

# Kelly Panchynshyn

Accounting for our Plant Citizens: Proposed  
Collaborative Approaches for Supporting  
Wild Plant Harvest in Whitehorse, Yukon



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The Gordon Foundation undertakes research, leadership development and public dialogue so that public policies in Canada reflect a commitment to collaborative stewardship of our freshwater resources and to a people-driven, equitable and evolving North. Our mission is to promote innovative public policies for the North and in fresh water management based on our values of independent thought, protecting the environment, and full participation of indigenous people in the decisions that affect their well-being. Over the past quarter century The Gordon Foundation has invested over \$37 million in a wide variety of northern community initiatives and freshwater protection initiatives.



The Jane Glassco Northern Fellowship is a policy and leadership development program that recognizes leadership potential among northern Canadians who want to address the emerging policy challenges facing the North. The 18-month program is built around four regional gatherings and offers skills training, mentorship and networking opportunities. Through self-directed learning, group work and the collective sharing of knowledge, Fellows will foster a deeper understanding of important contemporary northern issues, and develop the skills and confidence to better articulate and share their ideas and policy research publicly. The Fellowship is intended for northerners between 25 and 35 years of age, who want to build a strong North that benefits all northerners. Through the Fellowship, we hope to foster a bond among the Fellows that will endure throughout their professional lives and support a pan-northern network.

Kelly was born and raised in Whitehorse, Yukon, on the Traditional Territory of the Ta'an Kwäch'än Council and the Kwanlin Dün First Nation. In 2017, her passion for advancing social and environmental movements across the North led her to apply for the Jane Glassco Northern Fellowship. As a Fellow, Kelly's research focused on food sovereignty, community identity and co-governance in Yukon. She remains committed to deepening her understanding of challenges facing Northern peoples and will continue this work through a Master's of Community Engagement, Social Change and Equity at the University of British Columbia's Okanagan Campus.



I would like to start by acknowledging that I live and research on lands cared for by the Ta'an Kwäch'än and Kwanlin Dün. I would also like to express my gratitude for those who graciously shared their time and knowledge with me, over the course of this project. My work would not have materialized without the support of community members like Beverly Gray, Dianne Smith, and Shelby Blackjack, or the governments of Ta'an Kwäch'än Council, Kwanlin Dün First Nation, City of Whitehorse, and Government of Yukon. Finally, I would like to recognize and thank my mentor, Shirley Adamson, for her boundless patience and guidance. I am proud to be a part of such a beautiful community, and I hope my writing reflects that. Shāw níthän,

- Kelly Panchynshyn

## SUMMARY

For the Whitehorse community, wild plant harvest is an important cultural practice, as well as a means of subsistence and source of recreation. However, this practice is under threat. Development, environmental damage and unsustainable harvest have limited the community's access to safe and convenient harvest areas. One way to address this issue is through collaborative land-use planning among municipal and First Nations governments. This paper outlines three potential options for inter-governmental protection of, and support for, wild plant harvest in Whitehorse, Yukon:

### Option One

Develop a database of wild plant harvest areas around Whitehorse to inform planning and decision making.

### Option Two

Collaborate on stewardship programs and educational campaigns around wild plant harvest in Whitehorse's Regional Parks and trails.

### Option Three

Allow wild plants to be harvested prior to the development of an area.

Based on my analysis, the preferred option is option number two, given that it has the most potential to create lasting impact.

## METHOD

The objective of this research is to better understand threats to wild plant harvest and identify ways municipal and First Nations' governments can work together to protect and support wild plant harvest. This project has involved speaking with local land-use planners, Traditional Knowledge keepers, and community members to evaluate threats to traditional plant harvest and to develop solutions. It has also involved reviewing government reports, plans and policies relevant to land-use planning, government-to-government collaboration and Northern food security.

### Key Definitions

In the context of this paper, I will be using the following terms as defined below.

*Wild plants:* plants native to the Whitehorse area, growing in natural settings, outside of conventional farms or gardens.

*Wild plant harvest:* the human harvest of wild plants, for food or medicine.

*Traditional plant harvest:* the practice of plant harvest linked to Indigenous cultural traditions and teachings.

## INTRODUCTION

The area of Chū Lin, also known as Whitehorse, has long been host to a diverse array of berries, roots and herbs. These plants are well known to the region's Indigenous peoples, known as the Ta'an Kwäch'än Council (TKC) and Kwanlin Dün First Nation (KDFN). TKC elder Shirley Adamson explains that "we weren't able to go to the store for food or the hospital for medicine so we needed to know the properties of the plants around us, we needed to know their energies, and how to use them in a good way. Old timers used plants not when they were sick necessarily, but to maintain good health."<sup>1</sup> Despite the arrival of hospitals and grocery stores, TKC and KDFN citizens still maintain a practical and cultural connection to wild plants and plant harvest. As KDFN elder Dianne Smith explains, "traditional medicine is everything. It touches everything, every human being, every animal, every lake. Traditional medicines are a part of our way of life, they have so much to offer us."<sup>2</sup> Thanks to elders like Adamson and Smith, plant harvest continues to play a role in the lives of younger generations.

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*Is it food or is it medicine? In the eyes of TKC elder Shirley Adamson, they are not separate: "All plants are food, and all food is medicine, it is just a question of if that medicine is good or bad medicine."<sup>3</sup>*

Traditional plant foods and medicines are also important to Indigenous peoples from other communities who now live and forage

in Whitehorse. Shelby Blackjack, a Whitehorse resident and citizen of Little Salmon Carmacks First Nation, still practices the harvest traditions of her Nation: "There isn't a year that I haven't gone berry picking around Whitehorse. Harvesting is how I carry out my grandmother's teachings, my traditions. It is how I take care of myself and my family."<sup>4</sup> Wild plant foods and medicines are made available to the First Nations, Inuit and Métis patients of the Whitehorse General Hospital (WGH) upon their request. This is done to help create culturally appropriate healing opportunities for Indigenous patients.<sup>5</sup> For many like Blackjack and the patients of WGH, the use of wild plants is a way to maintain their culture while away from their families and home communities.

It is not only Indigenous peoples who recognize the value of plant harvest. Whitehorse's non-Indigenous community members also engage in the harvest of wild plants. For many in the community, plant harvest is a popular way to get out on the land with family and friends, young and old. The city's expansive trail networks offer easy access to wild plant patches close to residential areas, and opportunities for plant harvest can be found year-round. For example, spruce can be collected in the spring, arnica and fireweed in the summer, cranberry and blueberry in the fall, and rose hips and Labrador tea in the winter. For many, this popular recreational activity also doubles as a way to collect food.

As the community's interest in eating local, sustainable and natural foods grows, so does its desire to collect wild plants in and around Whitehorse. In 2017, a public survey issued by the City of Whitehorse as part of ongoing work to develop a local food and urban agriculture

1 Shirley Adamson (traditional knowledge keeper), personal communication, January 10, 2019.

2 Dianne Smith (traditional knowledge keeper), personal communication, December 9, 2018.

3 Shirley Adamson (traditional knowledge keeper), personal communication, August 12, 2018.

4 Shelby Blackjack (traditional plant harvest practitioner), personal communication, January 29, 2019.

5 Yukon Hospitals, Traditional Foods Program, last modified May 3, 2019, accessed June 1, 2019, <https://yukonhospitals.ca/yukon-hospital-corporation/traditional-food-program>.



strategy, showed that approximately 58% of survey respondents indicated they got “at least a portion of their summer diet from foraged sources.”<sup>6</sup> Yet, the community’s interest in wild plant foods is not solely about recreation or about eating local and sustainable foods.

The harvest of wild plants plays a huge role in the city’s cultural identity, for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous residents. Many engage in fall berry harvests not to just to collect food, but to join their fellow community members in an annual social tradition. Wild plants also help to give the region’s cultural cuisine a distinctly northern flavour, and ingredients like morel mushrooms, wild sage and high-bush cranberry can be found in the pantries of local homes and on local restaurant menus. Whitehorse-based Chef Michele Genest features wild plants heavily in her cookbook *The Boreal Gourmet*, and explains how “in the Yukon, wild or country foods – moose, salmon, caribou, berries, mushrooms, plants, herbs and flowers – are a part of our everyday diet.”<sup>7</sup> Wild plants

have also made their way into the shelves of the city’s local businesses, grocery stores and farmers’ markets as artisanal teas, tinctures, soaps, beauty products and liqueurs. Yukon Brewing even collects local spruce, juniper, rose hips and alder to create their popular beers and spirits.<sup>8</sup>

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## wild plants can be found at local restaurants, farmers markets and breweries, which are all part of one of the City's largest industries - tourism.

For Whitehorse residents, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, wild plant harvest is more than a practice of recreation or subsistence, it is a way of life. Local herbalist Beverley Gray emphasizes

<sup>6</sup> City of Whitehorse, Local Food & Agricultural Strategy Public Survey #2: What We Heard, (Whitehorse: City of Whitehorse, 2017), 6.

<sup>7</sup> Michele Genest, *The Boreal Herbal: Adventures in Northern Cooking* (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 2010), 8.

<sup>8</sup> Tyson Baxter (Production Coordinator, Yukon Brewing), personal communication, July 20, 2019.

that wild plant harvest “...is intrinsic to who we are as people, in terms of our health our food our medicine.”<sup>9</sup> The collection and use of wild plants is one way the city chooses to express its cultural identity, and without proper access to harvest areas, Whitehorse risks losing part of that identity.

## CHALLENGES

In recent years, challenges such as development, contamination, over-harvesting and climate change have threatened the safe and sustainable harvest of wild plants in and around Whitehorse. These challenges are outlined below.

### *1. FEWER PLACES TO HARVEST AND GREATER RISK OF CONTAMINATION*

Whitehorse’s growth and development is having a negative impact on the community’s ability to access wild plant foods and medicines. Between 2011 and 2018, Whitehorse’s population grew from 22,276 to 31,808, and is projected to rise to 35,500 by 2030.<sup>10</sup> The city’s infrastructure has expanded to meet this growth. In 2009, construction of the Whistle Bend subdivision began, with roughly 244 hectares set aside for the construction of 3,000 new units, with the aim of accommodating 7,800 residents.<sup>11</sup> The city’s growth in size and population has meant fewer wild areas to harvest and growing concern over which areas are safe to harvest.

As Adamson comments, “I grew up and learned my harvesting from harvesting in this area [Whitehorse], but this area is heavily populated now; there is incredible damage done to the environment as a result of development. The challenge is looking for those plants that are clean.”<sup>12</sup> Blackjack has also felt the impact of development in the area, “there are more and more roads each year. My Grandma taught me to stay away from well-worn trails and not to harvest there.”<sup>13</sup> Like Adamson and Blackjack, many plant foragers prefer to avoid collecting plants close to developments such as buildings, fences and roads, fearing that the plants may absorb chemical run-off from these structures.<sup>14 15</sup> <sup>16</sup> However, ditches, power lines and greenbelts are easy to access and full of popular plants like wild rose, raspberry, strawberry, dandelion and yarrow. Harvesting from these patches can be tempting for those who are short on time, willing to accept the risk, or simply unaware of the potential threat.

Wild plant gatherers also have concerns about contamination in areas away from development. The traditional harvest area of Sima, also known as Golden Horn Mountain, rests on the northern fringe of the city’s limits. Undeveloped areas around Sima continue to be used for plant harvest. However, these places are also popular for hiking and motorized sports. As a result, foragers in the area have become increasingly concerned with contaminants such as motor oil and dog fecal matter.

9 Beverley Gray, personal communication, December 14, 2018

10 Government of the Yukon, Yukon Bureau of Statistics, Population Report: Fourth Quarter Report, last modified May 5, 2019, accessed July 17, 2019, [http://www.eco.gov.yk.ca/stats/pdf/populationQ4\\_2018.pdf](http://www.eco.gov.yk.ca/stats/pdf/populationQ4_2018.pdf).

11 City of Whitehorse, Final Whistle Bend Master Plan Concept, Administrative Report (Whitehorse, 2009), 4.

12 Shirley Adamson, personal communication, January 10, 2019.

13 Shelby Blackjack, personal communication, January 29, 2019.

14 Beverley Gray, personal communication, December 14, 2018.

15 Dianne Smith, personal communication, December 9, 2018.

16 Marion Primoizic (Traditional Health Specialist, Champagne and Aishihik First Nations), personal communication, August 9, 2018.

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Sima is the traditional name for Golden Horn Mountain.<sup>17</sup> In the context of this paper, the name Sima refers to the mountain and the surrounding area, not simply the Mount Sima Ski Hill (although, this ski-hill is part of the Sima area).

## 2. OVER-HARVEST OR IMPROPER HARVEST:

Disregard for, or lack of knowledge in, respectful harvest protocols and sustainable harvest techniques has led to over-harvesting and improper harvest in several areas around Whitehorse. Chauga, a fungus found on birch trees across the circumpolar north, has recently attracted the interest of alternative health advocates for its potential immune-boosting properties. Foragers suspect that this increase in attention has had a negative impact on local chauga forests. “Chauga is very popular right now and many do not realize there is a proper way to harvest so that the plant comes back each year. Consequently, it is getting

harder and harder to find.”<sup>18</sup> Sadly, foragers have witnessed the disappearance of chauga patches that have been harvested by their families for generations, and feel this is due to over-harvesting and improper harvest. The decline of chauga forests has local plant foragers worried about the wider impact of commercial interest in plant foods and medicines.

Historically, commercial over-harvesting has contributed to the decline of wild plants such as American ginseng in Canada. Like chauga, American ginseng is known for its immune-boosting properties. The plant was collected in large quantities for export as early as the 18th century, and quickly became Canada’s second most important export after fur.<sup>19</sup> In 2007, American ginseng was listed as a national endangered species, and is now protected under the *Species at Risk Act*. Under this act, harvest and export of American ginseng is illegal, yet poachers continue to threaten the plant’s existence.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, only a handful of viable wild ginseng patches can be found in Canada today.



17 Shirley Adamson, personal communication, August 12, 2018.

18 Shelby Blackjack, personal communication, January 29, 2019.

19 Environment and Climate Change Canada, “American ginseng” accessed at “Trade in protected species: publications”, Government of Canada, last modified July 28, 2017, accessed June 13, 2019. <https://www.canada.ca/en/environment-climate-change/services/convention-international-trade-endangered-species/publications/american-ginseng.html>

20 Ibid.



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"When my mother and sister go out on the land, we find plants dying due to over harvest or over use of the area. There is less and less to harvest, and we have to go further and further [from home to harvest]. When you know about the traditional plants, and you know the traditional laws, it is hurtful to see them suffering, ripped up or run over, and you look at your little grandchildren, and the only teaching you can offer them about the traditional plant is that you cannot harvest here today because the plants need time to heal."<sup>21</sup>

While harvest for personal or small batch use also has an impact, it is often more sustainable than commercial-scale harvest. Gray explains that plants growing around Whitehorse like *Rhodiola rosea* (also known as roseroot) have been wiped out in northern Russia by nutraceutical companies collecting for large-scale production and warns that "you have to be careful, you cannot just go in and disrupt a plant community. When you take a plant you also take from birds, animals, water and land, so you must take wisely."<sup>22</sup> Currently, there is little legislation covering the harvest of wild plants on Crown land for commercial purposes. Under Section 29 of the Yukon's *Forest Resources Act*, the Government of Yukon (YG) is able to "establish a right to

21 Dianne Smith, personal communication, December 9, 2018.

22 Beverley Gray, personal communication, December 14, 2018.

harvest resources other than timber for commercial purposes or establish a right to harvest timber for non-commercial purposes within the area specified in the permit.”<sup>23</sup> All commercial foragers must apply for a permit. However, in practice, permits have only been established for the commercial harvest of morel mushrooms and are available free of charge. Under Part 13 of the KDFN *Land and Resources Act*, the Nation has the ability to develop regulations for the use and management of forest resources on Settlement Land; however, no such regulations have been created yet.<sup>24</sup> Without proper protection, plant foragers are concerned large companies may threaten the destruction of harvest areas in Yukon.

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For some, the concept of selling traditional medicines as medicines is deeply problematic: “it is difficult to use those plant medicines in an honourable way when it is turning into a business for people, in my teaching I have never been encouraged to do that. It is challenging to see that. They are not showing the proper respect for the energy we are taking.”<sup>25</sup>

Plant foragers are also aware of the potential impacts had by small businesses. For example, the buds of the spruce tree, known as “spruce tips,” are collected locally for their high vitamin C content and antiseptic properties.<sup>26</sup> However, local brewing companies also used

wild spruce tips to create unique flavours. In 2018/2019, Yukon Brewing used roughly 23 kilograms of local spruce tips in the process of making beer and gin.<sup>27</sup> Members of the plant harvest community do not want to stop the use of wild plants by local companies, as it is a part of the community’s cultural identity and economy, but they would like to ensure commercial harvest on any scale is done respectfully and without harm to the plants.

### 3. INCREASED CLIMATE VARIABILITY:

Members of the plant harvest community sense that an increase in dramatic weather events and changes in seasonal patterns have shifted harvest timelines and affected plant health. For example, an unusually late thaw in the spring of 2018, led to a late and weak wild rose harvest.<sup>28</sup> This thaw was followed by unusually high temperatures that led to a drastically shorter harvest window for arnica.<sup>29</sup> In the fall of that same year, citizens of TKC also reported the complete failure of wild soapberry crops.<sup>30</sup> The winter of 2018-



23 Forest Resources Act, SY 2008, c.15, s.29.4E.

24 Kwanlin Dūn First Nation, Land and Resources Act, Part 13, S. 85.C.

25 Shirley Adamson, personal communication, January 10, 2019.

26 Beverley Gray, *The Boreal Herbal* (Whitehorse: Aroma Borealis Press, 2011), 261-262.

27 Tyson Baxter, personal communication, July 20, 2019.

28 Beverley Gray (Herbalist), personal communication, December 14, 2018.

29 Marion Primožic, personal communications, August 9, 2018.

30 Natalie Leclerc (Land Use Planning Coordinator, Ta’an Kwäch’än Council), personal communication, October 3, 2018.

2019, saw an extremely late and low snow fall, which meant less protection for plants during the coldest month and less melt water for them in the spring.<sup>31</sup> Local botanist Bruce Bennett notes that seasonal patterns have become less predictable in recent years, and that the impact this change will have on local plant life has yet to be measured.<sup>32</sup> While little research on the impact of changing weather patterns on plant life around Whitehorse exists, early research on arctic berry patches suggests that warming temperatures may lower a plant's antioxidant capacity.<sup>33</sup> Lower production of antioxidants could affect the nutritional value of these berries.<sup>34</sup>



#### 4. DIFFICULTY ACCESSING HARVEST AREAS:

Changes in northern landscapes, economies and lifestyles have increased the cost and time needed to collect plants. As wild spaces close to the city shrink and their popularity increases, foragers find themselves travelling outside city limits to gather. Such travel often requires access to a vehicle, money for gas, and enough time to go. Each of these requirements has the potential to limit plant harvest; as Blackjack explains, “it’s harder and harder, living in the city. I don’t always get the chance to go out, I have to rely on my family to bring it back.”<sup>35</sup> The reality of this problem is captured in the KDFN *Land Vision*:

**"OPPORTUNITIES ARE NOW DESIRED FOR WEEKENDS OR OTHER SHORT REPRIEVES FROM THE CASH ECONOMY WITH THE RESULT THAT THERE IS NOW MORE INTEREST IN ACCESSING PLACES WITH MODERN MEANS. CONSEQUENTLY, THE COMMUNITY'S RELATIONSHIP WITH TRADITIONAL LAND USE HAS CHANGED, WITH FORMERLY TRADITIONAL SUBSISTENCE USE BEING REPLACED BY RECREATIONAL USE. FOR MANY CITIZENS THERE IS SIMPLY LESS TIME AND OPPORTUNITY TO EXPERIENCE THE LAND, AND WHEN ON THE LAND, CITIZENS NOW FACE DIRECT COMPETITION WITH OTHER LAND USERS."**<sup>36</sup>

Unfortunately, for Indigenous hunters and gathers, this challenge is not unique to Whitehorse. A recent survey of more than 2000 northern Indigenous households identified financial cost as the most widespread barrier to harvesting country foods, followed by lack

31 Dianne Smith, personal communication, December 9, 2018.

32 Bruce Bennett (Botanist and Yukon Conservation Data Centre Coordinator, Government of Yukon), personal communication, June 12, 2019.

33 Greg Henry, "Impacts of Vegetation Change in the Canadian Arctic: Local and Regional Assessments" in ArcticNet Annual Research Compendium (2013-14), (2014): 9, accessed June 13, 2019, [http://www.arcticnet.ulaval.ca/pdf/compendium2013-14/arctic\\_vegetation\\_2013-14.pdf](http://www.arcticnet.ulaval.ca/pdf/compendium2013-14/arctic_vegetation_2013-14.pdf).

34 Ibid., 9.

35 Shelby Blackjack, personal communication, January 29, 2019.

36 Kwanlin Dün First Nation, Kwanlin Dün First Nation Traditional Territory Land Vision (Whitehorse: Economic Development Department and Lands Department, 2017), 23.



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Food security is defined by sustainable access to healthy, affordable and culturally appropriate foods, while food sovereignty is the ability to manage food networks (e.g. caribou herds, crops, shipments) without interference from forces outside the community. Both are essential to a community's self-determination, which is the ability to make decisions independent of an outside authority.

of time due to schooling and employment.<sup>37</sup> Northern scholars Eleanor Stephenson and George Wenzel link challenges in collecting traditional foods back to the colonial institutions that have “dramatically reshaped Northern food systems.”<sup>38</sup> In other words, decisions made by colonial governments around economy, education and land have not given priority to traditional foods and have weakened Indigenous food security and sovereignty.

Whitehorse does not have to look far to find an example of colonial impacts on Indigenous food systems. In the late 1950s, a dam was constructed to harness the power of the Whitehorse Rapids and provide the territory with electricity.<sup>39</sup> Construction took place with little to no consultation with First Nations.<sup>40</sup> It was built on a section of the river where people often gathered to fish and forage.<sup>41</sup> Further impacts included flooding from the dam, which wiped out several large root and berry patches down river. While this dam was instrumental in the development of the Yukon, it permanently altered the ability for residents to fish and gather in the area.

## PROBLEM

While wild plants, such as roots and berries, are acknowledged as valuable cultural and nutritional resources, they are often left out of discussions on land and resource planning. This exclusion is in part due to a lack of clear roles and responsibilities around the health of wild plant life and plant harvest. Currently, wild plant life and plant harvest are not central to the work of YG's Department of Environment or its Department of Energy, Mines and Resources. Plants are also seldom addressed under the mandates of the Yukon's land and resource planning boards, councils and committees. As a result, little time and resources have been allocated for the management of wild plant life, creating a huge blind spot in the territory's land and resource planning.

37 David Natcher, Shea Shirley, Thierry Rodon, and Chris Southcott, “Constraints to Wildlife Harvesting Among Aboriginal Communities in Alaska and Canada,” *Food Security* 8, no. 6 (December 2016), 1-15.

38 Eleanor Stephenson and George Wenzel, “Food politics: Finding a Place for Country Food in Canada's Northern Food Policy” *Northern Public Affairs* 1, no. 5 (March 2017), 50.

39 Les McLaughlin, “Whitehorse Rapids Dam” accessed at “Yukon Nuggets”, Hougeng Group of Companies, accessed June 6, 2019, <http://hougengroup.com/yukon-history/yukon-nuggets/whitehorse-rapids-dam/>.

40 Shirley Adamson, personal communication, January 10, 2019.

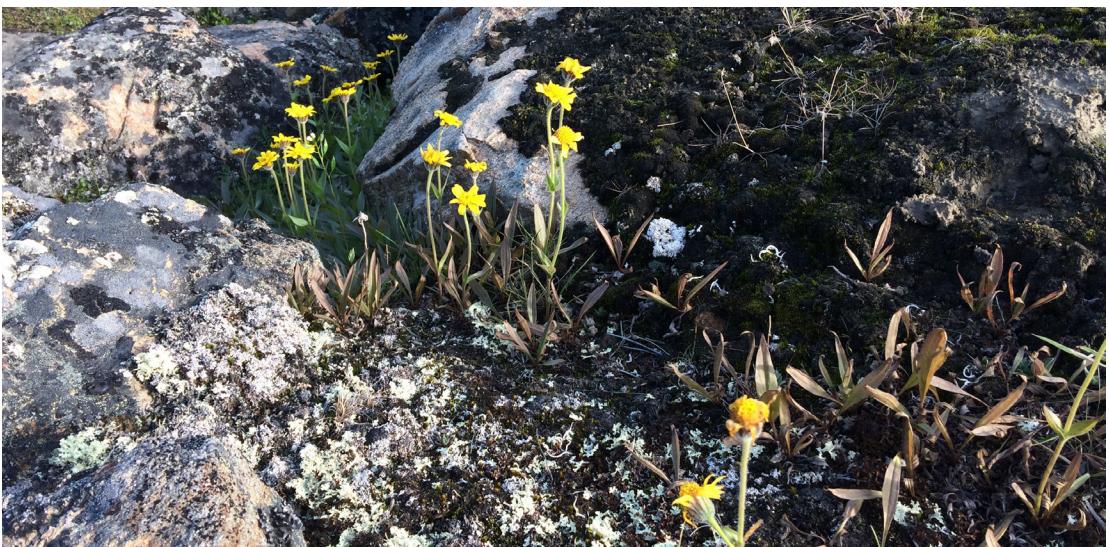
41 Dianne Smith, personal communication, December 9, 2018.

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Unlike other provinces and territories, Yukon uses the term “wildlife” to refer strictly to wild vertebrates (or animals with bones and spines) and not to all wild living things. Consequently, plants are easily left out of the work of the Fish and Wildlife Board and YG’s Fish and Wildlife branch.<sup>42</sup>

While wild plants cannot sustain the whole city, they are a valuable component of Whitehorse’s culture and local food network. The health of local plants cannot be ignored: “when we lose plants we lose part of our identity as humans. We are of the opinion that we are above all, but we aren’t, we are dependent on the plants and animals, the air and the water. We risk losing our respect for what sustains us; once we do that, it no longer sustains us.”<sup>43</sup> Land-use planning is needed to ensure the community has access to harvest areas, and that these areas are kept healthy, or else the whole community risks losing part of its local food network and cultural identity.

The incorporation of wild plant harvest into land-use planning could support local food security while helping to address challenges such as environmental damage, over-harvesting and lack of harvest access. One of the ways to begin the incorporation of plant harvesting is through land-use planning at the municipal and First Nations level. While regional land-use planning is a significant piece of the puzzle, the process takes a great deal of time and resources. So far, out of the eight anticipated plans, only one has been completed, while one is being re-evaluated and six remain incomplete. Among these six is the Whitehorse regional land-use plan. It could take another decade for the regional planning process to reach Whitehorse, so, in the meantime, small-scale land-use projects between the City of Whitehorse, TKC and KDFN may provide the best path forward. The advantage of smaller projects is that they often require less time and money to develop and implement. Small projects may also offer valuable research insights that can support planning on a larger scale.



42 Council of Yukon First Nations, “Definitions” in Umbrella Final Agreement, last updated 1990, accessed June 14, 2019, <https://cyfn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/umbrella-final-agreement.pdf>, 8.  
43 Shirley Adamson, personal communication, January 10, 2019.

Collaborative land-use planning in Whitehorse could be a vital avenue for reconciliation in the territory. Partnerships between municipal and Indigenous governments are emerging across Canada, and are proving to be a powerful and achievable way of furthering reconciliation:

**“POLICYMAKERS BELIEVE THAT INDIGENOUS-LOCAL INTERGOVERNMENTAL AGREEMENTS MAY HAVE THE POTENTIAL TO ADDRESS A VARIETY OF PROBLEMS AND ISSUES FACING THESE COMMUNITIES. THESE PARTNERSHIPS ARE ALSO IMPORTANT BECAUSE THEIR GROWING PRESENCE MAY INDICATE THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW, UNDERAPPRECIATED, YET OPTIMISTIC TREND IN THE EVER-PRESENT AND EVOLVING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIGENOUS AND SETTLER COMMUNITIES IN CANADA.”<sup>44</sup>**

Action on plant harvesting is one step in addressing the impact of colonial forces on Indigenous food systems in Whitehorse.

Luckily, the City of Whitehorse, TKC and KDFN have already expressed a willingness to work together on shared interests. In 2018, the City of Whitehorse, TKC and KDFN signed a Declaration of Commitment. Through this, they agreed to collaborate on outstanding issues and to seek economic, heritage, social, cultural and spiritual opportunities for partnership.<sup>45</sup> Plant harvest projects could fit nicely under the objective of the Declaration, as the protection of plant harvest is an outstanding issue and tied to the community’s economic, heritage, social, cultural and spiritual well-being.



While the list of threats to traditional plant harvest is long, it presents an ideal opportunity for collaboration between the various governments in Whitehorse. The City recognizes there is an issue and a need for partnership on the matter: “Where Whitehorse residents might be having an impact on plant harvest areas, especially in areas reached by public trails, the City has a role to play in finding solutions. We need to work with TKC and KDFN to better understand the issues, and figure out the types of strategies that could be effective to address this,” says Erica Beasley, who is responsible for planning with the City of Whitehorse.<sup>46</sup> Now is an excellent

44 Christopher Alantara and Jen Nelles, *A Quiet Revolution: the Emergence of Indigenous-Local Intergovernmental Partnerships in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 11. 45 Kwanlin Dün First Nation, Declaration of Commitment, 1, last modified June 19, 2018, accessed June 6, 2019, [http://www.kwanlindun.com/images/uploads/Declaration\\_of\\_Commitment\\_Scroll.pdf](http://www.kwanlindun.com/images/uploads/Declaration_of_Commitment_Scroll.pdf), 1. 46 Erica Beasley (City Planner, Planning & Sustainability Services Department, City of Whitehorse), personal communications, June 3, 2019.

time to build on the momentum of the Declaration and the ongoing work occurring within Whitehorse linked to food security, trail management, and regional park planning.

Here are three ways Whitehorse's municipal and First Nations governments could work together to include wild plant harvest in existing land-use planning:

#### **OPTION ONE**

**Develop a database of wild plant harvest areas around Whitehorse to inform planning and decision-making.**

#### **OPTION TWO**

**Collaborate on stewardship programs and educational campaigns around wild plant harvest in Whitehorse's Regional Parks and trails.**

#### **OPTION THREE**

**Allow wild plants to be harvested prior to the development of an area.**

Each of these options could be implemented separately or in conjunction with one another, and are examined in detail below.

#### **OPTION ONE**

**Develop a database of wild plant harvest areas around Whitehorse to inform planning and decision making.**

In order to consider wild plant harvest in land-use planning, local governments first need more information about key harvest areas. This issue could be addressed by co-developing a database of known or potential harvest areas around Whitehorse. Databases are commonly used by planners at TKC, KDFN and the City of Whitehorse, and a harvest database could easily build on or feed into



ecological and heritage database projects already underway. For example, data on soil conditions from an ecological database could be used to better understand the health and long term outlook of a given harvest area, while lists of TKC and KDFN traditional harvest sites could be fed into a heritage database. By pooling data, governments are better able to understand the current health of harvest areas around the city. This information allows governments to determine which areas need to be protected for harvest, and which are better for other uses such as residential development or agriculture.

Information collected by a harvest database could be used on independent and collaborative government projects. Before building such a database, governments will need to address concerns around the protection and proper use of Indigenous knowledge within the database. Indigenous plant gatherers may be hesitant to share information if it will be available for use by outside entities; “a lot of the information [on plant harvest] is held close because of the damage that has been done by colonization.”<sup>47</sup> However, Bennett notes that there is a risk to not sharing as well: “The consensus within the conservation community is that harm happens more often than not due to lack of knowledge.”<sup>48</sup> The key to making a tool like this is to find an approach that fits the needs of land planners while respecting Indigenous knowledge and peoples.

This concern can be mitigated by having each government ask its citizens to identify important harvest areas, then flow this information into a multi-faceted database, allowing for sensitive harvest information provided by KDFN or TKC citizens to be kept only for use by those governments. Under this approach, the specifics of a given harvest area may be replaced by general markers. This could mean broadening the boundary of a harvest area or removing details about what is harvested. For example, if the citizens of TKC provide information about a cluster of bear root patches, it would show up uncensored in TKC’s version of the database. However, in the versions available to KDFN and the City, TKC could choose to have the patches grouped into a single area and vaguely marked as an important harvest area rather than a bear root area.

Another approach would be to adapt the Habitat Sustainability Prediction method, a process typically used to map out the location and health of specific animals by mapping out their preferred habitat and monitoring distractions to that habitat.<sup>49</sup> The database could modify this approach by collecting information on the type of environments needed for specific plants, rather than the location of the plants themselves. The database could then create a map of potential harvest areas based on the Whitehorse landscape. Either of these approaches would help to address concerns over the protection of Indigenous knowledge, while still ensuring that knowledge is involved in the land-use planning process.

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**This option could help land planners monitoring the threat to harvest areas due to development (challenge one), and maintain access to convenient harvest areas (challenge four).**

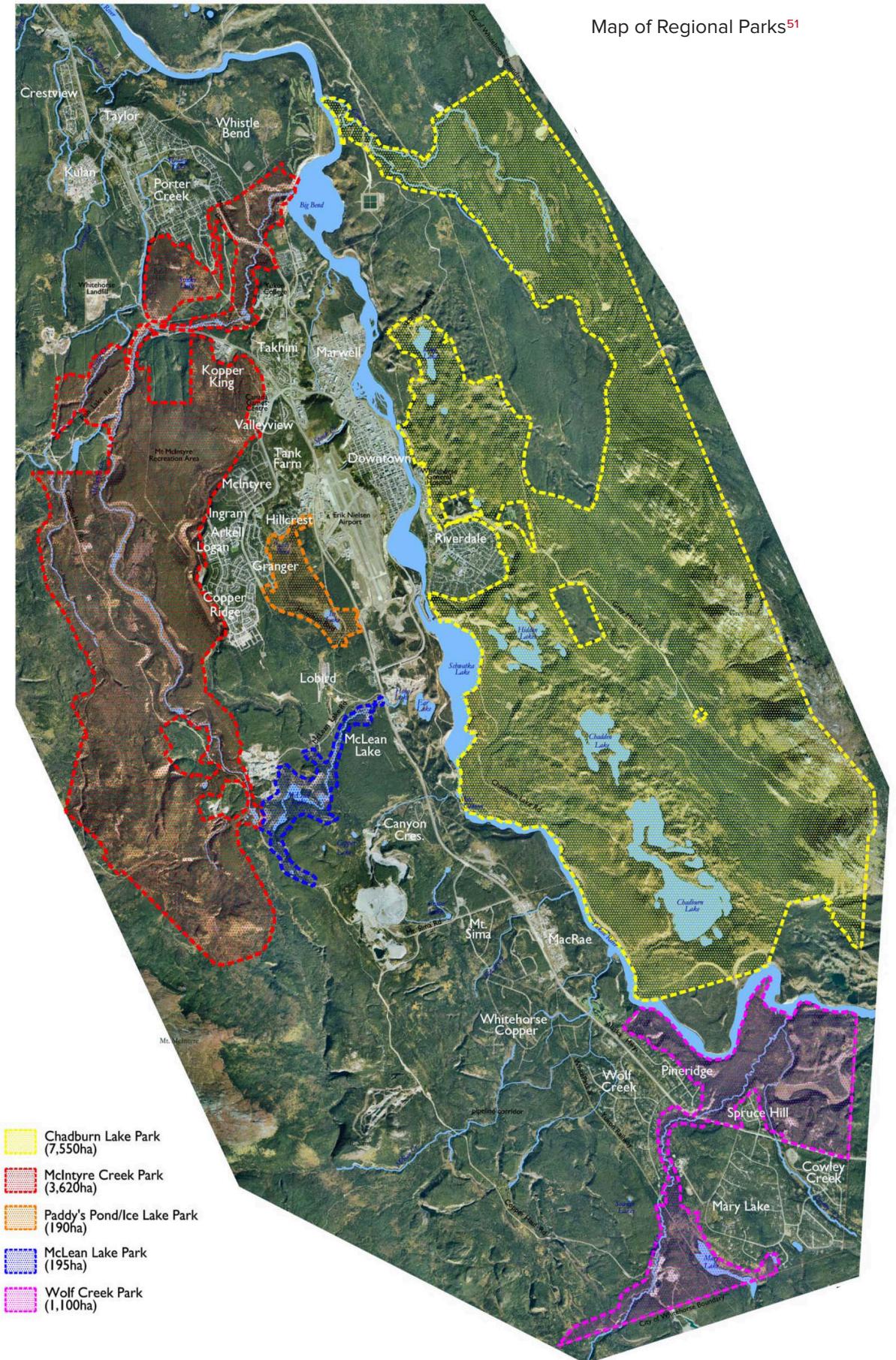
Option one requires the most time, resources and maintenance but would be an incredible asset to government planning and decision-making. The database would also align with the intentions of the Declaration of Commitment among TKC, KDFN and the City of Whitehorse, which calls on the Parties to share knowledge, resources and expertise whenever possible.<sup>50</sup> Initially, the impact of such a tool might only be felt within the Lands departments of each government, but, hopefully in time, its benefits would be seen by the community. Staff with TKC, KDFN and the City of Whitehorse have

47 Shelby Blackjack, personal communication, January 29, 2019.

48 Bruce Bennett, personal communication, June 12, 2019.

49 John Meikle (Senior Lands and Resources Planner, Kwanlin Dün First Nation), personal communication, June 5, 2019.

50 Declaration of Commitment, 1.



- Chadburn Lake Park (7,550ha)
- McIntyre Creek Park (3,620ha)
- Paddy's Pond/Ice Lake Park (190ha)
- McLean Lake Park (195ha)
- Wolf Creek Park (1,100ha)



expressed interest in a plant harvest database, especially if it were linked to other database projects. Governments will need to develop policies that accompany the database to ensure the information is stored, shared and used in a safe and respectful manner.

**OPTION TWO:**

**Collaborate on stewardship programs and educational campaigns around wild plant harvest in Whitehorse’s regional parks and trails.**

Stewardship programs and educational campaigns can protect the health of harvest resources by tackling issues such as over-harvesting or improper harvest. Part of this protection involves ensuring that new and inexperienced foragers have easy access to information on how to harvest with respect for the environment, Indigenous protocols and fellow foragers. Governments could start by

bringing environmental scientists and Traditional Knowledge keepers together to create harvest guidelines. The next step would be the dissemination of these documents through print and digital education campaigns. Land stewards could be established to help implement these guidelines by engaging with foragers and hosting respectful harvest workshops. Land stewards could also help protect harvest resources by monitoring the health of harvest areas and tracking signs of overuse or improper harvest. This information could then be used to develop a collaborative strategy for promoting restoration and sustainable harvest around the city. Education and stewardship projects like this could start as a pilot project in one of the city’s regional parks, then spread to other areas.

The size and popularity of regional parks and municipal trails make them an ideal place to launch stewardship programs and educational campaigns on wild plant harvest. Altogether,

51 City of Whitehorse, 2010 Official Community Plan, last modified June 29, 2018, accessed July 17, 2019, <https://www.whitehorse.ca/home/showdocument?id=10347>.

regional parks make up 30% of all municipal lands,<sup>52</sup> and local trails total at least 850 kilometers.<sup>53</sup> These vast green spaces and trail networks are easy to access and commonly used by locals or visitors for recreation, cultural practice and subsistence harvest. Parks like Wolf Creek, McIntyre Creek, and Chadburn Lake encompass important traditional plant harvest sites and, therefore, continue to be popular locations for Indigenous and non-Indigenous foragers. The qualities listed above make parks and trails an ideal location to share harvest guidelines and test monitoring programs or revitalization projects. These types of pilot projects would also help the City of Whitehorse fulfill several of the goals set out under the *Regional Parks Plan (RPP)*.

After extensive public consultation, the City of Whitehorse developed the RPP in 2014, to establish a ten-year vision and direction for parks management. Collaboration between

municipal and First Nations governments on wild plant harvest would align with key aspects of this plan. One of the plan's central principals is the inclusion of First Nations peoples:

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“The City will make special efforts to reach out to First Nations communities to encourage participation in Regional Park planning and management. The City will also explore the possible development and delivery of interpretive activities in partnership with the First Nations community.”<sup>54</sup>

Building on this principal, plant harvest initiatives would meet the goals of RPP objective 3.1.1, which aims to “... engage, train, and support organizations and individual



52 John Glynn-Morris, *Regional Parks Plan*, last modified June 2014, accessed July 17, 2019, <https://www.whitehorse.ca/home/showdocument?id=4452>, 3.

53 Inukshuk Planning and Development, *City of Whitehorse Trail Plan*, last modified 2012, accessed July 17, 2019, <https://www.whitehorse.ca/home/showdocument?id=246>, 29.

54 John Glynn-Morris, 17.

volunteers to design, develop and implement effective stewardship activities such as habitat restoration, heritage restoration, species recovery, and other activities aligned with the *Regional Parks Plan*,” or objective 4.1, which aspires to “... identify, inventory and protect significant cultural and traditional-use sites within Regional Parks, and to collaborate [with First Nations] on initiatives of mutual interest.”<sup>55</sup> The City could also work with TKC, KDFN and the plant harvesting community to work towards objective 4.4.1, which calls for a strategy to incorporate local and traditional knowledge in parks planning and management.<sup>56</sup> Finally, one of the desired outcomes of the plan is to make sure “parks are safe, enjoyable and accessible for residents to explore their culture and their connection to the land,” so, the City could use the health of wild plants and plant harvest activity to measure the success of the RPP.<sup>57</sup> If done well, collaborative education and stewardship on plant harvest would fulfill the goals of the RPP and help promote respectful harvest both in parks and other wild areas around the city.

Plant harvest education and stewardship on city trails also aligns with the Management Goals for Multi-use Trails, laid out under the City of *Whitehorse Trail Plan*. These goals include the protection of natural resources, such as plant communities and heritage sites, through signage, monitoring and restoration.<sup>58</sup> Another goal of the plan is to provide high quality user experience for a wide variety of trail users.<sup>59</sup> Consideration for plant harvest around trails could help reduce trail conflict and nurture a positive culture, which is one



of the *Trail Plan* implementation objectives.<sup>60</sup> Programs could be built in the model of the Tān Tāgà Shro project which brought KDFN, TKC, YG and the City of Whitehorse together to design trail signage that acknowledge the Indigenous history and use of the trails around Wolf Creek.<sup>61</sup>

Activities under option two have the potential not only to fulfill the objective of the RPP and the *Trail Plan*, but also to fulfill shared obligations under the final agreements of TKC and KDFN. While the City is not a signatory on the final agreements, it does a great deal of planning for lands owned by YG, which is a signatory. Thus, the City considers YG’s obligations under the agreements when planning around lands held by YG. For

55 John Glynn-Morris, 23-27.

56 Ibid., 23-27.

57 Ibid., 12.

58 Inukshuk Planning and Development, 30-31.

59 Ibid., 31.

60 Ibid., 31.

61 Government of Yukon, Environment, “Tān Tāgà Shro Trail at Wolf Creek Campground Open for Use,” news release, June 6, 2019, accessed July 17, 2019, <https://yukon.ca/en/news/tan-taga-shro-trail-wolf-creek-campground-open-use>.



example, regional parks are on lands held by YG, but the City is responsible for land-use planning in these areas. Traditional Indigenous plant harvest areas could be deemed “Heritage Resources” under the final agreements; therefore, planning around these areas would connect to the following obligations:

- ▶ 13.1.1.8 to identify and mitigate the impact of development upon Heritage Resources through integrated resource management including land use planning and development assessment processes;
- ▶ 13.1.1.9 to facilitate research into, and the management of, Heritage Resources of special interest to Yukon First Nations;

- ▶ 13.1.1.10: to incorporate, where practicable, the related traditional knowledge of a Yukon First Nation in Government research reports and displays which concern Heritage Resources of that Yukon First Nation.<sup>62</sup>

The City of Whitehorse, TKC and KDFN could draw support from the federal and territorial governments if this option is pursued under implementation of the final agreements.

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**This option could help Land Planners confront over and improper harvest (challenge two), and maintain access to convenient harvest areas (challenge four).**

62 Council of Yukon First Nations, “Chapter 13: Heritage” in Umbrella Final Agreement, last updated 1990, accessed June 6, 2019, <https://cyfn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/umbrella-final-agreement.pdf> 121-130.

The time and resources required to implement option two depend greatly on how governments choose to pursue it. The benefit of this option is that it can be customized to meet the needs and restrictions of each government. Implementation could be as simple as creating and distributing pamphlets on respectful harvest, or as complex as dedicated staff for stewardship and harvest monitoring systems. This approach also has plenty of opportunities for engagement and relationship-building in the community. In contrast to option one, this option would likely be felt by the community more directly.

Of those interviewed for this study, members of the plant harvesting community favour this option above all others. Governments could seek to lower implementation costs by using volunteers from the plant harvesting community to distribute harvest guidelines and monitor the health of harvest resources. This option could be built into future planning documents, such as the individual plans for each of the Regional Parks and both the upcoming North and South Whitehorse Trail Plans.

**OPTION THREE: Allow wild plants to be harvested prior to the development of an area.**

When local governments are looking to develop lands within Whitehorse, they can support the plant harvesting community by inviting other governments, organizations or individuals involved in plant harvesting onto the site prior to construction. Including plant harvesting in the early phases of development provides foragers with a chance to pull up important roots, strip bark and collect lichen before the area is cleared and the plants are

wasted. Furthermore, these groups would be able to collect without the worry of over-harvesting or harming the plants, as the area would soon be developed. This also means that they can amass more plants in a single harvest than usual. The surplus harvest could then be offered to elders, single-parent homes, and others who might not be able to get out and harvest for themselves. Seeds could also be collected and used for the restoration or replacement of local harvest areas.

When development is taking place on land owned by YG, a review by the Yukon Environmental and Socio-economic Assessment Board is usually required, which is an opportunity for municipal and First Nations governments to identify wild plant resources and make recommendations on pre-development harvesting.<sup>63</sup> Those recommendations could then be included in the development permits or any other authorizations issued.

Agreements issued by YG are sometimes used in which contractors are required to cut and stock wood from development sites, after which, the public is notified to come and take the wood for free. Similar agreements could be contemplated for the harvesting of other resources. However, this might be more complicated, as it would involve the public going onto development areas to collect. Timing also presents a challenge, as most development projects are usually reviewed over the winter, with financing taking place right before the start of construction season in early spring.<sup>64</sup> Construction typically begins before many popular wild plant foods, such as mushrooms and berries, are ready for harvest. Projects on this timeline and scale leave little

<sup>63</sup> Erica Beasley, personal communication, February 4, 2019.  
<sup>64</sup> City of Whitehorse, 2010 Official Community Plan, 41.

opportunity for the coordination of plant harvest, and may have fewer plants to offer.

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### This option could help land planners temporarily elevate the lower harvest counts caused by all four of the challenges.

Option three has the potential to cost governments the least amount of money, but may present the most risk and procedural difficulty. In practice, this option could parallel the local use of recovery archeology (the practice of extracting archeological items before development). This approach would provide a much-needed boost to the community's food and medicine stores, reduce waste and maximize the use of the proposed site. However, developers may be hesitant to support this option as it has the potential to cause delays, although these are likely to be minor with this type of harvest; even limited time given for harvest prior to development would be better than none. If developers do support this option, it could strengthen their relationship with First Nations and plant harvesting communities.

Implementing this option would require changes in government administration and regulations. The impact would likely be felt most by the offices responsible for this administration and by the developers. Plant foragers would likely experience the benefit of additional harvest opportunities, but this option does not remedy long-term threats to plant harvest. Options one and two have a better chance at supporting the long-term health of plants and plant harvest.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The three options described above are not mutually exclusive and could be implemented in conjunction with each other. For example, a harvest database could be used to help identify resources for harvest prior to development. Similarly, park stewardship programs could be used to collect information for the database so the health of harvest areas in the parks could be contrasted with those elsewhere. However, if only one option can be implemented at this time, I recommend the governments of TKC, KDFN and the City of Whitehorse select option two and collaborate on stewardship programs and education campaigns in Whitehorse's regional parks and trails. This option has the most potential to deliver positive outcomes for wild plant harvest and provides greater opportunity to involve the community. This option can also be initiated on a small scale and expanded over time, which makes it more accessible than the other options.

## IMPLEMENTATION

If implemented, I recommend the parties draw on Indigenous legal traditions to inform planning, policy and education around traditional plant harvest in regional parks and trails. Legal traditions have the potential to inform sustainable harvest and strengthen community relations:

**“TRADITIONAL LAW IS VALUABLE BECAUSE IT HELPS US RESPECT WHAT WE HAVE AND IT HELPS US RESPECT EACH OTHER. THOSE LAWS ARE MISSING, I THINK IT'S TIME THE ELDERS AND THE YOUNG ONES OPEN THAT DOOR AND BRING IT BACK... ONE OF OUR TRADITIONAL LAWS IS SHARING, EVERYONE NEEDS TO KNOW, IF YOU DON'T SHARE, WHAT YOU HAVE WILL DRY UP.”<sup>65</sup>**

65 Dianne Smith, personal communication, December 9, 2018.

Legal traditions have the potential to inform sustainable harvest and strengthen community relations, but they need to be brought to the forefront. Shirley Adamson explains:

**“THE WHITEHORSE AREA LEADING DOWN TO LAKE LABERGE, TÀA’ AN MĀN, IS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE WOLF CLAN. NOW IN PRE-CONTACT TIMES THIS MEANT THE WOLF CLAN LEADER OR MATRIARCH WOULD BE THE DECISION-MAKER ABOUT HOW THIS AREA WOULD BE USED, HARVESTED. NOW SO MANY PEOPLE LIVE HERE, INCLUDING NON-ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND PEOPLE FROM OTHER FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITIES, A LOT OF THIS HISTORY IS LOST TO THE OVERWHELMING INFORMATION THAT OTHERS BRING HERE.”<sup>66</sup>**

If brought back into regional parks in a meaningful way, traditional harvest law could be used to make space for the voices of youth, women and elders, and could empower all park users to act as land stewards. For example, to apply the Law of Sharing, workshops on plant harvest in the parks could ask participants to donate part of their first harvest to organizations that can distribute them to those in need.

## CONCLUSION

The protection of healthy harvest areas close to the city and support for plant harvest is vital to maintaining Whitehorse’s cultural identity and food systems. Lack of local, sustainable and culturally relevant food systems threaten the prosperity of all Whitehorse residents. With a

population of 31,808, Whitehorse is home to more than three quarters of the territory’s residents.<sup>67</sup> Like most of the territory, the city relies primarily on food brought up from the south by way of the Alaska Highway.<sup>68</sup> This heavy dependency on southern foods comes with great risk. For example, in the summer of 2012, the Alaska Highway closed unexpectedly, leaving the territory’s grocery stores empty in a matter of days.<sup>69</sup> Residents of Whitehorse and Yukon are eager to change this dynamic: “food sovereignty goes deeper into the issue of food and what it means to a people. It speaks to the fact that communities want to look after each other, defining their own vision of food security as well as have more agency within the food system. As northerners we do not want to rely on the South to provide us our basic human right to food.”<sup>70</sup> To improve food sovereignty and security, Indigenous and non-Indigenous residents of Whitehorse will need to work together on joint approaches for responsible land use and food harvesting practices. It is crucial that the harvest of wild plants be considered in these discussions. Yet, wild plant harvest is not only about human subsistence, it is also about maintaining a reciprocal and respectful relationship with the land.

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Dianne Smith says, “all governments need to know who you are and where you come from, but most importantly they need to know the land, the animals, and the plant citizens. The people, each of us have a role to play, to sustain what we have.”<sup>71</sup>

66 Shirley Adamson, personal communication, January 10, 2019

67 Government of Yukon, Population Report: Fourth Quarter Report.

68 Government of the Yukon, Energy, Mines and Resources, Local Food Strategy for Yukon: Encouraging the Production and Consumption of Yukon-grown Food 2016-2021, last modified 2016, accessed July 17, 2019, <http://www.emr.gov.yk.ca/agriculture/pdf/local-food-strategy-for-yukon.pdf>, 5.

69 Ibid.

70 Jody Buttler Walker, Norma Kassi, Katelyn Friendship and Molly Pratt, “Stories in Yukon Food Security,” Northern Public Affairs 1, no. 5 (April 2017), 37.

71 Dianne Smith, personal communication, December 9, 2018.

“

All governments need to know who you are and where you come from, but most importantly they need to know the land, the animals, and the plant citizens. The people, each of us have a role to play, to sustain what we have.”

In *Braiding Sweetgrass*, Professor Robin Wall Kimmerer, a member of the Potawatomi Nation, explains how sweetgrass, a plant long used by Indigenous peoples for medicine and weaving, has been disappearing from the Great Lakes region. She details how one study on the issue revealed that the plant has become dependent on human disruptions to stimulate growth, and that it is struggling to thrive in areas where it is no longer being harvested for cultural use.<sup>72</sup> Wall Kimmerer notes that this finding aligns with the observations of traditional knowledge keepers in the area: “if we use the plant respectfully it will stay with us and flourish. If we ignore it, it will go away. If you don’t give it respect it will leave us.”<sup>73</sup> Echoing these knowledge keepers, she explains that “... people can take too much and exceed the capacity of the plants to share again.”<sup>74</sup> However, by taking too little, the community risks far more: “if we allow traditions to die, and relationships to fade, the land will suffer.”<sup>75</sup> While the variety of sweetgrass discussed by Wall Kimmerer is not native to Whitehorse, the findings covered in her book have relevance to the community.

Continued access to plant harvest is key to maintaining the community’s culture, but it may also be part of maintaining the health of our lands and ecosystems. Local plant foragers have remarked on a decline in bear root. While the plant is less popular today, it used to be a valuable starch for Indigenous harvesters. As the name indicates, the root is also an important food source for bears. The decline of bear root around Whitehorse has not been measured or studied; however, it is possible it is no longer benefiting from the compulsory growth stimulated by human harvest.<sup>76</sup> This is speculative, but it is also possible that bear root is disappearing from the area because human activity has prevented bears from harvesting the plant close to Whitehorse. As a community, we must look to harvesting patterns to gain a better understanding of our impact on the land and responsibilities to it. However, in order to gain these insights, we must first look seriously at protecting plant harvest opportunities. Without proper protections and considerations for wild plant harvest, our community risks losing a valuable tool in maintaining healthy ecosystems and building better food systems.

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Wall Kimmerer stresses that “not all plants are the same; each has its own way of regenerating. Some, unlike sweetgrass, are easily harmed by harvest,” and that it is important to know each plant well enough to understand this difference.<sup>77</sup>

72 Robin Wall Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge, and the Teachings of Plants*, (Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 2013), 165.

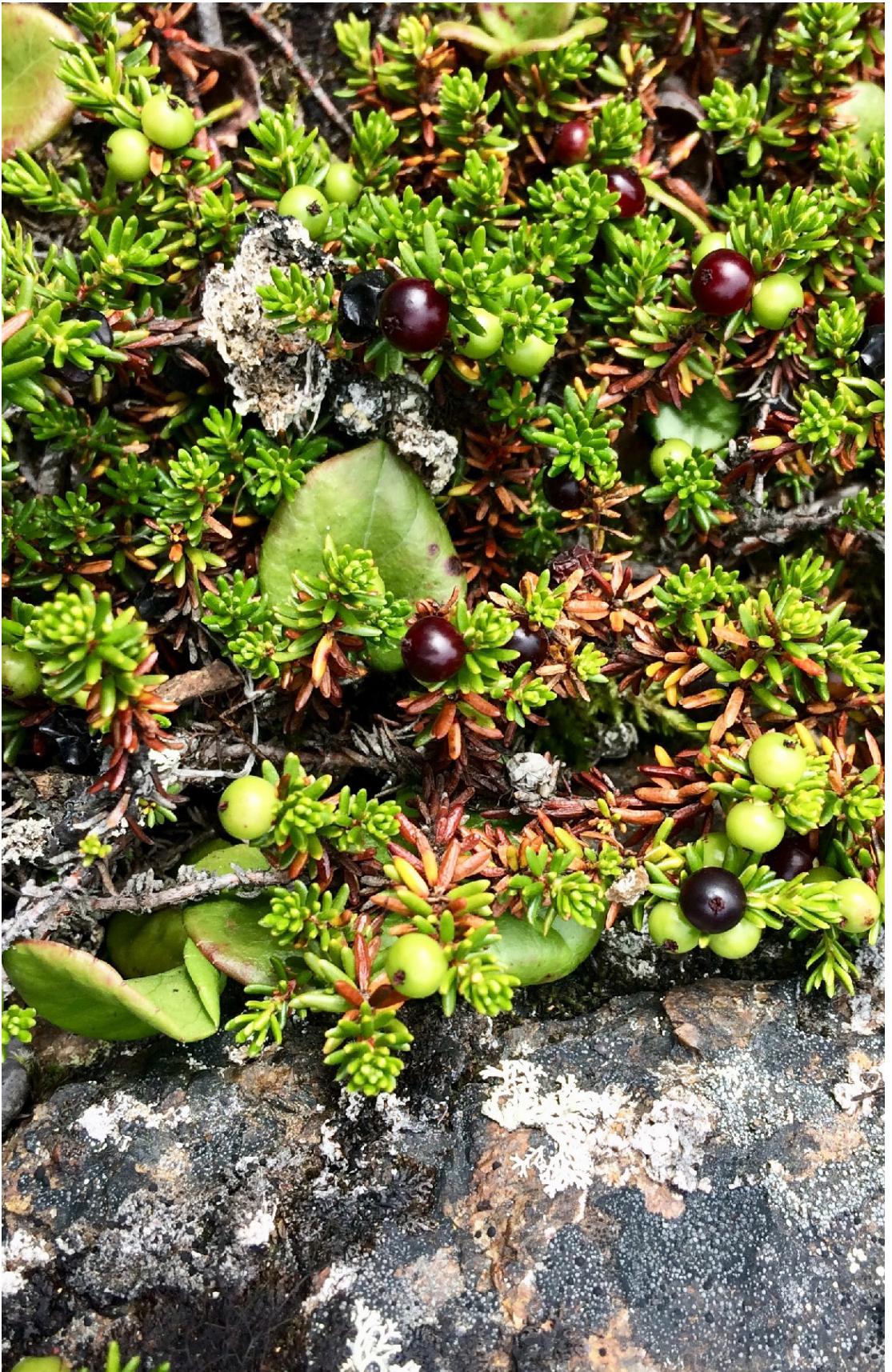
73 *Ibid.*, 157.

74 *Ibid.*, 166.

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**Accounting for our Plant Citizens:  
Proposed Collaborative Approaches  
for Supporting Wild Plant Harvest in  
Whitehorse, Yukon**

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