

**Biopolitics in the Backcountry: Canada, Forestry, and the Colonial Politics of  
Recognition**

By

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## **Abstract**

Following the theoretical work of Political Scientist Glen Coulthard, this thesis sets out to answer the question, how does the politics of recognition serve to maintain the colonial relationship between Indigenous people and the state of Canada? In answering this question, this thesis focuses on the ways in which the politics of recognition is embedded within Forestry policy and practice in the Kenogami Forest Unit of Northern Ontario.

Utilizing a critical study of policy documents, interviews, and observational data, this thesis shows how the politics of recognition is recontextualized in the Forest Management Planning Manual. Further, this thesis shows, via a theoretical framework of Foucauldian Biopolitics, how recognition politics, within a discourse of ‘Accommodation and Consultation,’ is operationalized in Forestry to maintain the colonial relationship between Indigenous people and the Canadian state.

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## Introduction

On September 21, 2017, at the 72<sup>nd</sup> meeting of the U.N. General Assembly, Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau delivered a speech dedicated to addressing what he called the “past injustices” done to Indigenous, Métis, and Inuit people in Canada. In it, Trudeau offered up a taste of what he believed was the best way forward in addressing these historical wrongs and their present reflections:

“In Canada, this means new relationships between the government of Canada and Indigenous Peoples – relationships based on recognition of rights, respect, co-operation and partnership.” (Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s Address to the 72th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, Sept 21/2017)

Presenting the recognition of rights as the answer to past injustices in the context of Canada is not new to Prime Minister Trudeau, or the recent government. The discourse of recognition has a long history in Canada, and has been utilized in many different contexts. It also has a long academic history, with the work of Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor being the most cited variation of it, in his article from 1994 titled *The Politics of Recognition*.

My thesis builds off the recent work of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars who’ve addressed and critiqued the politics of recognition as it’s practiced and presented in Canada, and North America more broadly. (Coulthard 2014; Simpson 2008, 2014; Tully 2004; Alfred 2004) Each of these authors, in their own ways, addressed the shortcomings of the politics of recognition as it’s been theorized most notably by Charles Taylor (1994) and Axel Honneth (1996), and expressed and practiced more recently by the Canadian State. Specifically, I follow the work of Indigenous Political Scientist Glen Coulthard, who utilizes the work of Franz Fanon on recognition, (Fanon 1967) and applies it in the Canadian context so as to offer new ways for

Indigenous peoples to think about their relationship to the Canadian state. Even more interestingly is the profound insights that Coulthard makes in showing how, as Balaton-Chrimes and Stead put it, “the politics of recognition functions, not as a mechanism for the amelioration of colonialism’s effects, but as *a means through which these effects are reproduced*.”(2017, 2)(Emphasis in original)

Coulthard’s insistence that the politics of recognition reproduces the colonial relationship<sup>1</sup> was the argument which spurred me to ask where can we see the colonial relationship being reproduced? And, in those spaces where it is produced, how exactly does this reproduction happen? In attempting to answer these questions, I shift the focus of Coulthard’s study to instead focus specifically on the ways in which the Canadian state was involved in reproducing the colonial relationship. While Coulthard’s work addresses this, I focus specifically on how the politics of recognition is translated down from a federal level discourse to a specific context, namely Forestry and Forestry practice in the province of Ontario.

What this thesis presents, therefore, is a study of 1) the translation of the politics of politics of recognition from a Federal government stance to a local level practice and, 2) the ways in which, at this local level, the politics of recognition continues to assert and maintain the colonial relationship between indigenous people and the Canadian state. Following Norman Fairclough, I refer to these two points of analysis as Recontextualization and Operationalization. (Fairclough 2015) To analyze the Recontextualization of the Politics of Recognition, I utilize a discourse analysis of policy documents to show that the politics of recognition is embedded in the policy

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<sup>1</sup> By Colonial Relationship I mean the relationship that forms between Indigenous peoples and a State which engages in Colonialism. This relationship is generally predicated upon the control of the territory and resources of the Indigenous populations for the benefit of the state, thus often resulting in the direct control and oversight of Indigenous people by the state. Therefore, this relationship can be typified by paternalism, coercion, neglect, or overt violence. (Balaton-Chrimes and Stead 2017; Coulthard 2014; Miller 2009; Simpson 2016)

documents which guide forestry policy in Ontario, namely the Forest Management Planning Manual. To study the operationalization of the politics of recognition. I utilize a Foucauldian understanding of power, apply it to my readings of policy documents, the interviews I conducted, and the observational data I collected to show how the politics of recognition serves to maintain the colonial relationship between indigenous people and the Canadian state.

### **On The Colonial Politics of Recognition:**

I began my introduction by stating that I follow those scholars who argue that the politics of recognition reproduces the colonial relationship between Indigenous people and the Canadian state. Before I delve into my case study of Forestry policy and practice in Northern Ontario and how the politics of recognition is translated through policy to continually assert the colonial relationship between the Canadian state and Indigenous communities, I must briefly return to the work of these scholars and in doing so lay out the specifics of the argument that the politics of recognition *is* colonial, as this claim holds together the body of my argument moving forward.

While many scholars have addressed the politics of recognition and its inconsistencies or failures, (Fraser 2000; Fraser and Honneth 2003; Povinelli 2002; Tully 1995, 2004) I specifically follow the work of Glen Coulthard in his 2014 tour de force *Red Skins, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* in which he addresses and criticizes the politics of recognition as it is applied in the context of Canada.<sup>2</sup> For Coulthard, whose work borrows heavily from the earlier work of Franz Fanon on the Hegelian dialectic of the master-slave, the politics of

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<sup>2</sup> Coulthard follows Richard J. F. Day, and I follow Coulthard in understanding the politics of recognition as “the now expansive range of recognition-based models of liberal pluralism that seek to “reconcile” Indigenous assertions of nationhood with settler-state sovereignty via the accommodation of Indigenous identity claims in some form of renewed legal and political relationship with the Canadian state.” (2014, 27)



recognition, when practiced in colonial contexts, is ineffective and functions to maintain the colonial relationship existing between the Canadian state and Indigenous people in Canada.

Coulthard's argument, presented in the first chapter of *Red Skins, White Masks*, is that, in areas where overt violence is no longer necessary to control Indigenous populations, the reproduction of the colonial relationship, "instead rests on the ability to entice Indigenous peoples to identify, either implicitly or explicitly, with the profoundly asymmetrical and nonreciprocal forms of recognition either imposed on or granted to them by the settler state and society." (2014, 82) In such situations, the politics of recognition functions to bind the colonized further into the colonial relationship. While Coulthard is appreciative of the efforts of many theorists to apply the politics of recognition to the Canadian context, he argues that they completely missed three key aspects of the Hegelian master-slave dialectic which, when applied to colonial contexts, cannot bring about freedom or emancipation for the colonized. Much of Coulthard's criticisms are levelled against Charles Taylor and his work on recognition, in part because Taylor elevates recognition to "vital human need" (2014, 93; Taylor 1994). Even so, Coulthard correctly states that this criticism could be levelled against many recognition theorists, as they too fall into many of the pitfalls that Taylor does. (2014)

### **Coulthard's Three Critiques of the Politics of Recognition**

The first critique that Coulthard brings against Taylor's theory of the politics of recognition is that it doesn't recognize the dual nature of colonialism, namely that it impacts both economic (material) and psychological (immaterial) aspects of individuals and communities. (Coulthard 2014, 101) Taylor is quite famous for focusing on the social-psychological and immaterial liberating effects of recognition (as well as the damaging effects that come with misrecognition),

yet Taylor leaves aside material questions that are necessary to address in the colonial setting. (2014, 107) In Coulthard's understanding, addressing the material aspects of colonialism are as necessary as addressing the immaterial aspects and, since Taylor does not address this, Coulthard argues that Taylor's formulation is unhelpful in addressing the Canadian situation in which colonialism has and continues to directly affect the material and immaterial aspects of Indigenous life. (2014) Coulthard helpfully adds that other scholars have attempted to address the material aspects of colonialism in the context of recognition politics, yet in doing so they lose completely the immaterial and psychological aspects and thus switching one for the other.<sup>3</sup>

The second critique that Coulthard brings against Taylor's theory of recognition politics as practiced in colonial settings is that recognition, in Taylor's formulation, is always conferred on the minority, in this case Indigenous communities, by the majority. Coulthard points out, again following Fanon, that recognition, when practiced in colonial settings, must be fought for. (2014, 114) Coulthard is clear that this does not necessarily entail violence as the later Fanon is often (mis)remembered for, but is still an absolute necessity if freedom and liberation is to be attained for the colonized. For, if the master simply confers recognition onto the slave, there is no new life for the slave: "“He [goes] from one way of life to another, but not from one life to another.” (Fanon, quoted in: (Coulthard 2014, 114))

Finally, Coulthard's third critique of Taylor's formulation of recognition politics is a critique of the core of the Hegelian master-slave dialectic, namely that the dialectic is contingent upon mutual dependency on the part of both the master and the slave. As Coulthard points out, in spaces where settler-colonialism has been practiced, the master is by no means dependent upon the slave: “the “master”—that is, the colonial state and state society—does not require recognition

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<sup>3</sup> This debate is nicely summed up in a discussion that Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth have on the efficacy and impact of redistribution or recognition. (Fraser and Honneth 2003)

from the previously self-determining communities upon which its territorial, economic, and social infrastructure is constituted. What it needs is land, labor, and resources.” (2014, 119) In spaces where sovereignty has already been usurped, the colonial state has no need to depend upon the colonized for its legitimacy, and thus “the dialectic either breaks down with the explicit nonrecognition of the equal status of the colonized population, or with the strategic “domestication” of the terms of recognition leaving the foundation of the colonial relationship relatively undisturbed.” (2014, 119)

These three substantial critiques of the politics of recognition as practiced in colonial settings form the backbone of both my theoretical work as well as the analysis of my data. With this critique of recognition politics in mind, I can effectively move forward in showing how the politics of recognition has become recontextualized into Ontario Forestry policy, and how these very policies continue to do exactly what Coulthard has argued: reassert the colonial relationship between the Canadian state and Indigenous peoples in Canada by forcing Indigenous folks to identify with the forms of recognition which they’ve been granted.

## **Thesis Outline**

With these preliminary remarks made, I will briefly outline the structure of this thesis. In Chapter 1, I lay out the theoretical lens of Foucauldian biopolitics through which I analyze forestry policy in Ontario, as well the interviews I conducted with members of Long Lac 58 reserve. With a focus in this chapter on three aspects of biopolitics, namely 1) the right of power to “make live and let die,” 2) the shift to a governance of Population via technologies of power, and 3) moulded subjectivity and regulated freedom in modern power, I explain how each of these aspects of biopolitics serve as a theoretical lens through which to address my case.

In Chapter 2 I present the historical ways in which biopolitics and colonialism have been meshed together, with a focus on the numbered treaties which define the relationship between the Canadian state and Indigenous peoples in Canada, particularly Treaty 9 as it encompasses the area of Northern Ontario in which I am interested. This chapter acts as a review of the history of colonialism and the colonial relationship in Canada, connecting the “past” with the present situation, thus framing and contextualizing the lived reality of some Indigenous communities in northern Ontario.

Chapter 3 lays out the methodologies employed in my research, namely critical discourse studies and semi-structured interviews matched with observational data. I also deal briefly in this chapter with the ethical questions that must be asked of a researcher when it comes to working with Indigenous peoples, and in doing so I follow the recommendations of Indigenous academics Linda Tuhewei Smith and Audra Simpson.

Chapter 4 lays out my analysis of the policy documents analyzed as well as the interviews conducted to show how 1) the politics of recognition is recontextualized from a state-sanctioned discourse into a policy initiative, and finally into a specific setting in which it’s operationalized, and 2) how the politics of recognition is operationalized in such a way that it maintains the colonial relationship between Indigenous people and the Canadian state. I make the claim in this chapter that forestry companies, specifically those in Northern Ontario involved in resource extraction, following Canadian state policy, are involved in maintaining or reasserting the colonial relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state via their requirement to follow policy documents in which the discourse of the politics of recognition is embedded.

Finally, I conclude my thesis with some final reflections on the work encompassed within this thesis, setting out a few limitations to the study I conduct here as well as areas in which this could be further applied.

## Chapter 1: Biopolitics, Governmentality and the Logic(s) of Settler-Colonialism

In the introduction to this thesis I wrote that Glen Coulthard's critique of the politics of recognition formed the backbone to the theoretical and analytical work I would present in the coming pages. While Coulthard's critique forms the structure to the work pursued here, I use Michel Foucault's work on Biopolitics as the theoretical framework through which I analyze my data to show how the colonial politics of recognition functions in and through Forestry policy. While Coulthard's work employs an excellent use of Marx and primitive accumulation to analyze how the Dene Nation had found themselves subject to the colonial politics of recognition throughout the course of their legal battles over land claims in the 70s and 80s.<sup>4</sup> (Coulthard 2014) I instead employ a Foucauldian logic and understanding of power because I believe it more adeptly elucidates the structures of colonialism as they function under the politics of recognition. As Coulthard himself recognizes, via a reference to Taiaiake Alfred, "under these "postmodern" imperial conditions "oppression has become increasingly invisible; [it is] no longer constituted in conventional terms of military occupation, onerous taxation burdens, blatant land thefts, etc.," but rather through a "fluid confluence of politics, economics, psychology and culture." (Alfred cited in: (Coulthard 2014, 138)) Thus taking a Foucauldian formulation of modern power which recognizes power as diffuse, fluid, and mediated, and using that as the logic and framework by which to understand the functioning of the colonial politics of recognition in Canada, seemed to be the most affective.

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<sup>4</sup> Chapter 2 of *Red Skins, White Masks* is an absolutely fascinating look at the confluences of capitalism, settler-colonialism, Indigenous land claims, and the politics of recognition. A necessary read that I have only done an injustice to in such a brief review.

Yet connecting Foucauldian understandings of biopolitics with settler-colonialism can appear at first to be difficult. Foucault himself was silent when it came to theorizing biopolitics and modern power within the context of colonialism. However, this is not to say it has not been done by other scholars. In fact, Foucault's work has been used excellently to portray, comprehend, and theorize the functioning of biopolitics in colonial, and particularly settler-colonial settings. In what follows, I briefly review these two main trends, settler-colonialism and biopolitics and the scholars who have diligently and brilliantly worked to connect the strands of these two realities. I subsequently move to reflecting on three strands of Foucault's understanding of power which will be used to analyze the policy documents, interviews, and observational data I collected and doing show exactly how the politics of recognition maintains the colonial relationship that Coulthard has so emphatically illustrated.

## **1.1 On Settler Colonialism and Biopolitics**

The first theoretically genealogy in which I find myself is that of critical anthropologists and political theorists who've traced the logic of colonialism as it's expressed in both current forms, and historically. Coulthard does this work excellently, yet he relies on the foundational insights of Patrick Wolfe, an anthropologist from Australia who traced the logic of settler-colonialism both within the academic field of anthropology as well as within Australian state policy and practice. (1999)

While Wolfe's insights are many, two of them are key to understanding my argument. The first is that settler-colonialism, as practiced in North America, Australia, and a few other places (and in difference to other forms of colonialism), is motivated by access to territory,

as opposed to labour: “Territoriality is settler colonialism’s specific, irreducible element.”(2006, 388) This is foundational for my thesis as it exposes aspects of the logic of Canadian state policy, particularly in relation to Indigenous land rights, land sovereignty, and resource extraction. The second insight, and one that is arguably vastly more important, is that colonization must be understood not as an event, but instead as a structure. (Wolfe 1999, 2006) Wolfe exposes the structure of settler colonialism calling for continual critique of, and response to, the practice of settler colonialism in historically settler states, of which Canada is one. (1999, 2006) For Wolfe, and for others, there is no distinctive “break” with the colonial past, but instead the recognition that until the structures which created and uphold settler-colonialism are dismantled, colonialism and its logics continue.

The second theoretical genealogy which I follow in this thesis is that of Michel Foucault and his theoretical work on Biopolitics and modern power. Foucault laid out, over the course of his time teaching in France, a vast genealogy of power which encompassed a wide variation of topics from sexuality, to politics, to religion. (Foucault 1965, 1990, 2003, 2007, 2011) In doing so, Foucault analyzed and presented a form of power which he called Biopower, and which he argued was the way in which to understanding the functioning of power in modern times and under modern (neo)liberalism. Power, for Foucault, is diverse, circulated, and mediated throughout the entire population. For Foucault, what is necessary is to study the genealogy’s of this power so as to understand how and where it functions and the myriad ways in which individuals are shaped by power. Because of the breadth of the genealogy of power which Foucault laid out, scholars have taken his work into many different areas and applied to a vast array of situations. Of particular interest for the sake of my argument within, is those scholars who have taken Foucault’s work and merged it with the insights taken from Wolfe on settler-colonialism, particularly in the context of



Canada in which the politics of recognition has become the new catchphrase. Therefore, the following section offers a partial review of this literature, thus highlighting the academic field in which my own work here is situated.

Scott Lauria Morgensen, in his 2011 article, offers an excellent theoretical discussion of biopolitics and settler-colonialism. Following Giorgio Agamben, (1998, 2008) Morgensen argues that Indigenous peoples around the globe exist in the state of exception that Agamben has argued is central to Western law. Thus, argues Morgensen, when scholars discuss biopolitics what they are actually talking about is the performativity of settler-colonialism. (2011) Aileen Moreton-Robinson also works with Foucault on a theoretical level, yet instead of offering up a new theoretical paradigm, Moreton-Robinson suggests a new research agenda which employs Foucault's work on racism and whiteness to investigate how "white possession" and whiteness is manifested and instituted via policy and law and thus what this means for Indigenous sovereignty. (2006)

Following the theoretical works of Foucault on biopolitical power, other authors have shown the specific ways in which biopolitical control of Indigenous folks has been, and continues to be practiced. Taking a historical view, Monaghan traces the surveillance of Indigenous peoples in Canada by the Canadian state since confederation, arguing that "Foucault's treatment of race in colonial circumstances demonstrates how sovereign power and biopower were "conjoined and braided as opposed to distinct." (2013, 490). Monaghan also helpfully illustrates how Indigenous subjectivities are molded by the state, as Indigenous people were (and continue to be) rewarded for taking up the lifestyles and practices of settlers. (Monaghan 2013) Cole Harris, a geographer, takes a similar approach as Monaghan when he looks historically at the ways in which colonialism dispossessed. Focusing on "the sites where colonialism was actually practiced," (Harris 2004, 166)

Harris wishes to shift the focus from studying what he calls “imperial thought” (2004, 166) to studying the reality of colonial dispossession. To analyze colonial dispossession, Harris focuses on four technologies of power (Maps, Numbers, the Law, and the geography of Settlement) employed by the colonial apparatus which were used to control, enact violence, and disposes Indigenous people in present day British Columbia. (2004) Bonita Lawrence adds to the discussion of molded subjectivities when she argues that central to the control of Indigenous people is the construction of native identity by the state. (2003) While not referencing Foucauldian biopolitics explicitly, Lawrence’s argument aligns closely with other studies of biopolitical power and is further helpful and necessary in understanding how the Indian Act, the numbered treaties, and the reservation system were all state projects engaged in defining Indigenous folks in ways which allowed the state to either make Indigenous people disappear or create an identifiable group over which to exert control. (Lawrence 2003)

Audra Simpson, in an article published in 2016, looks at the ways in which the Canadian state narrates Indigenous bodies, particularly female bodies, and opens up pathways through which violence is enacted on them. Focusing on the Canadian media and the public’s responses to the hunger strike of Attawapiskat First Nation Chief Theresa Spence and the death of Loretta Saunders, Simpson argues that Canada continues to deny its role in the gendered violence against Indigenous people, while asking that Indigenous people “forgive and forget” in the name of reconciliation and recognition. (Simpson 2016)

Each of these authors have, in their own way, helpfully amalgamated theoretical work on settler-colonialism and biopolitics to show the ways in which the Canadian state currently and historically has been engaged in the control and mediation of Indigenous peoples in Canada. My theoretical framework is structured within this body of knowledge, taking insights from many

scholars, but most importantly three further insights from Foucault which will be addressed in the coming pages.

## **1.2 Three Theoretical Frames**

In the course of my study here, I utilize Foucault's basic conceptions of Biopower as a way to theoretically understand my data and illustrate how the colonial politics of recognition functions within the context of forestry in Northern Ontario. I therefore briefly review three of Foucault's articulations of modern power: 1) The sovereign's power to "make live and let die," 2) the shift of power to have population as its target, and 3) the formulation of political-economy as the central logic behind modern power within which individual subjectivity becomes central for the creation of producing citizens. Each of these will in turn be taken up in Chapter 4 of this thesis in which I analyze both policy documents and interviews to show how the politics of recognition continues to assert the colonial relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state within the context of Forestry.

### **1.2.1 To "Make Live and Let Die"**

In his lecture series "Society Must be Defended," Foucault first laid out his formulation of modern power, or biopolitics. Central to this theory is that political right underwent a change in the 19<sup>th</sup> century which shifted the sovereign's power from the power of life and death, to what Foucault called the power to make live and let die:

"I think that one of the greatest transformations political right underwent in the nineteenth century was precisely that, I wouldn't say exactly sovereignty's old right-

to take life or let live- was replaced, but it came to be complemented by a new right which does not erase the old right but which does penetrate it, permeate it. This is the right, or rather precisely the opposite right. It is the *power to 'make' live and 'let' die*. The right of sovereignty was the right to take life or let live. And then this new right is established: the right to make live and to let die.” (Foucault 2003, 241) (Emphasis added)

This new formulation, argued Foucault, coincided with sovereignty becoming diffused within the body politic as a whole - within the population – thus creating the conditions by which the population became central to politics, in opposition to the previous power which was centered on the individual body. (2007) Further, what this power now entailed was the necessity to make the population live, via new institutions such as psychiatric hospitals, disease controls, and systems of governance by which to control the circulation and lives of the population, while at the same time “letting die” those who are surplus, or viewed as detrimental to the population (Foucault 2003, 2007)

This theoretical formulation is fundamental to understanding the how the colonial politics of recognition functions in Canada. As Shiri Pasternak points out in her article on the fiscal relations between the Canadian state and the Attawapiskat Band of Northern Ontario, (2016) the Canadian state sets the conditions by which Indigenous people are “made to live,” and yet at the same time “let die” when they become surplus to the functioning of the economic state. (2016) Emily Ray (2018) also employs the concept of “letting die” to explain how Indigenous peoples in the tar sands region of Northern Alberta are “let die” by the Canadian state as they are actively neglected and thus bear the full brunt of the ecological disaster that is the tar sands. (Ray 2018) Sarah Marie Wiebe, writing in the same volume as Ray, focuses on the individual’s body as the sight of political formation and seeks to show the biopolitical violence enacted on Indigenous

bodies in Aamjiwnaang, Attawapiskat, and Pacheedaht because of the state of emergency that each of these communities continually exist in. (Wiebe 2018)

In the course of my own research, this theoretical formulation also served to highlight the colonial logic of the politics of recognition by showing how Forestry policy in Ontario is bent towards accommodating Indigenous peoples in their management plans, encompassed within language of the protection of “cultural” or “heritage” sites, or via the insistence to not cut lumber in areas which have wildlife value. Each of these policy points exist effectively to “make” Indigenous populations “live.” Yet this also clashed with interview respondents who were vocal about the fact that even as forestry companies promise the protection of their cultural lives, the actual necessities of life are not granted to them; effectively forcing communities into places of precarity, highlighting the “let die” aspect of sovereign power.

### **1.2.2 Population as the Target of Power**

Central to the new power of the sovereign is the population. In his lecture series “Security, Territory, Population,” Foucault expands on the statement that population became the central target of sovereign power. Foucault argues that the population overtook the family as the new basis for power, and thus became the central end of government: “Population, then, appears as the end and instrument of government rather than as the sovereign’s strength: it is the subject of needs and aspirations, but also the object of government manipulation.” (Foucault 2007, 105) To exert power within and through the population required the creation of new techniques of power through which to mediate, control, and know the population. As evidence of this, Foucault points to roadbuilding, mapping, statistics, and other similar phenomena as modern government techniques of power which were all created with the intent of controlling, circulating, and knowing the population.

(Foucault 2007) These technologies of power have been expanded on in different situations, with a vast body of knowledge dedicated to the study of techniques of power within neoliberalism. (Dean 2009; Rose 1993, 1999; Villadsen and Wahlberg 2015)

This theoretical framework is central to my own research, as it highlights how forestry companies, following strict forestry policy manuals, are engaged in maintain the colonial relationship within given forest management units. Couched in the language of recognition and accommodation, roads and maps are created which allow for these spaces to become knowable to the forestry companies and thus the state apparatus. As will be explained further in Chapter 5, roads are built for the purpose of harvesting lumber and creating roads between remote communities but in the process these roads and the maps that come with them circumvent and circumscribe Indigenous territory.

### **1.2.3 On Moulded Subjectivity**

The final theoretical framework I borrow from Foucault is that on moulded subjectivity, or the ways in which individuals within a population practice a certain regulated freedom. In Foucault's understanding of power, individuals have a certain freedom, yet it is the goal or aim of power to create a freedom which is regulated. It is no longer about simply disciplining individuals, but instead creating the circumstances in which individuals are practicing and choosing certain actions of their own free will yet that free will exists within a regulated system. As Nikolas Rose writes puts it, "[liberalism] both depends upon the existence of free individuals and seeks to shape and regulate that freedom in a social form, simultaneously specifying the subjects of rule in terms of certain norms of civilization." Other scholars have taken up this trend within Foucauldian

thought and have pushed it further, and rearticulated it; particularly feminist thinkers such as Judith Butler and Julia Kristeva, (Butler 2010, 2011; Kristeva 1982) and post-colonial thinkers such as Homi Bhabha and Edward Said. (Bhabha 1994; Said 2014) And, still others have focused on the structure itself and, often utilizing a Marxist lens, look at the ways in which neoliberalism, as an economic and social structure, has worked to shape, mould, or regulate Indigenous communities. Isabel Altamirano-Jimenez points to the fact that there is no singular neoliberalism, yet she and others (Brodie 2010; Hale 2005; Harvey 2005) have analyzed neoliberalism and shown the patterns within the ways in which it functions, and consequently she writes, “The reorganization of society under neoliberalism occurs along the lines of decentralization of power, reduction of state intervention in the market, affirmation of basic human rights, re-regulation, and the development of civil society and partnerships. *The recognition of cultural difference...[is] integral to neoliberalism.*”(2013, 5)(Emphasis added)

It’s of little surprise, then, that large amount of study has been dedicated to understanding the workings of neoliberalism and capital as they relate to the on-going colonization of Indigenous peoples in Canada in an era of “recognition.” Anna J. Willow makes this point abundantly clear in her study of Indigenous “extractivism” in relation to resource extraction in the boreal forest in Canada. Focusing on four main resources (Water, Logging, Mining, and Oil), Willow draws necessary connections between the neoliberal economic/social structure and colonialism. (2016) Concentrating on the Tar Sands, and water security respectively, Jen Preston and Maura Hanrahan make similar arguments, noting that neoliberal structures and logic are deeply connected to colonial legacies and logics. (Preston 2013; Hanrahan 2017) Hanrahan also helpfully ties these structures and practices to Canadian national identity, (2017) while Preston focuses on the public-

private partnerships involved in resource extraction which are one of the key patterns of neoliberal practice.(2013)

Shiri Pasternack and Fiona MacDonald both respond to another pattern of neoliberalism – privatization - which they also both tie to recognition politics. Pasternack, in a scathing critique of discussions surrounding the privatization of reserve lands in Canada, argues that the privatization of Indigenous reserve land is a government policy embedded in the recognition of Indigenous peoples in Canada and that privatization would be extremely detrimental to Indigenous autonomy. (2015) Macdonald takes a different tact and one that is slightly more optimistic about the possibilities of neoliberal forms of Indigenous autonomy, yet she argues that government policies of aboriginal autonomy and private ownership of extractive companies “serve a neoliberal welfare state agenda, and, as a result, their effects often run in opposition of meaningful autonomy for Indigenous peoples.”(2011, 257)

Finally Dylan et. al (2013), in a case study of Moose Cree First Nation, argue that even as consultations and accommodation happen between resource extracting companies and Indigenous communities, Indigenous peoples have no other option than to accept resource development. (Dylan, Smallboy, and Lightman 2013) While Dylan et. al do not analyze the ways in which consultation and accommodation are tied in with neoliberalism, their study still helpfully illustrates how Indigenous peoples are caught in the double bind of being unable to “say no” to resource development even as many Indigenous communities view it as extremely harmful and detrimental.

While moving in different directions, what each of these authors agree on is that powerful structures shape individual subjectivities, and thus certain logics of power can be brought to light by unpacking subjectivity and exposing what aspects of subjectivity are emphasized by power.



Comprehending the logics of power by unpacking what aspects of subjectivity are emphasized is also extremely helpful in understanding how the colonial relationship is maintained by the politics of recognition. For my own research, it brought to light how certain ways of being, namely market-related, productive ones, were emphasized within both policy documents and the interviews I conducted and how these aspects were presented as necessary ways of being so as to have a well-managed, productive forest. This logic of power was also tellingly portrayed by interviewees who continued to emphasize that there was no way to escape the market-driven, extractive processes of which they were a part.

In the coming chapter I briefly address the history of colonialism and biopolitics in Canada highlighting the treaty system, and showing how it's part of the genealogy of colonialism in Canada, of which the politics of recognition is the current aspect in which Indigenous peoples find themselves.

## **Chapter 2: Biopolitics and Settler-Colonialism in Canada: A Historical Overview**

Writing the history of settler-colonialism in Canada is a necessary precondition for the rest of this thesis as it 1) contextualizes some of the current lived realities of Indigenous folks in Northern Ontario, 2) it highlights the genealogy of the caretaking, biopolitical, coercive relationship between the state of Canada and Indigenous peoples of which the politics of recognition is a part, and 3) it contextualizes both the ethical questions I work through in my methodologies chapter as well my analysis presented in chapter 4. A historical framework is also necessary because I'm arguing that settler-colonialism still effects the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples or, as Patrick Wolfe puts it, "invasion is a structure not an event." (2006, 388)

To do so, I focus on the treaties, highlighting both their coercive, biopolitical nature as well as their connections to resource extraction. I first approach the history of treaty-making broadly in the context of the expansion of Canada. I then follow that up with a more precise look at Treaty 9, the treaty which guides Indigenous/State relations throughout much of the area in which my research was conducted.

Even though this chapter is dedicated to understanding the history of colonialism and the biopolitical aspects of the way in which colonialism functions, I do not focus on what many would believe to be two clear aspects of biopolitical settler-colonialism: namely, Residential schools, and the history of the Canadian state's racist defining of "who" is Indigenous. I leave these questions out of this historical overview for two reasons. First, and most basically because of length requirements. To treat each of these topics with their due diligence would require another chapter

unto themselves. Second, because the point of this chapter has been to highlight many of the connections between resource extraction, biopolitics, and colonialism. While the histories of Residential Schools, as well as the Canadian state's involvement in defining Indigenous people via the Indian Act and the "White Paper" all deal with these topics to a degree, I believe that focusing on the treaties is the best way to address these connections in the space allowed.<sup>5</sup>

## **2.1 Treaty-Making in Canada and Northern Ontario: Treaties as Technologies of Power**

The first treaty signed between post-confederation Canada and Indigenous peoples was in 1871. This treaty, and the following ones, were called the numbered treaties and they set out a legal, and formal relationship between the colonizers and the colonized. (J. R. Miller 2009; Ray 2018)

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<sup>5</sup> While I do not deal with these topics, there are many excellent scholars who have. For a history and contextualization of Residential Schools see: (Florence 2015; Jaine 1995; Miller 1996; Regan 2010; Wells 2012) For a broad review of the long-term effects of the Residential schools see: (Bombay, Matheson, and Anisman 2014; Wilk, Maltby, and Cooke 2017) For excellent coverage of the Indian Act, the White Paper, and defining Indigenous people in Canada see: (Coates 2008; Gunn 2015; Milloy 2008; Provart 2003; Tobias 1976)

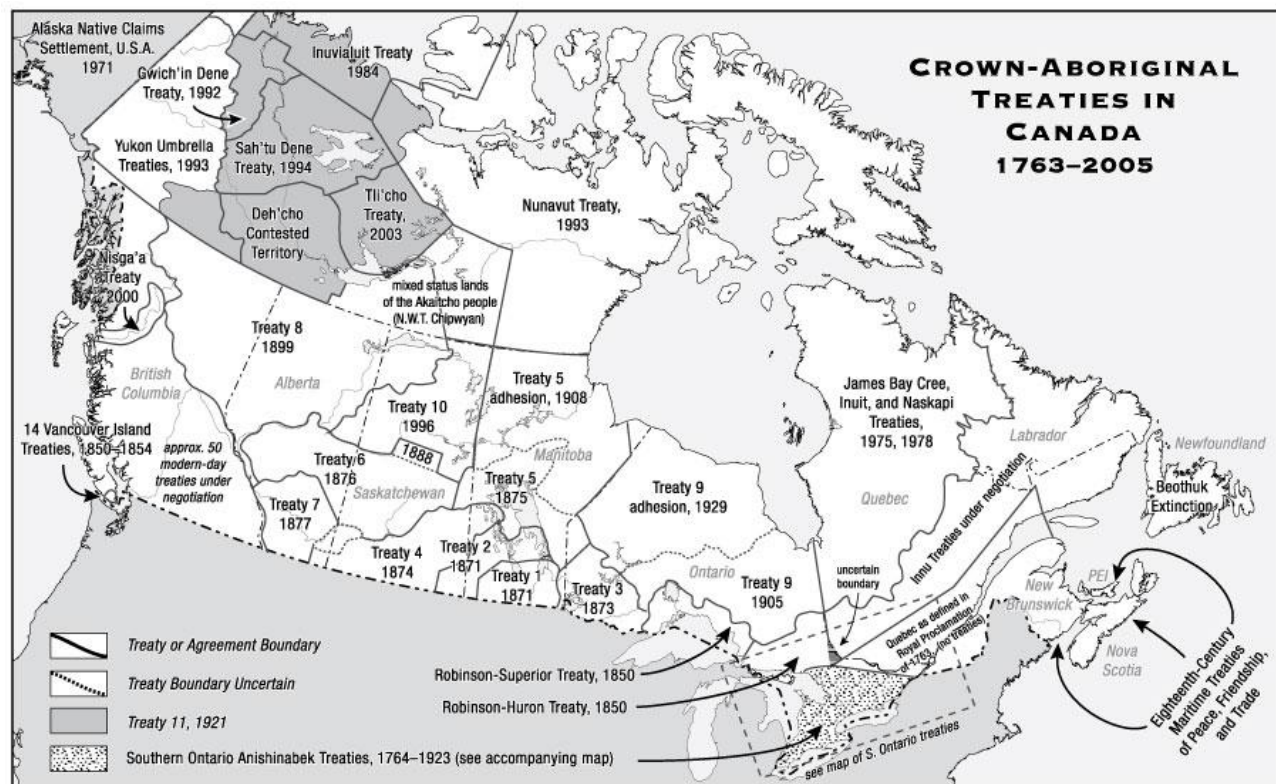


Figure 1 Crown-Aboriginal Treaties in Canada 1763 – 2005

Source: <https://exhibits.library.utoronto.ca/items/show/2482>

The shape and nature of these new treaties was heavily influenced by multiple factors. They were, in part, a reflection of earlier treaties negotiated between pre-confederation Canada and Indigenous peoples, such as the Robinson-Superior treaty of 1850. (J. R. Miller 2009) Yet the numbered treaties were new in that they reflected a change in the relationship between Indigenous peoples and settlers. (J. R. Miller 2000, 2009) While previously, fur traders, and colonial governments or administrative outposts had predominantly treated Indigenous peoples as equals and as sovereign, powerful nations, the numbered treaties marked a paradigm shift in the way in which Canada treated Indigenous folks as they became viewed as obstacles in the way of expansion thus requiring their control or elimination. (Miller 2000; Ray 2018; Simpson 2014; Tobias 1976) As J. R. Miller points out, the new Canadian mandate in relation to Indigenous peoples was set out

in the BNA act of 1867 which created the dominion of Canada: ““the British North America Act assigned jurisdiction over ‘Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians,’ to the parliament of Canada.” (2009, 129) This included not only those Indigenous peoples already under the dominion of Canada, but also all those nations which could find themselves under Canadian sovereignty as expansion moved west.

Since Indigenous peoples were no longer viewed as equal partners, but instead as nations and individuals which must be taken care of, and controlled for the sake of the expansion of Canada, treaties were negotiated with the intent of opening up access to the lands in which they resided. (Long 1989; J. R. Miller 2000, 2009) The numbered treaties were to provide, on the one hand, for the necessities that First Nations would need to survive, yet on the other it also laid out terms and conditions for when the state of Canada could extract resource or access territories set apart for the First Nations. The dual nature of these treaties, as documents expressing Canadian sovereignty over Indigenous lands but also as documents placing Canada in a relationship of caretaking towards First Nations, “[brought] First Nations into a biopolitical relationship with the crown...the Crown would absorb First Nations bands into their web of governing technologies in order to make the native populations manageable while denying them autonomy over their land.” (Ray 2018, 165)

## **2.2 Treaty 9 and the Expansion of Empire**

The Kenogami Forest Unit, within which my research was conducted, encompasses an area which predominantly is covered by Treaty 9. The following section deals more specifically with the history of Treaty 9, outlining the context in which many Indigenous communities still find themselves.



Figure 2 Map of Treaty 9

Source: <https://fner.wordpress.com/2014/11/24/treaty-maps-ontario/>

Treaty 9, like many of the northern treaties, must be understood within the period of the expansion of empire. First Nations bands within the area that would encompass Treaty 9 had, as early as 1884, been petitioning the federal government for aid and some form of protection of their lands because of the influx of surveyors and prospectors coming with the CPR railway which ran through many band territories. (Long 1989) Yet these request were tellingly ignored by the federal government for years, until the federal government realized that it was in their economic interest to engage in negotiations: “[the government of Canada] ignored early requests from First Nations for treaties to evade financial responsibility for relieving them when hardships inflicted by southern development undercut their livelihood, and initiated treaty talks when northern lands became valuable to southerners.” (J. R. Miller 2009, 221) Nor was it simply the Federal

government engaging in development in the North. The Ontario provincial government had, from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, been heavily invested in forestry and mining projects and the technologies which made these developments possible including the creation of railways. (J. R. Miller 2009) Thus, it was at this point that the federal and provincial governments decided it was time to negotiate with the First Nations bands in the area so as to procure the legal right to continue the economic expansion of Northern Ontario.<sup>6</sup>

The fact that the provincial government was so heavily involved in economic expansion into the area that would come under Treaty 9 is particularly necessary to highlight as Treaty 9 is the only treaty which was negotiated between First Nations and both provincial and federal representatives thus making the provincial government a key actor in the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Treaty 9, and this relationship still structures forestry policies and the application of it in the present day.

The inclusion of the provincial government in the treaty process was due to a legal case from 1887 in which the Ontario government was given the right to administer resource extraction licenses above the federal government, based upon a specific reading of the federal governments right to administer “Lands reserved for Indians,” thus highlighting the ways in which treaties were continually read in such a way as to benefit the economic interest of the governments.<sup>7</sup> (Leslie

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<sup>6</sup> The treaty process outlined here maintains similarities to the recent creation of the Far North Act in 2010 by the Ontario Provincial government in which the provincial government created a new plan to administer the Northern part of Ontario. This was done for the benefit of development first and foremost, and Indigenous communities in this area factored in only secondarily. (Tsuji et al. 2012)

<sup>7</sup> As a quick note: *St. Catherines Milling and Lumber Co. v. The Queen (1887)* actually set a precedent for the legal recognition of Indigenous title to land. It's generally accepted that this case laid the groundwork for subsequent Indigenous land rights claims at the Supreme Court. (J. R. Miller 2009) However, this doesn't detract from the fact that the reason the case existed at all was because of a specific reading of the legal right the federal government had to administer “Lands reserved for Indians,” which, had the case been successful, would have granted the federal government the right to grant land use permits to companies over and above the jurisdiction of the provincial government and this was the reason why the law was upheld, not because of some attempt to defend Indigenous land rights.

2016; J. R. Miller 2009) Because of this case, when Treaty 9 was written and then brought to Indigenous leaders, there were representatives of both the federal and provincial governments, including the infamous Duncan Campbell Scott. The province of Ontario also gained two powerful demands in requiring that they be a part of the treaty process, both of which highlight the control and power of the provincial government over Indigenous folks: 1) That the provincial government would be allowed to select the reserves, as opposed to the Indigenous bands selecting where they wished to live, and 2) that Ontario gained a power of veto over all terms of the treaty. (Duhamel 1931; Long 1989; Leslie 2016)

In a certain sense, having a veto over the terms of the treaty was almost redundant as the terms of the treaty were set even before the treaty commissioners visited with Indigenous leaders. Thus, to speak of Treaty 9 as a negotiated process between Indigenous leaders and the governments of Canada would be to misrepresent the process. (Long 1989; J. R. Miller 2000, 2009) Even as these terms were set, what Indigenous peoples were promised orally often differed from the actual text of the treaty. In an excellent study of the written treaty paired with written transcriptions of some of the meetings between the commissioners and Indigenous leaders, John S. Long argues that the oral agreements between the parties were much more expansive and promising, even to the point that Long argues that it may have been possible that many of the Indigenous leaders had no idea they were acquiescing to the surrender of their territory. (Long 1989, 32, 40) J. R. Miller, Michael Asch, and others makes similar points on the discrepancies between the oral and written documents and the ramifications of this, but all serve to reflect the coercive, expansion-oriented nature of the relationship that exists in Treaty 9 territory, and Northern Ontario more broadly. (Asch 2014; J. R. Miller 2000, 2009) As Miller argues, “in the North, it was clear that in gaining an ‘empire,’ Canada was ever more clearly acting like an oppressive colonizer.” (2009, 221)



What this historical overview has done is contextualized the relationship between Indigenous people and the Canadian state, highlighting the biopolitical aspects of this relationship as well as the overtly violent aspects. This historical overview also serves to flesh out and highlight what is meant by the colonial relationship between Indigenous people and the Canadian state. And, finally, this chapter helps to contextualize the discussions that come in the following chapter in which I present my methodology, dedicating some time to explaining the fraught relationship between Indigenous people and academic research.

## Chapter 3: Methodology

### 3.1 Research and Indigenous Peoples

*“To speak of Indigeneity is to speak of colonialism and anthropology, as these are the means through which Indigenous people have been known and sometimes are still known.”* – Audra Simpson (2014, 95)

*“Behind each policy and program with which Indians are plagued, if traced completely back to its origins, stands the anthropologist.”* – Vine Deloria Jr. (1969, 81)

Any explanation of the methodology employed in this study requires beginning with a problematization of research, particularly in the colonial context and in relationship to Indigenous peoples. For a long time, academic disciplines have been at the forefront of colonial practice and colonial knowledge of Indigenous peoples, of the Other, whether it was through anthropologies 19<sup>th</sup> century focus on biological race, or the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries emphasis on cultural relativism. (Willis 1999) In the past thirty years, the connections between colonialism and anthropology – and academic research more broadly – has been critiqued from inside and outside the discipline. (Abu-Lughod 2000; Asad 1973; Fabian 1983; Nader 1999; Rosaldo 1989; Said 2014) The growth of subaltern studies has also been an undeniably helpful shift in the ways in which academia and the west are understood, analyzed and practiced. (Bhabha 1994; Chakrabarty 2000; Spivak 1988)

Yet to speak of these connections is not to speak in the past tense, as academic research of the Other, in this case Indigenous peoples in Canada, still continues and is often utilized by government agencies, corporations and agencies to create policies, programs and to “know” Indigenous peoples in such a way so that they can be brought into the body political, or their spaces exploited in the name of development.<sup>8</sup> (Balaton-Chrimes and Stead 2017; Monaghan 2013; Simpson 2014; Ray 2018) Understanding the problematic nature of research in this context requires addressing my own positionality, so as to be able to create the most effective research while still addressing issues of positionality and objectivity. Most importantly, I believe, studying issues related to Indigenous folks in Canada begins with employing a reflexive stance embodied in continually asking questions of myself as a researcher: “Whose research is it?; Who owns it?; Whose interest does it serve?; Who will benefit from it?” (Smith 1999)

These basic questions frame the backdrop to my research, and the methodology employed. In building on this foundation I follow the basic ethical guidelines of the Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada, (2014) yet I also borrow from, and follow the guidelines of the Australian-Indigenous Scholar Judy Atkinson who argues that to do effective Indigenous research requires following these key principles:

- “Aboriginal people themselves approve the research and the research methods;
- A knowledge and consideration of community and the diversity and unique nature that each individual brings to the community;
- Ways of relating and acting within the community with an understanding of the principles of reciprocity and responsibility;
- Research participants must feel safe and be safe, including respecting issues of confidentiality;

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<sup>8</sup> The Canadian Anthropology Society/Société Canadienne D’Anthropologie addressed their history of connections to colonialism, and particularly the residential schools in Canada, in a letter of support for the *Truth and Reconciliation Canada* final report. In it, among other things, they addressed the ways in which Canadian policy had been shaped by “beliefs that were profoundly ethnocentric conforming to textbook definitions of ethnocentricity.” (2015, 1)

- A non-intrusive observation, or quietly aware watching;
- A deep listening and hearing with more than the ears;
- A reflective non-judgmental consideration of what is being seen and heard;
- Having learnt from the listening a purposeful plan to act with actions informed by learning, wisdom, and acquired knowledge;
- Responsibility to act with fidelity in relationship to what has been heard, observed, and learnt;
- An awareness and connection between logic of mind and the feelings of the heart;
- Listening and observing the self as well as in relationship to others;
- Acknowledgment that the researcher brings to the research his or her subjective self.”

(Cited in: Wilson 2008, 59)

While these principles are similar to the guidelines outlined by the SSHRC, they go further in that they position the researcher as part of the research itself and also call for a more nuanced and grounded understanding of, and respect for, Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous ways of sharing knowledge. As I did my research, I attempted to keep each of these principles in mind and also allowed my research methods to be shaped by these principles in an attempt to create a more aware, culturally appropriate, and egalitarian form of data collection.

Audra Simpson’s “Ethnographic Refusal” is also foundational in the way in which I have attempted to approach my research and the methodology employed. Simpson argues that if researchers wish to examine Indigenous political forms, and Indigenous sovereignty then we must recognize that “Sovereignty [matters] at the level of method and representation.” (2014, 104) Simpson, therefore, goes further than addressing the basic ethical research guideline of “does this research cause harm” and instead moves further to “refuse” western sovereignty in the ways in which she asks certain questions, includes certain questions, or even refuses to write certain answers. For Simpson, ethnographic refusal is done to protect the concerns of the community which she is researching and of which she is a part, but it is also done as a recognition of the power imbalances “that inform the research and writing about native lives and politics.” (2014, 105) While traditionally, the understanding has been that research and analysis of data should be done

from a neutral theoretical base, the argument has been made that this is no longer viable nor even desired. (Wilson 2008; Kovach 2010; Dylan, Smallboy, and Lightman 2013) Thus I, at least in part, attempt to follow Simpson's lead in the writing of my research, as well as in the practice of it.

Finally, I also employ Linda Tuhiwai Smith's concepts of "Reporting Back," and "Sharing Knowledge" as a way to address the power relationships which come with doing research with Indigenous people in a settler-colonial context. Smith's argument is that in reporting back to the communities, and by sharing the knowledge gained from the research some of the power dynamics that come with the researcher/researched relationship can be addressed and mitigated. (1999, 15) Therefore, I have planned and set a date for the mid-July of 2018, after my thesis is written and defended, in which I will be presenting my research to the community and individuals of Long Lake 58. as a way to share some of the knowledge I've gained and further the growth of the community which has welcomed me.

### **3.2 Research Methods**

Having utilized the theoretical work of Glen Coulthard to explain that the politics of recognition is colonial, I decided to ground his theory in a study of how the colonial politics of recognition functions in a specific context. To do so required proving two things. First, that the politics of recognition is employed as a discourse in the context that I chose to study, namely forestry policy and practice in Northern Ontario. Second, that this discourse serves to reassert the colonial relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state.

To do so such a study, I employ two forms of data collection. The first is a form which focuses on policy documents from both the Federal and Provincial levels of government,

documents which lay out the duty to Consult and Accommodate, which, as will be shown, is the clearest form of the Politics of Recognition in practice. This is the main form of data collection I employ, as it is the best way to address and analyze the institutions which are engaged with Indigenous peoples in Canada and the ways in which a discourse such as the Politics of Recognition is recontextualized in different social settings. The second form of data I analyze is ethnographic research, which involves both individual interviews and researcher observations as a way to understand how the colonial politics of recognition is operationalized in Northern Ontario. The ethnographic data also serves to highlight the perspectives of those most affected by the colonial politics of recognition, namely members of the First Nations community of Long Lac. 58 and the individuals within that community.

### **3.2.1 The Recontextualization and Operationalization of the Politics of Recognition through Discourse and Anthropological Data**

A critical discourse approach was utilized to show 1) the translation of the politics of recognition from a state discourse to the local level via policy documents, and 2) to show how these specific policies function as a technique of power which continues to maintain the colonial relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada. Therefore, what I am effectively studying is on one hand the translation of a discourse into a specific social setting, and on the other the content and results of said discourse. These two aspects are similar to what Norman Fairclough calls recontextualization and operationalization. (Fairclough 2015) Recontextualization being the process by which a discourse moves from one social field to another, and operationalization being the process in which discourses are: “enacted as new ways of

interacting[...]inculcated as new ways of being (identities),[...]or] may be physically manifested.”  
(2015, 89)

My first focus was on how the politics of recognition, as a discourse and policy stance employed by the Canadian state, is recontextualized in forestry policy documents in Northern Ontario. To do so, I employ a critical discourse approach to analyze Section 38 of the Constitution Act of Canada which lays out the duty to Consult and Accommodate, as well as Supreme court case - *Haida Nation v British Columbia (Minister of Forests)* (2004) - which is the Supreme Court case that first challenged the Crown’s process of resource extraction. These documents are selected for analysis because they most clearly outline and represent the politics of recognition in a state-sanctioned, discursive form, and because they most clearly help to reflect the recontextualization of the politics of recognition.

After analyzing these documents, I move to analyzing the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forests’ ‘Forest Management Planning Manual’ (FMPM), which guides all companies engaged in the extraction of wood and wood products in Ontario. A discursive method of analysis is also employed here to show that the FMPM rests its authority on both the preceding documents, and that in doing so the politics of recognition has been recontextualized in a very local, specific setting.

To analyze the operationalization of the politics of recognition, I employ a discourse analysis method to show exactly where the politics of recognition is found in forestry policy documents. To do so, I analyze and focus on the policy document which guides the creation of each Forest Management Plan, namely the Forest Management Planning Manual. The FMPM is updated regularly by the Ontario Provincial Government, sets out how each forest unit must be

managed, and guides how each Forestry company must deal with Indigenous communities within a given Forest Unit – in my case the Kenogami forest unit.

To further study the operationalization of the politics of recognition I also utilized both observational data and interviews as a way to show the manifestation of the goals and aims of the FMPM. I conducted individual interviews with the community of Long Lac 58., and collected observational data from traveling through the surrounding FMU of Kenogami in April and May of 2018. I had previously worked with individuals from this community doing forestry work, as well as visited Long Lac. 58 and the town of Long Lac many times over the course of five summers of work. I therefore knew the region relatively well, and it was through my coworkers that I first expressed interest in conducting interviews with the community of Long Lac 58. at large, as well as with individuals.

The interview method was semi-structured interviews with key individuals and informants from the community. These interviews were conducted over six weeks while I was in the area of Long Lac. 58. Some of the informants were people I had approached beforehand, while others were suggested to me by the first individuals I had interviewed, or were suggested during the community interviews. In this respect, my research process employed an aspect of snowball sampling, where individuals recommend other people who may be of interest to me and act as gatekeepers to the knowledge that the community possesses. (Creswell 1998; Dylan, Smallboy, and Lightman 2013)

Interview questions were developed during the course of my preliminary research while in Budapest, Hungary but were heavily influenced by my first conversations during the community interviews. I asked for suggestions regarding how to formulate questions, as well as how to ask these questions in a way that was sensitive towards the social and cultural dynamics of the



community members. What came of this is that I ended up doing interviews which are similar to what McCracken has called the “long interview method,” (McCracken 1988) in which interviews involve long conversations whereby interactions between the interviewer and the interview subject often end up becoming much more egalitarian as knowledge is shared between both individuals in the interview.

In all, nine individuals were interviewed over the course of the six weeks I was in the area of Long Lac. 58. Each of the individuals were consenting adults, and each consented to being interviewed via a written consent form as well as by an oral confirmation. I then took the data, transcribed those parts which were necessary, and utilized a discursive method which paired the statements of the interviewees with specific policy directives from the FMPM, to highlight how the politics of recognition was physically manifested.

Finally, throughout my time in the area surrounding Long Lac. 58, I also collected observational data. This data was either oral and consequentially recorded, or it was visual and I either took notes or photographs where necessary so as to be able to return to the data and analyze it further. While not central to my analysis, this observational data often acted as colour to some of my theoretical claims, as well as placed my discursive analysis “on the ground” so to speak. Where necessary, I asked for, and received consent to take pictures or to record the observational data.

As a final note, I decided not to record observations about the Long Lac. 58 reserve, or those areas which were deemed sacred or of some import to the community of Long Lac. 58. – even if they were spaces where it was vocalized that I could. While this breaks with ethnographic tradition, I believe that Audra Simpson’s call for some form of ‘ethnographic refusal’ to be of importance here. My study, such as it is, focuses on the control exercised by the Canadian state,

within a neoliberal context, over Indigenous people in Canada and therefore I refuse to make the space that is the Long Lac 58 reserve part of my data collection. What I did include was observations from those areas in which Canadian sovereignty is being exerted over and upon Indigenous spaces, territories and lands.

### **3.3 Further Remarks**

To understand the complexity of a situation in which the colonial politics of recognition is translated down from a state discourse to effect Long Lac 58, required a methodological approach which allowed me to collect data related to each of these social fields. Thus, pairing a discursive study of policy documents with anthropological data, including interviews, was the approach which best allowed me to get to tease out the logic(s) of the politics of recognition within that context. I would, however, like to reiterate the point put forward in my introduction that, first and foremost, this is a study of the power structures that exist above or around Indigenous folks in Canada. This is not a study of Indigenous people or Indigeneity per se, but instead a study of how the Canadian state is involved in propagating and supporting the politics of recognition and how this functions to maintain the colonial relationship between Indigenous peoples and the State.

As a final note, I would like to emphasize a point put forward by Fairclough, namely that to understand discourse and discursive change as simply a top-down approach would be incorrect: “there is a struggle over the structuring of texts and orders of discourse, and people may resist or appropriate changes coming from above, as well as merely go along with them.” (Fairclough 1993, 9) While I am arguing that a top-down approach best exemplifies how the politics of recognition is engaged in reasserting the colonial relationship with Indigenous folks, the ethnographic work I

conducted serves to express how individuals mediate, are shaped by, and narrate this discourse within their individual contexts.

The following chapter of this thesis utilizes the methods described above, within a broad theoretical framework of Foucauldian Biopolitics, to show exactly how the politics of recognition is recontextualized and operationalized in the context of Forestry in Northern Ontario and thus reasserts and maintains the colonial relationship between Indigenous people and the Canadian state.

## **Chapter 4 – The Functioning of the Colonial Politics of Recognition in Northern Ontario: Biopolitics, Policy and Forestry in the Kenogami Forest Unit**

The analysis of the data collected throughout the course of my research is presented in the following pages. Throughout my analysis, I utilize policy documents, observational data, and interviews to show how the colonial politics of recognition functions in Forestry, specifically in the Forest Unit of Kenogami, in Northern Ontario, Canada.

In analyzing the data, I first look at the process of recontextualization by which the politics of recognition is “translated” into forestry policy documents from a Federal level discourse. I then focus on the operationalization of recognition, utilizing a Foucauldian theoretical framework to show how recognition politics is “physically manifested” and enacted as new ways of being thus maintaining the colonial relationship and structure as presented by Glen Coulthard and reviewed in the introduction to this thesis.

### **4.1 Recontextualizing the Politics of Recognition in new Social Fields**

One of the central formulations of Norman Fairclough’s critical approach to the study of discourse is that of recontextualization. As mentioned in the previous chapter, recontextualization is the process by which discourses move from one social context to another. (Fairclough 2015) In studying the politics of recognition and the ways it serves to assert the colonial relationship within the context of Forestry, and particularly related to the community of Long Lac 58., I analyze documents to show the link between the Canadian state discourse of recognition, and the Forest Management Planning Manual which guides forestry policy throughout Ontario. To do so, I analyze the *Constitution Act, 1982, Section 35*, a supreme court case *Haida Nation v. B.C.*

(*Minister of Forests*) [2004]3 S.C.R., and the Ontario Crown Forests and Lands Policy Branch's *Forestry Management Planning Manual*.

| Documents Analyzed:   | Recontextualization of the discourse of Recognition Politics   |
|---|--|
| 1.<br>Constitution Act,<br>1982                               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Expansion of the Constitution – Federal Social field</li> <li>- First use of “Recognition” in a Federal document</li> </ul>   |
| 2.<br>Haida Nation v. B.C.<br>(Minister of Forests)<br>[2004] | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Supreme Court of Canada Ruling – Judicial Social field</li> <li>- Expands upon what “recognition” specifically entails within the context of resource extraction</li> <li>- Discourse of “Consultation and Accommodation” evidenced, replacing “Recognition”</li> </ul> |
| 3.<br>Forest Management<br>Planning Manual<br>(OMNRF)         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Provincial Social field</li> <li>- Lays out the exact structure of recognition, shaping Forestry company actions in relation to Indigenous people</li> <li>- Shifting of discourse: “Consultation and Accommodation” to “Involvement and Consultation”</li> </ul>       |

Figure 3 Recontextualization of the Discourse of Recognition Politics

Recognition, as a politics and policy practiced by the Canadian state, is first laid out in reference to Indigenous people in the Constitution Act of 1982. Where previously, Indigenous peoples rights as such were not referenced in the Canadian constitution, Section 35 of the amended Constitution presents the “Rights of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada.” This is the starting point of the genealogy of the politics of recognition within Canadian government policy.

“Recognition of existing aboriginal and treaty rights

35. (1) The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the *aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.*

(2) In this Act, “aboriginal peoples of Canada” includes the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada.

(3) For greater certainty, in subsection (1) “treaty rights” includes rights that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired.

(4) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the aboriginal and treaty rights referred to in subsection (1) are guaranteed equally to male and female persons.” (emphasis added)

Embedded in the Canadian constitution, as seen above, is the statement that the “aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.” There is an obvious use of the language of recognition, yet missing is any additional statements on what exactly recognition entails.

The second movement of recontextualization arrives with Supreme Court cases in the early 2000’s which broadened, and expanded on exactly what recognition entailed within the context of resource extraction. I refer to the first of these Supreme Court cases, namely *Haida Nation v. B.C. (Minister of Forests)* [2004] 3 S.C.R., as it changed and shaped the nature of recognition politics.

*Haida Nation v. B.C. (Minister of Forests)* [2004], is a court case that rose to the Supreme Court of Canada after the Government of British Columbia granted a Tree Farm License, which was situated on Haida nation territory, to a private forestry company – Weyerhaeuser Co. – in 1999. The Haida nation challenged the B.C. government, arguing that recognition, as stated in the constitution act of 1982 required some form of consultation. They won, and the court case served to further expand upon the discourse of recognition. I will briefly reflect on the recontextualization of recognition politics within this court case, and save the analysis of the content for further on my analysis when I discuss the operationalization of the discourse of the politics of recognition.

In the summary of the case, the Supreme Court judges include two statements which speak to the recontextualization of recognition politics:

“The duty to consult and accommodate is part of a process of fair dealing and reconciliation that begins with the assertion of sovereignty and continues beyond formal claims resolution. [...] Consultation and accommodation before final claims resolution preserve the Aboriginal interest and are an essential corollary to the honourable process of reconciliation that s. 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* demands.”

I want to highlight two key points encompassed within this statement. The first is that a new language has sprung up to describe what recognition of Indigenous peoples in Canada should look like, namely that of “consultation and accommodation.” In the movement from “recognition”

to “consultation and accommodation” there is a clear recontextualization of the discourse of recognition, and it puts boundaries and structure to how recognition should be practiced within the context of resource extraction. From this point on, a reader of policy documents which mention “consolation and accommodation” will understand that this is coded language for “recognition,” thus making said reader a part of the recontextualization process. (Fairclough 2015) The second point I wanted to emphasize is that this sample shows how “consultation and accommodation” is explicitly linked to the *Constitution Act, 1982*, thus highlighting the genealogy of recognition within the supreme court case.

The second statement in *Haida Nation v. B.C.* which speaks to the recontextualization of the recognition discourse is found three paragraphs later:

“The honour of the Crown cannot be delegated, and the legal responsibility for consultation and accommodation rests with the Crown. [...] Finally, the duty to consult and accommodate applies to the provincial government.”

Two points are clear from this statement, and each speak to aspects of recontextualization. In reading this paragraph, it’s made abundantly clear that the Crown – the state of Canada – is the apex from which recognition derives. This seems obvious from what I’ve shown already, yet matched with the second sentence, which shifts the duty to the provincial government, it highlights how a new social settings has been opened up in which the politics of recognition is to be practiced, namely that of the Provinces. In the Canadian federalist system, this is an important addition, as the Provincial and Federal governments can often disagree on whose responsibility is what, yet this statement emphatically necessitates that the provincial governments must also practice recognition in the form of consultation and accommodation. Thus, in one paragraph we see two aspects of recontextualization: 1) the emphasis on the genealogy of the recontextualization process,

and 2) the shifting of the discourse of recognition from one social field to the other: from the Federal to the Provincial levels.

On the Provincial level of government, I focus on one specific policy document which follows in the genealogy of recognition as practiced in Canada. Created by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry, the *Forest Management Planning Manual* (FMPM) is “the pivotal document that provides direction for all forest management planning for Crown lands in Ontario within the area of the undertaking.” (OMNRF 2017, ii) Forestry companies which manage a Forest Unit (FU) in Ontario must follow this manual completely in the creation of their own Forest Management Plan. (FMP) Analyzing this document is absolutely necessary for understanding how the politics of recognition is operationalized in regards to Indigenous peoples, but I will first highlight the final step of recontextualization of the discourse of recognition within the FMPM.

The FMPM covers a vast range of topics, and stages of the forest management process, yet central to this document is recognition of indigenous peoples within a given forest unit. A paragraph from Part A, Section 3.0 which outlines indigenous involvement in forest management planning states that:

“The consideration of established or credibly asserted Aboriginal or treaty rights through consultation with First Nation and Métis communities in forest management planning is intended, in part, to assist the Crown to address any obligations it may have under subsection 35(1) of the Constitution Act, 1982, including the duty to consult and, where appropriate accommodate.”

This paragraph serves to highlight the final step in the recontextualization process. There is, however, an important distinction to be made in this statement verses the one presented in the supreme court case *Haida Nation v. B.C.*, namely that the language of the statement in the FMPM takes on an active tone, thus “is intended, in part, to assist the Crown to address any obligations.”



The active tone of this sentence is important because it highlights on one hand the new field in which this document has been recontextualized, namely resource extraction, yet on the other it suggests that this document is meant to be operationalized in this new setting. As Fairclough has helpfully pointed out, operationalization is a process in which discourses “may be physically manifested.” (Fairclough 2015, 89) The active tone of words such as “is intended,” “to assist,” and “to address” all serve to call for the physical manifestation of recognition.

The second area of the FMPM which serves to highlight the recontextualization of recognition in a new field is found in the shifting of language throughout the document from “accommodation and consultation” to “involvement and consultation.” Throughout the course of the FMPM, the word pairing of “involvement and consultation” is used a total of 98 times, while the word pairing of “accommodate and consult” is used a total of 5 times, and then only in direct reference to the *Constitution Act, 1982 Section 35*. There is a visible, distinctive shift being made, which places emphasis on involvement instead of accommodation.

While these words are similar, the difference between them lies in an emphasis on Indigenous people’s need to get involved, thus the responsibility becomes their own, while accommodation places the emphasis on the Canadian state’s need to address recognition and actively work to right wrongs. This shift can be explained by reference to Nikolas Rose’s work on governmentality and neoliberalism, in which he argues that liberalism “depends upon the existence of free individuals and seeks to shape and regulate that freedom in a social form,” (1993, 291) and further that it depends upon institutions “that promise to create individuals who do not need to be governed by others.” (1993, 291) For Rose and others, including Foucault, the government of the self and the formulation of regulated freedom is central to the functioning of modern power and

often in the context of indigenous involvement in resource extraction.<sup>9</sup>(Barry, Osborne, and Rose 1996; Burchell, Gordon, and Miller 1991; Foucault 2003; Rose 1999) Governmentality, or Liberalism of this form, is central to my theoretical understanding of the functioning of the colonial politic of recognition and is a trend of thought that will be picked up later in this chapter when I analysis the operationalization of the discourse of recognition. For now, it serves to show that recontextualization can be understand as “‘colonization’ of one field or institution by another, but also as ‘appropriation’ of ‘external’ discourses, often incorporation of discourses into strategies pursued by particular groups of social agents within the recontextualizing field.” (Fairclough 2015, 89)

## 4.2 Operationalization

The first part of my analysis was dedicated to tracing the recontextualization of recognition politics into new social fields, concluding with an explanation of how the language of accommodation and consultation has shifted, with the FMPM, to being formulated in a neoliberal language of self-government and human autonomy which has placed the responsibility of recognition onto indigenous peoples. However, studying the recontextualization of discourse, as described by Fairclough, is connected to, and allows for, the study of the operationalization of discourse, namely that process by which discourses are “enacted as new ways of (inter)acting[...] inculcated as new ways of being (identities), [...or] may be physically manifested.” (Fairclough 2015, 89) Therefore, while recontextualization was analyzed, in a certain sense as a process of

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<sup>9</sup> For an excellent analysis of Neoliberal rationality and forms of government, particularly as it relates to indigenous peoples, see Isabel Altamirano-Jiménez’s recent book *Indigenous Encounters with Neoliberalism: Place, Women, and the Environment in Canada and Mexico*. (2013)

translation, operationalization is studied as process of enactment, or the ways in which the discourse of recognition narrates Indigenous peoples, shapes identity, and reaffirms certain colonial structures.

To better analyze the operationalization of recognition politics, I employ three theoretical frameworks taken from Foucault's formulation of power and apply these to my study of discourse as well as my interviews to tease out the ways in which the colonial politics of recognition is operationalized and thus reproduces the colonial relationship between indigenous peoples and the Canadian state.

#### **4.2.1. On Sustainability and "Making Live and Letting Die"**

Central to the functioning of modern power, as described by Foucault, is the power of the sovereign to "make live and let die." As described in my theoretical framework, this power is a shift from the previous power of the sovereign which was the absolute power to take life, Foucault describes it this way: "[Biopower] is continuous, scientific, and it is the power to make live. Sovereignty took life and let live. And now we have the emergence of a power that I would call the power of regularization, and it, in contrast, consists in making live and letting die." (2003, 247) The two poles of this biopower, namely making live and letting die, were highlighted throughout the course of my research and helpfully explained the colonial nature of the politics of recognition.

While doing my discourse analysis of Forest Management Planning Manual, it became clear there was one central aim of this document. Namely, to lay out in a one document, the way that Forest Units should be managed so as to provide for their sustainability and longevity. The language of sustainability is not new when it comes to natural resources, or to discussions related to the environment. However, encompassed within the FMPM is a specific definition of

sustainability, based upon the Crown Forest Sustainability Act, which includes managing crown forests “to meet social, economic, and environmental needs of present and future generations” under the umbrella of sustainability. The FMPM doubles down on this definition when it describes that sustainability is attained when “the FMP [forest management plan] provides for the long-term Crown forest health of the management unit, and has regard for[...] social and economic values, including recreational values and heritage values.” (OMNRF 2017, iii) Sustainability is further a goal which can and must be examined, monitored, regulated, and reported. (OMNRF 2017) When applying Foucault’s logic, the “making live” aspect of biopolitics becomes evident with the discourse of sustainability as sustainability can be seen as a mechanism by which to “achieve overall states of equilibration or regularity” for man-as-species, for the population which in this case is those populations found within Crown forests. (Foucault 2003, 246)

It is within this discourse of sustainability that I also found reference to indigenous peoples, and the underlying drive, from a Canadian state perspective, to specifically focus on making indigenous people live. One of the keys to creating a sustainable forest, as required by the FMPM, is the creation of “values maps” which show all of the above-mentioned values. Specifically, the FMPM calls for the creation of “First Nation and Métis Values maps” which include:

- A. “local governance body(s) or reserve(s) in or near the management unit;
- B. areas used by First Nation and Métis communities, particularly with respect to hunting, fishing, trapping, harvesting wood for domestic purposes, and gathering;
- C. lands that have been identified as potential reserve lands for social, economic or capital development projects, or in connection with land claims or litigation;
- D. sites of First Nation and Métis archaeological, social, cultural, and sacred significance, including First Nation and Métis cemeteries and burial sites;
- E. areas identified by the First Nation and Métis communities during the archaeological predictive modelling process as having archaeological potential; and
- F. lands or resources over which the community has made assertions of Aboriginal or treaty rights, including assertions of Aboriginal title.” (OMNRF 2017, A-113)”

The use of the language of “values” to refer to these aspects of indigenous life, and the fact these values are necessary for a sustainable forest which will meet the “needs of present and future generations” (OMNRF 2017, iii) all speaks to the way in which power, as presented through the FMPM by the state apparatus, is dedicated to “making live.” Further, as my argument goes, it speaks to the way in which the politics of recognition becomes operationalized: Accommodation serves to bring indigenous peoples into the process of forest management and sustainability, as the goal of the Forest Unit, is what serves to “physically manifest” the discourse of recognition.

The other pole of power as theorized by Foucault, namely to “let die,” was emphasized emphatically by my interviewees. Out of a total of eight interviewees, all mentioned in some variation the fact that they even as they were pulled into the Forest Management process, they were also being left to deal with huge structural issues that was making life itself difficult.

One interviewee, a friend and young adult such who’d worked for Needak Inc., the local forestry company, for a few years, expressed such a sentiment.

A: “It’s just that, man...I don’t even have the will to care about this forestry stuff. My family life is so fucked up that I don’t even have the energy to, ya know, care about what is happening. Like.. how do I even worry about being involved with forestry when we have so many issues on the rez [Reserve] that they [the government] won’t even help us deal with, that they’ve created for us?” (Interview #6, Conducted by Aaron Tolkamp, May 10/2017)

The issues that “A” is speaking about are issues of unemployment, broken families, incarceration, and drug use which are hurting Indigenous communities. (Bains 2017; Gilmore 2015; Kassam 2017) These issues are deeply connected to the history which I briefly presented in Chapter 2 of this thesis, are outlined within the recent Truth and Reconciliation Committee’s “Calls to Action,” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2012) and have helped to create a system which maintains the poles of “making live and letting die.” Each of these issues, as the quote suggests, created a paradigm where even as his community was supposed to care about, and

be involved in Forestry and the FMPM, they can't because they are fighting to survive. Another young adult also expressed similar sentiments, explaining to me how they felt that they and their families had barely what was necessary to thrive:

B: "you know, that they just, ah, like they just don't care. That they've like..that they've like left us to die I guess?" (Interview #7, Conducted by Aaron Tokamp, May 12/2017)

An interviewee from an older generation expressed very similar sentiments as well. While he believed that the way to go was to get heavily involved in forestry, he expressed a similar concern as "B":

J: "because of the history of what we have, you know like I said about the families? They see things going on out there, but uh, they look day by day and they can't deal with all these issues because they have to deal with their own home life." (Interview #2, Conducted by Aaron Tokamp, May 8/2018)

For "J," who is heavily involved in helping to create policy, the inability to get people involved in larger issues is because of families being broken, or life at home being difficult. Importantly, "J" connects this to a history of broken generations:

J: "The core [of the family] has fallen apart. And it's not just one generation, it's two, three." (Interview #2, Conducted by Aaron Tokamp, May 8/2018)

This refrain, expressed by both the older generation and the younger generation speaks to an understanding of the historically oppressive way in which the Canadian state has dealt with Indigenous people, particularly related to the history of residential schools, and state-sanctioned violence that continues to affect families to this day thus reflecting how, even as Indigenous communities are "made live" they also are not supported in any of the ways necessary and thus live in a situation of precarity in which they are "let die."

As seen from my research above, I would argue that it's clear that the politics of recognition is operationalized in such a way as to maintain the power to "make live and let die" that the Canadian state holds over Indigenous people. From what the research suggests, Indigenous people are often caught in this double-bind created by the colonial politics of recognition: required to be involved and "made live," yet unable to and thus "let die" mirroring, in many ways the study that Shiri Pasternack carried out on regarding the fiscal relationship between the Canadian state and indigenous people in which communities are left to die when they become surplus to the functioning of the economy. (Pasternak 2016) Thus, to speak of the colonial politics of recognition as Coulthard does is, I believe, fundamentally correct and can be seen operationalized through a biopolitical lens of "making live and letting die."

#### **4.2.2. Technologies of Power and Population: Roadbuilding and Mapping in the Kenogami FU**

In analyzing the operationalization of the politics of recognition I also utilized Foucault's explanation of the shift in sovereign power to act upon man-as-species, or population. This formulation of power is helpful, because Foucault describes population as becoming that thing which "could be formed, continue, and remain as the privileged correlate of modern mechanisms of power." (2007, 79) These mechanisms of power, or technologies of power, take many different forms, all dedicated to regulating and surveying the population, making it productive, healthy – making it "live." In the case here, I borrow from Foucault his understanding of how roads, and subsequently maps, were created with the intent of making a territory knowable, productive, and to bound the population within it together. (Foucault 2007) These same technologies of power can be seen at work in Forestry policy and the enactment of that policy. They serve to bring indigenous

communities into the “body” of the population, but also serve to exert sovereignty over that territory, all done in the name of recognition.

In much of the geographical space that is the north of Ontario, in which I conducted my research, the only roads that exist are those built and maintained by the forestry companies who hold the right to extract the resources from given Forest Units. These roads, sanctioned and funded in part by the Ontario government, create a vast network of access points to remote spaces stretching across the 1.97 million hectares of land which make up the Kenogami Forest Unit,<sup>10</sup> in which Long Lac 58. is situated. (OMNRF 2017)



*Figure 4 Bush roads running through an old, clear cut harvest area*

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<sup>10</sup> An area roughly half the size of Switzerland



The purpose of these roads, first and foremost, is to grant access to resources – in this case lumber and other forestry related products. They are also used by other companies to gain access to remote minerals or to build or fix remote infrastructure. As one interviewee who's been doing bush work for 25-odd years related to me, "Those roads are used by everyone. They're everyone's way of getting around." (Interview #9, Conducted by Aaron Tolkamp, May 16/2018) This position is also reiterated within policy, as the FMPM states that roads will only be decommissioned if "the MNRF's [Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry] management intent is to not maintain the road for public use." (OMNRF 2017, A-68)

However, these roads also exist to make indigenous spaces, communities and territories knowable and accessible to the state apparatus:

"The environmental analysis of the alternative corridor [road] will consist of:"

- a. an assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of: {...}
  - iii. providing access to any remote First Nation and Metis communities which were previously inaccessible by road." (OMNRF 2017, A-48)

As this quote from the FMPM states, one of the considerations that must come with road building is whether or not it is possible to gain access to indigenous communities reflecting excellently how roads function as a technology of power. While in the case of the Kenogami FU, there are no inaccessible communities, the logic still applies. It shows how the intent is to recognize Indigenous communities within the context of Forest Management, yet how this recognition functions to maintain the control over, and knowledge of Indigenous communities and in this way maintain the colonial relationship with Indigenous peoples.

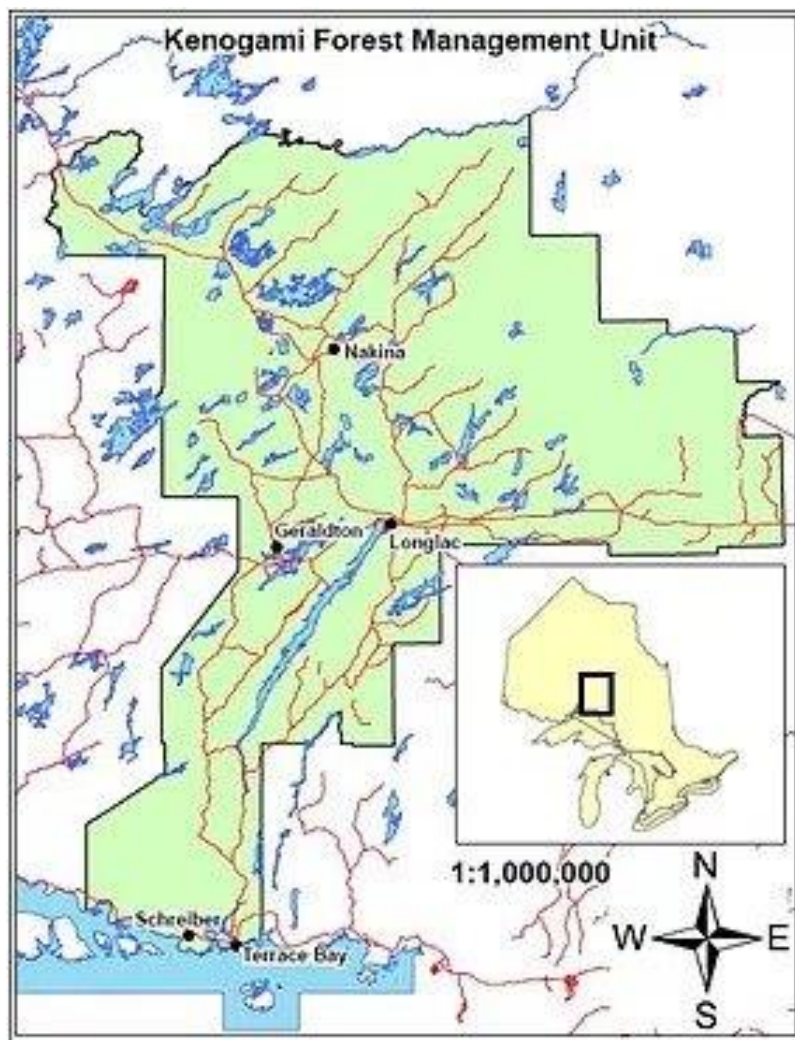


Figure 5 Kenogami Forest Management Unit

The lines marked in red are primary forest roads, with many hundreds of Kilometres more of secondary roads existing which could only be shown if I included a full foldout map. Source: GANRAC website: <https://www.ganrac.com/forestry>

The second, and more impactful result of roadbuilding and the mapping that comes with it is that it carves out areas of influence and sovereignty over indigenous territories. As Figure 6 (on page 55) shows, the community of Long Lac 58. makes claim to a large amount of territory that exists within the Kenogami Forest Unit. Yet this land is bisected and dissected by forestry roads, and these very roads are what serve to make the land known to the state and to the bureaucracy which is tasked with administering this area. This function of roadbuilding is highlighted quite well both by both Wolfe and Foucault: Showing, on the one hand the logic of settler-colonialism

(control of territory), and also the functioning of biopolitics (systems of knowledge directed to the population). (Foucault 2007; Wolfe 2006)

Finally, through my ethnographic work I observed that forestry roads serve another function related to inscriptions of sovereignty. Namely, that they discursively create sovereignty. Each person who drives on these back roads are required to have a CB radio in their truck, through which to communicate and let another person know that they are coming. These conversations, while absolutely necessary for individuals to survive and not end up in accidents, also function to inscribe sovereignty as the conversations use the name of cities, towns, or other bush roads as their reference points. Thus, even in the conversations that people working in this forest unit have, the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the forestry company and the Canadian state is referenced over and above the sovereignty and territorial rights of the indigenous communities that live in that area. Not once in the five summers I've worked in that area have I ever heard reference during these conversations to the fact that we may be driving through indigenous traditional territories, or going through sacred spaces, effectively showing how these roads work to shape understanding of territory, even within the context of an individual's daily conversations.

Maps, roadbuilding, and geographical surveying have always gone hand in hand with the advancement of settler-colonialism, as well as with the functioning of power. The historical overview presented in Chapter 2 also highlighted the historical nature of these phenomena, referencing the ways in which industry, resource extraction, and settlers have pushed the colonial project. As has been shown in this section, forestry companies, via road construction and the creation of maps, continue the settler-colonial logic that has been functioning in Canada since confederation. Now, however, the building of roads and the creation of maps is couched in language of recognition and accommodation.

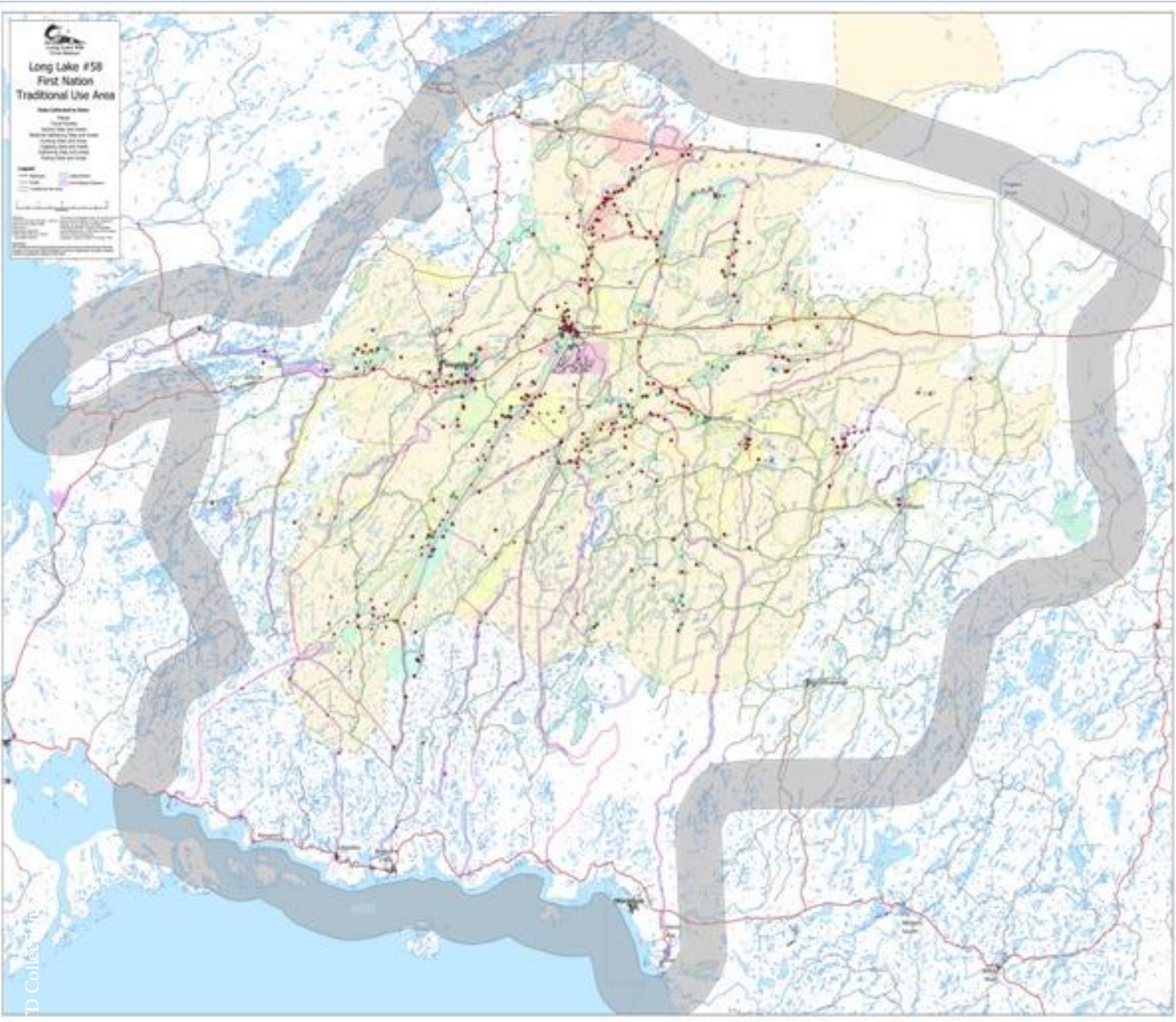


Figure 6 Long Lac 58. Traditional Territory and Homeland.

This area is bisected heavily by forestry roads, as seen in Figure 5 Source: (Long Lac #58 First Nation 2015)

Legend:

- The grey boundary is the traditional use area of Long Lac 58.
- The red dots signify specific sites of cultural, sacred, or traditional use.

#### **4.2.3 Regulated Freedom: Liberalism, Recognition and Moulded Subjectivity**

My final point of analysis utilizes a wide range of scholarly work related to the study of subjectivity and the way it is shaped within late (neo)liberalism. Particularly work which employs Foucault's understanding of regulated freedom within the functions of modern power. (Altamirano-Jiménez 2013; Barry, Osborne, and Rose 1996; Hale 2005; Rose 1993, 1999) As my theoretical framework explained, feminist scholars and others have gone in many fascinating ways with Foucault's work, but I work with those scholars who've emphasized the power of the logic of capital within neoliberalism, and how this logic values individual freedom and autonomy yet serves to regulate this freedom in such a way as to create the correct, producing citizen. These citizens then identify with, and maintain the system of power in which they find themselves. (Burchell, Gordon, and Miller 1991; Foucault 2007) When analyzing policy documents and interviews for my own research it became clear that this same logic applies, and it comes from a discourse of recognition.

I want to first return to a point mentioned in the analysis of the recontextualization of the recognition politics. Namely, that the discourse of "accommodation and consultation" shifted to a discourse of "involvement and consultation" when recognition politics was recontextualized in the FMPM. As I stated in that section of analysis, the use of the word involvement is intentional as it suggests that the duty of recognition is on indigenous people, in the process shifting the context to a neoliberal one based upon indigenous "freedom" and "autonomy," which Altamirano-Jimenez describes as being central to neoliberalism's functioning: "neoliberalism involves practices,



knowledge, and ways of inhabiting the world that emphasize the market, individual rationality, and the responsibility of entrepreneurial subjects.” (2013, 5)

This sentiment was also reflected by interviewees who expressed their frustration that “accommodation” was a process which the government had effectively removed itself from. One interviewee, “K,” a member of Long Lac. 58, and someone who is involved in running Needak. Inc, the local forestry company stated that:

K: “Well I mean, the government will say that [reconciliation] is their intent, or they have that good intent but as far as...but with that said as far as the province wants to go, it’s up to the First Nations now to implement and take advantage of it.” (Interview #3, Conducted by Aaron Tolkamp, May 8/2018)

This quote so very effectively shows how the politics of recognition functions in Canada to maintain the colonial relationship. In this case, recognition functions to force Indigenous people to be the carrier of their own recognition. The state, through a discourse and practice of neoliberalism, puts the onus and the responsibility on indigenous people and communities.

An important aspect of the functioning of modern power, as theorized by Foucault and others, is the way in which freedom is regulated within a system that values productivity and works to bind individuals to said system. (Foucault 2003, 2007; Rose 1993) This theoretical lens is extremely helpful in understanding my interviews in which my interviewees expressed hesitation, uncertainty, and ultimately frustration towards the ways in which recognition functions to ask of them that they became resource extractors and good producing citizens. For 5 of my interviewees this frustration was articulated, in a similar way to Dylan et. al’s study in Moose Cree, ON, (Dylan, Smallboy, and Lightman 2013) in the sense that “the game was set” and that there was no other option except to get involved with resource extraction and development and that once you were involved, there is no way to get out of it. One interviewee, “D”, expressed it this way:

D: “And then at the same time, we know we have to cut wood, we know we have to, to make the forest economical”

Aaron: “Is that something that you want?”

D: “No, no. In a perfect situation, we wouldn’t cut anything but ya can’t escape it.” (Interview #2, Conducted by Aaron Tolkamp, May 8/2018)

Two interesting dynamics come out of this quote. In the first case, the clear sense in which this interviewee, who works for the Long Lac 58. Band council, obviously wished that there were other options available to his community than becoming involved with forestry or that the community could escape the system that forces the community into a position in which they must harvest trees. Even more interesting, from this quote, is the internalization of the productive discourse when it relates to involvement in forestry. “D” states that, “we have to make the forest economical,” which highlights and reflects the drive and intent of the FMPM – to manage the forest in such a way that it is sustainable and economically successful.

Referencing government representatives who work for the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forests, another interviewee, “T”, also articulated a similar frustration.

T: “It’s a circle, it’s all a circle. You know, you’re kinda forced to invite them back. There’s nothing else out there [...]Ya. I mean, they know the game.” (Interview #4, Conducted by Aaron Tolkamp, May 11/2018)

Both interviewees, in slightly different terms, express a very basic but grounded understanding of the way in which their community was caught in the logic of extraction and production. Both express a sense of regret that there are no other options available to them, thus highlighting how accommodation and consultation serves to bind their communities to the Canadian state and the specific idea of a good citizen that it has.

What I have presented in the course of this chapter is the functioning of the colonial politics of recognition within a specific context, namely forestry practice and policy in the Kenogami Forest Unit of Ontario. Through a discourse analysis approach which highlights the recontextualization and operationalization of the discourse of recognition, I evidenced that the politics of recognition has been translated down to this specific context. Through a Foucauldian theoretical approach to modern power, I showed exactly how the colonial politics of recognition functions within this context. In doing so, I re-affirmed Glen Coulthard's analysis that the politics of recognition is colonial, and serves to maintain, and where necessary reassert, the colonial relationship between indigenous people and the Canadian state.



## 5.0 Conclusion

In writing this thesis I set out to demonstrate how the politics of recognition functions as a tool to maintain the colonial relationship between Indigenous people and the Canadian state. As the backbone to this research question, I utilized Glen Coulthard's theoretical work in *Red Skins, White Masks* in which he argues that the politics of recognition, when practiced in settings that are colonial, does not bring about the freedom that it promises for Indigenous people. Coulthard's excellent theoretical problematization of the Hegelian Master-Slave dialectic, presented through Charles Taylor, opened up the possibility for me to contextualize this understanding within my own research.

To do so, I took resource extraction, specifically Forestry, as the social-economic field in which to conduct my research and applied theoretical frameworks taken from Foucauldian Biopolitics as a way to understand how the politics of recognition functions in this specific setting.

Matching the biopolitics lens with a discursive study of policy and interviews, and paired with observational data I showed how the colonial politics of recognition is recontextualized from the Canadian Constitution to Forestry policy in Ontario. Highlighting the recontextualization of the politics of recognition was necessary to show, in the final part of my analysis, how the colonial politics of recognition is operationalized and serves to maintain the colonial relationship between Indigenous communities, particularly the community of Long Lac 58. in Northern Ontario. With the three theoretical understandings of modern power provided by Foucault, I showed how the colonial politics of recognition is enacted and operationalized in Forestry policy to 1) make Indigenous communities live and yet let them die, 2) inscribe sovereignty in Indigenous spaces through technologies of power such as roads and maps, and 3) to bring Indigenous communities into a system of capital and resource extraction in which they are rewarded for being productive

and producing citizens. These three claims serve to show how the politics of recognition functions to maintain the colonial relationship between Indigenous people and the Canadian state.

## **5.1 Limitations and Further Application**

There is one key limitation to this study which I need to briefly address. It relates to data collection. While the interviews I conducted were extremely impactful and helpful in formulating the argument encompassed within this thesis, the work here could benefit substantially from a larger volume of interviews., and with a broader scope of participants. This limitation was partially forced upon me by time constraints in the course of conducting my research, as well as by the lack of availability of other possible informants. I believe the argument encompassed here would not change relative to these new interviews, but it would certainly benefit the argument and allow for the scope of the study to grow.

While the scope of my thesis was limited, I would argue that there are multiple pathways through which the research presented in this thesis could be utilized for further study. Throughout my reading of the related literature to my research question, I noticed a distinctive lack of case studies dedicated to explaining specifically how colonial logic(s) still function in Canada. While there are excellent scholars doing diligent work in this field, I believe that the research presented within could be utilized to articulate further how the structure of colonialism functions in the present day in Canada. I believe this would be helpful, particularly within those fields of study that deal extensively with Indigenous rights related to land, territory or resource development, in showing how best to address contested sovereignty claims and in understanding how structural issues function in these specific settings. The data presented within this thesis could be also utilized to do what Cris Shore and Susan Wright call an “anthropology of policy,” (Shore and Wright 1997)

in which the study of policy is paired with a long-term anthropological analysis to show how policy documents function as cultural artifacts and thus shape how individuals who utilize these policy documents act within their cultural setting.

I would also argue that the research presented here could be utilized in a broader field of knowledge, namely with regards to any studies dedicated to understanding minority issues and rights within Liberal contexts. What I believe this thesis has done is presented the problematic nature of the politics of recognition as it is practiced related to a minority in a specific, colonial context. Yet the politics of recognition is practiced across the western world in many countries that hold to liberal recognition politics. Therefore, some of the problematizations that I have presented within could be extrapolated to certain other contexts that are not specifically colonial, but in which a majority population attempts to recognize minority populations as a way to address structural inequality.

Finally, I also believe that the work presented within this thesis could help to further understand, on a theoretical level, the functioning of Biopolitics within the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Much work continues to be done in this field, particularly related to the study of neoliberal forms of government. I believe that what I've done in this thesis could be helpful in unpacking the logics of modern power, thus adding to the broader theoretical and philosophical discussions happening related to understanding what power is, and how it functions in these post-modern times.

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