhelming frustration from locals working to navigate the EA. The Wet’suwet’en experience in the NGP JRP has left many people in the Nation with the perception that the state continues to neglect their title and rights, and further, that their rightful stewardship to traditional territories are continuously and systemically suppressed within the EA process (Panofsky 2011:110).

Because “Aboriginal peoples had particular guardianship relations, ideological bonds, and rights to their ancestral lands” (Turner *et al.* 2000:1280), they should be recognized as the rightful stewards of their traditional territories. This is particularly relevant within the federal EA process because of the potential impacts of large-scale development projects, but all too often throughout this process, alternate ontologies are suppressed and neglected. Booth and Skelton (2011a) state that some Indigenous communities are coming together and calling for a revisioning of the EA process, both to uphold obligations to protect traditional territories and also to assert unresolved Aboriginal title and rights. Place and Hanlon (2011a:173) argue that this revisioning, which would entail the meaningful inclusion of Indigenous peoples in EA processes, is imperative. Currently, Indigenous Nations cannot participate on a government-to-government basis, they are merely considered ‘stakeholders’ in the EA system (Booth and Skelton 2011a; Panofsky 2011), a telling observation that was seen in the NGP JRP. This in and of itself identifies the systemic limitations of the EA process and continued denial of Aboriginal title and rights. Ultimately, our current political and judicial systems continue to entrench colonial paradigms and perpetuate inequities between dominant society and Indigenous Nations.

Although one of the purposes of the *CEA Act* (2010:6) is to “promote communication and cooperation between responsible authorities and Aboriginal peoples with respect to environmental assessment,” in practice, this is not meaningfully achieved, as I have argued throughout this chapter. Ultimately, the Crown is failing their duty to meaningfully consult throughout EAs in Canada, thereby further denying Aboriginal rights, title, and the ability for Nations to decide their own future (Panofsky 2011:111-112).

Canada's Flaws and Failings

Operating within this overall common law framework, the EA has developed with specific legislative requirements. Critics assert that this legislative framework, rather than engaging in a meaningful and mutual consultation process, requires Indigenous peoples to participate within a narrow scope of the full duty to consult and accommodate (Panofsky 2011:116). This is supported by Booth and Skelton's (2011a:219) research which found that industry representatives and consultants viewed consultation only as an obligation, not as a mutually beneficial step in the EA process. With consultation viewed simply as a mandatory step, Indigenous concerns that the EA system is inadequate at evaluating and considering their values and concerns are validated (Place and Hanlon 2011:164).

Several more studies have documented the experiences and perspectives of Indigenous peoples navigating the EAs in Canada (see Booth and Skelton 2011b; Panofsky 2011; Place and Hanlon 2011). Across this research, the authors report strikingly similar messages from Indigenous peoples concerned about the institutional inequalities and colonial realities experienced in Canadian EAs. In her review, Panofsky (2011) states that the NGP JRP provides an avenue for stakeholders and governments to come together, but it does so in a closed and unfair process that allows for some voices to be privileged over others.

Booth and Skelton (2011b:392) identified three primary areas in which the current EA failed: procedural, relational, and philosophical. First, procedural challenges ranged from insufficient capacity—including staffing at Indigenous offices, finances, and inadequate access to resources—to lack of community knowledge about the process, inappropriate timelines, and inadequate experience and understanding in consulting

Indigenous communities. Notably, lack of capacity can completely hinder any level of meaningful participation in an EA and this is only one of several layers of practical barriers experienced by Indigenous communities attempting to navigate this bureaucratic process. These limitations became evident within the NGP JRP from the CoASt perspective.

While CoASt is not an Indigenous governing body, the experiences speak directly to the practical and technical barriers that limit true and meaningful participation in EAs. For example, submitting Information Requests and Witness Lists followed a formal procedure in which documentation was submitted online or by mail, and often the local volunteer organization did not have the resources available to meet the technical requirements and stringent deadlines. These barriers were amplified leading up to the final hearings, at which point there was a steady flow of procedural information presented to Intervenors and technical documents were submitted. Again, this phase of the hearings required some legal advice or understanding, and in the end, due to a lack of capacity and resources, the volunteer organization was no longer able to participate actively in the process.

Inadequate and dysfunctional relationships were identified as another way in which the current EA process fails Indigenous peoples (Booth and Skelton 2011b:383; see also Place and Hanlon 2011). As briefly outlined above, the history of colonization in Canada has been detrimental to Indigenous communities, and the contemporary state is not adequately or effectively rectifying relationships formed throughout its colonial history. Indigenous peoples assert that the government has repeatedly lied and has systematically denied Aboriginal title and rights; therefore, Indigenous Nations enter into EA processes

with apprehension and mistrust toward governments (Booth and Skelton 2011b:396). “In turn, this lack of trust colours relations between the First Nations and industry proponents, who must struggle to establish their own working relationships with the First Nation” (Booth and Skelton 2011a:225). In their research of government and industry’s perspectives on the EA process, Booth and Skelton (2011a:221) talked with proponents and consultants who noted inefficient and problematic Indigenous-state relationships, indicating they thought it was the responsibility of the government to mend these dysfunctional relations. An overall lack of trust was evident in the NGP discourse, as the federal government and ministers became vocal advocates for the proposed Project, an issue that will be considered in more detail in Chapter 4.

Finally and importantly, Booth and Skelton (2011a; 2011b) identified what they deemed ‘philosophical’ failings of the EA process in that they dismiss Indigenous ontologies and worldviews. This is a very significant failing, and one that I argue is the crux of EA inadequacies, and as such, will be examined in greater detail in the next section.

There is sufficient research to indicate that Canada’s EAs are convoluted and bureaucratic processes for Indigenous peoples to navigate. To date, there has been little work on the perceived challenges of the EA from the perspective of government and industry. Booth and Skelton (2011a:216) begin to address this issue in their investigation of how the process could be made mutually beneficial for all stakeholders and interest groups, including government and industry. One of the overarching messages from both proponents and consultants was that they did not know how to best work with Indigenous communities (Booth and Skelton 2011a:221-222). This indicates that consultation is not

approached meaningfully, which may be due to the fact that the process of consultation itself is not understood.

Another concern identified by the proponents was the inability to identify with which members of the Nation they should negotiate with, that is, who has the authority to make decisions on the community's behalf (Booth and Skelton 2011a:222). In December 2011, this issue emerged within the NGP after a Gitxsan Hereditary Leader allegedly signed an equity deal with Enbridge. The deal was immediately rebutted in the Gitxsan community, where locals and a majority of the Hereditary Leaders insisted that this one Chief did not represent the views of their entire Nation (see *The Gitxsan Unity Movement* online). The community quickly mobilized and protested the Gitxsan Treaty Society, and after court injunctions, the debacle proved to increase the strength of opposition to the NGP among the Gitxsan.

Colliding Ontologies

In speaking with industry, government representatives, and, particularly Indigenous peoples experienced in navigating the EAs, Booth and Skelton (2011b:367) identified several concerns that represented “fundamental philosophical differences between assessment processes and indigenous worldviews.” They noted that EA processes were intolerant of many of their concerns, such as issues of culture and traditions, the importance of spirituality, the psychological impacts of the threat of industrial development, and Indigenous ontologies that view the world as an interconnected web, as opposed to mutually exclusive parts.

Indigenous peoples have maintained an intimate and inextricable connection to their lands, a connection that guides their worldviews and philosophies (Turner *et al.*

2000:1280). Working with the Takla Lake First Nation and Tsay Keh Dene on their participation in federal EA processes, Place and Hanlon (2011:168-169) recorded many local people articulating this connection to their ancestral lands and extensive knowledge of traditional territories. In analyzing this connection, the researchers described the local Indigenous as “emotionally connected” to their lands to the extent that industry and government “often do not understand” (Place and Hanlon 2011:170). This embodied connection to place, which will be explored in detail in Chapter 6, represents a worldview very different from dominant society’s and fuels a multitude of procedural and relational barriers within the EA process.

“For First Nations, everything is connected” (Booth and Skelton 2011b:391). This seemingly simple statement captures the essence of colliding ontologies between Indigenous peoples and Western society. Indigenous people view, understand, and interact with the world as a whole (Booth and Skelton 2011b; Place and Hanlon 2011; Turner *et al.* 2000). Plants, animals, natural objects, supernatural beings, humans, health, land formations, water, and the cosmos are acknowledged and respected for their roles in the function of this world. Describing her experiences with the Wet’suwet’en, Panofsky (2011:46) defines the local Indigenous philosophy of *Yintakh*, which says that the land, the people, and animals are all interconnected—all related and mutually influenced. A parallel principle was discussed at the NGP JRP in Old Massett, where the Haida concept of *Gina ‘waadluw̄xan gud aa kwagiida* was described to the Panel. “This philosophy states that everything depends on everything else, and so it is the principle of interconnectedness” [Russ Jones NEB Hearing transcripts, 29 Feb 2012]. This concept of relationality was reiterated by several Haida and non-Haida speakers, “I’ve lived here for

15 years. I have been very blessed to learn about family and community from my Haida neighbours about the interconnectedness of this land and how every action that I make interacts with everything else...” [Carolyn Hesselstine NEB Hearing transcript, 13 Jun 2012]. In the NGP JRP, like any other EA, ontologies that differ from dominant Western paradigms are suppressed and segmented into foreign frameworks that do not align with other worldviews.

Marc Stevenson (2006:170) states that when Indigenous ontologies are in contrast with dominant society’s, ‘traditional’ worldviews are dismissed on the grounds that they are ‘unscientific’ or anecdotal. This is evident in the EA which feed into Canada’s colonial institutions by taking a narrow and empirically-based approach that delegitimize differing ontologies and value systems. The current approach to EA places the natural environment into discrete and measureable categories and fails to recognize or acknowledge other ways of viewing the world (Booth and Skelton 2011b:397). For example, in an EA, wildlife, plants, people, and economies are considered separable entities, which directly conflicts with Indigenous philosophies of relationality. With their experience in the NGP JRP, the Wet’suwet’en argue that the process is dictated by linear, divisive, and dominant ontologies (Panofsky 2011:140). Thus, the overriding paradigm in which EAs are situated assume that the world is a finite system in which objects are placed into fixed categories (Panofsky 2011:129), which is counter to Indigenous ontologies that do not allow for fragmentation (Turner *et al.* 2000:1276).

Recognizing Indigenous environmental values and ontologies is an important step at recognizing the marginalization of Indigenous peoples in Canada (Place and Hanlon 2011:163). While other ways of understanding and being are suppressed throughout EAs,

Panofsky (2011:147) suggests that if we are to reconcile our troubled colonial past, we must question why alternative ontologies and ways of being are ignored.

“Genuinely incorporating [Traditional Ecological Knowledge] within an EA would be one attempt to resolve EA’s philosophical problem of cultural imperialism, through a culturally appropriate, and widely accepted, mechanism for identifying and valuing the knowledges, experiences and cultural structures that have permitted indigenous peoples their relatively long inter-relationship with the land” (Booth and Skelton 2011b:399).

Similarly, Borrows (1997b:466-67) notes that meaningful Indigenous participation throughout the EA has the potential to reconcile Indigenous-state relationships, which would benefit the natural environment and could also help strengthen our democratic institutions. Importantly, he also states that Indigenous knowledge is only one type of knowledge, recognizing the fact that this need not be an ‘us’ or ‘them’ or ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ discourse, but instead that a meaningful marriage of worldviews and values would benefit all stakeholders and interest groups (Borrows 1997b:424-425).

A dismantling of colonial legacies and naturalized institutions is long overdue, and the EA process is one way in which Canada can begin to reconcile dysfunctional Indigenous-state relationships. Indigenous communities navigating EAs simply want to have their concerns addressed by government and industry (Booth and Skelton 2011b:380). Pushing that further, genuine efforts to consult and accommodate Indigenous peoples on a government-to-government basis is necessary to recognize local sovereignty and could offer an opportunity to re-envision unequal power relationships.

Power and Knowledge

Power struggles and inequalities are both perpetuated and naturalized through the production of knowledge. As a discipline, anthropology has become involved in the investigation of knowledge production, consumption, dissemination, and the power

dynamics embedded within the process (see Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Trouillot 2003). Yanagisako and Delaney (1995) argue that creating taxonomies for knowledge inherently develops hierarchies, and often results in certain types of knowledge being valued over others. As outlined earlier, Western society has created stable categories to organize and assign value to different types of knowledge. These categories enable a colonial narrative through the production and maintenance of knowledge that legitimizes control over Indigenous peoples (see Clifford 2001), and is mobilized throughout EAs (Panofsky 2011:31). Filtered through this limited lens, information is segmented into taxonomies, and within the restricted EA process, significant decisions are made that affect Indigenous peoples. Thus, EAs are a tangible example of a disregard for Indigenous governance and knowledge and the political systems that continue to value state governments and override “Indigenous spheres of power” (Borrows 1997b:446). If today’s institutions would forfeit some control and allow for the meaningful incorporation of Indigenous knowledge, the natural environment, our cultures, and democracy as a whole would benefit (Borrows 1997b:451).

Closing Comments

Examining co-management models, Stevenson (2006:171) discusses the implications of forcing Indigenous peoples into foreign systems and dominant paradigms that require them to speak, think, and actually interact with the environment in ways that contradict their own ontologies and values. These observations are consistent with the EA process where Indigenous peoples are forced to navigate foreign systems based on worldviews that do not correspond with their own in order to protect their rights and resources.

In 1999, the Confederacy of Nations called on *CEAA* to allow Indigenous peoples to conduct their own EAs that would meaningfully and appropriately incorporate traditional and local ontologies (Booth and Skelton 2011b:374). Although such progressive changes have not yet come to fruition, a renegotiation of our current processes is in order and Indigenous peoples will continue pushing for a restructuring of colonial systems until meaningful solutions are attained. This is articulated by Borrows (1997b:450), who says, “First Nations people must no longer be marginalized through the procedural constriction of their decision-making powers by federalist structures. They must have full access to, and participation within, Canada's institutions.”

Unfortunately, the NGP JRP is no exception to the critiques outlined here. Instead, the proposal and assessment process are the epitome of colonial paradigms and failing of our current institutions. The inaccessibility of the NGP JRP process left many locals feeling frustrated and with little to no confidence in the process. Throughout the first phase of hearings—intended to hear oral evidence from Intervenors and witnesses—some community members were interrupted during their testimony and reminded of the stringent, yet paradoxically malleable categories of information that the Panel was willing to receive during the first phase of hearings (discussed in detail in the next chapter). Ultimately, the Panel seemed to arbitrarily enforce what information was considered appropriate for the first phase of community hearings. Therefore, from the Haida perspective, the NGP JRP represented an ongoing colonial relationship between Indigenous peoples and the state, inequities that were established historically and remain entrenched today with unsettled issues of Aboriginal title and rights. The process in and

of itself blatantly neglects Haida sovereignty by denying the right of Indigenous peoples as the stewards and heirs to their traditional territories.

Chapter 3 – Methods

This research project includes both a media analysis (Chapter 4) and discourse analysis of the NGP JRP transcripts from Haida Gwaii (Chapters 5 and 6), which are supplemented by ongoing participant observation. The media analysis considers the public discourse around the NGP, whereas the NGP JRP transcripts—a complete record of oral evidence and statements from the hearings—were used to extrapolate the shared values of Island citizens speaking in opposition to the NGP. Here I describe both methods and provide a brief reflection on my positionality vis-a-vis the current research.

Media Analysis

Media analyses are complex and interdisciplinary (Banjeree and Osuri 2000:266), and the current analysis was conducted, although thoughtfully and tediously, with very few resources. Beginning January 1, 2012, I utilized *Google Alerts* to monitor all standard news media, including, but not limited to: online newspapers, magazines, journals, blogs, and websites. Although the searches for this project officially began in January, I had personally monitored NGP related media for approximately one year prior to starting this systematic search for my research project.

Google Alerts notifications were set using ‘Enbridge’ and ‘Northern Gateway’ as separate key search terms and all results were emailed directly to me, yielding an average of 20 results per day. Depending on recent events and the day of the week, ‘Enbridge’ and ‘Northern Gateway’ alerts ranged from four to 45 per day. Alerts were monitored manually and catalogued from January 1 – June 15. I reviewed each media source within this time frame, which was then entered into an Excel spreadsheet that recorded the: source, title, date, and media type (see Appendix A for a sample of this recording

system). A total of 2,325 media sources were recorded in this time period, and then upon analysis, were reviewed thematically and schematically.

According to Olausson's (2009) description of critical discourse analysis, media analyses can take a macro or micro approach. Macrostructures examine common themes, discussions, arguments, and statements, while microstructures consider lexical choices, implicit information, and relationships of cause-and-effect (Olausson 2009:424-425). Drawing on local, regional, and national narratives involving the NGP, I examine how macro- and microstructures are operationalized within the public discourse.

There are notable limitations to this media analysis, of which I have remained cognizant, and about which in writing I endeavour to be transparent. First, because *Google Alerts* monitors a finite number of media sources, it should not be considered a comprehensive search tool, although did provide a means of systematically monitoring a consistent and thorough selection of the NGP public discourse. Second, my analysis focused almost solely on newspaper articles. The NGP has become a highly political and very public issue; within the six month period of media monitoring, I observed a steady increase in coverage. There was a noticeable spike in media around particular events, for example, with the proposed changes to the federal EA, coverage that far exceeded what I could monitor or include in this analysis. Admittedly, too many media sources became a problem in and of itself during this analysis. Finally, I have not used qualitative analysis software as part of this research; manually sorting through in excess of 2,000 media articles has proven to be something of a limitation in how I generalize my findings.

Throughout the review of media alerts, I identified key messages, themes, trends, and framing of the NGP. I then reviewed relevant academic literature related to media

framing, with a particular focus on Indigenous peoples, and subsequently revisited my Excel database to find articles that illustrate and support these findings. My approach to the media analysis was rigorous and comprehensive; it was systematic to the extent my methods permitted, but is limited by my subjectivity. Another reader of these articles may have identified different themes. Although I have worked to keep an open mind to my biases, there are undoubtedly elements to the discourse that were neglected or missed. In spite of this, I maintain that the review provides an important reading of key media themes.

Discourse Analysis: Northern Gateway Joint Review Panel

For all intents and purposes, Haida Gwaii is considered a microcosm, as it includes communities that are representative of the northwest region, and to some extent, of the broader provincial and national population. Therefore, this discourse analysis includes the local NGP narrative and carefully considers Islanders' concerns about the proposal which may represent the broader discourse. The primary source of my data came from the NGP JRP hearings on Haida Gwaii. While the initial intent of my research project was to conduct semi-structured interviews, complemented by participant observation, the JRP hearings on Haida Gwaii provided comprehensive, unprompted voices from the local NGP resistance, and therefore, my data relies solely on these transcripts.

Northern Gateway Joint Review Panel Testimonies

A brief overview of the JRP process was presented in Chapter 2; here I outline the difference between oral *evidence* and oral *statements* as defined within the current EA process (I use 'testimonies' as an encompassing term to refer generally to either evidence or statements that were provided to the Panel). Registered Intervenors were allowed to

present oral *evidence* at the first phase of hearings. In Procedural Direction #4, the Panel provided the following information regarding oral *evidence*:

While evidence is typically provided by Intervenors in writing, the Panel has allowed parties to give oral evidence where the information they wish to provide cannot be communicated in writing. The Panel will accept the following types of information as oral evidence:

- oral traditional knowledge, such as that given by Aboriginal peoples; and
- personal knowledge and experiences about the potential effects of the Project on you or your community

In order to set the context for your oral evidence, you may briefly state your point of view regarding the decision that the Panel should make on the Project. However, your evidence should focus on the information that supports your views (George 2012:1).

Compared to oral evidence, the Hearing Order outlines an oral *statement* as:

...a way for you to provide the Panel with your knowledge, views or concerns on the proposed Project in person during the community hearings. Your oral statement should describe the nature of your interest in the application and provide any relevant information that explains or supports your statement. You will present your oral statement during one of the community hearings, and can use notes to help you. At the time you give your oral statement you will be sworn or affirmed and asked to confirm that the content of your statement is accurate to the best of your knowledge...the Panel does not expect oral statements to be longer than 10 minutes (NEB | CEAA 2011:8).

Oral evidence provided by Intervenors and their witnesses was reserved largely for oral histories of Indigenous peoples' and information that could not be presented in writing. Through my own observations, the Panel Chair exerted her power liberally with this malleable definition, interrupting testimonies that were deemed inappropriate to present orally. Take for example, the Panel Chair interrupting one 13-year-old non-Haida's statement at the oral evidence hearings in Old Massett. "And, again, you'll have the opportunity to present your argument at [the final hearings]. So we're looking for your personal knowledge and experiences" [Sheilla Leggett NEB Hearing transcripts, 29 Feb 2012]. Disallowing the young man's testimony frustrated community members in

attendance and fuelled scepticism of the process by demonstrating that the Panel is severely confined within the federal EA. Further, the assessment's focus on 'oral traditional knowledge' raised important questions about the role of the Panel, and the Crown's duty to consult with Aboriginal peoples. Compared to the oral evidence phase of the hearings, oral *statements* were relatively open-ended (but subject to the strict 10-minute time limit) and allowed for the broader public to participate.

The hearings to receive oral evidence from Intervenors and their witnesses were two-day sessions in both Old Massett (February 28-29) and Skidegate (March 21-22). Likewise, oral statement hearings were held in both communities for an additional two days June 1-2 and June 13-14, respectively. Following these hearings, there were argument and final hearings scheduled in Edmonton, Alberta and Prince George and Prince Rupert, British Columbia throughout Fall 2012.

There were eight separate days of hearings throughout the various phases and each day's testimonies were transcribed in full and made available on the JRP's website (NEB | CEAA 2012). Additionally, each phase of the hearings was available by live audio stream. The hearings on Haida Gwaii—oral evidence and oral statements in both Old Massett and Skidegate—produced nearly 1,000 pages of transcripts that served as my primary data source. While attending the hearings, I actively listened to each person's testimony, making note of prominent themes within the different testimonies.

Approximately 125 Islanders representing a vast and varied range of voices and concerns addressed the Panel at the NGP JRP hearings. The age of participants ranged from approximately five years of age to 90 years. Speakers were predominantly of Haida or European descent, representing the general composition of the Haida Gwaii

community. Being a small community, I knew each of the speakers to varying degrees, but throughout my analysis, I only include salient characteristics such as age, ethnicity, or occupation if the speaker identified this information in their testimonies. Each of the speakers addressed the Panel within their communities, with fellow Islanders as spectators, and upon being sworn in, understood that their testimonies would become part of the public record through the EA.

Throughout the duration of my research project, I lived in my home community, Masset, on Haida Gwaii. My research questions and objectives were presented to the local resistance group, Haida Gwaii CoAST. When engaged in casual conversations related to the NGP within the community, I frequently discussed my educational endeavours and the focus of my Master's research. I would often make jot notes based on these conversations and kept a detailed but anonymous log of my various conversations. While I do not include any quotes or specific details from personal and impromptu conversations with fellow Islanders, this type of unstructured dialogue influenced my research and added depth to my understanding of the discourse. In some instances, these conversations reinforced my analyses, while in other cases they provided new and unexplored insight into the current research project.

There are several benefits to participant observation. First, I have already noted, immersion into the community helps to enhance the quality of data obtained throughout the researcher's fieldwork (Dewalt and Dewalt 2011:10). Second, participant observation facilitates meaningful and comprehensive interpretation of data. Third, it can help to formulate new research questions based on participation, inclusion, and understanding of the local communities. I would argue that there is one additional benefit to participant

observation: full and sincere participant observation allows the researcher the opportunity to explain their research questions, intent, and purpose to the community being 'researched'. Therefore, participant observation provides a means by which the researcher may develop more meaningful and reciprocal relationships within the communities they work in.

Prior to data analysis, I undertook an initial read through of the written transcripts. At this time, I made only preliminary notes regarding themes and common messages that appeared throughout Island citizens' testimonies. After this initial review, I re-read all of the transcripts highlighting text using a colour-coding system to identify the shared values within the oral testimonies on Haida Gwaii. Following this second review of the transcripts, I examined the documents again and compiled all highlighted quotes, and subsequently categorized them within the main values and various sub-themes. With a great number of speakers from diverse backgrounds contributing varied perspectives, I extrapolated a multitude of messages from the testimonies. A number of common concerns and shared values emerged, some of them qualitatively important, while others were mentioned less frequently but hold significant weight within the overall NGP discourse.

Upon my initial review, four main themes emerged: 1) food; 2) sense of place; 3) relationality; and 4) Aboriginal title and rights. While the first two were quantitatively and qualitatively (respectively) important based on the transcripts, the latter two were imperative themes that threaded throughout many of the Islanders' testimonies. Each of these values was reinforced by my informal and impromptu conversations with citizens

of Haida Gwaii. There are a few important notes that I should make about the data analysis, and take opportunity to do so now.

First, my analysis uncovered a wealth of significant themes and shared values of Islanders concerning the NGP. There were also notable trends between information presented to the Panel as oral evidence compared to oral statements. For example, concerns of, and reference to, Aboriginal title and rights was predominantly identified at the oral evidence hearings, whereas food and sense of place were common throughout the both phases of the hearings. The very nature of the oral statement hearings was much more open-ended, and therefore allowed for wide-ranging concerns to emerge throughout the numerous testimonies. At these hearings a number of additional themes were presented, including: the overall risk that the proposal poses to Haida Gwaii (here, 'risk' was a re-emerging term throughout various testimonies); the importance of the natural environment on children's education; global implications of the project; and last, a sense of lost democracy in Canada.

Second, for organizational and practical purposes, I focused on food and sense of place throughout my analysis because of their fundamental importance to the local discourse. After identifying these two fundamental values, I created several subthemes based on further analysis of the transcripts. I extrapolated statements from Island citizens' testimonies and then looked to the literature to explore these concepts within an academic framework. Although I hone in on food and sense of place, the overarching issues of Aboriginal title and rights and relationality were inherent in Islanders' testimonies, and throughout my analysis are considered interconnected components to the discourse. Finally, while I am not making any statistical inference or claims of quantitative

significance, I maintain that my analysis reflects some of the most imperative concerns and shared values among Islanders. Based on my experiences living, working, and actively participating in this issue, the local opposition to the NGP is categorical. Moreover, food and sense of belonging were prominent messages that emerged through my own personal observations and discussions.

Again, I relied on my conversations and experiences through participant observation to guide my evaluation of the transcripts and provide depth to the analysis of the local discourse. After identifying my main themes, I sought general feedback from my supervisor and engaged community members. With these various methods of obtaining data and analysis, I have confidence that my results remain true to the voices of opposition on Haida Gwaii.

Limitations

Like any research project, there are notable limitations to my data and methods of analysis. First, I grappled with the taxonomies that are adopted and naturalized throughout academic writing. Although I present food and sense of place as two separate, overarching themes, they are interdependent and interconnected. Further, I created subcategories within these two themes, meaning that I have had to unpack and re-pack the local NGP discourse, but notably, it was counter intuitive and sometimes impossible to separate these units. Take the following excerpt as an example, a statement made to the Panel at the oral evidence hearings in Skidegate.

I've had the privilege to fish with my grandparents, to share stories and learn from them. I've had the privilege to witness thousands upon thousands of salmon running back to their spawning grounds. I've had the privilege to watch black bears, the largest in North America and possibly the world, feeding at low tide on the beach. I've had the privilege to attend feasts hosting over 500 with nothing but fresh seafood, and yet we have trays upon trays left over. I've had

the privilege to grow up on Haida Gwaii. These are privileges that we want to share with our children and our children's children. These are privileges that we want to be shared on the land, in the waters, with future generations and not taught to them out of a history textbook. These are privileges you cannot put a price tag on. We need these marine resources to sustain us nutritionally as human beings just as much as we need them to sustain us culturally as Haida people. Our deepest roots are in nature. No matter who you are, where you live or what kind of life you lead, we all remain irrevocably linked with the rest of creation. Our health as a people and our society is intricately tied to the health of the land and the waters and the life within [Josh Vandal NEB Hearing transcripts, 22 Mar 2012].

In this excerpt, the young Haida man speaks directly to the importance of food security (Chapter 5) and a number of the issues embedded within food, cultural connections, and a sense of place. Thus, it was not apparent how to categorize the data, and in fact, it was sometimes unnatural to segment the shared values.

Second, and in line with creating and mobilizing bounded categories, I hesitate to draw on individual labels of age, gender, or ethnicity. Personally and academically, I do not want to perpetuate such taxonomies and do not believe that they are directly relevant to the analysis. I am reluctant to make sweeping generalizations about 'Indigenous worldviews' or 'Western ways of knowing'. That being said, the essence of my research question is the coming together and mobilization of diverse populations, which necessitates some attention to these salient and individual characteristics. Although I would like to avoid these taxonomies, subscribing to such labels was required to some extent.

Third, in the previous chapter I argued that federal EAs are embedded in a colonial and bureaucratic framework, and this research project has come to rely almost exclusively on information presented throughout this process. Every phase of the quasi-judicial review was foreign, and the atmosphere at the hearings was quite sterile

compared to the status quo on Haida Gwaii. There was resounding opposition from all of the testimonies on Haida Gwaii and many people noted the Island's unity against the proposal. The following excerpt is illustrative of this, and the concluding chapters focus on the importance and potential of these coalitions.

The protection of oceans has made for some unlikely bedfellows. I have personally been involved in numerous events around issues here on Haida Gwaii. I was engaged in the provincial and federal panels when they came about offshore oil and gas...I was a member of the Community Planning Forum during the Land Use Planning process. I worked with the Haida on an Island Spirit Rising and now I'm working on marine planning. But what strikes me about this process is that there are people in this room that have never been involved in anything before...There are heavy-duty mechanics; there are nurses; there are aerobics teachers; there are writers; there are artists. There are people who drive B.C. Hydro trucks. There are people who work at the grocery store. They're all in this room. And you might get the impression that we all like each other, and I can assure you, we don't. Commercial fishermen and recreational fishermen never see eye to eye. So what's important and what's really quite incredible – and this is local knowledge because you wouldn't know that if you just saw a group of people – never before have the islands come together, I think, in this significant way. This is an incredibly unifying process, and it is unprecedented, and I hope you appreciate just how significant that is to the islands [Catherine Margaret Rigg NEB Hearing transcripts, 29 Feb 2012].

Although the testimonies were presented within a formal and foreign process, I would argue that the quality and integrity of the information is true and representative of the Islands' resistance to the NGP. Through my observations and in talking with locals at the NGP JRP hearings, I came to view the EA process as a means by which locals took the opportunity to present their views on the proposal, and community members in attendance often felt that their concerns were expressed through the voices of the speakers, even if they themselves did not opt to address the Panel. Ms. Rigg's statement, for example, resonated with Island citizens, which I noted upon several impromptu conversations with community members after the hearing. Thus, upon reflecting on these inherent biases of my data source, I contend that it is representative of the NGP discourse

on Haida Gwaii. Last, there was an overwhelming amount of data available through the NGP JRP transcripts and I had limited resources available for analysis. Ideally, I would have used qualitative data analysis software to systematically search and sort through the transcripts, allowing me to build a more empirically grounded view of the discursive themes encountered both in the media and at NGP JRP hearings. This remains a project for the future.

Positionality

In addition to these inherent limitations, and in the spirit of full disclosure, some of my history and personal characteristics is relevant to this research. While I do not intend to present an autobiography, it is necessary to reflect on my positionality within the communities on Haida Gwaii, my role within the NGP resistance, and my research project.

I am of mixed ancestry—my biological father is of European descent and my mother is of Haida ancestry. Haida are matrilineal, and therefore, like my mother and her mother and those before her, I am a *K'aawas* Eagle from the village of *K'yuusata*. Until the age of ten, I was raised in the Greater Vancouver area, at which time my mom and I moved to Old Massett, the community in which she was born and raised. Although I did not reside in Masset until grade 5, my formative adolescent years were spent on Haida Gwaii, and this instilled local sensibilities that shaped my value system and worldview.

After high school, I moved to attend post-secondary where I attained a Bachelor of Arts majoring in psychology and anthropology. Following this degree, I completed the Cultural Resource Management Diploma Program at the University of Victoria before enrolling in the University's Graduate program in the Department of Anthropology.

Throughout the past 10 years, I spent eight months each year away at school, and the summer months living in Masset. Because I was not born and raised on Haida Gwaii, and given my cosmopolitan lifestyle in my adult years, I am in a unique, sometimes challenging, advantageous insider-outsider position within my home community. This has provided a combination of personal experiences within the community and academic perspectives that can be difficult to balance, but ultimately is an asset to my current research and allowed for a more informed, contextualized approach to my project.

Although I do not self-identify as an ‘environmentalist’ or ‘activist’, these terms may be applied to the role that I have adopted within the communities on Haida Gwaii. Approximately one year ago, Haida Gwaii CoASt was re-established, creating a formal and diverse coalition of Island citizens categorically opposed to the NGP, and I have been actively involved with the organization since its re-inception. Academically, professionally, and personally, I am transparent in my unequivocal stance against the NGP. With a personal understanding of our connection to the local and natural environments on Haida Gwaii and our reliance on Island food sources, the NGP represents a multitude of threats to Island lifeways, I became involved with this resistance because I felt an urgency to join the multivocal and diverse movement to stop the NGP. On Haida Gwaii, the proposal jeopardizes our essence and existence, and because of this, I opted to participate in the NGP JRP hearings in Old Massett. See Appendix B for a record of my oral statement to the Panel, which I presented on June 2, 2012.

With my involvement in the NGP resistance, in January 2012, I was assigned to work part-time with CHN; my primary role was to assist with logistics for the first phase of oral evidence hearings on Haida Gwaii. I continued working on this file following the

oral evidence hearings when I was asked to help encourage community participation in the next phase of hearings—the oral *statement* hearings—by eliminating some of the practical barriers inherent within the EA process. Prior to this, I was (and remain to be) employed as a researcher and writer with the Nation’s publication, *Haida Laas*. I talked to varying degrees about my research with my colleagues and have had to remain cognizant to the sensitivities between my role as a student and my position working with the Nation. While my employment with CHN has not directly contributed to my research, it provided invaluable experiences and allowed me to participate in this resistance at a different level than the grassroots CoASt organization. Between my academic endeavours, my employment, and my personal commitment to the NGP opposition, I have become completely immersed in this struggle and the combination of these experiences has allowed me to understand local nuances in the discourse and the broader philosophical and legal issues inherent within the proposal.

Lastly, I have a post-secondary education and have gained full-time employment in my home community where I have a generous and reliable support system. Being an Indigenous female may put me in a position of inequality, in some respects, but I personally feel privileged to live on Haida Gwaii, to have obtained a formal education, and maintain steady employment. I see complacency as a real threat to today’s society, which I attribute, at least in part, to people being preoccupied fulfilling day-to-day requirements and routines. Because of the securities in my life, and because of limited demands in my personal life, I have the time and commitment to educate myself on current social, political, and ecological injustices.

My thesis is subject to these biases and is influenced by my belief that Haida Gwaii must be protected from threats of large-scale development projects like the NGP. At times it was difficult to remove myself from this total immersion in the resistance and analyze the discourse through an academic lens. My findings, however, are based in the discursive realities encountered by the JRP and in the media and my interpretations are presented as accurately and honestly as possible. I have allowed community voices a primary space within my writing, which I hope will contribute to a re-envisioning of our social, environmental, economic, and political future. These concepts will be explored in more detail in Chapters 7 and 8. The following three chapters present my media analysis and NGP JRP discourse analysis.

Chapter 4 – The Enbridge Northern Gateway Narrative

The NGP is enmeshed in a complex web of social, cultural, environmental, and economic issues, with both local and global dimensions. As with any public discourse, these elements are produced, consumed, contextualized, and validated through mainstream media. This chapter analyzes the NGP narrative and how it has been created, mobilized and consumed. I present an overview of the influence of media; consider how the media portrays the ‘Indian’ and ‘noble savage’; discuss media framing; consider how labels are assigned within the media; and, lastly, provide an analysis of power dynamics within the public discourse.

There are many variables that condition media narratives: what is deemed newsworthy, a web of interpretations, knowledge, and values; and, the dissemination and consumption of messaging. Media has assumed an especially powerful and influential role within daily life of modern, Western society, potentially shaping our knowledge and ideologies. The media has the power to influence our perceptions and interpretations, and therefore, can affect our ontologies and realities (Furniss 2001; Van Sterkenburg *et al.* 2010). Knopf (2010:89), for example, argues that people are so immersed in media images and messaging that it even has the ability to influence people’s identities and place within society. Banjeree and Osuri (2000:275) point to how the media institutionalizes memory, ultimately controlling what will become ‘national memories’. The media systematically shapes the public’s values and allows some knowledge and information to dominate over others. Because of this, understanding the power, politics, control, ownership, production and dissemination of news is critical to understanding the position that modern media maintains within society (Banjeree and Osuri 2000:266).

Within the public discourse surrounding the NGP, it is necessary to examine how ‘the Indian’ and ‘noble savage’ were historically constructed in the media, and how these images have influenced public perceptions.

Constructing ‘the Indian’ and Considering the ‘Noble Savage’

Indigenous people have faced a multitude of systemic and institutional barriers, and the portrayal of ‘the Indian’ in the media is just one example of these historic and continued inequalities. The binary of ‘civilized’ (*us*) and ‘savage’ (*them*) is deeply embedded within Canada’s colonial history and is continuously perpetuated in mainstream media through various messages and means (Harding 2006; Johnson 2011). ‘The Indian’ has been consistently depicted as: stoic; inherently violent; lawless; and warrior-like (Johnson 2011; Knopf 2010). These images have been reproduced and consumed, accepted, and engrained. As such they enable normalization of racial stereotyping and discrimination (Johnson 2011:106).

In his historic analysis of ‘the Indian’ in the media in the 1860s, Harding (2006:208-09) argues that the framing of *us* and *them* allowed for the institutional denial of civil rights to ‘the Indian’. The portrayal of Indians as ‘uncivilized’, ‘childlike’, and ‘inferior’ established and perpetuated inequalities. According to this historical discourse analysis, the (mis)representation of Indigenous people in Canada has been maintained over for the last 130 years and continues to serve the interests of dominant Western society (Harding 2006:224).

Today, mainstream media continues to perpetuate these stereotypes by framing Indigenous people as ‘violent’, ‘emotional’, ‘irrational’ and ‘rebellious’, which is frequently juxtaposed against the non-Indigenous who are portrayed as ‘logical’ and

‘rational’ (Knopf 2010:91). Indigenous people are frequently portrayed in the media when engaged in contentious events, such as a protest or blockade, which operationalizes the public perspective of Indigenous people as ‘emotional’ and ‘rebellious’ (Wilkes *et al.* 2010:41). In line with this, Harding (2006:206) asserts that Indigenous communities only appear in the media in extreme, primarily negative, circumstances. For example, high poverty and unemployment rates, suicide, crime, and substance abuse are frequently depicted on reserves, but the media fails to contextualize these issues within the socio-political, historical and ongoing colonial systems in Canada.

Through both language and messaging, the media constructs the image of ‘the Indian’ (Johnson 2011:127), exemplifying contemporary radicalised practices, attitudes, and outcomes (Harding 2006:206). Because the media is controlled and owned by *us*, with consistent misrepresentations of *them*, it simultaneously neglects the state’s colonial history while promulgating racist ideologies that allow for the maintenance of white dominance in Canada (Harding 2006:205-06). Ultimately, I would argue, the representation of ‘the Indian’ is a concrete example of the continued colonial inequalities experienced by Canada’s Indigenous people and exemplifies ongoing power maintained by the state. A significant event in the Northern Gateway resistance, and one that exemplifies the media’s representation of the ‘rebellious Indians’, was the agreement signed between the Gitksan First Nation and Enbridge.

The Gitksan First Nation Unity Movement

On December 2, 2011, media headlines exploded internationally, nationally, and locally: “Enbridge gets first aboriginal partner for Gateway,” claimed the *International Business Times*; “First Nations support Northern Gateway pipeline,” says Enbridge CEO,

according to the *Edmonton Journal*; and, “Gitxsan chiefs back Enbridge pipeline,” claimed *Smithers Interior News*. According to the latter, “Hereditary Chief Elmer Derrick, whose traditional village is Gitsegukla, made the announcement on behalf of the hereditary chiefs and the Gitxsan Nation, saying that over time they had established a solid relationship with Enbridge based on trust” (Orr 2011). Indicating that Derrick, who was also a negotiator at the local Treaty Office, spoke on behalf of Gitxsan Hereditary Leaders, the account stated that the Chiefs had considered the risks of the proposal and that Enbridge’s offer of approximately \$7 million equity represented a “sound economic and employment opportunity” for the Gitxsan First Nation.

Within days, the Gitxsan community mobilized, forming the ‘Gitxsan Unity Movement’. Project opponents asserted that the proposed NGP would not directly affect the Gitxsan territory, and therefore, the agreement was not valid. *The Globe and Mail* reported that, “Hereditary chief Norman Stephens said between 50 to 100 people, many dressed in traditional regalia, marched to the offices of the Gitxsan Treaty Society on Monday to demand the resignation of those involved in the pact” (Stueck 2011). Meanwhile, community members tenaciously asserted that Derrick did not have the authority or the support of fellow chiefs or the Gitxsan First Nation to sign any agreements with the company.

Comparing the Gitxsan controversy to other narratives within the NGP movement, there are some notable observations. First, ‘First Nations support for Enbridge’ instantly made national news headlines, misleading the general public to believe that there was support for the proposal by broader Indigenous communities. Headlines in the following days highlighted some of the internal conflict and controversy of signing the deal, but the

media attention soon dwindled and perpetuated the narrative of ‘First Nations support’ within the general public. Media attention continued, on a smaller scale, when Supreme Court Justice Mark McEwan ruled the blockade illegal in December and forced an injunction. While the protest became old news to most media, the community members continued to blockade the Treaty Office, demanding a forensic audit.

On May 9, 2012, a headline in *The Globe and Mail* read, “B.C. judge at wits’ end, compares Gitksan protests to Caledonia” (Mason 2012). This account represents a resurgence of coverage on the relationship between the Gitksan First Nation and Enbridge. At this time, it was Judge McEwan’s displeasure that was expressed, as local police were unwilling to enforce the injunction he ordered some five months prior. After another lull in media, on June 11, 2012, *The Globe and Mail* reported on the ‘peaceful’ end to the Gitksan blockade after community protestors were assured that a financial review would be conducted (Stueck 2012). Within these six months, Enbridge maintained that the deal with the Gitksan Nation was valid. Throughout this time, the media concentrated on the protest itself, the judge’s frustration, and internal conflicts of the Nation instead of focusing on the contentious agreement itself or accurately representing the solidarity of Indigenous people against the NGP.

Media coverage of the controversial agreement between the Gitksan First Nation and Enbridge serves as an example of how only certain events and people are portrayed within the public discourse, and also, how Indigenous people are frequently depicted as ‘controversial’ or ‘rebellious’, raising questions as to whom is permitted voice in the media, a point that I address later in this chapter. It is also notable that Indigenous politics were generalized within the Gitksan narrative, and Derrick was most frequently cited as a

‘Chief’ or ‘Hereditary Leader’, terms that imply a sense of power, and thus the authority to make decisions on behalf of the Nation. I argue this terminology is largely misunderstood among the average Canadian consuming this messaging, resulting in another element of misleading or misconstrued messaging. Further, the media quickly reproduced the narrative and continuously highlighted the Gitksan First Nation’s internal conflicts, portraying ‘corruption’ within the Nation, and focusing on Derrick’s support for the economic benefits of the proposal. This focus on economic benefits, I would argue, aligns with dominant agendas and value systems, making it easier for the general public to identify with Derrick’s perspective than that of the Gitksan First Nation.

Framing

The media is narrowly interpreted and is subject to endless variables—manipulation, opinion, and control—and therefore, does not always reflect the facts and realities of any given event. The systems through which information is created, filtered, disseminated, and consumed, is called a frame (Wilkes *et al.* 2010:41). Through framing, the media constructs knowledge and shapes ideologies, values, and perceptions (Patrick and Armitage 2001:228). It identifies problems, makes diagnoses, and can also influence moral judgments (Entman 1993:52). As stated by Olausson (2009:4), framing is often taken for granted, and therefore normalized in everyday practice, allowing the media to exercise ongoing and unquestioned control and power. Some of the most common frames found in modern media are based on race, ethnicity, and gender (Banjeree and Osuri 2000:266), frames that suppress some voices and marginalize some sectors of society (Wilkes *et al.* 2010:41). One of the most powerful and remnant frames of ‘the Indian’ is

that of the ‘noble savage’, which has proved to both help and hinder Indigenous peoples and environmental causes.

Racial Framing

Media framing of Indigenous people has the ability to reinforce notions of Indians as ‘uncivilized’, ‘heathen’, and ‘inferior’, or ‘childlike’ through lexicon (Harding 2006:209). One of the most prominent frames in news media involving Indigenous people, according to Harding (2006:217), is the “triumph of reason over emotion.” Considering the lexical selections of headlines involving Indigenous people, Harding identifies a predominance of emotional words attributed to Indigenous people. For example, Indigenous people ‘dream’, ‘argue’, ‘cry’ (tears), ‘vow to fight’ and threaten ‘confrontation’, by contrast to non-Indigenous people who ‘offer insight’, and make ‘firm’ and ‘common sense’ decisions. Therefore, Indigenous people are framed as emotionally driven, while non-Indigenous people are governed by reason (Harding 2006:217-218). Like all frames, the media reproduces these lexicons until they are normalized and become the overriding concept of ‘the Indian’ (Harding 2006:220).

The ‘emotional Indian’ frame can be viewed within the public NGP narrative, with media titles such as: “Decrying federal ‘bully tactics,’ B.C. natives vow to block pipeline” in *The Globe and Mail* (McCarthy 2012a); “The Gitksan fight Enbridge allies with social media,” in the *Pacific Free Press* (Gillis 2012); “Harper headed for conflict with First nations over Gateway: Rae,” (O’Neil 2012a) and “First Nations fiercely opposed to Northern Gateway,” both in *The Vancouver Sun* (Hoekstra 2012). Here the media uses consistent lexicon such as, ‘decry’, ‘fight’, ‘conflict’, and ‘fiercely’, to mobilize images of the illogical and ‘emotional Indian’.

Problematizing the Noble Savage and Appropriating the Frame

Another prominent frame for ‘the Indian’ is the compelling image of the ecologically ‘noble savage’ (Nadasdy 2005:312), which is deeply embedded in, and has resonated with, dominant society since it was constructed. “Even in the nineteenth century, the architects of the conservation movement in the United States were drawing on their understandings of Indian hunting practices as a model for the nascent conservationist perspective” (Nadasdy 2005:298). According to Nadasdy (2005:314), the ‘noble savage’ embodies an idealistic notion of human-environment relationships. This concept was constructed from the notion that Indigenous people possess an innate understanding of their local ecosystems and the ability to organize natural systems to maintain an equilibrium and stability (Hames 2007). Indigenous people, then, were framed as cultures living in “perfect harmony with the environment” and used as a model for ecological sustainability (Nadasdy 2005:292).

Nadasdy (2005:293) argues that the ‘noble savage’ frame is based on an imperialistic perspective and the ideals and cultural assumptions of dominant society. According to Nadasdy, the ‘noble savage’ frame essentializes Indigenous people and he draws on his work among the Kluane—Indigenous people of the present-day Yukon—to dismantle this frame. Nadasdy (2005:301) states that one could argue that the Kluane are ‘environmentalists’ that reinforce the ‘noble savage’ frame, while an equally compelling case could be made to argue that the Kluane are not in fact ‘environmentalists’. He further problematizes the ‘noble savage’ frame, stating that, while the media frames exist and indeed resonates, many scholars have argued Indigenous peoples are simply not ‘ecologically noble’—like any other culture, global Indigenous people have manipulated, altered, and over-exploited their local territories (Nadasdy 2005:313). Regardless of the

history, validity, or accuracy of this frame, it exists, and as such, has been appropriated in a political and ‘opportunistic’ manner by Indigenous people.

Continuing with his analysis of the ‘noble savage’ Nadasdy (2005:311-312) considers Indigenous appropriation of the frame, asking, “Why do indigenous people themselves make such extensive use of the ecologically noble savage stereotype if it is simply a European construction that serves Euro-American ends?” Indigenous people utilize the ‘noble savage’ image to identify characteristics of their own culture and worldview to advance their own political agendas, as exemplified at the Earth Summit in 1992 where “authentic noble savages” were “paraded” at the environmental conferences as holding the “secrets” to ecological conservation (Hames 2007:185). Given the power of the media and the existing ‘noble savage’ frame, this type of appropriation is a natural fit, and has been noted by other authors. Furniss (2001:4), for example, observes that Indigenous leaders have ‘capitalized’ on the influence of the media to help gain public support for land claims, resource conservation, and sovereignty. Given the political situatedness of Indigenous people, they simply, “have to resort to these dominant images” to achieve their own agendas (Blaser 2004:53).

Categorizing the Categorized: Tree Huggers, Meet the Noble Savages

Nadasdy (2005:296-297) argues that the notion of ‘environmentalism’ should be considered on a continuum from ‘anti-environmentalist’ to extreme environmentalist. Industrialists, capitalists, and mass consumers comprise the ‘anti-environmentalist’ end of the spectrum and hold a strict anthropocentric worldview, making a clear distinction between humans and the environment. On the opposite end of the spectrum are ‘radical environmentalists’, or ‘dark greens’. These individuals deny a distinction between

humans and the environment, maintain a spiritual relationship with their surroundings, and call for a revisioning of the capitalist, industrial society, which they blame for today's environmental crises. In between these extremes are the 'light greens', a category of concerned citizens who are aware of environmental exploitation and advocate for public and legislative changes to 'conserve' natural resources.

In general, Indigenous people tend to be categorized along with 'dark greens' due to the assumption that they have common underlying values (Nadasdy 2005:299). The marriage between 'First Nations' and 'environmentalists' is a relationship that Nadasdy examines, stating that the 'dark greens' look to the 'noble savage' as the antithesis for everything wrong with dominant Western society. These simplistic and over-generalized classifications of 'First Nations' and 'environmentalists' are taken for granted, and Nadasdy's 'environmentalist' spectrum is particularly relevant to a consideration of NGP framing; the media mobilized these labels, consistently limiting the resistance to these special interest groups.

Forging Alliances

Because the 'noble savage' creates an idealistic concept of ecological sustainability, it lends well to notions of 'environmentalism', and therefore, environmentalists, demonstrating that frames are quite flexible. According to Nadasdy (2005:292) 'New Age spiritualists' and self-identified 'environmentalists' have found inspiration and alliances with Indigenous people, in part, due to this image of the 'noble savage'. Therefore, a new category of *us* ('regular', average citizens) and *them* (environmentalists and First Nations) is created and reproduced within the public discourse (Nadasdy 2005:296). These categories are operationalized within media coverage of the NGP and

the complex relationships embedded within the frame are taken for granted. While there may be shared values between Indigenous people and environmentalists, when the media narrowly presents this narrative, it is accepted within the public discourse and, as I argue in the following section, this delegitimizes the diversity of opposition within the resistance.

The Northern Gateway Protagonists and the Frames

This isn't a debate about east versus west, or jobs versus the environment, it's not a debate about Indigenous versus non-Indigenous Canadians. This is a question about what type of future we want for our country (Smith 2012).

There has been an overall consistency in how the media frames the NGP. A majority of media articles that I reviewed outlined the project in one or two sentences and in turn noted the 'vehement' or 'fierce' opposition to the proposal. Notably, the frame outlined above comes into play here; the media was consistent in identifying 'environmentalists and First Nations' as the exclusive opponents to the proposal. The following excerpt from the *Edmonton Journal* is a common frame of the NGP and its opposition.

Seen by industry and government as a critical link between the Alberta oilsands and growing markets in Asia, the \$5.5 billion Enbridge Northern Gateway pipeline project is opposed by most B.C. First Nations who fear spills will destroy their way of life, and a coalition of environmental activist groups battling further expansion of the tar sands (Cooper 2012).

Reports from the *Canadian Broadcasting Company* (CBC) also mobilized these simplistic categories, with headlines, such as, "First Nations, environmentalists oppose B.C. pipeline" (CBC 2012a). This was the headline for a press conference held in Ottawa organized by a delegation of opponents whose purpose was to represent the broad alliance of opposition to the NGP. The delegation included representatives from the Yinka Dene Alliance, Environmental Defence, United Fishermen and Allied Workers

Union, and Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada. The following statement was made by Dave Coles, President of the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada at the press conference and illustrates the diverse opposition to the proposal:

Our union, we don't endorse anything to do with any form of violence whatsoever. But, when you ask about what will be done, is it possible for civil disobedience? Absolutely. Those pipelines will not make it to construction. And I'm not just saying that on behalf of myself, you just know when you meet with the First Nations, small businesses...that pipeline's a no-go, and that's what creates the issue about why are they doing it. If they knew in advance that there's not a hope on this earth that that pipeline's going to be built, why are they doing the bullying and intimidation? I don't happen to be a foreign funded terrorist, I happen to be a Canadian that's proud of this country, and I'm saying, our organization is saying 'no, you're not going to build that pipeline' (Coles 2012).

In April, the provincial NDP took a public stance on the proposal and filed an 11-page letter with the NGP JRP stating the party's official opposition. Soon after, *Canadian Business* reported that, "Environmental groups, First Nations and B.C.'s Opposition New Democrats have come out firmly against the \$5.5 billion Enbridge plan to pipe Alberta oil to the north coast B.C. and ship the oil to Asia on supertankers" (Meissner 2012). As this report illustrates, the media remains faithful to framing opposition as 'First Nations and environmentalists'. Notably, when a stakeholder group (that is, the NDP) does not immediately fit within that frame, the group is identified individually or is neglected from the narrative. An example of this is the *CBC* headline of 'First Nations and environmentalists', which blatantly neglected representation from the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada quoted earlier.

Based on this media review and my observations participating in the resistance to the NGP, it is evident that there is a diversity of opposition to the proposed project, but the

media frames are severely confined. Various news sources within this six-month period noted growing and diverse opposition from several municipalities and the Union of BC Municipalities. In February 2012, *The Canadian Jewish News* wrote in opposition, “Faith communities protect the Earth,” and noted specifically that the NGP could offer employment but stated the significant environmental threat of the proposal (Winegust 2012). Celebrities helped contribute to the dialogue, as well. On May 1, 2012 *CTV News* reported that, “Former NHL star opposes pipeline plans,” quoting the high risks posed to the pristine Great Bear Rainforest and mentioning the recent opposition from the B.C. NDP (Grainger 2012). As exemplified with the “First Nations, environmentalists, and NDP” report, stakeholder and interest groups that do not readily fit within the existing frames, such as the Jewish Community, are identified individually. Reporting on a gathering to mark the memorial of the Exxon Valdez oil spill, *24H* said, “The diverse gathering included aboriginals, union members, environmentalists, students, academics and politicians, including recent NDP leadership candidate Nathan Cullen and Green Party leader Elizabeth May” (Chu 2012). In my media review, this was the only news source that accurately captured the diversity of opposition to the NGP.

There were several more examples of the media’s limitation to the ‘First Nations and environmentalists’ frame. In a comprehensive overview of the NGP on January 10, 2012, a *CBC* report stated that, “Environmental groups and some fishermen, municipalities and aboriginal communities oppose the pipeline” (CBC 2012b). More recently, *The Province* said that, “Opposition to the project has already been fierce, with B.C. First Nations communities, environmental groups and both the federal and provincial NDP coming out against the proposal...” (Olivier 2012). Each of these examples illustrate that the media

takes a narrow approach in framing the NGP resistance, which limits the legitimate and diverse concerns of the proposal.

Now that the main players have been identified, it is important to consider how the central issues are framed around the NGP and, based on my observations, I would suggest that there are two overarching elements that have polarized the discourse: the environment and the economy. Similar to what Nadasdy (2005) described, environmentalism can be placed on a continuum from ‘anti-environmentalists’ to ‘deep greens’ and this is mobilized within the NGP discourse. Both ends of the continuum rely heavily on this framing, with the oil industry and government touting economic prosperity and employment opportunities, and opponents illustrating picturesque images of pristine wilderness jeopardized by the proposal. This continuous pitting of the environment against the economy forces the public to support or reject the proposal in these stark, limited terms. In the same way that the media mobilizes and limits the frame around stakeholder opposition, it creates and perpetuates the binary between the environment and the economy. For example, on January 8, 2012, *The Star* reported that “Like the now-stalled Keystone XL project in the United States, the planned pipeline to carry tarsands derived crude oil across the mountains to a new supertanker port in northern B.C. is shaping up as a titanic clash of economic and environmental imperatives” (Whittington 2012). One of the most dominant messages mobilized throughout the NGP narrative, which will be examined in more detail later in this chapter, was Minister of Natural Resources, Joe Oliver’s, open letter identifying the need to “diversify Canada’s economy,” a message that was carelessly re-circulated. As just one example, *The Globe and Mail* soon reported that the Harper government deemed the

NGP as a project in the “national interest” and asserted a need to “diversify crude oil exports toward growing Asian markets” (McCarthy 2012b).

In a *Financial Post* article, it was argued that Canada must be leaders with Alberta’s energy and ensure that our natural resources are exported to meet market demands (Spence 2012). Some media quoted the estimated tax revenue for the proposal, an argument intended to illustrate that the NGP is in the ‘national interest’. As another example, one *CBC* article reported, “The company says the Northern Gateway would produce approximately \$2.6 billion in total local, provincial and federal tax revenues during 30 years of operation” (CBC 2012b). An article titled “B.C., the gateway to Asia, is the place to be” stated that the province is facing a battle between ecological preservation and industrial development, and indicated that development projects like the Northern Gateway are necessary to fund social programs (Carrick 2012). Notably, David Suzuki (2012) fed into the polarization of the environment and the economy in an opinion piece covered in the *Victoria News*, “The larger issues are about our continued reliance on polluting fossil fuels and the economic impact of rapidly exploiting and selling our resources and resource industries.” While the economy and environment are predominant categories of concern, the media severely limits public discussions on the vast and varied concerns regarding the NGP.

Some media recognized the biases within the mainstream discourse, stating that, “messaging is dead-simple, repetitive and coherent within itself. They use a few words over and over again: ‘jobs,’ ‘growth,’ ‘low taxes,’ and they have a special penchant for the word ‘strong,’ quite often paired with ‘majority’ (Nerenberg 2012). In contrast to this critique, one editorial from January 9, 2012 in the *Terrace Standard* wrote: “All across

this province the vast majority of local residents are saying, ‘Hold on just a minute. Your planned pipeline would put at considerable risk the things I value in this province: the pure waters of rivers, the salmon that need them, and the coastal waters that feed us’” (Williams 2012). The article indicates that the oil industry must consider their environmental impacts before making any business decisions. Quoting Economist Robyn Allan, *The StarPhoenix* reported that the NGP, “presents a biased narrative where industry benefits are falsely estimated while economic, social and environmental costs are ignored” (Hanley 2012).

On May 5, 2012, a letter written by Chief of the Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation was published in the *Edmonton Journal* and provides a fair representation of Indigenous concerns regarding the proposal:

We don't want our lands, our rights, or our people to be sidelined and destroyed by irresponsible development. As Denesuline People, we have an intricate relationship with Mother Earth that keeps our physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual well-being in balance. This sacred connection is shared by our brothers and sisters in B.C. and is the very reason we support the opposition to the Gateway pipeline. We intimately understand their struggle to protect environmental values – values not only significant to First Nations peoples, but at the heart of what it used to mean to be Canadian (Adam 2012).

Again, while the national economy and British Columbia’s coast are significant factors relevant to the debate, there are a multitude of issues embedded within the public’s concerns simplistically placed within the category of the ‘environment’. These concerns were outlined consistently and eloquently by community members throughout NGP JRP hearings on Haida Gwaii, which will be analyzed in detail in the following chapter. This media framing constricts the breadth of legitimate concerns regarding the NGP by confining the discussion to one focused only on the environment or the economy.

Power, Representation, and Voice

As important as context, frames, filters, dissemination, and consumption of mainstream media is, so too is a consideration of power relationships and inequalities at play. Mainstream media is often taken for granted and is unquestioned by the general public. This must be problematized within the NGP, as the nexus between social and political power and public knowledge may not be fully realized; therefore, public opinions can become swayed without a critical consideration of how knowledge and power are produced within the discourse (see Banjeree and Osuri 2000; Harding 2006).

Based on the current analysis, I would argue that politicians and industry overpower many of the local narratives and concerns within the NGP, as illustrated in the last section. Between lexical choices and strategic messaging from the country's politicians, a powerful polemic has been constructed around the 'national interest' and economic and employment benefits of the NGP. The first example that I draw on is the dominating rhetoric from the Honourable Joe Oliver; the second considers controversial changes to the federal EA process through the 2012 Budget Bill; and the last examines the Yinka Dene Freedom Train.

Oliver's Radical Rhetoric

On January 9, 2012, one day before the NGP JRP hearings began, there was a media frenzy quoting Minister Oliver's open letter accusing environmentalists and "other radical groups" of blocking Canada's natural resource exports, which he claimed threatens the national economy (Payton 2012). Oliver (2012) wrote, "Unfortunately, there are environmental and other radical groups that would seek to block this opportunity to diversify our trade. Their goal is to stop any major project no matter what the cost to Canadian families in lost jobs and economic growth. No forestry. No mining. No oil. No

gas. No more hydro-electric dams.” *iPolitics* reported on the letter in, “Opposition MPs slam Oliver’s open letter on Northern Gateway pipeline”, citing that Canada needs to expand national resource markets beyond the United States (Horgan 2012).

Notably, Minister Oliver’s rhetoric was criticised from a variety of different media outlets. *The New York Times* online also reported on Oliver’s “unusual open letter,” in an article titled, “Oil Sands Foes Are Foes of Canada, Minister Says” (Austen 2012). The article characterized the NGP as Canada’s energy contingency plan if the United States rejects the Keystone XL pipeline and criticized the Minister’s ‘sharply worded’ letter. Local, provincial, and national media quickly disseminated Oliver’s accusations, and although it was subject to some criticism (such as the *New York Times* article quoted earlier), this event dominated media coverage and ultimately overpowered the start of the NGP JRP hearings in local and national media. In addition to Oliver’s message feeding into the environment-economy dichotomy within the public discourse, this episode exemplifies a broader pattern around who is granted voice and validity in the media.

Changing the Federal Environmental Assessment

More overpowering rhetoric in the NGP narrative came from Enbridge CEO, Patrick Daniels. “[The Northern Gateway] will generate millions of dollars in benefits for the First Nations and other communities involved and hundreds of billions of dollars for a generation of Canadians” (Ross 2011). Daniels was quoted saying that this is a “nation-building” project for the country, and that, “We say ‘no’ to nuclear, we say ‘no’ to coal, we say ‘no’ to oil, we say ‘no’ to fracturing wells to recover natural gas, but we say ‘yes’ to light switches, cooked food, school buses, and gas pedals,” a statement remarkably similar to that made by the Honourable Joe Oliver.

On March 29, 2012, The Conservative government released the 2012-2013 Budget Bill which included substantial changes to the federal environmental review process. Because the Prime Minister and a number of Ministers had vocalized their support for the proposal, the media tied the EA changes to the NGP. *The Globe and Mail* reported, “The federal government is asserting its control over pipelines – including the proposed Northern Gateway oil-sands project – taking from regulators the final word on approvals and limiting the ability of opponents to intervene in environmental assessments” (McCarthy 2012b). The omnibus bill proposed notable changes to the federal EA, that included: restricting the length of review projects; significantly reducing federal agencies involved in reviews; and allowing cabinet ultimate authority concerning pipeline projects in Canada (the bill passed on June 20, 2012). This issue continued to pit the environment against the economy and gained much warranted media coverage. Oliver was frequently quoted making statements such as this excerpt from the *Calgary Herald*:

The rationale is that for large projects that can have a national or regional impact of significance, both environment and economic, we believe the ultimate decision should be in the hands of elected officials and not appointed officials because ultimately through Parliament elected officials are responsible to the people (O’Neil 2012b).

This narrative suggests an economic need for the project across Canada, and also indicates that the NGP is in the ‘national interest’, another message from government that was frequently circulated in the media. Based on these accounts, it is evident that there are unequal power dynamics at play, and the information that is distributed by the media is narrowly approached, at the same time as it has the ability to influence public perceptions.

Freedom Train 2012

Organized by the Yinka Dene Alliance—a coalition of the Carrier and Sekani Nations—the Freedom Train 2012 fostered support and solidarity against the NGP, particularly among Indigenous peoples (see *Freedom Train 2012* online). A delegation of Indigenous representatives travelled from Vancouver, B.C. to the Enbridge Annual General Meeting (AGM) in Toronto on May 9, 2012. Citing traditional Indigenous and modern national and international laws that protect their rights, the Freedom Train asserted a ban on the NGP, oil sands pipelines, and tankers from traditional Indigenous territories. While one media reported on the “dramatic and symbolic” opposition of the Freedom Train and described the protest organized outside the AGM, it continued on to quote Enbridge CEO describing that, although there is opposition, national polls support Canada’s need to “diversify its economy” (Blackwell 2012).

In spite of the solidarity of the Freedom Train, *Sun News* ran a headline the day after protests at the Enbridge AGM that read, “Some chiefs are pro-pipeline” (Warmington 2012). The article references Chief Elmer Derrick of the Gitksan Nation explaining that, “We (the Gitksan) believe that the construction of this pipeline is of vital importance to the future of Canadian energy security and prosperity.” *Sun News* continued on to question how the Yinka Dene Alliance funded the Freedom Train, suggesting that Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (formerly Indian and Northern Affairs Canada) or a foreign organization may have paid for their travels. Although this is only one media account of the Freedom Train, it overlooks the strength and message of the Freedom train, demonstrating the power and ability to filter and control the public discourse.

Closing Comments

Based on the current review and reflecting on the general trends that I observed in the media surrounding the NGP, there are several notable points that must be addressed and reiterated. First, based on my consistent review of NGP-related media for over one year, I have noted an increase in NGP-related media. According to my informal analysis, there was an approximate three-fold increase, and the volume of media included in this analysis was both a limitation and a benefit to this chapter.

Related to the increase in public discourse around NGP, there is a noticeable spike in public awareness and interest in the proposal, benefits, and risks. One of the main narratives that I have problematized is the message that only ‘First Nations’ and ‘environmentalists’ oppose the proposal. As someone immersed in the NGP resistance, my observations support that this proposal is mobilizing a diverse cross-section of people who are writing letters, attending rallies, and speaking at the NGP JRP hearings. These people do not self-identify as ‘environmentalists’, and by no means are they all Indigenous people. That the media incessantly labels opposition as such delegitimizes this diversity and suppresses the voices expressing sincere concerns about the proposed project on local lifeways.

Third, the potential of spin doctoring became apparent throughout this analysis. The Honourable Oliver’s open letter in which he referred to opponents of the NGP as ‘foreign funded, radical environmentalists’, undeniably dominated the media and essentially overwrote the start of the NGP JRP hearings in Kitamaat, B.C. The rhetoric of Oliver’s statement echoed through the public discourse in the following months, both discrediting and insulting opponents’ real concerns about the NGP. Notably, there are media outlets that allow for local perspectives, but generally, only reach a local audience. Take for

example, *blue sea sky haida gwaii*; a blog written by a local Haida Gwaii resident (Davies 2012). The blog covers many of the critical issues around the NGP, reflects local values and opinions, and questions the JRP process, providing an avenue to voice concerns within the local discourse, but to a specific and presumably local audience.

According to Johnson (2011:127), we must have an effective discussion and restructuring of journalism and a deconstruction of ‘white’ media to ensure that it is independent, democratic, and ‘anticolonial’. In line with this, the current media analysis suggests that the average Canadian is receiving the dominant narrative selling the project in the ‘national interest’, while simultaneously muting public opposition. Therefore, the public discourse is guided by people and voices that are not directly impacted by the proposed project. This is a concrete example of how media uses framing to the advantage of some at the disadvantage of others, and how highlighting certain narratives allows the media the power to limit and control the discourse. Further, the media has the ability to control who is represented, rendering some people invisible and voiceless.

Fourth, when ‘First Nations’ and ‘environmentalists’ are represented in the media, their varied and interconnected concerns regarding the project are narrowly categorized under ‘environmental concerns’. Further, pitting the environment against the economy polarizes discussions about its potential risks and benefits. The average person consuming this narrative must then choose to support either the environment or the economy, which is problematic in and of itself, but even more so because that leaves the public in an uninformed position within the plurality of issues embedded in the NGP discourse. An honest, public, and informed debate may provide the opportunity for increased education, and potentially some pragmatic solutions.

Lastly, from an Indigenous perspective, inequalities within the media are another colonial reality that suppresses Indigenous peoples' communities, histories, and current struggles. Essentially, the media is written by and for dominant Western perspectives, which becomes the taken-for-granted narrative in the public discourse. The lexicon and imagery used to represent Indigenous people has been consistent for the past century, and the media continues to portray Indigenous peoples in a de-contextualized, controversial, and often negative manner, as exemplified with the Gitxsan debacle. This limited representation of Indigenous people neglects the depth and diversity of local cultures.

In Canada, there are efforts to represent voices through Aboriginal media, which can increase self-determination and balance the values and ontologies commonly over-written in Western frames (Knopf 2010:114-15). According to Knopf (2010:115), the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network is one means by which Indigenous people in Canada are redefining media networks and claiming a sense of ownership, power, and equality. For all of these reasons, there is a need to re-envision media structures in Canada and dismantle dominant narratives to help achieve equality and representation. This was especially evident in an analysis of NGP related media where Indigenous peoples continually struggle to assert their voices and concerns within entrenched images of the 'the Indian', and must also negotiate ways to effectively appropriate within frames of 'the noble savage'. Further, this analysis of the NGP narrative illustrates a need to reconfigure categories so they more accurately represent diverse and sometimes varied interest groups, and also illustrates a need to re-envision the power relationships inherent within Western media.

Chapter 5 – Food for Thought: Sustenance, Health and Identity

Throughout time and across cultures, food is central to human societies; it brings people together and, at its most basic level, nourishes the body and spirit. As I argue here, and particularly among Indigenous people, food provides a fundamental connection to the land, allows for a healthy lifestyle, and is an integral component to sociocultural connections. For these reasons, food was quantitatively the most prominent issue raised by Haida Gwaii citizens at the NGP JRP hearings in both Old Massett and Skidegate. Food security is a global issue and communities worldwide are facing devastating food shortages. This section contextualizes these broader issues and then focuses on Indigenous food harvesting practices, drawing on examples of food security among the Inuit. Throughout this chapter, excerpts from Haida Gwaii's NGP JRP transcripts are used to illustrate the value of food, which is supplemented by a literature review.

Throughout this discourse analysis, I identified three subthemes under the overarching theme of 'food'. The first subtheme that I explore is food as sustenance and subsistence. Second, I consider the notion of health from an Indigenous ontology that conceives of the concept holistically. Lastly, I examine food as a process, from harvesting to sharing, and argue that these are integral components to culture, community, and identification on Haida Gwaii. In the closing comments, I consider food as an international human right, and further, support that development projects such as the NGP are an infringement on Indigenous and Aboriginal rights to food security. Importantly, these categories are not mutually exclusive; they were created to help organize and frame relevant information as effectively and efficiently as possible. Food

as sustenance, as integral to health, and as a fundamental process that brings people together are all intimately intertwined.

Regarding terminology in this section, ‘country food’, ‘local food’, ‘traditional food’, and ‘Island food’ are used interchangeably, but preference is given to the latter in a local context. In contrast, ‘store food’, ‘imported food’, and ‘processed food’ are used interchangeably to refer to any non-local foods. Finally, as I have outlined in my discussion of methods, I carefully and rigorously reviewed the NGP JRP transcripts from Haida Gwaii to extrapolate Island citizens’ shared values. Notably, food sustenance, health, and sociocultural importance were the prominent concerns revealed through my analysis. Upon a literature review to examine these themes, I found that the academic and public discourse aligned directly with the opinions, concerns, and realities of food security on Haida Gwaii. To help contextualize issues of food security for Indigenous peoples, I draw on research among the Inuit who have been the focus of numerous food and health studies due to contamination of their traditional food sources. I do not propose that the conclusions of research among the Inuit are generalizable, but rather argue that there are some commonalities regarding issues of food security on Haida Gwaii, and thus, provide a valuable opportunity to analyze similarities and differences.

Considering Food Security: Globally, Nationally, and Indigenously

It’s a bit of a challenge, as it’s been stated before, to sit here and try to defend our right as Haida people, as people who love being here, as islanders. This influence from way back east and this government [has] – jeopardized my food security. And when I say ‘my’ I mean our food security [Marni York NEB Hearing transcripts, 1 Jun 2012].

Food security is an increasing global concern affecting millions of people in both rural and urban regions. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), food

security is a complex issue of sustainability and is linked to health and nutrition, economic development, and the environment (WHO 2012). As defined at the World Food Summit in 1996, food security exists, “When all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life” (WHO 2012). According to WHO, food security is attained when people have sufficient access to nutritious, culturally appropriate food (for an overview of food security and issues see ADA 2003; Myers *et al.* 2004). Reinforcing these pillars, the American Dietetic Association (ADA) issued a formal statement regarding the world’s food scarcity (‘scarcity’, then, is used to as the antithesis of ‘security’) that articulates WHO’s definition of food security and speaks to the issue internationally:

“... access to adequate amounts of safe, nutritious, and culturally appropriate food at all times is a fundamental human right. Hunger continues to be a worldwide problem of staggering proportions. The Association supports programs and encourages practices that combat hunger and malnutrition, produce food security, promote self-sufficiency, and are environmentally and economically sustainable (ADA 2003:1046).

Economic fluctuations and climate change have caused food shortages leading to serious impacts on local ecologies, human rights, and socio-economics (UN n.d.). Poverty, inequity, racism, ethnocentrism, and gender inequalities perpetuate and amplify food scarcity (ADA 2003:1046). Notably, the ADA states that food scarcity is a ‘problem of poverty’ that is most often a reality experienced by rural poor. “People who are poor are often powerless to change their situation because they have less access to such vital resources as education, training, food, health services, credit, and other vehicles of change” (ADA 2003:1051). Citing the 1.3 billion people living in poverty, the ADA states that hunger should not be tolerated in a world of plenty (ADA 2003:1047).

Although there may be a general correlation between poverty and hunger, based on my experiences and observations, I would argue that this is not the case on Haida Gwaii.

I raised four children here and even when there wasn't a penny in the bank, we always had food, thanks to the generosity of community members and our own work picking, digging and canning. We used to joke that the broker we were, the better we ate because that was when the treasures came out; canned fish, clams, deer meat and berries. The Enbridge Northern Gateway project puts this kind of food security and self-sufficiency for the next generation seriously at risk [Dierdre Brennan NEB Hearing transcripts, 1 Jun 2012].

Illustrating her story with humour, Ms. Brennan shares a compelling message in her statement to the Panel. Interestingly, as this quote exemplifies, the experiences of poverty and food scarcity on Haida Gwaii are contrary to the global trend, where poverty leads to hunger. Instead, here on Haida Gwaii, economic hardships can result in increased consumption of bountiful Island foods, increasing overall health and well-being.

Statistics Canada is one of many government agencies and non-profit organizations that discuss issues of national food security. "Food is much more than a commodity to be bought and sold. We can't live without it and it plays a significant role in our culture and daily lives" (Statistics Canada 2009). Many Canadians enjoy gardening, hunting, fishing, and harvesting local foods, which makes a significant contribution to our food systems, but is not captured by statistics and records. On their website, Statistics Canada identifies the importance of harvesting traditional foods to Inuit and Indigenous communities, stating the particular significance of salmon to life on the Pacific Coast. "The harvesting and sharing of country food is a valuable activity that reinforces the importance of family and community" (Statistics Canada 2009). Given the political nature of the NGP, it is important to note that a federal agency recognizes the significance of traditional food harvesting to Indigenous communities in Canada.

Following the global trend of changing dietary habits and food scarcity, Indigenous people are experiencing a rapid transition from traditional food systems to a diet increasingly reliant on imported and processed foods (Kuhnlein and Receveur 1996). Colonization undoubtedly started this trend, but in recent years Western-developed health programs and mainstream media have amplified the transition away from a local diet. There are a number of factors putting pressure on traditional food subsistence, such as global industrialization (Lambden *et al.* 2007:309), development, changes to land use, and integration into the Canadian economy (Myers *et al.* 2005:23). Not only do Indigenous communities face potentially grave health consequences from decreased consumption of traditional foods, this trend also poses a serious threat to sociocultural continuity, values, and local knowledge systems (Myers *et al.* 2005). Because adequate access to quality traditional foods is crucial to survival for many Indigenous communities, a decline in local harvesting raises fundamental questions about food scarcity, nutrition, and health (Myers *et al.* 2005:23-27).

Given this brief glimpse into global, national and Indigenous issues of food scarcity helps to understand the NGP JRP testimonies on Haida Gwaii that continuously reiterated a reliance on Island food and stated grave concerns if local food sources were impacted by an oil spill. This fundamental threat to Island food and overall trepidation was echoed throughout locals' testimonies, and, while I did not run formal statistical analysis, there is no apparent pattern of salient characteristics, such as ethnicity, gender, profession, or age among those who raised concerns around food security—it is instead a ubiquitous concern. The value of Island food—the harvesting, processing, and sharing of local food sources—was reiterated time and time again, and although Haida speakers made more

references to dependence on local food systems, there was an overall passion and appreciation for the subsistence and sociocultural benefits of local food.

In addition to the emphasis on the local dependence of Island foods, it was common for speakers to list all of the foods they harvest from the *marine* environment. Here, emphasis is on ‘marine’ because the focus of harvesting was clearly on resources from the ocean and intertidal zones. “Everybody’s talked about the ocean. The pattern is that we live off the ocean. It’s very, very important to us” [Randy Tennant NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012]. This statement was made by a local fisherman addressing the NGP JRP in Skidegate and reinforces that the common emphasis across the testimonies on Haida Gwaii was ocean resources as a way of life.

The following excerpt was taken from an oral evidence testimony presented in Skidegate by Elder Roy Jones Sr. and is illustrative of the Haida’s reliance on marine resources, traditionally and still today.

I’m going to begin by telling about the things that can be affected if there ever was an oil spill. I will start with the seafood we gather. Abalone was our main food that we used to eat. We no longer get it because their numbers became so low. Mussels, large mussels and small blue mussels, sea urchins, purple and red sea urchins, medium size with short needles and purple, sea urchins, small with short needles and light; butter clams, razor clams, horse clams, clams take in water when they go under the sand, so oil will get in there and affect them too. Cockles, barnacles, oysters, scallops, station scallops, large travelling scallops and small travelling scallops and rock oyster, rock scallops; chitons, red chitons, small black chitons, sea cucumbers, crabs, they bury themselves in the sand and will be impacted by an oil spill. I have also caught Dungeness crabs on the west coast of Haida Gwaii. Octopus, they live under large rock with an opening under the rock. If the tide comes in with oil and oil will get in their home and affect them. Upper seaweed and lower seaweed; when I was younger, my family gathered all of the seafood I just mentioned, drying and salting it for the winter. My family still gathers these seafood which we can or freeze for the winter. All of the seafood that I just mentioned, the tide goes below and above it, that’s why the oil can spread all over it. I have harvested all of the seafood I mentioned in every harbour and bay in Skidegate Inlet, Haida Gwaii and the west coast... [NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012].

In this statement, Mr. Jones Sr. identifies the plethora of Island foods that he learned to harvest on Haida Gwaii. Importantly, he references the sociocultural continuity and significance of food harvesting and indicates that the loss of these resources would be catastrophic.

Food for Sustenance and Subsistence

We rely on the seafood and commercial fishery for a way of life and livelihood. Old Massett has clam diggers, salmon fishermen, halibut fishermen, crab fishermen and food gatherers, and an oil spill would take away everything that we eat. Every family in the village gathers seafood [Oliver Bell NEB Hearing transcripts, 28 Feb 2012].

I did not have access to government statistics, such as the most recent Aboriginal Peoples Survey (2001), that record Haida Gwaii's overall reliance on local food sources. Unfortunately the records are aggregated and isolating specific communities within the data set is challenging and costly. Without access to this information, my inferences regarding local food practices are based on my own observations and experiences, in addition to Haida Gwaii's NGP JRP testimonies that revealed the importance of harvesting, processing, and sharing Island foods. Citizens of Haida Gwaii have historically relied on Island food for sustenance, and today, local food harvesting contributes to a mixed cash-economy. This is the case in many Indigenous communities where local food harvesting is often an economic necessity in modern times (Van Oostdam *et al.* 1999:1).

At the most fundamental level, food provides physical sustenance and strength. This is as true for Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities and rural communities reliant on local food harvesting, as it is for people living in urban areas (Myers *et al.* 2005:41). More than providing essential energy and nutrients, food harvesting also contributes to a

balanced and healthy lifestyle (Myers *et al.* 2004:427). The importance of local foods was a strong and prominent message that emerged in my review of the NGP JRP transcripts from both Haida and non-Haida perspectives. In Old Massett, Estrella Hepburn described in detail the importance of harvesting local resources and providing for her family with Island foods:

I came here and for five years lived without electricity and running water and focused on learning how to grow food, grow a garden, and learn about the local medicinal plants. Over the 13 years since, my life has evolved and I've had three children and along the way, I learned from the Haida and the locals how to live off the bounty of these islands. Like a lot of people I know, when I arrived, I had been a vegetarian for 10 years and was buying a lot of tofu at the Co-op. But I soon learned from the locals that there was a lot of food that could be gathered and hunted and fished for. So right now, like a lot of people who choose to live here and those that are born and raised and do sustain their community, I do not make huge amounts of money. And so with the cost of groceries, freight, and gas being so high, we supplement our family's diet with seafood, such as salmon, halibut, clams, scallops, octopus, chitons, mussels, crabs, cockles and seaweed. My kids are strong and healthy thanks to these local foods that we can harvest. My life revolves around the harvesting, fishing, gathering and storage and preparation of these foods. My family's sustenance would be drastically impacted when there is eventually an oil spill. It is not only the seafood that would be negatively impacted if there was a spill but the food I grow in my garden is fertilized by the nutrients and minerals from seaweed I gather from the beach. Also the deer we live off graze on the seaweed for salt and the deer provide much needed red meat [NEB Hearing transcripts, 1 Jun 2012].

Ms. Hepburn's statement represents several of the potentially devastating threats that the NGP poses to Haida Gwaii. She identifies that living on the Island is a choice, and further, it is a choice that requires an appropriation of local lifeways and subsistence practices. Additionally, Ms. Hepburn indicates health concerns if local food sources were ever contaminated by an oil spill, and further, she articulates the interconnectedness of Island foods.

Because of the reliance on local and traditional food harvesting, Indigenous communities resist any large-scale development projects that threaten their lifeways, and

the Haida are one of many Indigenous communities faced with unsustainable development. An Elderly Haida woman who shared her oral statement in Old Massett talked about risks posed by the NGP and asked the rhetorical and pointed question, if there was ever an oil spill, “where will we get our food?” [Emily Watts NEB Hearing transcripts, 1 Jun 2012]. A parallel can be found among the Sanikiluaq First Nation of the Northwest Territories who assert that their essential connection to traditional food sources requires them to resist development projects that jeopardize the local environment and traditional resources (Wein *et al.* 1996:259). Importantly, as the Sanikiluaq contend, Indigenous peoples are not opposed to development in general, but rather, they are opposed to large-scale, exploitative development projects. For Indigenous people, jeopardizing local food sources to large-scale development is incomprehensible and represents a vastly different value system.

Examining food security in Nunavut communities in Northern Canada, Myers, Powell and Duhaime (2004:428) recorded a trend in youth between the ages of 23-35 who are decreasing their consumption of local foods, and thus, increasingly reliant on imported foods. Counter to this experience, consider an excerpt from one Haida youth who spoke to the Panel about her family’s reliance on local food sources at the oral statement hearings in Skidegate:

Most nights of the week my family and I eat seafood for dinner. I like to think that we are being spoiled with the huge abundance of seafood right in our own front yard. There are some families that fully depend on the grocery store for their meats but because I grew up eating mostly seafood I don’t eat much processed meat [Shyla Cross NEB Hearing transcripts, 13 Jun 2012].

Miss Cross identifies the central importance of Island food security jeopardized by the NGP. This excerpt illustrates well that the proposal poses a fundamental threat to local

food sources, which Islanders are heavily dependent upon. Further, this statement carries a strong and valid message in that these values are realized and articulated by youth on Haida Gwaii.

Subsistence and a Mixed Economy

I, like many locals and most Haida, are supported by the environment. I am a very rich person. We are in a very rich community. That statement may not be verified by my bank account, but it is in my pantry. *Sgyuu* (seaweed), *Galgaahyang* (mussels), *Nuu* (octopus) and *k'aaw* (hearing roe on kelp) are all found in my pantry, all gathered by myself in our community and in our environment [Andrew Merilees NEB Hearing transcripts, 29 Feb 2012].

Throughout Haida Gwaii's colonial history, there has been a transition from traditional food gathering to commercial harvesting, which contributes to the local mixed economies. This type of trade system and small-scale commercial activity contributes to a mixed informal and formal economy, which is often neglected by government statistics where subsistence hunters are generally reported as 'unemployed' (Myers *et al.* 2005:25; see also Berkes *et al.* 1994). The high cost and poor quality of store food in northern communities necessitates these mixed economies and a combination of imported foods supplemented with subsistence harvesting (Condon *et al.* 1995:41). Moreover, marine-based communities rely on traditional arts and crafts, recreation, and tourism as vital economic activities; all of which are dependent on the health of the natural environment (Myers *et al.* 2005:38-39).

Addressing local subsistence on Haida Gwaii and illustrating how local conceptions of 'economy' differ from the dominant Western paradigm, a 19-year-old non-Haida raised on Island and adopted into Haida lineage, told the Panel in his oral statement in Skidegate, "Some people rely on the money in their bank account to survive. Our bank is the ocean. Our money is the food it provides. And our insurance is the respect we show

it” [Kye Borserio NEB Hearing transcripts, 13 Jun 2012]. Therefore, while commercial activities contribute to the local cash economy, citizens of Haida Gwaii remain dependent on Island foods for sustenance, and as the NGP JRP hearings indicate, maintain a value system that is not solely based on the Canadian economy. Based on Islanders’ NGP JRP testimonies, this bounty and balance affords Islanders with a nourishing and fulfilling life, into which some people were born and which others have chosen to adopt.

Health and Nutrition

Traditional foods are often analyzed within the Western paradigm, focusing specifically on the vitamins and nutrients available in local food sources. “Country foods are the most nutritious food available to northerners, providing protein, omega-3 fatty acids, key vitamins, and minerals. Imported foods are not only expensive, because they have to be transported into the northern communities, but are often a poor source of quality food” (Myers *et al.* 2005:27). Store foods in remote and northern communities tend to be limited in variety, freshness, and nutritional quality (Kinloch *et al.* 1992:274). Imported foods are often high in refined carbohydrates, sugars, and low in essential fatty acids (Kuhnlein and Receveur 1996; Myers *et al.* 2005; Statistics Canada 2009), and therefore, they are inferior and can lead to significant nutritional deficiencies (Kinloch *et al.* 1992:247).

The inadequacy of store foods is clear, and many authors have reported on the potential health impacts they cause. Among several diet-related illnesses, obesity, diabetes, cardiovascular disease, and heart disease substantially increase when local food sources are replaced with imported foods (Chan *et al.* 2006; Kinloch *et al.* 1992; Kuhnlein and Receveur 1996; Myers *et al.* 2004; Myers *et al.* 2005; Statistics Canada

2009; WHO 2012). An elected representative for CHN spoke to issues of health at the oral statement hearings in Skidegate:

But it not only helps sustain our diets and keep us fed, it also keeps us really healthy. And I think we're seeing, in Canada, in North America, a lot of different health problems and concerns that could be cured with a healthier diet of fresh seafood and many of the things that come from around here on Haida Gwaii. I know my grandmother, my *nanaay*, she's really – eats a lot of seaweed. It helps her out with her diabetes and she's been doing a lot better since she started doing that [Jason Alsoop NEB Hearing transcripts, 13 Jun 2012].

As this example illustrates local foods can be used to mitigate modern, diet-related health issues, including diabetes. Further to this, harvesting local foods has positive health impacts beyond providing nutrients in that gathering food itself also involves significant physical activity. By extension, not harvesting local food sources can contribute to a sedentary and unhealthy lifestyle (Kuhnlein and Receveur 1996:434).

Nutritional content is essential to physical health, and an increasing body of literature is investigating the consequences of Indigenous people transitioning from a wholesome, traditional diet to one of imported foods. Many of the locals who spoke to the NGP JRP on Haida Gwaii expressed a deep concern for the loss of traditional and local foods, and illustrated a great appreciation for the sustenance they gather. For example, Karen McMurray, a non-Haida resident of 15 years, stated in her oral statement to the Panel in Old Massett, “There is no valuation that can be given to account for these islands and the waters that sustain us. The health of the island’s lands, water and air is priceless. It is intertwined with the health of the people in the community. They are not separate” [NEB Hearing transcripts, 1 Jun 2012]. This aligns with an Indigenous definition of health that entails wholeness and balance, which is achieved through a close relationship with the environment, an important concept that is considered in more detail later in this chapter.

Interestingly, the nutrition of Island foods was identified by the Panel Chair in the closing address at the oral statement hearings in Skidegate:

Chiefs, Ladies held in high esteem, you've generously hosted us and many others. We've been surrounded in beautiful surroundings here, both inside this room and outside. We've had the benefit of witnesses from all ages sharing oral evidence with us. We've all been nurtured by healthy and delicious food, and I know I've learned much [Sheila Leggett, NEB Hearing transcripts, 22 Mar 2012].

High quality, local foods are integral to health and well-being, and importantly, conceptions of 'health' are socially constructed and culturally defined. Among the North Baffin Island Inuit, Borré (1994:1) reported that traditional foods maintain individual mental and spiritual health, and the well-being of the community as a whole. The Inuit define health as the body and soul being adequately nourished, and seal meat is considered a 'real food' that provides sufficient nourishment to the body and soul (Borré 1994:3-5). Further, hunters take a respectful balance of animals in order to maintain their own health and also must share their catch (Borré 1994:11). Van Oostdam *et al.* (1999) also discuss the concept of health from an Inuit perspective, stating that it is as much social, as it is cultural, spiritual, and physical. Many of these concepts of health and well-being were similarly central to testimonies provided at the NGP JRP hearings on Haida Gwaii.

Karl Puls, a non-Haida teacher who has worked and lived on Island for nearly 40 years spoke of a holistic approach to health and the connection between human health and the health of the environment. "A very significant portion of my family's nutrition is derived from the local marine environment, and any degradation of that environment will have a major impact on my economic, physical, and spiritual well-being" [Karl Puls NEB Hearing transcripts, 14 Jun 2012]. This statement coincides with the Inuit conceptions of

holistic health and represents one of the key concerns that the NGP poses to food security on Haida Gwaii. Again, speaking to the Inuit experience, Borré (1994:11) states that local food harvesting allows for self-reliance, and therefore, political power to provide healthy food to the family unit and community. This was articulated succinctly by a nurse who recently moved to Haida Gwaii:

Health is a very important issue in this discussion, one that perhaps has not been addressed enough. I want to emphasize the importance of health to individuals, of course, but to communities as a national interest. Healthy people make the most important contributions to our society and to our economy. When they are not healthy, not only do we lose our contribution, but we drain the system, either trying to restore health or else to compensate them for becoming sick...High-quality protein from seafood nourishes our bodies and our brains; economic opportunity from things like fishing and tourism provide us with resources to raise healthy families. The beauty and spirituality of this inspires our art and our culture and helps maintain balance and perspective, which are important components of mental health [Mariken van Gulp NEB Hearing transcripts, 14 Jun 2012].

Ms. van Gulp parallels Borré's statement exactly, illustrating that healthy people contribute to their community, which helps create healthy societies. Her testimony reinforces that nutritious food is vital to overall sociocultural health.

Food, a Cultural Imperative

I have to tell you this on a personal level...[The Elders have] shared and taught the love of eating *k'aaw* (herring roe on kelp). There's not a food that I would rather eat when it's lightly fried with some butter in a pan. I can look you straight in the eye and even say I have dreams of swimming in *k'aaw*...I had a dream once, and I wish it would come back to me again, that I was walking through the forest and...the hemlock trees in the forest were dripping with *k'aaw* and I just would go under the tree and just eat...I can't explain to you how pure it feels to eat a mouth of *k'aaw*. So I pray that the Haida people and my own children will be able to eat this rich variety of food that's still abundant on these islands when they are Elders [Kevin Borserio NEB Hearing transcripts, 22 Mar 2012].

Food harvesting is a life-long learning experience and gathering food is a cultural process. From mentally preparing for the harvest, to the physical activity around the

harvest, to preserving the food, and then sharing it with family and friends, hunting and gathering involves the whole community (see Myers *et al.* 2005; Van Oostdam *et al.* 1999). Hunting and fishing reaffirms social relationships, maintains cultural continuity, and develops and reinforces individual and collective identities (Condon *et al.* 1995:43).

Harvesting marine resources is particularly important on Haida Gwaii, and fishing practices are a unifying experience for Island communities. An elected official on Island noted this during the oral evidence phase of hearings in Skidegate. “Copper Bay is a Haida fishing village, however it’s also a gathering place where people from Sandspit and Skidegate get together. The salmon bring us together at this spot because the salmon is central to both our communities and to our collective culture” [Evan Putterill NEB Hearing transcripts, 22 Mar 2012]. In his statement, Mr. Putterill references former tensions on Island that proved divisive, such as logging on South Moresby. In the 1970s and 1980s, conflicts over logging on Haida Gwaii polarized communities—particularly the Haida and non-Haida communities—and this modern coming together to fish is revealing of a collective culture and way of life.

At the NGP JRP oral evidence hearings in Skidegate, Jenny Cross shared this statement about the importance of local food sources on Haida Gwaii, “The salmon cycle, our cycle of life and our respect for all living things will echo into eternity. Salmon is our main source of food that sustains and nourishes our bodies, our souls and our spirit” [NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012]. This telling statement indicates how imperative salmon is to Haida existence and parallels the Inuit experience. Among the North Baffin Island Inuit, Borré (1994:10) spoke with several Elders who made a strikingly similar statement, “without seal I would die”. Borré describes that initially she did not know how

to interpret this candid assertion but soon realized that the statement was meant as literally as it was metaphorically; the loss of traditional foods would result in the physical death of their people. As demonstrated in Ms. Cross' excerpt, the threat of an oil spill on local ecosystems and food sources inherently risks the essence of Haida culture and Haida Gwaii communities.

Traditional Reliance on Island Foods

Fish and seafood [have] always been a part of my life and my husband's. I grew up here and I come from a family of fishermen. I fish and gather seafood to feed our family. It's very, very important to us - to me and our family - to gather seafood. Fishing, gathering and preparing seafood is very important in Haida [life] and culture. Everyone who has spoke previously has noted [this fact], and I think it's important to keep talking about it [Vanessa Bellis NEB Hearing transcripts, 28 Feb 2012].

Northern Indigenous peoples, and today non-Indigenous residents, depend on terrestrial and marine wildlife for food, as well as social connection and cultural definition (Myers *et al.* 2005:23-24). Among Indigenous people, traditional food gathering, involving practices of reciprocity and sharing, have been maintained for thousands of years and helped to create self-sustaining and rich communities. In her investigations among the Inuit, Borré (1994:10) observed the social sanctions that guide successful hunting, which include treating animals with respect and sharing the harvest within the community. Here, the dominant Western categories of 'human' and 'animal' did not apply (arguably, this is the case in most Indigenous ontologies), but rather, living creatures include all animate and sensate beings. This alternate way of defining what is alive regulates a different system of ethics, and thus, food gathering practices. "Hunting ethics focus on the right conduct of relationships among people and between people and animals" (Berkes *et al.* 1994:358).

An important example of spiritual activity – and this is important to hear – when the salmon come from the ocean and freely gives its life so I might live, I speak to the spirit of my gratitude and appreciation. So when you hear our people speak about the risk of [the] loss of our food from oil spills and damage to the ecosystems, it is not only physical sustenance that you hear us speaking about. It is also the loss of relationship with the spirits of those life forces. These relationships are all at the very centre of our culture. We see and we hear other life forces. We know these things to be true, and we have a right to our spirituality, just as other people and cultures have the right to theirs [April Churchill NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012].

This statement by Vice-President of the Haida Nation speaks directly to the relationship and value of human and non-human interactions.

Throughout times of change and flux, which every Indigenous community in Canada has endured throughout colonization, food has provided an intergenerational cultural connection (Van Oostdam *et al.* 1999:7). At the NGP JRP hearings in Old Massett, Robert Davidson addressed the devastating impacts of colonization on Haida Gwaii and identified food as one of the essential constants throughout the residential school system, population depletion, and forced resettlement onto reserves.

But through all these indignities we've always had food on the table. It was the food from the land and oceans that helped us survive the many onslaughts on our way of life. We've always maintained our connection to the land, waters and ocean, and the land, waters and ocean has helped us and nurtured our bodies and spirituality in our art. But our culture cannot sustain another blow to the oceans and the food that has nourished us for millennia [NEB Hearing transcripts, 28 Feb 2012].

As Mr. Davidson indicates, food not only allowed for physical survival, but this continuity also allowed for an integral cultural connection and way of life for the Haida.

Social Cohesion: Informal and Formal Food Sharing

[My great-uncle] would come with us and my dad would be sitting – they'd both be sitting there cleaning the clams as I'm digging it, and just the joy that they got and I got from that, sitting – the three of us were sitting there, and to hear them both speaking in Haida, laughing, having a good time. And these are the things

that will be heavily impacted when we have an oil spill [Allan Davidson NEB Hearing transcripts, 28 Feb 2012].

As much as food is a cultural and social connection across time, it is very much a means of bringing people together from the harvest to sharing a meal. One of the most apparent ways that food unites people is through the socially sanctioned concept of reciprocity. “Food is given and received within a socially constructed framework of reciprocity; the generosity that underlies the relationship between animals and humans also directs the process of human sharing” (Van Oostdam *et al.* 1999:7). Reg Davidson stated this at the Old Massett oral evidence hearings, “As long as I’ve been alive and for generations, there’s been an abundance of food here. I mean, for me to have a potlatch or anybody to have a potlatch, all we do is we call our friends we’ll get food and we serve it to all the guests that arrive there” [NEB Hearing transcripts, 28 Feb 2012]. The potlatch has been adapted in modern times on Haida Gwaii but remains an integral social ceremony, marking hereditary chieftainships and memorials, among other significant events. Mr. Davidson’s quote recognizes that this cultural connection would be severed without the contributions of Island food sources, which poses a very direct threat to sociocultural well-being on Haida Gwaii.

Among the Inuit, where food sharing continues as a cultural trade and exchange system, in traditional times, it may have functioned as a mechanism to ensure food security in constraining environments (Chan *et al.* 2006:425). Condon *et al.* (1995:41) emphasized food sharing practices, observing that food is distributed to relatives, friends, and Elders so generously that often a hunter does not know how much food he has given away. Sharing food is an obligation; the notion of *not* sharing food is unthinkable.

On Haida Gwaii in modern times, kin relationships around food sharing have dissolved; instead food harvesting and consumption is viewed as a social activity bringing family, friends, and community together. Frequently, Haida Gwaii citizens at the NGP JRP hearings mentioned how food brings the community together. The informal practice of sharing food with family and friends, and also an immense sense of gratitude was observed on Haida Gwaii, as exemplified in the testimony of John Broadhead, a resident of *Daajing giids* (Queen Charlotte) who spoke to the Panel about the “benefits” of a “lifetime of sharing the best food in the world” with “good friends” [NEB Hearing transcripts, 14 Jun 2012]. Another example of the enriching and valuable experiences of sharing food was heard at the oral evidence hearings in Skidegate. “So, I learned that you cannot be richer than when you are eating the ocean foods of Haida Gwaii. You cannot be richer than that, especially when you’re with family and friends” [Nika Collison NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012]. An Islander who moved to Haida Gwaii eight years ago expressed similar appreciation:

One thing that I continually marvel at, and love, is how much this nutritious and wonderful seafood is shared in these communities. When we host or go to a dinner here, everyone contributes something and we end up with a seafood feast better than anything you could find in a restaurant...Sharing meals and seafood is central to the strong feeling of community in our neighbourhoods and towns. And it is this sense of community, this is one of the main reasons our family is still here [Ceitlynn Epnors NEB Hearing transcripts, 14 Jun 2012].

This statement came from a woman raising her young family on Haida Gwaii. The quote highlights the importance of Island foods and sharing these foods within the community. “But it is so obvious that the greatest joy among us who live on Haida Gwaii is fishing and hunting and all the other things that bring us together as a people that would just be ruined if there was an oil spill” [Jesse Condrotte NEB Hearing transcripts, 29 Feb 2012].

This statement was made by a non-Haida youth, illustrating that across the Island's diversity, there is an imperative connection between food and unity. Ultimately, sharing food enables social cohesion, which was highlighted by several Islanders who addressed the Panel and was reinforced by this literature review.

Food as a Tool for Teaching and Learning

I would also like to talk about the traditional teaching that I have learned from my *naanii* (grandmother) and my parents and my other grandparents...Fish and seafood [are] just as important to my family as [they are] to me. My mom has always done it and my *Naanii* Primrose. It is what we do. It's a part of our life and it's a part of who we are [Vanessa Bellis NEB Hearing transcripts, 28 Feb 2012].

The teacher-learner relationship is fundamental in ensuring that food maintains a cultural and intergenerational connection; elemental to this relationship are young learners. Speaking to the importance of knowledge transfer and relationships to the natural environment, Turner *et al.* (2000:1280) state that, "Knowledge transfer occurs in many ways, through many culturally mediated venues, beginning with the instruction of children by parents and grandparents and by children's participation in and observation of management activities." Research within northern Inuit communities indicate that rapid social change is fragmenting cultural continuity (Condon *et al.* 1995), and, in some cases, youth who are not taught to harvest local foods feel themselves to be abandoned by their community (Myers *et al.* 2005). A combination of social, economic, and political influences are leading to a reduction of youth participating in traditional food harvesting among the Inuit, valuable educational experiences that teach self-discipline and self-reliance (Condon *et al.* 1995:38). This is a concerning phenomenon, and notably, Haida Gwaii's experiences provide a stark contrast to the Inuit experience.

Several of the young Islanders who addressed the NGP JRP on Haida Gwaii echoed many of the concerns of their adult counterparts. Many described early memories of learning to harvest, and spoke fondly of the experiences of sharing Island foods with family and friends in the community. The following quotes a young Haida speaker at the oral statement hearings in Skidegate:

My family and I gather traditional foods with the seasons. We travel to North Beach to catch crab, and Copper Bay to catch sockeye. We pick berries in our backyard and dig for clams on the beach. We eat food from the ocean every day. I don't know what we would do without it, and I don't want to find out [Kelsey Pelton NEB Hearing transcripts, 14 Jun 2012].

These important experiences of teaching and learning were not only noted by youth, but was stated at the oral evidence hearings in Old Massett by an older Haida man, who spoke to food harvesting as a connection to culture, spirituality, and values.

Fishing and gathering food is an important place to learn about Haida culture. I learned a lot of things from *Naanii* (grandmother) Florence Davidson, from our time together at the Yakoun River. I learned about how to respect the fish, how to slice fish and prepare fish, and how to handle fish so that the spirit will always come back. I learned to sing Haida songs there and from there had a firm grounding in the world of Haida ceremonies and dances... [Robert Davidson NEB Hearing transcripts, 28 Feb 2012].

Another Haida example is William Davies, a Haida and resident in Skidegate who addressed the Panel during the oral evidence phase and spoke to the wealth and pride he feels providing for his family, obtaining cultural knowledge, and teaching and learning traditional food harvesting practices.

I've become rich with knowledge and rich with good stories about fishing. People have come up here to speak and they have spoken fondly of their times gathering from the sea with family and friends, and most definitely they have spoken with gusto of time spent consuming these wonderful gifts from the sea. We brag about it. The seas surrounding Haida Gwaii have made me rich, rich because my head is filled with beautiful, breathtaking images. I'm rich with pride. I'm proud because I got to fish with my father, and my grandfather, and my uncles, and hear their stories and learn from them. I'm proud because I've

been able to take those lessons learned and apply them with success, and this gives me pride. I'm proud because I've been able to take others out fishing and teach them, making them proud, making their families proud [NEB Hearing transcripts, 22 Mar 2012].

Particularly among the Haida speakers, the essential and respectful relationship between teacher and learner was evident. The young speakers provided a counter-experience from the Inuit experiences of fragmented teacher-learner relationships. Adults spoke fondly of the valuable time spent with their relatives and Elders learning to harvest and process foods. Food harvesting, then, provides foundational lessons that reinforce social relationships and help develop cultural connections, and the threat of a large-scale development project not only jeopardizes local food systems but a way of life.

Food for Individual and Collective Identities

For us, the oceans and waters mean everything. Fish and seafood are so important. It is just one of those things when you grow up with it, it becomes a part of you, a part of your being, your body knows how to react to it and it tastes better than anything else in the world because you grew up getting it and processing it and so it's really more than just food, it's a way of life, it's our identity [Nika Collison NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012].

From the Haida perspective, Ms. Collison identifies that food is important to foster sociocultural connections helps to establish and foster a collective identity, historically and still today. Traditional foods are an essential component to Indigenous communities and the harvesting, processing, and sharing of traditional foods is an integral component of cultural identification (Van Oostdam *et al.* 1999:68). There is a wealth of literature to support this connection (see Condon *et al.* 1995; Myers *et al.* 2005; Wein *et al.* 1996) and the Haida and non-Haida voices throughout the NGP JRP hearings expressed the importance of food to individual and collective identities. This is attested in an excerpt

from an Elderly Haida speaker's testimony at the Old Massett oral statement hearings who speaks directly to the imperative influence of food on identity.

Our food, our life, our food gathering, this is what makes us as we are as Haida people. The sacred foods, the salmon, the sockeye, the coho, the dog salmon; we would not feel as a real people if we just had to go to Co-op or Walmart and eat off those shelves. All our sacred food, that's what makes us who we are as Haida people. We would not be a real people [Lily Bell NEB Hearing transcripts, 1 Jun 2012].

Again, this relationship was reinforced by a review of literature on food and identity.

As stated by Van Oostdam *et al.* (1999:7), "In the most definite terms, the act of gathering, processing, sharing and consuming traditional food defines 'what it means to be an Inuk'." In line with this, Borré (1994:12) discusses her work among the Inuit stating that eating imported foods are, at best, neutral to the well-being of locals, but traditional food sources increases Inuit power and identity. I would argue based on the NGP JRP testimonies that food contributes to a contemporary collective identity to Islanders alike, and that the NGP is realized as a threat to this Haida Gwaii identity.

Closing Comments

Food provides sustenance, fosters healthy people and communities, and is an invaluable and complex social connection that provides a meaningful relationship with the natural environment. Because of this connection, food security is intimately related to stewardship responsibilities and has been debated as an essential human right. The UN is one of numerous International bodies that has enshrined the right to food, as found in Article 25:

- (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of

livelihood in circumstances beyond his control (The Universal Declaration on Human Rights 1948).

The social, political, economic, and historic realities of Indigenous peoples further complicates the right to food. As demonstrated throughout this review of food security, it is clear that food is inextricably linked to Indigenous peoples' relationships with their environment (Myers *et al.* 2005:27), and thus, food is intertwined with sovereignty. "The realization of indigenous peoples' right to food depends crucially on their access to and control over the natural resources on their ancestral lands, as they often feed themselves by cultivating these lands or by collecting food, fishing, hunting or raising animals on them" (UN 2010:13). Development projects that propose to utilize or exploit Indigenous land without free, prior, and informed consent jeopardizes food security and infringes on the right to harvest foods, violating the United Nations (2008) *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. The government of Canada signed the Declaration in 2010, and therefore, international and national laws protect the rights of Indigenous peoples to their territories and traditional foods.

This year the United Nations commissioned Olivier De Schutter to conduct a Special Rapporteur on food security issues, which provided compelling exposure to the truths and realities of food scarcity. In his report, De Schutter outlined that food sovereignty is embedded within power relations and physical and social systems (McKeown 2012:5). Speaking to Canada's situation, De Schutter observed that this is a nation of plenty and that the rate of families and children unable to meet their daily food requirements is "unacceptable," highlighting the need for a national right to food strategy. "What I've seen in Canada is a system that presents barriers for the poor to access nutritious diets and that tolerates increased inequalities between rich and poor, and Aboriginal non-

Aboriginal peoples” (De Schutter 2012). The rapporteur highlighted three primary concerns regarding food security in Canada. First, that a disproportionate number of citizens face food scarcity, rates of obesity are concerning, and lastly, directly relevant to this consideration, that issues of food security affect Indigenous peoples in Canada. He asserted that socio-economic situations present practical and systemic barriers to accessing adequate food, specifically for Indigenous people living on reserves. Further, Du Schutter highlighted the provincial and federal government neglect of the ongoing structural discrimination faced by Indigenous peoples living off-reserve.

Largely, the Canadian government was critical of De Schutter’s statements and concerns. As reported in the *National Post*, Aboriginal Affairs Minister John Duncan rebutted suggesting that the federal government has worked diligently with Indigenous communities to overcome systemic barriers, including issues of food security (Schmidt 2012). Calling on provincial and territorial governments to collaborate and promote healthy eating habits by developing and implementing a national food strategy, among other key recommendations, De Schutter helped to call attention to issues of food security in Canada, particularly from the Indigenous perspective. The rapporteur also gave voice to Indigenous peoples facing food scarcity and helped to facilitate a discussion of food as an Aboriginal right.

This right to food has also been argued on moral grounds, but not without debate. Critics of food as a human right argue that enshrining this right into laws that frame food as a legal or individual discourse actually detract from the political or community-based campaigns to protect food security (Koc and MacRae 2001:23-24). “Hunger is not only a moral question, but also a practical concern for all of us and for future generations...It

means not only upholding the rights and dignity of all human beings, but also maintaining the security and integrity of the planet on which we all live” (ADA 2003:1055). Within the NGP discourse on Haida Gwaii, I would argue that the threat to local food sources is a moral issue given the grave implications if Island food sources were ever contaminated.

After a consideration of the physical, sociocultural, economic, legal, and political context of food security, and after carefully reviewing the statements that Haida Gwaii citizens made to the NGP JRP, food was quantitatively and qualitatively a fundamental concern raised at the hearings, and therefore, is an elemental shared value of Islanders within the NGP resistance. From the harvest, to processing, and enjoying meals together, Island food is a binding agent. Food is an integral cultural connection unifying young and old, harvesting food requires that people understand and know their environment, allowing an intimate and fundamental relationship to place. Because it is a core value to the way of life on Haida Gwaii, it is motivating and mobilizing Island citizens to coalesce in resistance to the NGP, and in so doing, reaffirms a new, collective identity.

Chapter 6 – Sense of Belonging and Protecting Place

Everything that I love about the west coast of Canada was [on Haida Gwaii] tenfold, a hundredfold. It was just so raw and so wild, and so incredible and so full of life. I mean this place was it for me, and it's difficult to articulate that, but there was something very profound that I felt coming here... So I began researching possibilities and I knew I wanted to come back out west and finally I decided if I was going out west and if I was going to make this lifestyle change, I needed to go to the most incredible place I had ever been, and that was Haida Gwaii [Jonathan Dunsmore NEB Hearing transcripts, 13 Jun 2012].

An Introduction to Space, Dwelling, Landscape, and Place

Place may be one of the most taken for granted aspects of human life (Casey 1996; Ingold 2000). Place is a seemingly endless paradox and interplay of binaries. It is concrete, yet abstract; static, but fluid; one can be both conscious and unconscious of it; it is borderless, yet bounded; natural and cultural; separating but unifying; it is both influenced by and has influence on people (Bryan 2000; Ingold 2002). Place can evoke memories, heritage, and nostalgia (see Basso 1996; Casey 1996). Embedded within place are relationships, heritage, power, identity, myth, and shared values (see Cruikshank 1990; de Laguna 1972; Thom 2005). Place imbues depth and intimacy, and through an embodied connection, one can become attached to place and attain a sense of belonging—a *home*.

Based on my analysis of the NGP JRP hearings on Haida Gwaii, place has been prominent – both quantitatively and qualitatively – in the discourse that have erupted in the environmental assessment process. This chapter presents excerpts from the NGP JRP transcripts on Haida Gwaii and identifies place as a shared value of Islanders alike and incorporates a literature review on concepts of place. I consider the significance of place to Indigenous peoples, which is relevant to a discussion of the Haida attachment to their

natural environment. Further, I demonstrate that with this strong sense of belonging comes a fundamental obligation to protect the natural environment and local way of life from outside threats, such as the NGP. Thus, the last section of this chapter argues that with a sense of place come stewardship responsibilities, which is exemplified with resource management models that forge a collaboration between local and Indigenous governments and the state.

The world is experiencing an unsettling time of industrialisation which is ravaging and exploiting the earth's natural environment and encroaching on Indigenous peoples' territories (Basso 1996:53). Indigenous peoples are turning to the legal system to protect their ancestral homelands that are now largely controlled by the state. While Indigenous peoples are threatened by displacement and development, according to Basso (1996:53), "it is unfortunate that cultural anthropologists seldom study what people make of places". Basso's (1996:54) critique continues on to state that, "...anthropologists have paid scant attention to one of the most basic dimensions of human experience – that close companion of heart and mind, often subdued, yet potentially overwhelming, that is known as *sense of place*."

Margaret Rodman (1992:640) offered a problematization of 'place', pointing out that place has become more explicitly theorized, "...paradoxically, because the meaning of place too often seems to go without saying. As anthropologists and as ordinary people living in the world, we are as situated in place as we are in time or culture". While anthropology as a discipline has identified issues of representation and 'voice', 'place' has not been as thoroughly analyzed and is all too often considered merely as a setting by which actions take place (Rodman 1992:643). Notably, there has been increased attention

in the twenty years since Rodman's critique, place remains to be largely understudied. Because places are as vast and varied as voice—a long-held focus of anthropology—the discipline could better understand how places are constructed, interconnected, represented, understood, and embodied through multilocality and multivocality (Rodman 1992:652, see also Frake 1996; Kahn 1996). Nearly 20 years later, Anna Willow (2011) criticized anthropology on similar grounds, calling for increased attention to people's intricate connection to their environments.

Before I consider place, I offer clarifications around terminology. Space is a more general term that encompasses larger cosmic notions that precede place (Casey 1996:16), and like place, it is socially constructed and contested (Rodman 1992:647). According to Rodman (1992:642-643), 'regions' are simply a concept, while for others they are realities that exist in space, whereas locale is the setting for particular social activities. Dwelling is another term frequently used within the literature on place. Specific to hunter-gatherers, dwelling acts as an agent for people's connection to the land, sense of self, sense of belonging, and can result in relationships between beings that share the dwelling (Thom 2005:13). Further, it consists in 'lived relationships' of people with places, and thus, provides meaning to space (Basso 1996:54). Ultimately, dwelling in a particular place results in lived relations among people and places, past events, and as such, can represent ways of being (Harkin 2000:50).

Like place, 'landscape' is an idea that encapsulates the historical and collective memory – the sense of past, and therefore, sense of place (Willow 2011:265). Further, according to Willow, landscape is the delicate experience of being in time and place, and is therefore, politically constituted. Landscape is more than a stationary backdrop; it is

sensed and varies dependent on the observer and time. The landscape can serve as signs of moral value, historic events, and the present order of things (Harkin 2000:51), it binds all of its occupants—that is, all living beings and physical characteristics—not only in its geography, but simply by the fact that they share the same place (Casey 1996:31).

Tim Ingold (1993; 2000; 2002) has written extensively on the concept of landscape and argues that anthropology tends to take either a neutral and naturalistic view of landscape or a cognitive and symbolic cultural view of it. He argues that landscape is separate from the environment, despite the fact that they are often approached synonymously. Whereas meanings are attached to space, with the landscape, they are gathered from it. Landscape is not a totality of what one can look at; it is a point at which people stand and consume the surroundings, it is, “the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them...” (Ingold 1993:155-156). From a social perspective, meaning is attached to the landscape in many ways—through symbols, language, names, stories, myths, rituals—and unifies people through a sense of shared history and common identity (Kahn 1996:168). Kahn’s last point, that of shared identity, was vocalized by one Island resident at the NGP JRP hearings in Old Massett:

On Haida Gwaii, the communities here are closer to the earth than in many parts of the world. It may not be my culture, but it is my identity. I’m part of the non-First Nations community here, and while our relationship to the ocean is different, the identity of all the islands’ communities is tied to the ocean. You cannot live on an island and divorce yourself from the ocean [Catherine Margaret Rigg NEB Hearing transcripts, 29 Feb 2012].

According to Harkin (2000:64), landscapes must be inhabited; they are where the physical and linguistic events of the past are inscribed. “It is saturated with habits of mind and body, with traces of ancestors and their actions” (Harkin 2000:59). Therefore, it

captures the relationships in our world and suggests the need to restructure simplistic Cartesian approaches that simply view landscape as a nature-culture divide (Willow 2011:268-270). The consideration of landscape, then, reaffirms the need to consider alternate ontologies and reconsider how people organize and relate to their worlds and place. The following excerpt was taken from the oral evidence hearings in Skidegate and helps to express the importance of relationality to the Haida worldview:

The foundation of Haida culture is our spiritual, emotional, mental and physical relationship with Haida Gwaii, her lands, water and life forces, including the supernatural beings, which other oral presenters have and will address. Our understanding of the cosmos is that we are connected to all things. What we do to one thing affects all others, either for good or for bad. Our culture and the way of life are founded within our spiritual understandings and relationships. A key teaching of my childhood is that humans are of no more importance than the smallest shrimp swimming in the sea or the tiniest seedling nestled in the forest. Each living thing has a spirit. That was important. Each living thing has a spirit to which we are connected. Each continues and contributes to the well-being of everything [April Churchill NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012].

Life is a process of the passage of time, and through the life-process, people influence and form their landscapes, and therefore, it becomes evidence of the life and times of people who once lived on it (Ingold 1993:152). Through traces and memory, landscapes influence the present through its layers of meaning and actions of previous actors (Harkin 2000:65). “And through living in it, the landscape becomes a part of us, just as we are a part of it” (Ingold 1993:154). This relationship was articulated by President of the CHN at the oral evidence hearings in Old Massett where he said, “Our culture is about how close we can be to the earth. And that’s where our songs are from, our language, our dance, all of our crests and all of the material and culture is directly from the earth” [Guujaaw NEB Hearing transcripts, 28 Feb 2012].

Places, sometimes consciously and sometimes not, are absorbed through all of the senses—we see, smell, hear, feel, and taste place. Eloquently stated by Feld (1996:91), “...as place is sensed, senses are placed; as places make sense, senses make place.” Because our bodies sense place, people often reflect the places they live (Casey 1996:19). Place is political, economic, historic, socially constructed, culturally imperative, and transcends time while maintaining a balance of fluidity and stability. “It is simply location. It is where people do things” (Rodman 1992:640). While place can be reduced to this most primary level, it also holds the ability to excite emotions, imagination, and memory (Basso 1996:85). First and foremost, places are *experienced* (Thom 2005:13); they are socially and spatially constructed and reconstructed (Rodman 1992:641). Places are complex constructions of personal and interpersonal experiences, memory, and social histories (Kahn 1996:167). “Places are not just ‘there’ in some objective way to be perceived, but exist in the context of one’s own being and intentionality” (Thom 2005: 14). They permit actions, events, thoughts, and expressions, even at the most mundane level of everyday life, we are faced with place (Casey 1996:38). Certainly, a discussion of place is intricate and complex, and while there are universal elements to place (that is, everyone and everything is always in *a* place), it can also be spectacularly individual and specific.

Places capture many integral components of society—they encapsulate the behavioural, emotional, and moral relationships between a place and its people and demonstrate a constant negotiation and renegotiation of human relationships (Kahn 1996:168). As stated by Basso (1996:57), “...places and their meanings are continually woven into the fabric of social life, anchoring it to the features of the landscape and

blanketing it with layers of significance that few can fail to appreciate.” Places represent connections between people, linking a common past and individual and group identities (Kahn 1996:194). Everyone carries place, whether that place is a house, a region or landscape, whether it is urban or ancestral (Harkin 2000:66), place evokes emotion, nostalgia, and memory, which Basso describes quite eloquently:

... places possess a marked capacity for triggering acts of self-reflection, inspiring thoughts about who one presently is, or memories of who one used to be, or musings on who one might become. And that is not all. Place-based thoughts about the self lead commonly to thoughts of other things – other places other people, other times, whole networks of associations that ramify unaccountably within the expanding spheres of awareness that they themselves engender. The experience of sensing place, then, is thus both roundly reciprocal and incorrigibly dynamic. As places animate the ideas and feelings of persons who attend to them, these same ideas and feelings animate the places on which attention has been bestowed, and the movements of this process – inward toward facets of the self, outward toward aspects of the external world, alternately both together – cannot be known in advance. When places are actively sensed the physical landscape becomes wedded to the landscape of the mind, to the roving imagination, and where the mind may lead is anybody’s guess (1996:55).

It is with this social component to place that people can develop an individual or collective sense of place, which I explore first from the Indigenous perspective and then consider sense of place from the non-Indigenous perspective on Haida Gwaii.

Indigenous Belonging

Many Indigenous peoples have an exceptionally deep and embedded ancestral connection to their heritage and place, and in this way, I argue attachment to place is imperative and inherent. For Indigenous peoples, a sense of place remains strongly held, despite colonization—from imposed reserve systems and modern globalization and development—which could have fragmented this sense of belonging. In the previous chapter, the Haida relationship to the land was discussed in detail regarding traditional food harvesting practices. Many more statements highlighted Haida ontologies of place

and cultural ancestral connections to the natural environment. For example, Vice-President of CHN said this: "...I would ask the Joint Review Panel to remember that the Haida are an integral part of the Haida Gwaii environment and have been since time immemorial" [April Churchill NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012].

This section draws on examples from local testimonies that help to illustrate local ontologies and Haida Gwaii senses of place.

In the quest to understand home, Blu (1996:197) suggests that we look to Indigenous Americans' relationship to place, both past and present, to understand the fluidity of people and place. Arguably, the Indigenous conception of home has not been fully realized within academic or legal discourses (see Thom 2005). As with all people's experiences of place, Indigenous relationships to home are constructed, malleable, products of interactions, negotiations, and struggles (Blu 1996:198-99). Because Indigenous peoples have been subjected to varying degrees of colonization and attempted displacement, a consideration of these effects is necessary to demonstrate the strength and power of the sense of home. The following excerpt from the oral evidence hearings in Skidegate is illustrative of the visceral connection that the Haida have the land and the sea.

[After traveling for] extended periods, when I'm coming home, and [driving up Highway 16], I actually am brought to tears when I can smell the ocean...because I know I'm home. As much as I love being in those other places and learning what they are, I love my home and I love the ocean. I know when I come in on a plane, the first thing I do is I take a deep breath and smell the ocean. Then I know I'm home. An oil spill would take that away from me too. The water is my altar. An oil spill will take my church, my freedom of worship away from me [Ruth Gladstone-Davies NEB Hearing transcripts, 22 Mar 2012].

Speaking to the reservation system imposed in the United States, similar to the experiences of Indigenous peoples in Canada, Blu (1996:224) describes it as a “...product of struggle between Indians and Whites for primacy of place – for the right to inhabit and control place and space.” This colonial attempt to detach Indigenous peoples from their places and culture established and solidified power inequalities along with the dominance of the Western view of place (Thom 2005:5). Today, there is an urgent need to further understand and communicate Indigenous relationships to place, particularly in the face of social, economic, and political inequalities induced by colonialism (Thom 2005:422). Today, there are counter-discourses that can challenge dominant institutions, such as Aboriginal land claims. Again, speaking from an American perspective, Blu (1996:224) writes that, “In order to maintain legal claims to the land, Indians have had to present themselves as having been in the same place, often for time out of mind (or at least since the first European or American documents locate them somewhere) and as having had an unchanging kind of connection to their landscape.”

In spite of the struggles of their colonial history, many Indigenous communities hold compelling accounts of the maintenance and strength of attachment to place. Speaking of the Wet’suwet’en, Panofsky (2011:37) describes the local and reciprocal relationship to the land—that is, all living and non-living beings—as interconnected and holistic. This concept of relationality is important and was articulated at the NGP JRP hearings on Haida Gwaii.

Writing of his experience among the Nuu-chah-nulth, Harkin (2000:64) writes of the phenomenology of landscape for the local Indigenous as a means of connecting to the past, “because the land remembers.” Within this ontology, the Nuu-chah-nulth place is an

active participant in local culture, and it is recognized as an agent that can shape and influence elements of society (Harkin 2000:57). On the Coast Salish experience, Thom (2005:1) describes the “profound” attachment to home, which is fundamental to “social organization and ontological orientation.” He articulates the importance of sense on Indigenous myths, spirits, songs, language, property, territories, and identity (Thom 2005:409). Based on this ethnographic work, there is a notable tension between Western ontologies of land and Indigenous views and experiences with the land and dwelling (Thom 2005:4). Thus, Coast Salish senses of place are embodied experiences and relationships with the land (Thom 2005:12).

I am here to speak about legacy. I am a student of the Haida language, and my work and life have revolved around Haida language revitalization for the past almost decade. Our indigenous language is a legacy left by our ancestors who have gone before us, representing our connection to our land, to all life surrounding us, to each other and to a way of life that has sustained us for generations. . . I think of the sense of pride [that the formation of the Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site] has left, and that is evident in our nation today. We . . . were not swayed by the economic argument at that time. We recognized that protecting our forests and way of life was so much more important than the possibility of a short-term economic benefit [Amanda Bedard NEB Hearing transcripts, 2 Jun 2012].

This excerpt from Ms. Bedard’s oral statement directly echoes the academic discourse that identifies the deeply embedded connection between people, cultures, and the natural environment. Further it highlights efforts to protect place from threats of exploitative development and indicates that the Haida have worked collectively to protect their long-term vision and values, and will not make compromises for potential economic revenue.

In relation to Indigenous peoples’ connection to place, the last point I want to make centres on identity, which is intricately intertwined within the collective sense of place. For some Indigenous peoples, identity has been solidified through the disruptions of

colonization, with some asserting that, “we were here before all that; we are still here; we will make a future here” (Clifford 2001:482). In line with this, Blu (1996:224) suggests that Indigenous identities are dependent on the retention, reconstruction, and continued access to their homes. For the Lumbee—Indigenous people of present-day North Carolina—Blu (1996:223) describes that “an origin or a place where one ‘belongs’ is considered a vital part of personhood, as attached to one as an arm or leg.” Importantly, this connection is so strong that, “In the case at hand, Robeson Country and Lumbee Indian identity are one, even for those Lumbees who have never lived there” (Blu 1996:223). Home is thus central to Lumbee identity; it is what makes them a particular, identifiable, and collective people. Further, locals believe that unless some of their children “stay home” (that is, do not leave the community), there would be no people, no homeland, no Lumbee identity, much in line with the following excerpt presented as oral evidence in Skidegate:

An oil spill, tanker traffic will decimate our oceans, our environment, our culture, our way of being, and that’s essentially what we’ll become, like all other people in the world and we lose our unique rhythm, the uniqueness of Haida Gwaii, our connection to the place, the ability to sustain ourselves and look after ourselves and our land and become like everybody else. And that is not in the national interests of Canada, to have the coastal cultures and communities decimated and destroyed [Jason Alsop NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012].

Notably, some of the strongest messages that came out of the NGP JRP hearings on Haida Gwaii were from Haida who youth articulated their connection to the local lands and ocean. One 12-year-old speaker asserted to the Panel, “My connection to Haida Gwaii is like glue” [Caylene Bell NEB Hearing transcripts, 2 Jun 2012]. A 17-year-old Haida speaker told the Panel that, “These precious lands, our ocean and our culture means everything to me, and I say that from the bottom of my heart and soul” [Niisii

Guujaaw NEB Hearing transcripts, 22 Mar 2012]. Another adolescent's statement indicated that to her, "Haida Gwaii is a special place... There are no words that can explain this. The essence of Haida Gwaii can't be captured in words; it's purely a feeling and a sense of being" [Kelsey Pelton NEB Hearing transcripts, 14 Jun 2012]. All three of these young ladies describe their home and sense of place in a unique and eternally grateful way. In line with the Lumbee experience and Indigenous ontologies outlined above, these statements made by local youth recognize the relationship between land, people, and identity and exemplify the strength of these ongoing relationships for the Haida.

James Clifford's (2001:482) discussion on the sense of place and Indigenous experience is very compelling and resonates with the realities and values expressed on Haida Gwaii within the NGP discourse:

When a community has been living on an island for more than a thousand years, it is not enough to say that its members' claim to identify with a place are strategies of opposition or coalition in struggles with neighbors, or reactions to colonizing or world-system forces... People aren't, of course, always attached to a habitat in the same old ways, consistent over the centuries. Communities change. The land alters. Men and women speak from changing roles in new ways, on behalf of tradition and place. Senses of locale are expressed and felt through continuously renegotiated insides and outsides.

Undoubtedly, a connection to place is different for non-Indigenous peoples, but I want to caution that this does not mean there is *less* of a connection. Attachment to place, in my opinion, should not be viewed on a continuum, nor do I think it is fair to suggest that an individual or collective sense of place is attained based on one's heritage.

Drawing again on Blu's (1996) work, geographic areas hold an extremely strong connection, and it is a combination of the land and people that makes the relationship so fulfilling for local people. She states that non-Indigenous locals who come to understand

and adopt the local way of life validate the unique cultural and historical Lumbee experience (Blu 1996:221). For the Lumbee, it is reaffirming when non-Indigenous come to “appreciate their ways.”

Haida Gwaii has been my home only for my adult life. If there was a spill along these shores, I could join my family where they live. I would not necessarily be happy there, but I would survive and my children would survive. I would have my memories of Haida Gwaii and tell stories to my children about all the adventures we had here, the amazing experiences, but the time spent on these islands and my memories would only be mine to lose. While a supertanker jeopardizes my small family and my lifestyle and the way my children are currently being raised, it does not put into question the existence of my entire culture as it does my Haida neighbours [Karen McMurray NEB Hearing transcripts, 1 Jun 2012].

The above excerpt was taken from an oral statement presented to the Panel in Old Massett; the speaker is a non-Haida Islander raising her young family on the Islands. This statement serves as an understanding and appreciation for the Haida’s inherent connection to the local lands and it identifies the non-Haida experiences of place as equally powerful, albeit not based in ancestral heritage. Based on my personal experiences with the NGP resistance and living on Haida Gwaii, I believe that this opinion is not an exception, but rather captures the strength of Haida and non-Haida relationships, founded in a shared sense of belonging.

A Shared Sense of Belonging

My heart, mind, and soul is against the proposed pipeline, the tanker route, and the ongoing expansion of the tar sands. I am a person of the ocean and my being is the ebb and flow of the tides and inherent rhythm I need to be around for my wellbeing. Some people are mountain people, some people of the plains or lakes or deserts; me, I’m an ocean person. I came to Massett to visit. And when I set foot on the beach I knew I was home and never wanted to leave. I had been ready to move out of the city. I had had enough of urban space and I felt an incredible disconnect with nature... To me, this disconnect with nature, with our Mother Earth, is so much of the problem on our planet today. People in the city can spend their lives never touching the earth, never getting their hands dirty,

always that piece of cement in between foot and ground...As humans, when we lose this connection with our planet, our very existence begins to deteriorate and we no longer see ourselves as part of the earth, but separate from it [Michelle Hagenson NEB Hearing transcripts, 2 Jun 2012].

While place is decidedly universal in that everyone experiences it, a *sense of place* is not (see Blu 1996; Harkin 2000). A sense of belonging or home is where one feels rooted, again, an emotional connection indicative of relationships with a strong sense of emotion and nostalgia (Blu 1996:220). ‘Attachment to place’, ‘sense of place’, ‘belonging’, and ‘home place’ are all terms used to describe this intimate connection. “Fuelled by sentiments of inclusion, belonging, and connectedness to the past, sense of place roots individuals in the social and cultural soils from which they have sprung together, holding them there in the grip of a shared identity, a localized version of selfhood” (Basso 1996:85). Harkin (2000:59-60) writes that a sense of place is sacred and active, and claims that for the middle-class Westerners, this sense of place has largely been forgotten. Being from *somewhere* is preferred to being from *nowhere*, as people are “generally better off with a place to call their own” (Basso 1996:87). This sense of nowhere, or not belonging is all too common. “Some people were simply born somewhere and have carried on to live and work somewhere else...They do not have a significant, emotional relationship to a place they designate ‘home,’ by which they mean something other than the place where their kinspeople happen to be” (Blu 1996:219).

I was not a food gatherer before coming to Haida Gwaii. I grew up on Vancouver Island, very far removed. Coming to Haida Gwaii has really brought a lot of the true values of our environment, our coast and our lives into perspective for me [Andrew Merilees NEB Hearing transcripts, 29 Feb 2012].

Educators and psychologists have now coined a term, “nature deficit disorder” as a blanket term for physical, social, and mental ailments related to not having enough playtime and time outside. But living here we all have the opportunity to stay healthy through food gathering, through play, recreation, and spending time

outside. But this opportunity depends on healthy waters, free from oil [Ceitlynn Epnors NEB Hearing transcripts, 14 Jun 2012].

The first excerpt, taken from the oral evidence hearings in Old Massett, illustrates a discursive trope that imagines one as being able to draw out of place by disconnecting with ‘nature’ and living completely within an abstract, constructed ‘space’. The speaker then finds a place where ‘nature’ can be discovered and describes relocating to Haida Gwaii as a result. The second excerpt was made at the oral statement hearings in Skidegate and identifies the importance of belonging to one’s natural environment and speaks to the detriment of not having a sense of place. Importantly, both of these speakers are non-Haida but have come to know the Islands as their *home*, as an ontologically transformative experience, as moving from merely living in space to dwelling in place.

In general, named places are often the most resonant with people. When one can speak of a particular place with authority, and when those places attain a narrative, landscapes begin to bind people and their shared experiences (Rodman 1992:651). Similarly, shared meanings can guide the relationships between humans and their fellow inhabitants of a given place (Thom 2005:16). Places are an intimate and emotional connection, both personal and shared (Kahn 1996:195), and through the physical environment and social places they embody histories and provide concrete links to the past (Stewart 1996:148).

Not only was place an overall concept discussed by Islanders throughout the NGP JRP hearings, a sense of place, and the power of place was illustrated time and time again. This power of Haida Gwaii was also articulated at the oral statement hearings in Skidegate, “When [my wife and I] came here, [we] were blown away by the power of this place” [Sean O’Neil NEB Hearing transcripts, 14 Jun 2012]. This power of place, the

significance of it, appreciation for it, and the obligation to protect place were reiterated by Haida and non-Haida alike. The following excerpt is one example of a non-Haida who describes her experiences moving to the Islands and the attachment that she developed.

Four summers ago, I arrived on these shores and I count my blessings for every day that I have had the honour of living here...until I arrived I believe I was always searching for this place...And here I am surrounded by a community where the people around me are all so connected to the land and the sea and, together, we share a profound sense of belonging and caring for the natural world that nourishes us here, right here [Stephanie Fung NEB Hearing transcripts, 13 Jun 2012].

The power of place is inherently tied to a sense of place. In describing her experience selecting a field site in Papua New Guinea, Kahn (1996:169) notes that the Wamiran community she ultimately came to study was, “an emotional fit that felt right.” She continues on to describe that the people were open and welcoming and “good-humoured (Kahn 1996:170). Here, I would argue that sense of place is as much about the landscape as it is the people, and that there is an interdependent and interconnected relationship between people and place. To help support this, one local presenting an oral statement said, “I came here for the ocean and I came here for the wilderness. I stayed though for the people. The people here are different, some are quite different, but what makes the people ‘who they are’ is the place that surrounds them” [Barrett Johnson NEB Hearing transcripts, 13 Jun 2012].

The following excerpt provides another example that was taken from the oral statement hearings in Skidegate and demonstrates that Haida Gwaii is as much about the culture as it is place, which catalyzes individual and collective identities.

To live on Haida Gwaii is to learn about the land, its people, its animals, but also to learn more about yourself...Once that you are here; once that you have buried those that you love here; and once you are connected to this place, you can hear the hum of the land. You can actually feel the heartbeat of the earth, hear the

rhythm of the rivers and know the power of this place. There has been much death in the forests of Haida Gwaii and I have felt the pain of those past souls, but you must know that this is one of the most powerful energy forces on this planet. This is my reality and my connection to this land [Evelyn von Almassy NEB Hearing transcripts, 14 Jun 2012].

According to Blu (1996:220), even when there is a shared and common sense of place, there can be vehement internal politics and confrontation regarding how people should act, what should become of the place, and how it should be managed. Based on Haida Gwaii's response to the NGP, I would suggest that there is common recognition of Haida sovereignty, which ultimately helps to create a sub-culture of Islanders who express respect and appreciation for local lifeways and acknowledge Haida title. This dynamic alliance between Haida and non-Haida was identified in many of the JRP testimonies. For example, one of the elected officials said at the oral evidence Hearings, "...to the Haida this place is home, and to our neighbours, it's a lifestyle that they choose to adopt and make it home" [James Cowpar NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012]. From the non-Haida perspective, one speaker said, "In the grand scheme of things, I am a newcomer here, an immigrant to Haida Gwaii. Yet in this short time I have grown deep roots into this place I call home, connected to the people, the land, and the sea" [Lynn Chi Lee NEB Hearing transcripts, 29 Feb 2012]. Both of these statements reaffirm a connection between people and place, and further, illustrate that local Indigenous peoples welcome newcomers who have a shared understanding of Island values and lifeways.

The NGP JRP hearings on Haida Gwaii allowed the opportunity for Island citizens to tell their stories and speak to their sense of place. Although the oral statements were relatively open-ended, one of the prominent themes that emerged throughout my analysis of the transcripts was this *shared* sense of place. Here are two more excerpts from

Islanders that help to illustrate this deep sense of appreciation and belonging to Haida Gwaii.

Nature and my connection with nature sustains me emotionally, intellectually, physically, and spiritually. I arrived in Haida Gwaii when I was 20 and I knew that this was my home. I found a new way to live, even more close and connected to the land [Traci Murphy NEB Hearing transcripts, 1 Jun 2012].

On Haida Gwaii my family discovered a magical world where salmon filled the creeks, sea urchins, clams and flounders were clean and abundant, and we met and fell in love with the vibrant community intimately connected with the land and sea. We shared fundamental values and we came to visit here regularly throughout our lives. I returned here as a child, as a teenager and as an adult. It was where I met my husband and where I finally moved to start my life as a mother and as a caretaker for future generations...[Haida Gwaii is] the epitome of ecological biodiversity and partnership between First Nations peoples to protect ecosystems, the ethnodiversity, the ecodiversity for the good work of government that they do have the ability to protect biodiversity [Severn Cullis-Suzuki NEB Hearing transcripts, 22 Mar 2012].

These statements highlight the values and Islander ontology evident throughout the NGP JRP hearings. The excerpt from Ms. Murphy's testimony identifies the natural environment as her emotional, intellectual, physical, and spiritual sustenance, clearly identifying her sense of connection to Haida Gwaii. Ms. Cullis-Suzuki's oral evidence exemplifies many presenters' sentiments that the Islands are 'majestic'. Carl Coffey's testimony also speaks to this and explicates the non-Haida connection to place and commitment to stopping the NGP:

As soon as I arrived I could feel the magic of the islands and I fell in love with the natural beauty, the pristine beaches, the abundant sea life, and with the generous and friendly Haida people who welcomed me into their lives. I could see and feel the strong, special connection of the land and sea that radiates from them and their way of life. I join my Haida brothers and sisters in opposing the pipeline project and in the banning of oil tankers full of tar sand crude oil from plying the waters of the north coast [NEB Hearing transcripts, 14 Jun 2012].

Even if we were the ones to receive any and all of the profits from this venture, I still couldn't be convinced that it was worth the chance of decimating this amazing and unique ecosystem and all of the creatures held within, nor would I

be willing to give up a way of life, a way of being, just to be able to afford a new car and buy all of my groceries from the supermarket [Debi Landon NEB Hearing transcripts, 2 Jun 2012].

Ms. Landon's testimony is also from the non-Haida perspective and details that Haida Gwaii provides a way of life that will not be jeopardized for economic revenue. Many more testimonies spoke to this imperative connection between people and place on the Islands and supported that that attachment leads to an obligation to protect place. For example, one elected official said this, "...one thing that we can maintain is our way of life. It's a damn good one and we're all proud of it. We will fight for it and we'll stand with our neighbours and fight for it" [Evan Putterill NEB Hearing transcripts, 22 Mar 2012]. Another non-Haida spoke about this connection and obligation to protect place, "There's something about Haida Gwaii that makes you much more a part of the natural cycles and it is the way that we all cherish and want to protect" [Kiku Dhanwant NEB Hearing transcripts, 1 Jun 2012].

Power and Protecting Place

Our culture is about our relationship to this place, our home, and that's what we are mandated. That's our responsibility as a living generation of an ancient nation, to protect that, and protect that we will... We declared Duu Guusd Tribal Park... We drew a line in Gwaii Haanas and said, "That area is intact, you're not going there." We never asked anybody permission. We had our Elders' direction and...so we made plans. And then we said to the governments, to anybody who would listen, "This is Haida land, these are the rules. We'll work with you. We'll negotiate with you. We'll talk with you. We'll share. We'll get along, but this is the Haida vision" [Miles Richardson NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012].

Power is unforgivingly engrained in place, both internally and externally. "Who experiences place, and how, raises critical issues of power... Issues of power also run through the ways in which particular views of relationships with place compete for dominance, control, or sometimes, even a voice" (Thom 2005:23). From an Indigenous

perspective, there has been an imposed hegemonic relationship between power and place, historically, and unfortunately, still today. In order to understand Indigenous politics, environments, and current struggles, there is a need to understand these power inequalities (Willow 2011:262-263). Fortunately for Indigenous peoples in Canada today, there are political, legal, and economic modes by which they may be able to gain greater control and management of traditional lands (Wyatt 2008:174). But ultimately, a rather radical re-envisioning of Indigenous-state relationships is necessary to dismantle power inequities concerning place, and, thus, Indigenous sovereignty.

There is an urgent need to transform current environmental production, consumption, and distribution methods to ensure that development is sustainable and recognizes the roles and rights of Indigenous peoples (see Parajuli 2004; Wyatt 2008). While Indigenous peoples seek participation in the economic benefits of development, they also hold a different value system that will not allow for the reckless destruction of their traditional territories. New management models, then, consider whole and complex ecosystems and also maintain the communities dependent on those ecosystems.

While Indigenous communities can claim original, legal and moral rights to traditional territories (Blu 1996:220), all too often, local voices and values are suppressed in hegemonic discourses and unequal power distributions. As supported throughout this chapter, the people making decisions that implicate Indigenous territories are most far removed from the local landscape and lifeways (see Thom 2005). Resisting development projects and challenging these systemic inequalities is a way to declare Indigenous self-determination. Both historical and contemporary power configurations that influence the people and places inhabited by Indigenous peoples (Willow 2011:263), which is often in

conflict with local ontologies that do not compartmentalize the environment, culture, politics, and economies.

Investigating the Nuu-chah-nulth Interim Measures Agreement, Goetze (2005:257) argues that the model challenges systemic inequalities between the Indigenous Nuu-chah-nulth and the British Columbian government, and therefore co-management agreements have the ability to equalize power-sharing between stakeholders. The process for the Nuu-chah-nulth was as much about improving the management of resources as it is about re-envisioning Indigenous-state relationships and provides the opportunity for the local mobilization of Indigenous rights (Goetze 2005:248; see also Wyatt 2008). In order to re-envision Indigenous-state relationships though, there must be an acknowledgement of Indigenous peoples' differing ontologies. Speaking to forestry issues, Wyatt (2008:176) states that industry's goals, knowledge, and techniques are vastly different than the Indigenous paradigm, which is an experience that was largely overcome on Haida Gwaii with the implementation of co-management models:

There were a couple of agreements that we made with the federal government before we entered into the process or it is done kind of separately and it is one – one is joint management of the Gwaii Haanas area, in which we basically agreed to disagree on ownership but we agreed that there's a need to look after those lands and agreement is around management [Guujaaw NEB Hearing transcripts, 28 Feb 2012].

Indigenous-state relationships require an overhaul, particularly in regards to exploitative resource development projects that infringe on Indigenous homelands. Traditional Indigenous laws and ideologies that govern local stewardship are often in contrast to dominant paradigms, and all too often, Indigenous values are suppressed by mainstream practices.

In 2009 after arduous negotiations, the CHN and B.C. signed the Kunst'a guu Kunstaaya Reconciliation Protocol Agreement. The meaning for this protocol is in the beginning, and for the Haida this protocol agreement is the beginning of the Haida Nation and province cooperatively and collaboratively caring for the land [April Churchill NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012].

This statement by the Vice-President of CHN speaks to the efforts of the Haida Nation in forging meaningful and equal relationships with the state. “We are an ancient people of this land and surrounding seas, and our language, our society, our culture, knowledge and life ways have developed over millennia of experience here” [April Churchill NEB Hearing transcript, 21 Mar 2012]. She continues on to describe that at no point in history have these values been more relevant than today, in the face of global climate change and impending environmental threats.

The significance of re-envisioning relationships was recognized by other speakers who presented to the Panel. As stated by a young non-Haida man who has previously worked for Gwaii Haanas, “[The Gwaii Haanas Agreement is] characterized by mutual respect and cooperation...I believe [it] represents a significant step forward in the development of a mutually respectful relationship” [Ian Benoit NEB Hearing transcripts, 22 Mar 2012]. Similarly, the following excerpt captures the importance of various agreements and approaches to responsible management that are founded on the basis of re-envisioning Indigenous-state relationships.

...the truth is, if you were interested in innovative, progressive, dynamic resource management you really cannot find a better place in British Columbia, I would argue in Canada or even in the world. Here we have First Nations governance, we have ecosystem-based management, we have cooperative – innovative cooperative relationships between First Nations and governments. We have engagement of communities and cutting-edge marine research. It's all here [Catherine Margaret Rigg NEB Hearing transcripts, 29 Feb 2012].

As stated by Wyatt (2008:175), it is imperative to incorporate traditional knowledge into contemporary resource management. Notably, the CHN has adopted five guiding principles that are based on traditional values and relationships with the land (see Appendix C). These principles reflect traditional connections to the land and see and help to guide respectful and reciprocal relationships with the natural environment.

...our ancestors, and now our Elders and our young people have, in one way or another, stood firm on who owns these lands and waters. As owners, we have worked to protect and use these things with respect and thinking about what we will leave as our legacy for future generations. From the time when reserves were put in, the old villages and other harvesting areas, our ancestors, and now this generation, have the responsibility to protect our lands and waters. This connection is what makes us who we are [Barbara Wilson NEB Hearing transcripts, 14 Jun 2012].

From federally protected areas to progressive Land and Marine Use Plans, Haida Gwaii exemplifies stewardship, which is a great source of pride for locals. The action and unity of the Haida Nation throughout the highly contentious and politicized disputes over logging on South Moresby Island in the 1980s was one of the most common examples heard at the NGP JRP hearings. Today, Island communities are working together to develop dynamic and forward-thinking stewardship and management strategies. These agreements are a direct result of the shared sense of belonging on Haida Gwaii that obliges local citizens to protect their place, and ultimately, contribute to solid management models founded in integrity and passion.

I recognize that the implementation of the marine use plans will also have an immediate cost in lost jobs and revenue to Haida Gwaii, but the majority of islanders are willing to make a short time sacrifice in exchange for the long-term gain of maintaining healthy and functioning ecosystem which are in balance and can provide for future generations... With the marine and land use plans the people on Haida Gwaii have recently charted a new course for where we would like to go in the future. It has involved financial sacrifices but it puts more in balance with the environment around us and promises to provide more for our

children and grandchildren than the direction we've been heading in for the past 100 years or so [Leandre Vigneault NEB Hearing transcripts, 29 Feb 2012].

This excerpt came from the oral evidence hearings in Old Massett, the presenter is a non-Haida who spoke about his experiences moving to Haida Gwaii with his wife, who also presented at the Hearings and spoke passionately about the sense of place she found on the Islands. As Mr. Vigneault's statement illustrates, acting as responsible stewards is a shared obligation on Island, and citizens are proactively working towards the long-term vision of sustainability, even if this entails a loss of monetary benefits.

As indicated in the NGP JRP testimonies on Haida Gwaii, I argue that this is not only an Indigenous issue; it is not only the Haida who feel obliged to protect their home and way of life. "What I have witnessed here as a teacher on Haida Gwaii is that our students know the forests, the land, and the sea is worthy of protection because it is this forest, land and sea that protects them" [Preet Lidder NEB Hearing transcripts, 13 Jun 2012]. In her oral statement, Ms. Lidder identifies herself as someone who has recently moved to Haida Gwaii, a non-Haida working at the local high school with both Haida and non-Haida students. Thus, not only is this excerpt illustrative of the shared values of Islanders to protect the local sense of place; it speaks to the strength of this value as it is instilled in local children's ideologies.

From my formal education and my personal experience, I have an intimate sense of what it means to be part of this ecosystem. Now, this is important that we are part of the ecosystem. The ocean provides us with food and transportation and also things like purpose, inspiration, and culture. We are stewards of the sea, and if we mismanage this we will suffer [Mariken van Gurp NEB Hearing transcripts, 14 Jun 2012].

From the non-Haida perspective, this excerpt emphasizes the interconnectivity between the natural environment and local people. This perspective, I argue, is

indicative of Island lifeways and values shared across many of the speakers at the NGP JRP hearings on Haida Gwaii. With this understanding of interconnectivity, and with a sense of belonging, communities feel and fulfill an obligation to protect their locale; their natural environments. In doing so, they assert their sovereignty to ensure their spiritual, cultural, emotional and physical well-being and their individual and collective identities.

Closing Comments

Indigenous peoples struggle to reclaim sovereignty, assert their presence as original stewards and active agents who merit greater control over their current and future realities (Blu 1996:221). There is an inherent relationship between recognition, protection, and sovereignty (Goetze 2005:259). Speaking specifically to the forest industry, Wyatt (2008:172) states that Indigenous peoples in Canada are asserting their rights through claiming a role within local forest management. Fortunately today, there are models in principle that recognize Indigenous authority to ancestral homelands that aim to empower local peoples (Goetze 2005). Further, there are legal arguments both nationally and internationally that protect the rights of Indigenous peoples.

Three Articles of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples are directly relevant to the NGP. First, Article 19 indicates that States must “obtain free, prior and informed consent” from Indigenous peoples before implementing any legislative or administrative measures that could affect them (UN 2008:8). Notably, this Article is referenced frequently by Indigenous peoples in opposition to the NGP. Article 26 of the Declaration states that Indigenous peoples “have the right to their traditional lands,” territories and resources and that they have the right to “own, use,

develop, and control” these lands, providing “legal recognition to protect these lands and territories” (UN 2008:10). While further analysis of the Declaration would prove enriching, these two articles are directly relevant to the NGP discourse and the ongoing and colonial paradigm in which this Indigenous peoples within the resistance are entrenched.

While Indigenous-state relationships need to be rectified, there are some sincere and progressive attempts to dismantle historic power inequalities. Unfortunately, cooperative management plans, like those implemented on Haida Gwaii, are the exception rather than the rule but do demonstrate the effectiveness of power-sharing and re-envisioning Indigenous-state relationships. As argued by Goetze (2005:261), cooperative and co-management models recognize Aboriginal title and allow an avenue for Indigenous peoples to reclaim their sovereignty. In line with this, one elected official at the oral statement hearings stated, “Haida Gwaii is Haida territory and the Haida Nation and the Haida people and the people of Haida Gwaii are going to do what we need to do to protect our homeland...” [Jason Alsop NEB Hearing transcripts, 13 Jun 2012].

In conclusion, Haida Gwaii provides an exceptional example of place, which was demonstrated throughout the NGP JRP hearings. Geographically, Haida Gwaii is unique in that it is a remote Island. As a Nation, the Haida have a strong history of defending their place and protecting it from outside development and asserting their title and sovereignty in a respectful and effective way. Lastly, and directly related to the focus of this project, is Island unity in resistance to the NGP. One of the most compelling themes threaded throughout locals’ testimonies was that of place. With the power of a sense of belonging – everyone had their story of how they came to be in this place and there was

an obvious and resounding message that Islanders will do what it takes to protect it; to protect their home.

Chapter 7 – Weaving it All Together

The Earth is facing an ecological crisis, and ultimately what we need is a philosophical and cultural revolution in our attitudes towards – and interactions with – the natural environment (Guha and Martinez-Alier 1998:92). Advocating the concept of ‘ecological citizenship’, Vernon (2010) states that we must re-envision our relationship with the environment to recognize that we have a right to the land, but that as humans, we also have a responsibility to use it sustainably. “This means moving beyond seeing ourselves as separate from some external environment and instead as interconnected with the places in which we live” (Vernon 2010:280). Whether humans make a conscious effort to make these changes and adapt or inadvertently and ignorantly proceed down our current path, people will soon start to experience drastic changes (Vernon 2010:288). Because our current systems of economic growth depend on exploiting lands and peoples, Vernon (2010:278) questions whether or not we can actualize this restructuring, “before the global ecosystem loses its ability to recover from disturbance.” One of the most relevant questions posed by Guha and Martinez-Alier (1998:70) in this regard is: can humans separate the exploitation of natural resources and our energy needs from economic growth?

Ecological issues are raising critical concerns worldwide, and although the scope is global, the effects are profoundly local (Cruikshank 2001:379). In order to challenge local concerns, Indigenous communities are engaged in land-claim negotiations and self-government agreements and striving to implement sustainable economic and political models. The effects of global ecological issues are most often felt by local poor, however it is wealthier nations that pose the greatest threat to the environment (Guha and

Martinez-Alier 1998:59), thus reifying unjust inequities within our current institutions. These power inequalities were established historically because Indigenous peoples were equated with nature, and therefore like nature, became objects of domination by the nation state (Blaser 2004:27). Today, the Canadian state relies on lands that were appropriated from Indigenous peoples and largely depends on these traditional territories to extract natural resources (Davis and Shpuniarsky 2010:341). In some cases, local resources are exploited and depleted, in others, whole communities are displaced by state and industry agendas.

As discussed by Blaser (2004:36), Indigenous peoples resist development projects that threaten their already troubled situations and further indicates that most Indigenous peoples are moving from unacceptable to worse conditions. Although Indigenous peoples are not opposed to all development, they do uphold a standard to sustainability that is often not met by Western agendas (see Barker 2001; Feit 2004; Feld and Basso 1996). Worldwide, Indigenous peoples face systemic discrimination and entrenched racism, but documents like the UN *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* are intended to protect the centrality of Indigenous relationships with their ancestral lands (Benjamin *et al.* 2010:61). This struggle to assert self-determination was one of the overarching issues embedded in the NGP discourse and Northern Gateway resistance.

Title and Rights, Colliding Ontologies, and Bridging the Gap

The Village of Queen Charlotte respects the hereditary responsibilities and the relationships of the Haida people to Haida Gwaii and we recognize the co-existence of Crown and Aboriginal title. The protocol agreement sets out the basis for all our work together in a spirit of respectful cooperation, to design a future that supports a healthy environment and a sustainable islands' economy [Carol Kulesha NEB Hearing transcripts, 22 Mar 2012].

The effects of colonization are complex and hold a “looming presence” on contemporary relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples (Davis and Shpuniarsky 2010:346). Colonization is perpetuated within the state and its people; while people created the state, the state ultimately creates the people (FitzMaurice 2010:357-358). A series of colonial institutions now lead the state and allow for legal and administrative control and power over Indigenous peoples. From the time that the state asserted its control, colonial institutions have continued to impose foreign systems of belief, lands, governance, spiritual practices, and identities (Davis and Shpuniarsky 2010:335). Miles Richardson spoke to this from the Haida experience at the oral evidence hearings in Skidegate:

They said, “According to your law, you must deal with this question of Aboriginal title, and we’ve addressed that question.” This is all our land. Why are you...telling me you’re going to give me my own land? They said that is the question. And then – so the reserves were unilaterally imposed. Our people never gave up title to the rest of our island. Our title lives in every one of us as strong as it ever did. And when we talk about sovereignty, that’s what we’re talking about, that continuing title that will – that we inherited that lives to this day [NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012].

In British Columbia, power started to shift when several key court cases recognized and affirmed Aboriginal title and rights (see *Delgamuukw* [1997] and *Haida* [2004]), which allowed Indigenous peoples the ability to more fully advance their agendas (Smith and Sterritt 2010:142). The President of CHN spoke to this ability to move beyond colonial institutions through co-management:

And we’ve, over the last few years, sat in a process of reconciliation with both [the] provincial [government] and Government of Canada and while we are able to accomplish some things with the provincial government outside of treaty discussions in exploring whether or not we can reconcile the existence of the Haida people with Canada, we are able to set aside the lands that our people had determined need to be set aside to protect our culture... You heard that our people have worked to reconcile the title dispute between ourselves and the

colonial government of Canada. You've heard of some success with the province of B.C. and lands issue within our jurisdiction and we presented evidence to show what exactly that's doing and how it worked to eliminate conflict [Guujaaw NEB Hearing transcripts, 28 Feb 2012].

In line with this, the Indigenous peoples on Haida Gwaii are governed by the CHN, which the Vice-President explained to the NGP JRP at the oral statement hearings in Skidegate.

The Haida people have developed and ratified a national Constitution that is based in Haida tradition and our historical agreements while providing for the best of democracy. Our Constitution identifies that the House of Assembly that's comprised of Haida citizens is the legislative body for our nation. It also identifies that the Council of the Haida Nation is the governing body... I belong to the Haida Nation, which has inherited rights, responsibilities and title to the land and waters of Haida Gwaii. These have never been surrendered to Canada or to any other government. The proposed tanker routes and areas that are placed at risk by this project are in an area subject to the current Haida Nation rights and title litigation [April Churchill NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012].

As discussed in Chapter 2, the Crown has a duty to consult and accommodate Indigenous peoples whose lands might be affected by development. While the courts continue to define 'consultation' and 'accommodation', these key decisions theoretically allowed Indigenous peoples some power in decision-making processes that would affect local lifeways (Smith and Sterritt 2010:142-143). In the case of the NGP, this is simply not the case. As it stands, the Crown has not consulted with the Indigenous communities along the proposed pipeline or tanker route, which demonstrates a weak implementation of these precedent setting decisions. This legal failing provides strength to Indigenous peoples' claims in the event that the NGP results in litigation.

Haida title is accepted among various levels of government and among Islanders, which proves to be a vastly different experience than most Indigenous claims that are highly contested among Indigenous Nations, the state and non-Indigenous neighbours.

The excerpt at the beginning of this section was taken from the oral evidence provided by Carol Kulesha, the current Mayor of the Municipality of Queen Charlotte. Ms. Kulesha's statement recognizes a common appreciation for Haida title, a significant point that was also articulated by non-Haida Islander, John Disney:

...one of the unique aspects of living on Haida Gwaii is that the entire population have no illusions about who owns Haida Gwaii. Haida Gwaii is unquestionably the home of the Haida, no dispute; that's the end of the discussion. The rights of the Haida rule supreme on these islands. I've seen this every day since I made my home here and there have been half a dozen court cases to enshrine this right, as I'm sure you've been presented with. However, it is beyond that. It is beyond discussion, every non-Haida living on these islands just know that they're on Haida land, we don't debate it, we don't dispute it, we simply live it. It is what Haida Gwaii is [NEB Hearing transcripts, 29 Feb 2012].

The recognition of Indigenous title to Haida Gwaii is a unique strength to Island citizens, and a positive example for Canada's Indigenous peoples. The Haida Gwaii experience demonstrates the ability to foster meaningful relationships and allow Indigenous peoples their rightful role as stewards of their lands and active agents of their own fate. Ultimately, a discussion of Aboriginal title and rights framed a majority of the NGP discourse and is closely connected to issues of colliding ontologies discussed in Chapter 2.

Analyzing Aboriginal cultural rights, Niezen (2003:3) describes that the courts recognize and affirm Aboriginal peoples' unique cultures but within a limited scope and understanding. While anthropology has long understood cultures as fluid processes, it has been wrongfully conceived of within institutions as a static concept that can be defined. Given its fluidity, Niezen (2003:2) asks the elemental question, "How can courts make a decision on cultural rights?" Through Aboriginal cultural rights, unique lifeways are given protection and implicitly recognize the importance of health and the survival of

Aboriginal peoples (Niezen 2003:22-23). Under cultural rights, subsistence practices have been permitted, but they do not extend to any management roles related to subsistence, and therefore they are not protected rights, but rather, privileges that can be revoked. With this, Aboriginal peoples are denied their pre-contact roles as sovereign Nations regulating their own resources (Niezen 2003:25), which has been operationalized for Indigenous communities within the Northern Gateway discourse.

Different Ways of Knowing and Being

One of the most prominent issues that arose throughout this analysis—from a consideration of the EA process in Canada to the heartfelt and emotional testimonies at the NGP JRP hearings—was that of colliding ontologies. The West maintains dominant frames, belief systems, knowledge bases, and values over Indigenous peoples’.

Interestingly, on Haida Gwaii, the local Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities have aligning value systems and ontologies. One of the local concepts that was reiterated throughout Islanders’ NGP JRP testimonies was that of ‘interconnectedness’.

We are all interdependent on each other for existence. The salmon feeds our bears...eagles, ravens fly up into the forest to help fertilize the forest. It helps with reproduction of our berries and our medicines. One continuous cycle every time the salmon spawn into the creeks and rivers of our islands. An oil spill would be worse than genocide and assimilation. Our way would be transformed to 100 percent living on a grocery store and we will become a shell of what we once were. We would never adapt from an oil spill. What would we feed our ancestors? They are used to the abundances from the ocean [Jenny Cross NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012].

This excerpt illustrates how intertwined life is on Haida Gwaii; there is a tightly woven web that connects all beings, including human beings. Thus, according to Haida concepts of relationality, there is no distinction between ‘human’ and ‘animal’, which is quite different from Western systems of categorization (see Borré 1994). Further, Ms. Cross

illustrates that as much as people and animals are intertwined, the Haida are also deeply connected to their ancestors and maintain obligatory relationships with them; people living in this world honour, respect, and offer sustenance to their ancestors. Quite simply, the world with all of its parts, is intimately interconnected and interdependent and a fundamental component to these relationships is respect. Another woman who spoke extensively to concepts of Haida relationality was April Churchill:

When we were placed here by our Creator, we were given rights and responsibilities. One of our responsibilities is to protect Haida Gwaii. We know that we will not survive as a people if we allow the deliberate and unnecessary killing off of any of the life forces of Haida Gwaii, and I say that last sentence because it is really important and it's being said everywhere. We will not survive as a people if we allow the deliberate and unnecessary killing off of any of the life forces of Haida Gwaii. Without these connections and relationships all our culture becomes nothing but shadows...In closing, I cannot describe the power of Haida Gwaii as it enters up through my body. At that very moment I know that I am no more important than the grain of sand that I am standing on. However at that very same moment there is a great realization that I am of absolute importance to the wellbeing of the universe [NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012].

As Ms. Churchill eloquently articulates, there is a fundamental relationship between all life forces, people, and culture. This connection is inherent to the Haida's relationship with the surrounding land and sea, where there is a mutual respect and appreciation for each element that contributes to this world. Further, and a point that is particularly poignant, is that of humans as being "no less important than a grain of sand." While this statement reflects a paradox that Ms. Churchill admittedly cannot understand, it illustrates the possibility of acknowledging and respecting differences between life forces and the importance of relationality maintained by the Haida. Significantly, this message of 'interconnectedness', which is entrenched in Island lifeways, resonated with one of the

Panel members who mentioned this as a prominent theme he heard at the first phase of oral evidence hearings in Old Massett.

My understanding has been increased. I have appreciated the points of view that have been presented. They have been heartfelt, they have been articulate. I was particularly touched with the [Haida Ethics and Values] that were shared yesterday and one in particular has stood out in my mind and I have heard it repeated in many ways and that is the interconnectedness that you have with the land, with the sea, your way of life and your community and that has been very helpful for me in the process that we are involved in. And I will take away what I have heard and carefully and thoughtfully and respectfully consider that. Thank you [Kenneth Bateman NEB Hearing transcripts, 29 Feb 2012].

The dichotomy between Western and Indigenous ways of knowing and being was very apparent within the discourse. The binary between these different types of knowing transcends into academic debates where Indigenous knowledge and local expertise are not considered credible enough to contribute to Western knowledge or theory (Cruikshank 2001:377). Discussing the polarization of these types of knowledge, Cruikshank states that local knowledge is often considered ‘vague’, ‘mythical’, and ‘subjective’. She observes that local knowledge “encapsulates unique entanglements of people with their environments” (Cruikshank 2001:391). Neglecting the value of local and Indigenous knowledge, Western systems of knowing become entrenched within all of our institutions, such as law and policy (Cruikshank 2001:389).

In her earlier work, Cruikshank (1981:67) states that science and oral tradition are both developed in institutional settings, within a cultural context, and both contribute to a theoretical understanding of the natural world; she further argues that each has the ability to contribute to humans’ overall knowledge systems. In line with this, FitzMaurice (2010) states that Indigenous knowledge is in fact required to re-negotiate power relationships and hierarchies created through colonization. Indigenous knowledge “offers the

possibility of a theoretical, spiritual, and experiential understanding of interconnectivity, interdependence, and community within a view of power that is based in collectivity and spirit rather than being entirely out of force” (FitzMaurice 2010:362-363). One of the ways in which this disconnect between different cultures and knowledge systems can be bridged is through storytelling (Cruikshank 2001:391).

The Oral Narrative

But we should resist the temptation to assume that since stories are stories they are, in some sense, unreal or untrue, for this is to suppose that the only real reality, or true truth, is one in which we, as living, experiencing beings, can have no part at all. Telling a story is not like weaving a tapestry to cover up the world, it is rather a way of guiding the attention of listeners or readers into it (Ingold 1993:153).

The Yukon Storytelling Festival was initiated in Whitehorse in 1988, and within a few years had become a collaboration with neighbouring Kwanlin Dän First Nation in order to, “acknowledge the centrality of local Indigenous storytellers” (Cruikshank 1997:58). Indigenous peoples used the festival to form alliances responding to infringements on their local territories. Storytelling at the festival has become a catalyst for Indigenous peoples to share their unique histories, assert their rights, and illustrate connections to place to help support land claims. Because the courts approach Aboriginal title through foreign concepts of place, Cruikshank (1997:58) states that storytelling can be used as a culturally appropriate means of demonstrating Indigenous sovereignty and connections to the natural environment. Through traditional stories, songs, and place names, Indigenous people share and commemorate a deep connection to place and illustrate integral kinship relationships. Therefore, storytelling can help communicate local social, political, economic, and ecological issues to a broad audience and can transcend communication barriers (Cruikshank 1997:58).

Stories are connected to social institutions, and through sharing their traditional histories, local Indigenous people can illustrate their individual and collective identities. In so doing, Indigenous peoples are able to challenge land claim negotiations and share and compare their experiences with fellow Indigenous peoples while reaffirming their cultural narratives to a broader audience (Cruikshank 1997:62). This last part, sharing their histories with a broad audience, is key in declaring rights to self-determination and is a means by which they are able to bridge the gap between legal and political institutions and local ways of being beyond colonial paradigms (Cruikshank 1997:65). Ultimately, narratives are used to claim a sense of agency against state institutions and ontologies.

The Yukon Storytelling Festival provides an interesting comparison for the NGP JRP hearings on Haida Gwaii. Each individual who came to speak to the Panel offered their own compelling stories, and these stories were as vast and varied as the speakers themselves. It was within these heartfelt, often emotional stories that common themes emerged, of which food and sense of belonging became the focus here. Although it is not possible to determine the effectiveness of storytelling within the NGP JRP process, it is worthwhile to note that storytelling was a mechanism employed throughout the hearings in an attempt to illuminate the differing values and ontologies of Island citizens resisting the proposal.

Alliances

Larsen's (2003) work among the Cheslatta Carrier Nation—Indigenous people of the modern Burns Lake region—focuses on inter-ethnic community alliances formed in response to the ALCAN hydroelectric operations (see also Wellburn 2012). With similar

struggles, stakeholders, and in relatively close geographical proximity, this research lends itself well to the Haida Gwaii experience with the NGP, which has also resulted in a broad and diverse alliance of people coming together with a shared vision. “Partnerships between native and non-native residents of rural areas are an increasingly popular means of defending what are perceived to be shared places and resources threatened by more powerful, nonlocal firms and politicians” (Larsen 2003:75). Locals were successful in developing a strategic plan of resistance that has resulted in political and economic benefits within the region and also helped to form a collective identity for community members.

Describing unlikely alliances among locals, Larsen (2003:79) states that everyone from trappers to ranchers—sectors who previously had weak connections with the local Indigenous communities—had shown their moral support for the protection of local Cheslatta territories. Similarly, varied interest groups forming alliances on Haida Gwaii was observed by one Island politician who stated that, “...this is a very important issue and it’s important that you understand that we are all united and speaking with one voice... We don’t always agree on issues on these islands...it’s not the case in this situation” [Evan Putterill NEB Hearing transcripts, 22 Mar 2012]. One of the strengths of these diverse coalitions, according to Larsen (2003:76), is that the resistance can more easily align with broader political, economic, and ecological frameworks with the combined expertise of allies. “Because of its interethnic nature, protest leaders were able to portray the issue as an abrogation of First Nations rights, a threat against a resource-dependent community, and a menace to the wilderness” (Larsen 2003:76). Within these inter-ethnic alliances, local Indigenous peoples were able to re-envision treaty

settlements, reaffirm their rights, and re-invent an identity for the region. Ultimately, in forging collaborations across differences, the Cheslatta become a case study for creating positive change and overcoming some of the limitations of colonial systems.

These relationships are helping to re-envision our shared future and represent an inspiring possibility for change (see Benjamin *et al.* 2010; Craik 2004). As stated by FitzMaurice (2010:352-53), the term ‘ally’ suggests that there is a relationship across differences, and therefore is the act of “collaborating with a group other than one’s own.” Speaking with respect to Indigenous and non-Indigenous alliances, he states that relationships require appropriate cultural frameworks and are ideally constructed with equal roles in power-sharing and decision-making. Although becoming an ally is not simple (FitzMaurice 2010:353), they have proven to strengthen political voices and share necessary resources and energy and have become a powerful means for Indigenous and local peoples to assert their rights and defend their territories (Davis and Shpuniarsky 2010:334).

At the government level, agreements such as the *Kunst’aa guu – Kunstaayah* Reconciliation Protocol demonstrate efforts on Haida Gwaii to restructure Indigenous-state relationships and meaningfully share decision-making powers. Through my observations of Haida Gwaii CoASt, I would argue that Island citizens are coalescing in response to the NGP, which is bringing together a solid and unified cross-section of people with intersecting values and a shared sense of place. This diversity was apparent at the NGP JRP hearings, and the excerpts that I have used throughout this project are meant to capture the wide-range of people who are mobilizing in response to the proposal. These individuals—young and old, men and women, Haida and non-Haida—

are volunteering for the cause and taking the time to vocalize their opposition to the Panel. Therefore, at individual, community, and government levels, alliances are forming on Haida Gwaii that are helping to illustrate new potential and create alternative models for sovereignty and stewardship.

Fostering Healthy Relationships

Plus, when my people, when the Haida people say no, we mean it. We mean it with everything that we are and everything that we'll ever be. And I sit here and I am very confident that this project will not proceed, but let's use it to advance our relationships as people [Miles Richardson NEB Hearing transcripts, 21 Mar 2012].

Solid and meaningful relationships are central to alliance formations across different interest groups. Inherently complex, these relationships must be based on respect and solidarity (Davis and Shpuniarsky 2010:346), and entail a dismantling of colonial power relationships through accepting uncertainty, risk, and fluidity in the process (Craik 2004:185). “Building new relationships means addressing the balance of power and challenging the privileges of settler society” (Vernon 2010:290). In fostering these new relationships, communities have the ability to promote development opportunities while addressing social and environmental injustices (Vernon 2010:287).

There are some fundamental and sensitive questions raised within Indigenous and non-Indigenous alliances, such as, issues of control and voice (Davis and Shpuniarsky 2010:337). Further, and perhaps the most important and intensive, the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous alliances must include unwavering trust. “Trust isn't always easy to achieve. Mistrust of non-Indigenous peoples is ever-present due to a long history of broken promises, racism, and lies” (Davis and Shpuniarsky 2010:338). To help form this basis, different interest groups, particularly non-Indigenous parties, must

become educated on the historical lack of trust and colonial paradigms embedded within Indigenous-state relationships. As I have argued, there is a general acceptance and understanding to Haida title on the Islands, and I would argue that is largely due to a common understanding of the history of the region. Through both formal and informal alliances around the NGP, Island citizens and governments are demonstrating a re-envisioning of Indigenous-state relationships based on shared values.

As challenging and intensive as it may be to fragment colonial paradigms, forging strategic and meaningful relationships is proving to be one of the most promising solutions to inequities of Indigenous-state relationships. “It is, however, only through a lifelong engagement with Indigenous peoples, their knowledges, and their spiritual practices that we may begin to transcend the powerful binaries of colonizer and colonized and the corresponding effects of colonization” (FitzMaurice 2010:364). Particularly for non-Indigenous parties, this is a steep learning curve (Davis and Shpuniarsky 2010:340), but those who engage in meaningful collaborations with their Indigenous neighbours share in the benefits of its successes. Along with each meaningful alliance that has formed, there is an inspiring and progressive case study for the possibility of change. One local example that I will draw on briefly is that of the Coastal First Nations (CFN).

The Poster Child: Coastal First Nations

February 2006 brought an era of transformative change towards sustainability to the central and north coast of British Columbia. With an alliance of conservation groups, Indigenous communities, government officials, and industry, a historic agreement was signed that would guide the future of local stewardship in what has been coined ‘The Great Bear Rainforest’ (Smith and Sterritt 2010:131). Earlier Land-use planning in the

region, which was based on collaboration and inclusive decision-making processes that met development and conservation demands, provided the foundation for the agreement (Smith and Sterritt 2010:133). From its inception, varying interest groups agreed that the goal was to maintain responsible ecological, social, and economic resource management (Smith and Sterritt 2010:136). Indigenous peoples asserted that they would promote economic development while upholding their ecological values and fostering the quality of life for residents of their coastal communities.

Although there was a shared goal, each party brought a different worldview and different vision on how to achieve their shared interests (Smith and Sterritt 2010:145). Through vision, power sharing, and innovation, CFN were able to actualize a new framework for sustainable and effective management (Smith and Sterritt 2010:145). According to Smith and Sterritt (2010:147), a central component to forming this relationship was keeping people at the forefront. It is not a written land-use plan that is being negotiated, they state, but rather it is a healthy relationship between people that can advance a collective agenda and help to maintain healthy communities. Notably, CHN is a member Nation of CFN, and both bodies have officially rejected Enbridge's proposal and actively participated throughout the NGP JRP. This exemplifies again that there are various levels of action responding to the proposal, and that the Haida Nation have tried and tested models to draw on as Nations, communities, and their individual members become allies in opposition to the proposal. The NGP, then, is becoming a catalyst coalescing local people and their governments, which may prove to positively influence future Indigenous-state relationships.

Haida Gwaii: United We Stand

Through the course of the hearings that have been the focus of analysis here, there was not a single individual who indicated support for the Northern Gateway; each speaker stated a complete intolerance for any large-scale development project that poses inherent risks and no benefit to the region. Could this overwhelming and unanimous resistance have silenced locals who may actually support the project? Based on my interpretation of the NGP JRP transcripts and my ongoing observation and participation in the local discourse, I would say that is not the case. I assert that there is a widespread and ubiquitous resistance that has formed in response to the proposal, and that this resistance is based on elemental alliances across varying interest groups on Island for the multitude of reasons outlined in this research project. The following excerpts were taken from the various phases of NGP JRP hearings that speak directly to the strength and unity of Island citizens speaking out against the Northern Gateway.

First Nations communities and most municipalities along the route, our regional district, our local Member of Parliament and Members of the Legislative Assembly and the Union of B.C. Municipalities say no [Dierdre Brennan NEB Hearing transcripts, 1 Jun 2012].

I've heard so much vehement opposition coming from so many different communities across B.C., and even the whole country, expressing such a vast array of truly legitimate concerns [Peter Reynolds NEB Hearing transcripts, 2 Jun 2012].

So, no, no, no, no, do not jeopardize my life, my community's life. The one best thing about anything that could be said here is it's going to unite the whole First Nations of B.C. and everybody else that respects the environment and tries to live a better life. You're going to unite everybody on this [Marni York NEB Hearing transcripts, 1 Jun 2012].

I'm proud to stand and speak to you today, proud that my father sits beside me feeling the same sense of responsibility. This mutual feeling felt through all communities on this coast united all age groups, all perspectives, all nations, all people. And it is this feeling of responsibility that my father has passed to me

that I hope to share with my children and my grandchildren in the years to come [Kye Borserio NEB Hearing transcripts, 13 Jun 2012].

The Panel really needs to hear this; it is not just for the Haida people. It is for all the people on Haida Gwaii. Everyone is working together to protect Haida Gwaii, and there [are] a lot of concerned people [Vanessa Bellis NEB Hearing transcripts, 28 Feb 2012].

I'm here representing Haida Gwaii CoASt. It's an organization that was first created 30 years ago when there was a similar proposal to have a pipeline to Kitimat and oil tankers past Haida Gwaii, and at that time the island came together and said no. And so 30 years later we're here again; we're saying no. Our group does not have money coming in from foreign interests. Our group is made up of local non-profit societies, retirees, teachers, shopkeepers, business people, fishermen, students and food gatherers [Jaalen Edenshaw NEB Hearing transcripts, 29 Feb 2012].

It is an honour for me to be here. It is an honour to represent my family, to represent my daughter, to represent my nephews and nieces. Today I am here for you and I am here for my people and I will always be here for my people, not just the Haida people, our Island people; the people of the Gwaay [Kiefer Collison NEB Hearing transcripts, 29 Feb 2012].

The local interest and national interest are not at odds, they're not in conflict. We're standing up here for Haida Gwaii but in doing so we're also standing up for Canada. I think that we are a force to be reckoned with, just like Hecate Strait, Dixon Entrance, and Queen Charlotte Sound are [Catherine Margaret Rigg NEB Hearing transcript, 29 Feb 2012].

The issues with the pipeline and tanker traffic brought to you by the representatives of the CHN and the hearings in Old Massett and here in Skidegate again yesterday, are issues that we share. We are very much united in front of you in our opposition to the proposal to build a pipeline that requires bringing large tankers into the waters of Hecate Strait, Dixon Entrance, and Queen Charlotte Sound [Carol Kulesha NEB Hearing transcripts, 22 Mar 2012].

After meaningful consultation with all of the non-Haida communities on Haida Gwaii, I witnessed each community become united in opposition against the proposed project because the risks of an accident happening in an area that holds so much value to so many people are unacceptable to our current and future economy [Kris Olsen NEB Hearing transcripts, 22 Mar 2012].

If there is a local clash with industry or the government of Canada, we all rise up to meet the challenge together, it is not about us and them [John Disney NEB Hearing transcripts, 29 Feb 2012].

These statements represent the local experiences and voices of Island citizens who have observed a growing resistance to the proposal across British Columbia and Canada. These individuals note that various levels of government are opposed to the proposal, and that Indigenous peoples are standing in solidarity against the Northern Gateway because of the social, cultural, political, economic, and ecological, threats that it poses. A majority of the excerpts outlined above speak directly to Island unity against the NGP, with locals articulating the multitude of local concerns and the strength of these alliances on Haida Gwaii.

I would argue that there is an inherent recognition of, and trust in, Haida title, which is a foundational strength of this alliance and represents a significant model for re-envisioning relationships. The recognition of Haida title is part and parcel to the lifeways of Haida Gwaii citizens and represents their shared values, which is the responsible stewardship of the natural environment and communities. As outlined in the previous chapter, I argue that protection of place becomes a responsibility when there is a sense of belonging within that place. Larsen (2003:82) discusses this shared sense of place and states that it, “can bring disparate groups together into common perspective and action.” Further, “interethnic movements and coalitions in rural areas are especially relevant to the field of political ecology because they reveal how shared sense of place—and, in particular, common experiences of powerlessness—can generate new forms of resource management that synthesize diverse constructions of nature” (Larsen 2003:74-75). Thus, title and place became some of the most elemental shared values by Island citizens alike, and food became a tangible example through which these concerns were expressed at the NGP JRP hearings.

Chapter 8 – Discussion

Personal Reflections on the Process

Upon reflecting on my research project and process, there were three issues that I grappled with and required significant reflection. The first, and one that I spoke to throughout my writing, is the use of categories to organize and communicate this analysis. In Chapter 5, I write in some detail about how counter-intuitive it was to separate Islanders' testimonies into themes and subthemes. It was, in my opinion, the major constraint of this project, and I hope that the discussion in Chapter 7 helped to illustrate the interconnectedness of the predominant messages within the discourse. Further, many of the speakers themselves identified that Island life forces—from plants and animals to people and place—maintain intricate and reciprocal relationships. The experiences of my research and writing led me to question alternative means of representing Haida Gwaii's voices, values, and ontologies without subscribing to bounded categories. While I could not offer any solutions based on the current project, I do highlight this as an ongoing issue and acknowledge that investigating methods for academia to incorporate other ways of knowing and being may be an arena for future research.

Second, throughout this process, I struggled on how to place myself within my writing. Writing solely from an academic perspective was impossible given my significant personal investments in this cause and my role working with CHN at the NGP JRP hearings. To further complicate this question, I am Indigenous to the land and surrounding waters of Haida Gwaii. I am also a dedicated and very content member of contemporary communities on this Island. Each of these experiences and positions

informs a slightly different perspective and it was not always apparent from which perspective I was writing. For example, Chapters 2 and 4 regarding the EA process and media, respectively, were approached largely from an academic and Indigenous perspective. Chapters 5 and 6 were specific to the Haida Gwaii experience, and therefore I felt more confident writing myself into my work through a Haida and Islander's perspective. I believe these nuances became evident in my writing and represent the difficulty navigating the role of insider researcher, something that I did not formally explore as part of this project but undoubtedly experienced throughout the process.

Lastly, I questioned the role of the researcher, specifically within the discipline of anthropology. As stated by Coumans (2011:S29), "Anthropologists have the ability to be part of the problem or part of the solution." Like most disciplines, anthropology has a colonial past, and even some modern work holds colonial undertones. While anthropology still focuses primarily on the 'Other' (but notably, the 'Other' has been broadened and redefined), the discipline has come to approach their work with an element of sensitivity, and in acknowledging different cultures, worldviews, and ontologies, anthropologists have the ability to validate other ways of knowing and being. Achieving a balance between recognizing and respecting differences while also staying true to Indigenous voice and allowing local authority is key to the discipline's contributions. When approached meaningfully, anthropology has the ability to help create positive change within Indigenous-state struggles and broader environmental issues by permitting voice and adding validity to local, and sometimes conflicting, lifeways.

As I have argued throughout this project, there is a need to redefine Indigenous-state relationships, and in so doing, achieve a desperately overdue paradigm shift and

realignment of power structures. Guha and Martinez-Alier (1998:xxi) state that when people are fighting to assert their sovereignty and control over their local territories, writers and intellectuals can make movements visible to the broader public. Similarly, Cruikshank (2001:390) writes that it is the social sciences that can begin shifting the axis of different knowledge systems and frameworks to more fully recognize the well-being of the local. Even more, anthropologists are increasingly calling on the discipline to accept their responsibility to collaborate with Indigenous peoples, which, again, requires a dismantling of power relationships (see Lassiter 2005; Willow 2011). Speaking to the inseparable relationship between social and environmental injustices, Wellburn (2012:155) writes, “When one understands the environment as enmeshed in culture, as inseparable from the well-being of local peoples and local economies, then concern for the environment is a human rights concern.” Here, the one who “understands the environment as enmeshed in culture” is the anthropologist and, I would argue, has a moral obligation to vocalize Indigenous and local peoples’ struggles.

Concluding Thoughts

This research project explicates that modern social, political, economic, and ecological issues are intimately interconnected. While touching briefly on the global ecological crisis, this work contributes to a growing body of literature that examines the formidable strength of diverse social alliances that are calling for change within our current systems. By allying with different interest groups that maintain intersecting values and combining resources, local and Indigenous peoples have the ability to increase their political influence, expertise, and mobility (Davis and Shpuniarsky 2010:346). As much of the literature has indicated, forming these alliances is founded in respectful,

reciprocal, and trusting relationships; and further, simply forming these relationships is most often a challenging process. “There are ‘ups’ and ‘downs,’ but through it all, there are tremendous opportunities to work in solidarity and to make changes that will result in a more just world for present and future generations” (Davis and Shpuniarsky 2010:347).

Haida Gwaii is resoundingly opposed to the NGP because the proposal poses an imminent threat to the natural environment and the social, cultural, and economic well-being of Island citizens. Recognizing this threat, and with a solid bond and attachment to place, Islanders have formed a resistance to the Northern Gateway that is bringing together some unlikely bedfellows. Following my research and reflection, I assert that it is a sense of belonging that is mobilizing people to take a stand to protect their place; their home.

Food security is fundamentally connected to the health of the natural environment. Food sustains people, it nourishes cultures, and solidifies social relationships. As Island citizens spoke to the value of, and reliance on Island foods, they implicitly communicated a reciprocal relationship with the natural environment on Haida Gwaii. In a very real sense, then, it is the place that sustains the body, the spirit, and individual and collective identities demonstrating just how interwoven and interdependent lifeways are.

Throughout each of these chapters—my analysis of the EA process in Canada, the media’s portrayal of the NGP discourse, and an analysis of the shared values within the resistance on Haida Gwaii—the predominant issue was the continued colonial paradigm. There is a dire need to dismantle existing power structures and begin to allow for greater *local authority*. Here, I emphasize *local authority* because this is not a binary from which

we must choose between *us* and *them*. Indigenous peoples have demonstrated both willingness to engage in, and the successes of implementing, sharing power. It is only within a limited colonial framework that power is all or nothing, which has resulted in an overall reluctance to forfeit any control within existing institutions. Through forming trusting relationships across different interest groups, bodies such as CFN is inventing alternative models for more effective and equitable systems.

In the past few decades, the Haida have also helped to introduce alternative models by asserting their self-determination and sovereignty to Haida Gwaii. For example, in what became the Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, Haida Heritage Site and National Marine Conservation Area, the Haida Nation took their few resources and allies and declared that there would be no more logging on South Moresby. They did not ask, and their convictions resulted in a world-renowned co-management plan between Indigenous and federal governments. There are many more collaborative and cooperative management models from Haida Gwaii, and I would argue that these agreements have been made possible because of the unquestioned assertion to Haida title and shared values.

Even with Haida Gwaii's history and experiences fighting to protect the Islands and its people from outside threats, I have heard endless locals—Haida and non-Haida, young and old—stating that the Northern Gateway will be the battle of our lifetime. However, there is great optimism within the discourse, as it allows the opportunity for local and Indigenous peoples to assert sovereignty over our communities and our future. We are finding new ways to form relationships and align with our neighbours—neighbours who are becoming unexpected allies because of fundamental shared values

and lifeways. In so doing, we are fostering intensely powerful relationships that deconstruct inequalities and injustices. On Haida Gwaii, the coalition of Islanders resisting the NGP increased an overall sense of solidarity and social cohesion. The Island's alliances are proving to shape new, collective identities by reaffirming shared values, and as a result, communities alliances are empowered to create positive changes for the health and well-being of peoples and places.

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Appendix A: Sample of Media Recording System

Source	Title	Date	Type	Website
<i>Salmon Arm Observer</i>	Shuswap groups host tar sands discussion	21-Feb	Newspaper	[link]
<i>The Vancouver Sun</i>	Pipe dream doesn't make sense for BC or environment	21-Feb	Newspaper	[link]
<i>The Tyee</i>	The case against an NDP, Liberal, Green coalition Shippers back Trans Mountain pipeline expansion	21-Feb	Opinion	[link]
<i>canada.com</i>	Kinder Morgan to decide on Trans Mountain expansion by end of March	21-Feb	Website	[link]
<i>Calgary Herald</i>	Anti-Keystone pipeline activists need new target	21-Feb	Newspaper	[link]
<i>MarketWatch</i>	Kinder Morgan claims support for pipeline expansion	21-Feb	Website	[link]
<i>CTV.ca</i>	Twinning of oil pipeline clears key hurdle	21-Feb	Website	[link]
<i>Surrey North Delta Leader</i>	Cariboo MLA says spring 2012 election quite likely	21-Feb	Newspaper	[link]
<i>Opinion250</i>	Kinder Morgan nears decision on \$3.8B Canadian pipe	21-Feb	Website	[link]
<i>Bloomberg Businessweek</i>	Embrace Chinese oilsands investment: report	21-Feb	Website	[link]
<i>Sun News</i>	Chinese state firms motivated by profits, not politics: study	21-Feb	Newspaper	[link]
<i>Montreal Gazette</i>	Oilman's son at Enbridge Pipeline Hearing	21-Feb	Newspaper	[link]
<i>350 or bust</i>	Online Feature: What was said at the Rupert Enbridge hearings	21-Feb	Blog	[link]
<i>The Northern View</i>	First Nations reject alternate Northern Gateway route	21-Feb	Website	[link]
<i>Financial Post</i>	Canada threatens retaliation if oilsands given black eye	21-Feb	Newspaper	[link]
<i>CTV.ca</i>		21-Feb	Website	[link]

Appendix B: Valine Crist, Oral Statement to JRP, June 2, 2012

-- ORAL STATEMENT BY/EXPOSÉ ORAL PAR MS. VALINE CRIST:

5187. MS. VALINE CRIST: Good morning, Chiefs, matriarchs, and Panel Members. My condolences to the White family; I'm sorry that we have to be here in a time of sorrow.

5188. Like many others, I wonder if I can make a difference in this Joint Review Panel. What can I say in 10 minutes that will resonate with you and connect with your hearts?

5189. I've questioned why I have to validate my life to you. I speak following a wealth of thoughtful oral statements and testimonies that have -- that have described island communities and culture.

5190. By now you know that Haida Gwaii is unequivocally opposed to Enbridge's proposal. Locals have described extreme weather around Haida Gwaii, navigational issues with the proposal, and land and marine protected areas jeopardized by an inevitable oil spill. You've heard that we rely on the land and sea and our lives are wholly interconnected with the natural and spiritual worlds.

5191. Another prominent message you heard is that we do not take these islands and its bounty for granted. We're endlessly appreciative of the experiences, sustenance, strength, and life that our home provides. These are the values that are instilled when you live and grow here.

5192. Regardless of ethnicity, islanders alike have a visceral connection to Haida Gwaii. This is our home, where our roots are, and where our future is. This is why we act as responsible stewards.

5193. You have heard about local management plans and the Haida ethics and values that guide island stewardship. These values are based on interconnectedness, respect, responsibility, balance, reciprocity, and seeking wise counsel.

5194. You've heard that island residents and governments are coming together in an unprecedented way. Haida Gwaii is a microcosm. We have communities that represent all walks of life and we are united. This coming together transcends across the coasts and indeed beyond B.C.

5195. I've had the privilege of meeting and working with some of the most extraordinary, intelligent, and inspiring people who are committed to stopping the Northern Gateway and everything that it represents.

5196. The movement galvanizing in response to this proposal is built on a long-term vision of integrity and pragmatism, and does not compartmentalize our social, cultural, economic, and environmental needs.

5197. I know that this review segment sees entities and this makes us question the validity of the process. We are suspicious and rightfully so. We've been forced into this environmental assessment while the Canadian government and the Proponent are exerting their power and pushing the proposal through in the national interest.

5198. While I do not believe that this proposal can be approached as an isolated issue with measurable and mitigatable impacts, I know that this is the mandate that you are charged with, and that one of the issues you must consider is Aboriginal consultation.

5199. Both national and international laws acknowledge indigenous peoples traditional territories and roles as stewards. In Canadian law, we as First Nations have constitutionally protected rights to govern our ancestral territories. We're not mere stakeholders in potential large-scale development projects, but notably that is how we've been categorized and treated in this JRP process.

5200. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples affirms our entitlement to self-determination and acknowledges our individual and collective rights.

5201. The declaration respects the relationship that we have with our ancestral lands and the importance of our territories to our health and well-being. It also acknowledges that we have the right to free, prior and informed consent before the approval of any projects that would affect our territories.

5202. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was adopted in Canada in 2010. These are legal obligations when considering any large-scale development project, whether we're talking about mining, piping bitumen or exporting natural gas.

5203. These responsibilities have not been fulfilled, and, in fact, there are some 150 First Nations and bands that have officially opposed the Northern Gateway to date.

5204. I don't speak in public, but the movement to protect our coast from Enbridge's Northern Gateway has mobilized a diverse range of people, many who don't usually speak up on issues like this and many who don't self-identity as radical environmentalists.

5205. Being here today is not a choice for me. It's my democratic right and responsibility. Initially, I started to speak up against Enbridge's proposal because of the direct threat that

it poses to my community and quality of life.

5206. We know that human errors can be catastrophic. Enbridge has estimated that an accident would occur every 15,000 years. Even if this projection could be guaranteed, the risk is simply too great. You've heard about our lives here, how our connection to the land and sea shapes our identities. To us, this is an existential issue.

5207. Soon I took a step back and started to look at Canada as a whole. From pulling out of Kyoto to eliminating environmental monitoring and research and the recent proposal to streamline the federal environmental assessment process, this country is headed down a dangerous path.

5208. The pipeline would be routed in the Alberta oil sands, where communities are experiencing devastating cancer rates, entire ecosystems are being destroyed and precious water sources are contaminated and depleted. All of these are consequences of Canada's lack of policy and planning, and the Northern Gateway would exacerbate these injustices.

5209. Climate change, ocean acidification, ozone depletion and food and water scarcity are just some of the realities that my generation will experience. Our extraction and use of hydrocarbons is one of the main culprits of these environmental threats.

5210. We need to reframe our discussion so that we're not pitting the environment against the economy. We have to start investing in sustainable solutions and use our finite resources strategically while we switch to renewable energy sources. This project has become an opportunity for us to re-envision our futures and start uncovering these long-term solutions.

5211. Growing up on Haida Gwaii shaped my world view and my values. Joining the movement to stop this project has consumed me and it has defined me. I know that I have a responsibility to leave Haida Gwaii for future generations to experience and appreciate.

5212. I'm an incredibly proud aunt to the most remarkable twin boys, Asher and Cohen. I'm a daughter and a sister, a student, a realist, and an optimist. I'm employed on this island and I'm a volunteer in my community. According to the *Indian Act*, I'm a status Indian. I live in a globalized world and so consider myself part of an international community. And in all of these capacities, I speak out against the Northern Gateway. I'm a citizen of the Haida Nation, and my government rejects Enbridge's proposal.

5213. I'm grateful that there's a forum to bring community members together and empower us to speak out against this project. These hearings have provided an avenue for our community members to reaffirm our connection to place and our shared values.

5214. I thank the Panel for being here and actively listening. I know that I'm just one voice, but not everyone can be here to speak. And I hope that I've captured some of the concerns of my community.

5215. I hope that my voice represents fellow indigenous peoples and our collective rights. And I hope my voice represents communities impacted by the tar sands and people implicated by the proposed pipeline and tanker route.

5216. We've welcomed you with dignity, fed you island food, and gave you the comfy chairs to sit in as we tried to illuminate our world view. We've shared some of our history, and you have enjoyed our story-telling, art and culture.

5217. You have the potential to make the right decision and reject this proposal based on its adverse social, cultural, economic and environmental effects that cannot be mitigated.

5218. Given the multitude of issues inherent within Enbridge's proposal, which I've tried to summarize, the decision is quite clear. I see rejecting this project not as the right decision, but as a moral obligation.

5219. I sincerely hope that the recommendation that you make reflects the voices that you hear in this review. But as I sit in front of you, I say respectfully and with complete conviction that regardless of the recommendation that you make, regardless of corporate interests and the Canadian government's agenda, this pipeline will not be built.

5220. Thank you.

Appendix D: Haida Ethics and Values

HAIDA ETHICS AND VALUES

Our way of life teaches respect for all life. We live between the undersea and sky worlds that we share with other creatures and supernatural beings. Our responsibilities to the sea and land are guided by ancestral values.

Yahguudang or Yakguudang *Respect*

Respect for each other and all living things is rooted in our culture. We take only what we need, we give thanks, and we acknowledge those who behave accordingly.

'Laa guu ga kanhlins *Responsibility*

We accept the responsibility passed on by our ancestors to manage and care for our sea and land. We will ensure that our heritage is passed onto future generations.

Giid tll'juus *The world is as sharp as the edge of a knife*

Balance is needed in our interactions with the natural world. If we aren't careful in everything we do, we can easily reach a point of no return. Our practices and those of others must be sustainable.

Isda ad diigii isda *Giving and Receiving*

Giving and receiving is a respected practice in our culture, essential in our interactions with each other and the natural world. We continually give thanks to the natural world for the gifts that we receive.

Gina k'aadang.nga gii uu tl' k'anguudang *Seeking Wise Counsel*

Our elders teach us about traditional ways and how to work in harmony. Like the forests the roots of our people are intertwined. Together we consider new ideas and information in keeping with our culture, values and laws.