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Common Property Resources and Low-Level Flying in Labrador:

Flight, Fight or Fancy?

Sherri Labour

A Thesis in the Department of Geography, Public Policy and Public Administration Program

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts at Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec.

September, 1993

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ABSTRACT

Common Property Resource Management and Low-Level Flying in Labrador: Flight, Fight or Fancy?

Sherri Labour

Alternative common property resource management strategies hold promise for the integration of aboriginal and Euro-Canadian values concerning land and nature. It is these divergent attitudes and values that are at the basis of the conflict over low-level flying in Labrador. This thesis discusses how land claims and impact assessment can become processes that address the conflicting values of Natives and non-Natives and permit the integration of these values into alternative common property resource management strategies that are at once flexible, dynamic and localized.

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I feel privileged to have had the good fortune to 'stumble' into the Geography Department at Concordia. The people I've met and the friends I've made during my time there have helped renew my faith in education and excellence. Thank you one and all.

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ACRONYMS

CAM Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais

CFB Canadian Forces Base

de

CLO Community Liaison Officer

DND Department of National Defence

EIS Environmental Impact Statement

FEARO Federal Environmental Assessment and Review Office

LIA Labrador Inuit Association

LMA Labrador Métis Association

MMOU Multinational Memorandum of Understanding

MOU Memorandum of Understanding

MPG Mokami Project Group

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NLO Native Liaison Officer

NMIA Naskapi-Montagnais Innu Association

CHAPTER ONE

Setting the Scene

Introduction

This thesis tells the story of a confrontation between conflicting visions of freedom. It is a story of a clash between a state's contribution to world peace and an aboriginal group's struggle for nationhood. It is a lamentable situation in which both parties frequently deny -- and always question -- the validity and viability of the other's actions. The setting is the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula of Canada's Eastern Arctic, the two major actors are the Canadian Defence Department and an aboriginal people called the Innu, and the activity around which the confrontation is centred is low-level flight training.

This thesis has two major objectives: first, to illustrate how the fundamentally different attitudes and values that aboriginals and Euro-Canadians attach to land are at the core of the conflict over low-level flying in Labrador; and second, to show how common property resource management strategies can mediate the contrasting attitudes and values of the Innu and the Defence Department with respect to land and nature. Emphasis is placed on understanding the human side of the problem throughout this work, and the personal and political concerns of the people involved in the conflict over low-level flying are described in a subjective and intuitive manner. Since human problems are both personal and political, a qualitative approach to the subject matter at hand was felt to be

The qualitative approach is perhaps best described by Catherine Marshall and Gretchen Rossman (1989), who consider qualitative study as any research which:

entails immersion in the everyday life of the setting chosen for study, that values participants' perspectives on their worlds and seeks to discover those perspectives, that views inquiry as an interactive process between the researcher and the participants, and that is primarily descriptive and relies on people's words as the primary data. (11)

This thesis attempts to fulfil these criteria. In addition to extensive library research, I also spent two weeks in central Labrador conducting independent fieldwork in the form of interviews with representatives from various interest groups. Political and business leaders from the communities of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, representatives from three aboriginal groups (the Innu, the Inuit and the Métis), representatives from the Defence Department and, also in the employ of the Defence Department, the Native Liaison Officer and the Community Liaison Officer, were among those interviewed for this study. Other prominent community leaders were interviewed as time and availability permitted.

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured fashion. The same points were raised in all of the interviews in an effort to obtain some comparability. The interviewer asked the representatives to 1) explain their views of the risks associated with low-level flying, 2) address the land settlement and claims issue, 3) to give their perception of the other interest groups in the area and the state of communication between them, and 4) to express their views on future development in the area. No effort was made to restrict interviewees to these topics, however, and since people were generally very generous with their time and opinions, much helpful information was obtained from allowing people to discuss their concerns openly and freely.

It must be remembered that this study was conducted two years after the cancellation of the proposed NATO Tactical Fighter Centre¹ and that, for people outside the area, this cancellation seemed a *de facto* resolution of the controversy. The reality is that much distrust and resentment still exists among interest groups in the area. Most would like to see the tensions eased, if that is at all possible. Meanwhile, land claims negotiations between the Innu and the Newfoundland government have started and stalled, the Defence Department's Environmental Impact Statement is still under revision and the low-level flying continues.

One of the underlying assumptions of this work is that contemporary aboriginal cultures are different from those of the larger North American society. Cultural adaptation to outside influences, as with the adoption of certain technologies for example, does not mean that indigenous societies have been assimilated (Brody, 1987; Mailhot, 1987; Wenzel, 1991). It is also recognized in this thesis that not all people are the same. Just as Euro-Canadian society is made up of many different cultures, so too are Native peoples. The fundamental philosophical strains of Euro-Canadian society, however, are radically different from the ontology of indigenous peoples and reverberations from these differences can be seen not only in the conflict over low-level flying but also in many other similar situations. James Bay, Oka, Old Man River, South Moresby, Lubicon Lake -- these places

¹ Plans for setting up the NATO Centre at CFB Goose Bay were shelved in 1991. The installation of this Centre would have involved a considerable increase in the number and extent of low-level sorties, with an accompanying increase in personnel and infrastructure. The creation of a live weapons and an off-shore range, supersonic flying and 'realistic' flying techniques such as dog-fighting were also part of the proposal (National Defence, 1989).

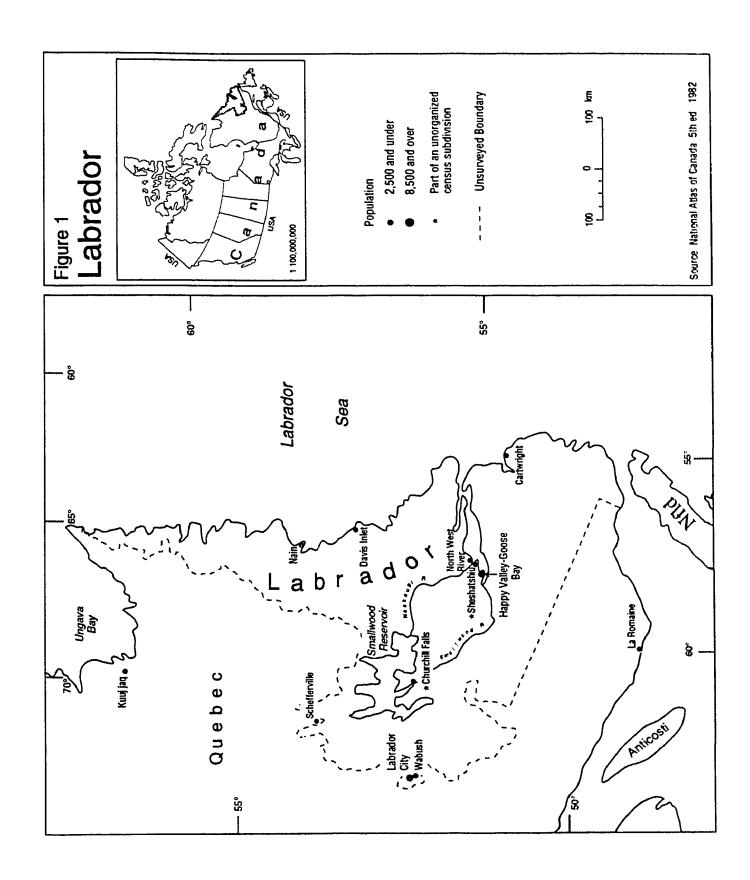
have all entered the Canadian consciousness as a result of confrontations between Native and non-Native values.

Some explanation of the difficulties of using the term 'Labrador' to refer to the area in question need to be pointed out here. Labrador is part of the province of Newfoundland, yet its boundaries are not universally accepted. The Innu frequently point out that Labrador Innu and Quebec Innu (Montagnais) are the same people separated by artificial political boundaries and that all Innu are united in their objection to low-level flying. The Innu name for their territory, which includes part of Labrador and Quebec, is Nitassinan. The low-level flight training areas also extend into the province of Quebec, so in a sense, the area being discussed is more of a geographical entity than a political one. Since this work refers to both Innu territorial use and low-level flying activities, the term 'Labrador' is used as a sort of generic label for the area being discussed.

The rest of this chapter comprises of a description of the biophysical characteristics of, and human activities in, Labrador, outlines the genesis and growth of the conflict over low-level flying and includes a brief description of the various political organizations involved in the conflict as well as the legal battles surrounding low-level flying. But first, a description of Labrador's natural environment.

The Biophysical Setting

Labrador is the mainland part of the province of Newfoundland. It is located on the northeastern coast of Canada (Figure 1) between the island of Newfoundland to the south and Baffin Island to the north. Labrador shares its western boundary with the province of



Quebec. The total area of Labrador is 292,218 km². In fact, Labrador is larger than the island of Newfoundland and the Maritime provinces together.

Labrador makes up the easternmost section of the Canadian Shield (Plaice, 1990). Most of its vegetation is considered subarctic except for its coast and northern tip, which fall within an arctic vegetation zone. Most of the subarctic zone is covered by podzolic soils. One of the things that arctic and subarctic zones share is a cold climate. Winters are long, summers are distinct but short, and freezing can occur at any time. This makes for a fragile natural environment in which vegetation, biological life and soil formation are characterized by slow processes. The presence of cold ocean bodies and the chilling effect of the Labrador current means that only the continental areas of Labrador have warm summers (Bone, 1992).

The interior region, where Wabush is located, has a continental climate. Winters are extremely cold here, while summers are warm. The northern coastal climate is cool and dry throughout the year. Winters on the southern coast are somewhat warmer, yet summers remain cool (Summers, 1988). Central Labrador, the area around Goose Bay, exhibits local weather patterns that reflect the moderating presence of Hamilton Inlet and immunity from the cold Labrador current. The ifferences in temperature and precipitation in these three regions can be seen in Tables 1 and 2. Goose Bay experiences the warmest temperatures of the three stations listed, while Kuujjuaq is by far the driest.

Labrador can be divided into three general bio-physical subregions. The northern coastal region is rugged and mountainous, with deep fiords and only ground-level tundra vegetation (Summers, 1988). The barren, rocky foreshore of the southern coastal region

Table 1
Mean Monthly Temperatures for Goose Bay, Wabush and Kuujjuaq (°C)

Center	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July
Goose Bay	-17.3	-21.6	-10.3	-4.4	3.5	10.0	12.6
Wabush	-21.9	-25.8	-15.2	-6.7	1.7	8.9	11.0
Kuujjuaq ²	-23.1	-28.0	-21.1	-14.3	-3.3	3.6	10.5
	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Annual A	verage
Goose Bay	13.1	10.5	3.0	-7.5	-15.0	-2.0	
Wabush	11.6	7.6	-0.6	-10.1	-18.5	-4.8	
Kuujjuaq	9.8	5.3	0.7	-12.4	-21.8	-7.8	

Source: Environment Canada, 1992.

is part of the same vegetation zone. Here, as in northern Labrador, characteristic dominant plant species are shrubby birch and willows, sedges, blueberry bushes and Labrador tea. Goose Bay, 250 kilometres inland, is part of the forested hinterland of the southern coastal region. This area is true boreal forest, and spruce and balsam fir are very common (The National Atlas of Canada, 1974). The interior of Labrador, by far the largest region of the three, is a dissected plateau rising some 450 kilometres above sea level. This region is characterized by open woodland and bogs. In the wooded areas, spruce, shrubby alders, willows and birches and lichens abound, while the swampy areas are dominated by a mixture of sphagnum moss, sedges, black spruce and tamarack (The National Atlas of Canada, 1974).

A diversity of wildlife thrives in Labrador. Caribou outnumber the human population by at least ten to one. Black bears are also numerous but the moose population is small. Smaller animals include wolves, porcupine, beaver, otter, rabbit,

² Kuujjuaq is located in Quebec but was chosen as a substitute for Nam, Labrador, since comparable figures were not available for Nam. Isoline figures place Kuujjuaq and Nam in the same temperature and precipitation zones.

Table 2
Total monthly precipitation for Goose Bay, Wabush and Kuujjuaq (mm)

Center	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July
Goose Bay	39.0	17.2	105.3	76.4	75.5	61.1	118.3
Wabush	79.2	14.0	61.6	31.3	63.3	119.0	62.9
Kuujjuaq	45.2	7.6	45.8	25.8	21.6	69.4	51.2
	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Annual Total	
Goose Bay	125.6	60.9	86.1	19.5	30.1	885.0	
Wabush	161.7	88.6	62.1	37.2	27.5	808.4	
Kuujjuaq	47.6	130.2	74.8	36.0	22.4	577.6	

SOURCE: Environment Canada, 1992.

mink, fox, muskrat and martin. A broad range of birds either live year-round or summer in Labrador. Canada geese, spruce grouse, ptarmigan, numerous ducks and sea birds, and raptors, like bald eagles, ospreys and peregrine falcons, can be found throughout Labrador (Mailhot and Michaud, 1965; National Defence, 1989).

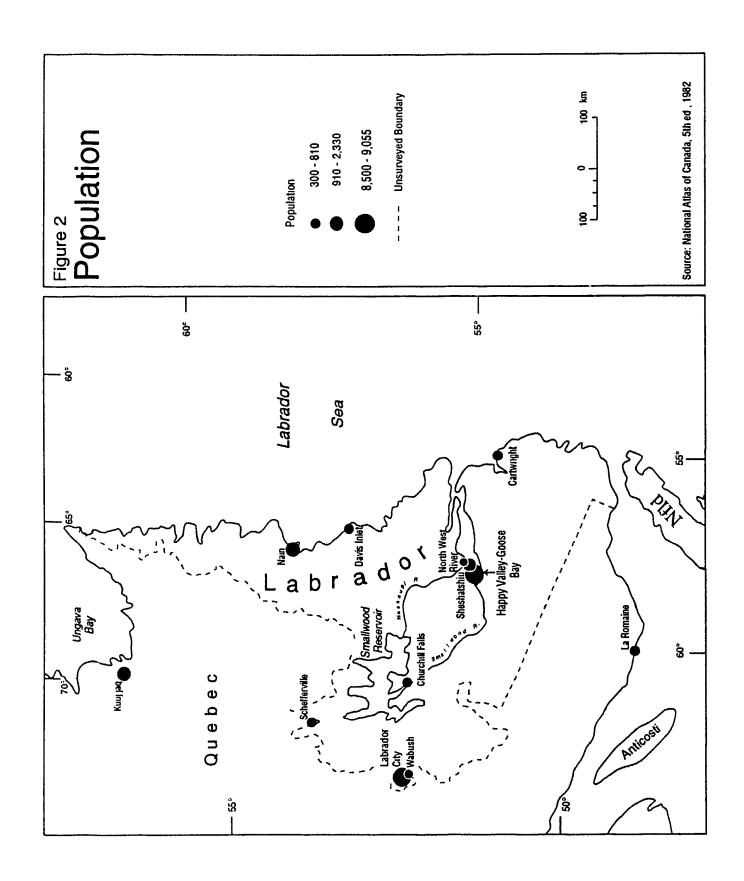
The natural environment of Labrador is not suited to a pastoral or agricultural lifestyle. In many ways, it is a harsh environment, unforgiving to the unwary. Still, there are many people who call Labrador home, who find beauty in its ruggedness, and who find living anywhere else inconceivable. In one way or another, all human beings depend upon the natural environment for their survival and the people of Labrador are no different. Many Labradorians have a close relationship with the land, but it is the aboriginal peoples of this region who have the most intimate understanding of it. The different lifestyles and livelihoods of the aboriginal and non-aboriginal peoples of Labrador are reflective of their different relationships with this vast land. (A more thorough description of the differences between aboriginal and Euro-American relationships with the natural environment is given in Chapter Three.)

The following section is a synopsis of the human activities and occupations that take place in Labrador.

Human Settlement and Occupations

More than two-thirds of Labrador's population lives in the three urban centres of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Wabush-Labrador City and Churchill Falls (Figure 2). In each of these centres, a single industry is responsible for the creation and continued health of the local economy. Happy Valley-Goose Bay owes its existence and survival to Canadian Force Base (CFB) Goose Bay, Wabush and Labrador City are iron ore towns, while the town of Churchill Falls is 'owned' by the Churchill Falls Labrador Corporation, which manages the hydro-electric dam there. A large number of the people who live in these towns are 'come-from-aways' from the island of Newfoundland or other parts of Canada (Plaice, 1990).

The other third of Labrador's population is made up of Innu, Inuit and settlers of mixed-blood heritage, otherwise known as Métis. Many of these indigenous peoples live in small, isolated communities along the coast. There are also a large number of indigenous people living in central Labrador. North West River and Sheshatshiu are for the most part Innu communities, while Happy Valley-Goose Bay has a strong Métis presence. Land-based activities are still culturally significant in central Labrador, even though wage-labour is now the norm in the local economy (Plaice, 1990).



Generally speaking, the non-Native population regards hunting and other land-based activities as sport or recreation. For a great number of indigenous people, however, hunting and gathering activities are more of a lifestyle than a leisure activity. Families from indigenous communities frequently travel to the bush for months at a time and a significant proportion of the diet of the aboriginal population of Labrador is made up of 'country food'. The wage economy is much more important in Happy Valley-Goose Bay, where the Defence Department employs a majority of the local population, than it is in North West River and Sheshatshiu (National Defence, 1989).

Low-Level Flying and Canadian Forces Base Goose Bay

The air base at Goose Bay was set up during World War II to serve as a strategic stop-over between Europe and the United States for American pilots. Canadians and Americans shared the base until the early 1970s, when the Americans pulled out of the area. Modern, low-level training flights have been conducted out of Goose Bay since the early 1980s (National Defence, 1989: 1).

Labrador fills several requirements that are needed for a low-level training area: it has a variety of terrain, it has low-level flying areas that are relatively close to the airfield and it has a maximum possible flying area of considerable size (Jeffs, 1992). The Defence Department considers the CFB Goose Bay area an ideal location to train NATO fighter pilots because it has a:

sparsely populated, low-hazard environment that offers pilots an opportunity to train over terrain similar to that found in northern Europe. With generally good flying weather and reasonable proximity to Europe, CFB Goose Bay presents an excellent environment for the peacetime training of NATO air force pilots (National Defence, 1989: 3).

In offering air space to NATO pilots, Canada can also fulfil part of its responsibilities as a member of this organization. Currently, three NATO countries -- Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom -- are flying practice sorties out of CFB Goose Bay under a ten year Multinational Memorandum of Understanding (MMOU) (National Defence, 1989: 5). This agreement runs out in 1996, and since the flying season is open between April and November only, the last flying season under this agreement will take place during 1995. A new M IOU is presently being prepared by the Defence Department and every effort is being made to overcome the deficiencies of the 1989 Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) before the end of 1993³ (Jeffs, 1992).

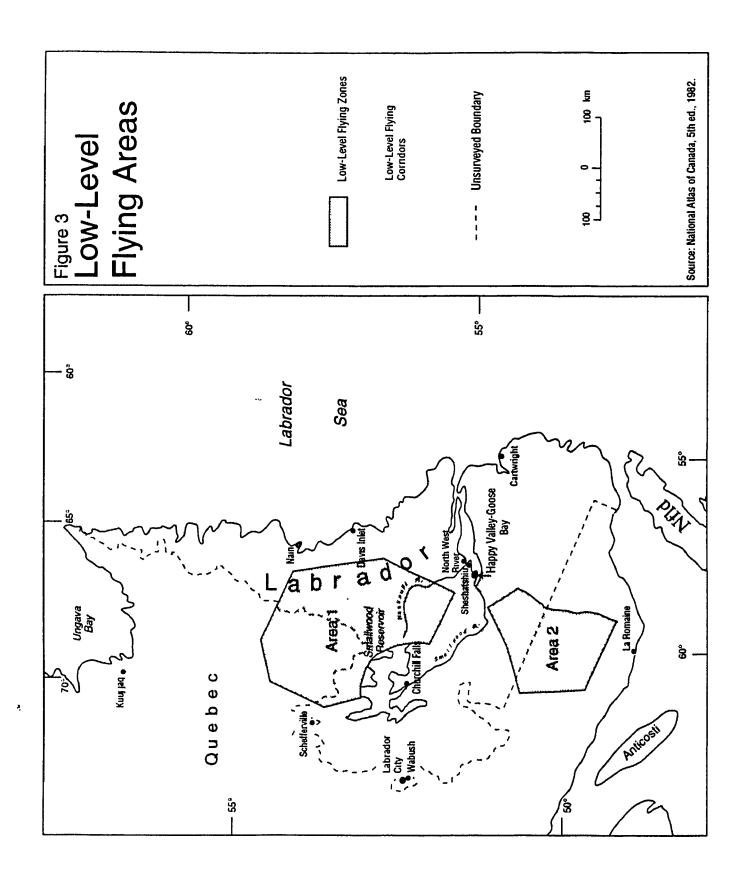
Flights out of Goose Bay during the 1992 season were capped at 8,400. Given that the flying season is restricted to seven months a year, this means that 45 to 50 sorties daily were flown during the 1992 flying season. Under the current MMOU, Canada permits the signatories to station up to 94 aircraft and 1,650 personnel at Goose Bay (National Defence, 1989: 5). It is estimated that the base could handle up to 18,000 sorties annually, but because of the ongoing environmental assessment review process, the Minister of Defence has limited flying activities to an increase of slightly less than 10 per cent a year (Jeffs, 1992).

³ The EIS that the Defence Department submitted in 1989 is currently being revised. This study was judged by Federal Environment Review Office experts to have approximately 100 major flaws ("Scientists", 1990). Since plans for the NATO Centre have since been cancelled, the last review, the new EIS will attempt to address the 38 remaining applicable deficiencies (Jeffs, 1992).

The two flight training areas both extend into Quebec (Figure 3). The largest and most northerly (Area 1) covers 67,000 km², while the smaller one to the south (Area 2) has an area of 32,000 km² for a total of 99,000 km² (National Defence, 1989: 5), or an area approximately one-third of the total area of Labrador. There is one practice target area in Area 2 where inert weapons are dropped. There are numerous camera targets throughout both flight training areas (National Defence, 1989: 7).

Low-level flights usually last between 60 and 90 minutes and it is common practice for two or more planes to fly in formation in a practice run. Flights are planned to follow certain physical features of the land, such as river valleys, and pilots may fly as low as 30 metres above the ground within the designated training areas. In the flying corridors, which the pilots use to get to the training areas, the pilots are restricted to a flight space of between 76 meters above ground and 945 meters above sea level (National Defence, 1989: 5). As part of its mitigation and avoidance program, Base Operations maintains a restricted flying zone around the caribou herds of up to 4,050 km². In the spring, Base Operations may close as much as 20-30,000 km² to pilots in an attempt, to avoid the nesting areas of birds (Jeffs, 1992).

The Base also maintains a multilingual toll-free phone line as part of its avoidance and mitigation program. This phone line is maintained to solicit information on the whereabouts of hunting parties. In reality, however, the line is rarely used by the public and never by the Innu. Major Brian Jeffs (1992), Base Operations, CFB Goose Bay, feels that this is a reflection of its success rather than its failure. Since the submission of its last EIS in 1989, the Defence Department has



hired a Native Liaison Officer (NLO) and a Community Liaison Officer (CLO). The NLO and the CLO go out into the various communities of central Labrador to consult people about their resource and land-use activities. They also chair meetings of the Resource Users Advisory Group, which brings together the military and members of the community at the beginning and end of each flying season in a consultative process that helps the DND determine restricted flying zones (Bird, 1992; Goudie, 1992; Jeffs, 1992). The Innu choose to not attend these meetings. Representatives from the Labrador Fur Harvesters Association, outfitters and various other resource users do attend (Jeffs, 1992). Another aspect of the mitigation and avoidance program is the Defence Department's full-time employment of a biologist for consultative purposes.

The Defence Department has also set up a consultative framework with the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) in the form of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). The stated purpose of this agreement is to prevent and "where necessary" monitor and mitigate the impact of low-level flying and to provide for the "meaningful participation" of the Inuit in the development of these measures (Labrador Inuit Association, 1990: 2). The MOU defines "mitigation" as "actions, including payment of applicable financial compensation, that alleviate the impact of low-level flying on wildlife, the environment or the Inuit of Labrador" (Labrador Inuit Association, 1990: 1). The LIA is the only aboriginal group that has a formal agreement with the DND.

Local Political Organizations

There are several political organizations, most of which are based in central Labrador, that are involved in the debate over low-level flying. Of the three aboriginal groups in the area, Innu Nation is the only one that openly states its opposition to low-level flying and persistently objects to the military presence in Labrador. The Labrador Inuit Association is more opposed to the lack of control that local people have over how military activities are carried out than it is to the actual presence of the military in Labrador (Andersen, 1992). The Labrador Métis Association (LMA) has no official position on low-level flying. The Mokami Project Group (MPG), the only non-aboriginal political group discussed in this section, is the one interest group that, during its short-lived existence, supported low-level flying activities.

The LIA and Innu Nation are the two major aboriginal organizations in Labrador. The main office of Innu Nation is in Sheshatshiu. Innu Nation's membership is not limited to central Labrador, however, but has some 10,000 members in communities spread from Les Escoumins to La Romaine on the north shore of Quebec, to Sheshatshiu in central Labrador and to the community of Davis Inlet on the coast of Labrador (Ashini, 1989). The LIA has some 2,000 members and is based in Nain.

The Naskapi-Montagnais Innu Association (NMIA) represents the Innu of Sheshatshiu and Davis Inle*, while Innu Nation's membership includes all Innu people, irrespective of political boundaries (Ashini, 1987). The Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais (CAM) represents the Innu on the Quebec side of the border (Cleary, 1987). In a

sense then, the total Innu land claim area would best be represented by a combination of the NMIA and CAM claims. Figure 4 illustrates the overlapping land claims of the various Native groups in Labrador.⁴

The Labrador Métis Association (LMA), based in Happy Valley-Goose Bay, owes its existence to the large number of mixed-blood people in Labrador. Official recognition from the Newfoundland government and support from the other aboriginal groups in Labrador has so far eluded the LMA even though they are part of the Native Council of Canada (Heard, 1992). The LMA has some 2,000 members in central and southern Labrador (Lethbridge, 1992).

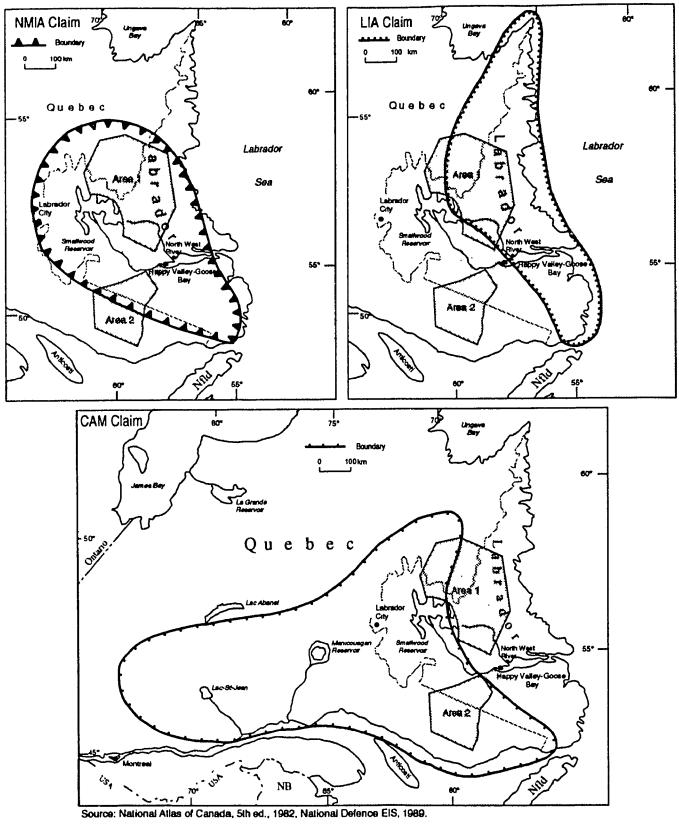
The now defunct Mokami Project Group (MPG) is worth mentioning because it was a group formed during the height of the Innu protests over low level flying.

Board members of the M^DG included representatives from the town of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, the Labrador North Chamber of Commerce, the Mokami Regional

Development Association and the Public Service Alliance of Canada. The MPG worked to counteract negative criticism of the area from outsiders who supported the Innu protests. In particular, this organization strongly objected to assertions by environmental and peace groups supporting the Innu protests that people who favour a military presence in Labrador are racists committing cultural genocide (Rudkowski, 1992). The MPG stressed that its major goal was to examine the impacts and maximize the benefits of development in the area (Mokami Project Group, 1987).

⁴ The land claim area maps are taken from the Defence Department's most recent EIS, which is careful to state that the extent of the Naskapi-Montagnais Innu Association (NMIA) claim is only an estimate.

Figure 4
Land Claim Areas



Most of the interest groups discussed here represent aboriginal peoples. All of these groups share the experience of being ostracized by existing political channels.

Battles on the Ground

Innu protests on the runways of CFB Goose Bay began in the mid-1980s in response to the proposed installation of a NATO Tactical Fighter Training Centre. The Innu were concerned about military activities over and in their territory and they strongly felt that the presence of a NATO Centre in Goose Bay would so disrupt the natural environment as to cause irreparable damage to their health, lifestyle and culture. The struggle of the Innu became an international media event. Peace and environmental groups came to their defence. Tensions grew to a fever pitch in central Labrador. Many of the Innu (and non-Innu) demonstrators were arrested and put in jail for their commitment to the cause. The demonstrations ended when it was decided that the NATO Centre would go to Turkey, but the Innu people's concern over military activities in their territory did not.

Two significant legal decisions resulted from the Innu protests over low-level flying. A Provincial Court judge, James Igloliorte, the first aboriginal (Inuit) judge to come to the bench in Newfoundland, presided over many of the mischief trials and bail hearings resulting from the protests over low-level flying and, in a landmark decision, he dismissed the mischief charges against the protesters on the basis of a 'Colour of Right' defence. This defence states that charges may be dropped if those charged have an honest and reasonable belief that they have the right of ownership to

the area in question (Dicks, 1989b). The Igloliorte decision upheld this argument because, "Through their knowledge of ancestry and kinship, they [the Innu] have showed that none of their people ever gave away (land) rights to Canada and this is an honest belief each person holds" (Dicks, 1989a).

In another court decision, Judge Barbara Reed of the Federal Court denied the NMIA's application to have low-level flights delayed until a full environmental review is completed. This decision states that the evidence of harm caused by low-level flying is "speculative and hypothetical" (Carroll, 1990: 31). Judge Reed's decision also argues that a court order banning flights would "result in extensive disruption, dislocation and prejudice to the civilian population of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, to Canadian military personnel and their families and to members of the Air Forces of the NATO members" (Carroll, 1990: 31). Aboriginal communities, on the other hand, would "suffer little prejudice" from a failure to issue a ban (Carroll, 1990: 31).

The LIA and the LMA are also greatly concerned about the impact of low-level flying on the lives of their people. The LIA began writing letters of concern to various government representatives in the early 1980s (Rowell, 1983). Their eighteen-year-long struggle with land claims preparation and negotiation (Haysom, 1990) is now stalled due to a disagreement between the federal and provincial governments over cost-sharing. The MOU with the Defence Department has addressed the LIA's concerns that Inuit are left out of decision-making processes and are overlooked when employment opportunities arise (Andersen, 1992). As for the LMA, many of its members are employed on the Base. This does not mean, however, that the LMA

does not have any concerns about the impact of low-level flying on the environment (Lethbridge, 1992).

In April of 1993, two Innu people were hired to work on the Base. This is the first time since the protests against low-level flying began that any Innu person has even applied for employment with the DND ("Here and Now", 1993). Land claims negotiations that began in 1992 were called off by the Newfoundland government early in the winter of 1993 because the Innu of Sheshatshiu removed the hydro metres from their homes in protest against the arbitrary manner in which their land was taken for hydro-electric development (Ashini, 1993). The Innu have frequently been accused of using their protests against low-level flying as leverage to get to the land claims table (Goudie, 1992; Jeffs, 1992; Rudkowski, 1992; Saunders, 1992), but they consistently maintain that this was never part of the 'game plan' (Penashue, 1992).

This chapter has provided an overview of the bio-physical characteristics of Labrador, of the occupations and activities of the people who live there, of the low-level flight training activities in the area and of the protests that have resulted from these activities. It is hoped that this information will help the reader better understand the context and nature of the debate over low-level flying in the region. It is a complex issue, involving many parties and a fragile natural environment. As the following chapters will show, the people of Labrador are struggling to find a way in which their concerns can be recognized and in which they can share the land that is their home.

The Thesis in Outline

Chapter Two is a literature review that follows the thrust of the two major research objectives. Definitions of frequently used terms and concepts are also included in this chapter. Chapter Three highlights the competing visions behind the conflict over low-level flying and concentrates on the first of my two objectives, giving a full description of the differences between aboriginal and Euro-American views of land and nature. Chapter Four is a discussion of common property resources and alternative management strategies that integrate local and indigenous management practices. This chapter also addresses how the land claims and environmental assessment processes can create opportunities for innovative policy-makers. Finally, Chapter Five offers some concluding comments on the themes of this work and on some of the questions raised throughout.

CHAPTER TWO

Conflicting Visions: Land, Nature and

Common Property Resources

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is, firstly, to give the reader a better understanding of some

of the important terms and concepts used throughout this thesis and, secondly, to provide

a synopsis of the literature upon which this work is based. In the first section the use of

terms such as 'common property resources', 'nature', 'world view', 'attitudes' and 'values'

is explained. The second section on northern development is basically background

information in that it informs the entirety of this work. The third section, on 'Cultural

Variations', forms the basis for Chapter Three. The literature in this section concentrates

on the differences in aboriginal and Euro-American attitudes and values. The last section,

on common property resources, frames the focus for Chapter Four.

Key Terms and Concepts

Words like attitudes, values, environment and culture can be rather amorphous in meaning.

Definitions of several key terms taken from the literature are offered here in an attempt

to avoid confusion and misunderstanding. These definitions are taken largely from the

cultural geography literature.

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There is a vast amount of literature on cultural differences in environmental perception, attitudes and values. David Lowenthal and Yi-Fu Tuan are two of the most prominent writers in this field. Tuan's (1974) definitions of perception, attitude and world view are signposts. Lowenthal's work (1961) makes it clear that a person's world view - the jumble of perceptions, attitudes and values that makes up one's view of the world - are personal, anthropocentric and culturally variable. For the purposes of this literature review the terms world view and belief system are used inter-changeably following Tuan's definition of the former as a "partly personal, largely social...attitude or belief system" (1974: 4). I should also point out here that references to Native peoples do not mean 'native' in the generic sense but refer to peoples who are of aboriginal or indigenous origin.

Lowenthal (1976) underlines the selective nature of perception and therefore of attitudes and values. This is not a new concept in geography. The eminent John K. Wright (1947) expounded on cultural differences in attitudes and values by arguing that there are different *terrae incognitae* for different cultural traditions. **Perception**, to paraphrase Tuan (1974: 4), is a process that humans use to filter through various external stimuli. During this process, some perceptions register more clearly than others. These are usually the perceptions that have either biological survival or cultural **value**. **Attitudes**, Tuan believes, have "greater stability" than perceptions and are positions taken on the basis of culture (1974:4).

For the purposes of this work I have chosen to use anthropologist Bruce Cox's rather broad definition of **culture** as "a way of life that characterizes a particular group, and includes the ideas and behaviours that its members share, as well as the objects, or

'material culture,' that they produce" (1989: 29). This definition is useful because it encompasses notions of the physical and of the cultural environment. The term environment usually refers to the physical or natural environment. Geographers are quick to point out, however, that cultural heritage often determines how the environment and the resources contained within it are perceived (Haggett, 1983; Jordan and Rowntree, 1986). My use of the word nature is closely related to the term 'environment'. It is a very Euro-Canadian distinction, of course, but in my use of the term, nature includes the physical environment and all beings who live therein, with the exception of humankind.

Excludability and subtractability are the two defining characteristics of common property resources (Berkes and Farvar, 1989; Feeny et al., 1990). "A class of resources for which exclusion is difficult and joint use involves subtractability" is how Feeny and his co-authors define common property resources (1990: 3). I use the term indigenous management strategies to refer to practices and concepts that are based on indigenous attitudes and values. This would include practices such as communal management systems (Berkes and Feeny, 1990; Kapashesit and Klippenstein, 1991). Randy Kapashesit and Murray Klippenstein (1991) use the term "aboriginal ecological management systems" to describe such types of strategies. They stress the fact that these management strategies are "based on local knowledge and structures and derive legitimacy from their traditional origins" (935). Co-management strategies are often seen as the way in which different levels of government and Native groups can work together on issues of conservation and development of resources. Kapashesit and Klippenstein define (1991: 935) co-management schemes as "institutional arrangement[s] in which government agencies and those who use

the resources enter into an agreement for a specific geographical area which makes explicit a system of rights and obligations and shares decision-making power".

Northern Development: Impacts and Effects

The impact of natural resource use and development on communities in the North has long been studied in Canada. The literature on this topic will be used to illustrate the effects of development in general, from the installation of mining or hydroelectric mega-projects to the setting up of schools and government aid offices. Literature with a more specific reference to military development and the effect of development on Native peoples will also be used in an effort to better illustrate the particular problems that are associated with low-level flying in Labrador. In line with the two major objectives of this thesis some stress has been laid throughout this section on literature that exposes the different perceptions and views of development that exist between Native and non-Native communities.

It is geographer Robert Bone's (1992) belief that the conflict over resource development and land use in the North is really about conflicting goals, preferences and values. Other people who have studied the effect of development on Native peoples would agree with him. Richard Salisbury (1977) points out that aboriginal and White views of development are often divergent and conflicting. Joseph Jorgensen (1984) stresses the fact that Natives and non-Natives react differently to development, while Anthony Stickel (1983) contends that culture conflict between Native people and Whites is the result of different consciousnesses and thus of different approaches to problem solving. All of the

above authors agree that clashes in attitudes and values are behind conflicts between aboriginals and Whites. Thomas Berger (1977) contends that two different philosophies of development exist in the North -- one forwarding the belief that large-scale development will benefit *all* Northerners, the other emphasizing the importance of the aboriginal economy and the renewable resource sector as well as the wishes of the Native people themselves. Berger believes that a relationship in which the Southern world dominates the Northern, that is, in which the philosophy of large-scale development dominates one that is based on an aboriginal world view, can only lead to economic and social pathologies. He calls for new institutions and a new relationship between Whites and Native peoples (Berger, 1977).

The government of Newfoundland and Labrador and the Innu of Nitassinan are struggling to form a new relationship. It is clear that the Innu concept of development and non-Native society's view of development are drastically different. The Innu attachment to the land and their descriptions of White society's development practices underline the Innu adherence to a strategy of minimal interference with the natural environment (Ashini, 1992). As we shall see in the next section the divergence in Innu and non-Native views of development is rooted in the fundamental differences of their attitudes towards land and nature. Kevin Cox (1992), Kelley Crossley (1992) and Barrie McKenna (1992) have all reported on clashes between Innu and non-Native views of development. Cox (1992) and McKenna (1992) report on Innu challenges to the proposed hydroelectric development of the lower Churchill River. Crossley (1992) writes about Innu objections to a proposed sawmill in Cartwright, Labrador. Each of these authors highlight

the contrasting attitudes that separate the Innu and the Newfoundland government on development issues. However, these authors also depict a situation in which there is increasing attention paid to Native peoples' point of view. In its most recent economic plan, the government of Newfoundland and Labrador (1992) makes a clear statement of its intent to get more input from aboriginal peoples, to support economic development formulated by aboriginals and to proceed with land claims negotiations and the establishment of 'agreed' levels of self-government. Everyone concerned is waiting to see if these intentions will become actions.

Most authors would agree that development has had detrimental effects on the indigenous populations of the North. Paul Charest (1982) describes how development has led to sedentism and the 'proletarianization' of the Quebec Montagnais. Charest concludes that the hunting and gathering activities of indigenous peoples are greatly affected by development. Otto Schaefer (1983) concentrates on the negative impacts that development has on the physical and psychological health of indigenous populations. Both Schaefer (1983) and Stickel (1983) express concern about the loss of self-esteem experienced by Natives peoples living in communities where development occurs according to non-Native values. All of these authors touch on the problems that can occur when certain forms of development enter the lives of indigenous peoples.

Other authors that write about situations hauntingly familiar to the conflict over low-level flying in Labrador are Scott MacDonald and Norman Giesbrecht (1983). Their work on the priorities and strategies of interest groups and resource development in the North is perceptive and highly relevant to the situation being studied. The pattern of

interest group tactics in dealing with development that they describe parallels the strategies of the military, the various levels of government and the Innu people in central Labrador. They find that governments tend to follow majority opinion and stress economic benefits, that industry is intent on emphasizing the economic benefits and downplaying the negative social impacts, but that Native groups stress the social disruption caused by development projects. MacDonald and Giesbrecht are careful to point out that the different methods of industry, government and Natives in dealing with development projects are a reflection of their divergent priorities and concerns. John Bradbury and Isabelle St-Martin (1983) offer insight into the effects of a slowdown in one-industry towns. This is instructive since Goose Bay is essentially just such a town, with the military base being the major employer in the area. Many of the impacts that Bradbury and St-Martin outline in their research were experienced in the Goose Bay area in the early 1970s after the Americans closed their base there.

Only a few authors have written about the socio-economic impacts of military development on Newfoundland and Labrador in general (MacLeod, 1986) and on Goose Bay-Happy Valley (Le Breton, 1986) in particular. Marcel Le Breton, writing for the Defence Department, is one of the few authors who gives equal attention to the negative and positive impacts of military development. There is also the EIS prepared by the National Defence Department (1989) on its military flight activities in Labrador and Quebec. This source is particularly useful for quantitative information on the number of low-level flights and on the potential economic benefits of military development.

Anthropologists Peter Armitage and John Kennedy are the two major academic writers on the impact of military development on the Innu (Armitage, 1986a, 1986b; Armitage and Kennedy, 1989; Kennedy, 1986). Both gave testimony supporting the Innu cause before the Environmental Assessment Review Panel when public forums were held on the viability of setting up a NATO Training Centre at CFB Goose Bay (Armitage, 1986b; Kennedy, 1986). Their exposition (Armitage and Kennedy, 1989) on the rhetoric and strategy surrounding the conflict over low-level flying offers a good portrait of the beliefs and values of the actors involved.

Northern Native peoples objections to and perceptions of low-level flying in Labrador stress the negative effects that these activities are having on their way of life and their culture (Labrador Inuit Association, 1985; Ashini, 1986; Rowell, 1983, 1990). The Labrador Inuit Association, along with their environmental consultant Judy Rowell, expresses concern that low-level flying is a threat to the environment that the Labrador Inuit use for hunting, trapping, fishing and gathering activities. In his submission to the Environmental Review Panel, Daniel Ashini (1986), Innu Band Council leader, argues that low-level flying has negative effects on hunting activities and wildlife and an adverse impact on socio-economic and socio-medical health. Furthermore, Ashini (1986) states, low-level flying prejudices Innu rights and land claims.

Less closely associated with the conflict, but equally concerned, are writer David Donnelly and the International Federation of Human Rights. Donnelly (1992) writes of the degradation of the Innu nation in the face of continuing military and hydro-electric development. In 1986, the International Federation of Human Rights sent a Mission to

Labrador and Quebec to assess the impact of low-level flying. This Mission concluded that low-level flying not only violates internationally recognized human rights but also is physically, mentally and culturally harmful to Innu in the bush camps.

In this section I have chosen literature which supports my underlying premise that conflicts are often propagated and preceded by the divergent attitudes and values of the interest groups involved. Much of the literature in this section examines how cultural differences can lead to disparate perceptions of and reactions to development. Those who support development stress the economic benefits and downplay the negative effects. Those who are against military activity in central Labrador feel that the reaping of economic benefits is not as important as cultural viability. The rest of the literature in this section concentrates largely on the negative impacts that development has had on northern Native peoples. I have used this literature as a guide for comparison between the situation in central Labrador and other northern communities that have experienced development. The literature I use here ties in with my objective of trying to understand conflicts resulting from differences in aboriginal and Euro-Canadian perspectives. The literature cited in this section underlines the fact that differences in attitudes and values lead to differences in reactions to development, which in turn -- as is the case in Labrador -- leads to confrontation and conflict.

Cultural Variations. Attitudes and Values

Central to conflicts such as the one over low-level flying in Labrador are differences in attitudes and values. The fundamental, and perhaps critical, difference revolves around

land and, in its larger sense, nature. For the Innu, Nitassinan is their territory and their homeland; Nitassinan is a source of physical and spiritual nourishment. Others appear to see the same space as a sort of wilderness frontier that is ideally suited to high-technology flying activities. The Innu feel that their territory and, therefore, their way of life, is being violated by the defence manoeuvres in the air. A concept of land as private or Crown property is clashing with communal indigenous practices. To understand this crucial divergence of values, a thorough investigation of the literature, historical and contemporary, on the differing world views and belief systems of aboriginals and Euro-Canadians is required.

The works of Henry Nash Smith (1950), Howard Mumford Jones (1964) and Leo Marx (1964) offer insight into Euro-American impressions of the New World, of nature and of the inhabitants therein. Christopher Vescey (1980) is another author who writes about European perceptions of nature and aboriginal peoples. Vescey delves into the evolution of European attitudes from the myth of the 'noble savage' to today's perception of Native peoples as conservationists.

A good starting point for insight into Canadian aboriginal attitudes and beliefs is Irving Hallowell's (1967) work. Hallowell's work illustrates that aboriginal attitudes and beliefs are perpetuated by their hunting and gathering activities. In other words, the culture of Native peoples is closely connected to their relationship with the physical environment.

Calvin Martin (1987) is a historian interested in aboriginal world views. Unlike Hallowell, however, Martin compares and contrasts European-based and indigenous belief systems and thus offers insight into the interaction of the two cultures. Martin argues that

Native peoples have a biological sense of time while for Europeans time is an anthropological concept. For Martin, a biological sense of time implies "viewing creation and its creatures on other-than-human-serving terms" (1987: 220). Alfred Bailey's (1937) account of contact between European and the eastern Algonquian cultures of Canada is telling in its description of the impact that the European attitudes and values had on the aboriginal way of life in eastern Canada. Europeans not only brought diseases that decimated the aboriginal population, but they also brought with them changes in clothing, diet and housing that led to increased morbidity and infant mortality rates. European cloths did not absorb sweat and European foods did not supply the nutrients of 'traditional' foods (Bailey, 1937: 57). The changes that European religious and secular values brought to the Nascopi (Innu) world were also a great strain on the adaptive capabilities of the Nascopi culture. Native peoples placed great value on their physical well-being, while Christian churches taught that humans are born into 'original sin' and should repress their physical selves (Bailey, 1937: 100).

I have done extensive research into the literature on the differences between aboriginal and Euro-American belief systems. Two authors, Valda Blundell (1989) and R.W. Venables (1980), are of particular interest because they offer a sound framework for interpreting the basic differences between the two cultures. Blundell contrasts European ideology with Native belief systems as, for example, when she compares the European concept of scala naturae with the aboriginal idea of the Sacred Circle. The Great Chain of Being, or scalae naturae concept, is an idea which organizes life forms in order of decreasing perfection (Blundell, 1989: 63). The concept of the Sacred Circle, on the other

hand, does not scale life, nor does it see life in Darwinian terms. Rather, the indigenous view of creation stresses the universal interdependence of creation (Sioui, 1989). Venables' use of the concepts of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*⁵ is relevant here as a guiding framework in the delineation of the cultural differences between European and aboriginal world views. Venable argues that the dominant impulse of Native societies is *gemeinschaft* in which moral bonds, common interests, symbols, reciprocity and community are paramount. White society follows the precepts of *gesellschaft* in which legal contracts, self-interests, definitions, profit and society are the predominant concepts.

Thorough analyses of the divergent cultures of Natives and Whites have been made by Hugh Brody (1975), Bruce Trigger (1990) and George Wenzel (1991). The work of these authors illuminates the cultural variations in attitudes and values that come into play when aboriginal and Whites meet. Brody and Wenzel, for example, are particularly useful because they deal with conflicts between northern Native peoples and White society. Brody exposes the different attitudes that northern aboriginal peoples and Whites have towards the northern environment. Wenzel delves into the conflicting attitudes and values surrounding the controversy over the seal hunt. Trigger's essay is a knowledgeable description of the basic differences between Native and European world views.

Georges Sioui (1989) and Diamond Jenness (1991) concentrate on aboriginal perceptions and perspectives. At the heart of Sioui's work is his objection to the insertion of Euro-American values into interpretations of aboriginal cultural evolution. His contrast

⁵ Gemeinschaft and gesellschaft were terms originally used by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies to describe the two major impulses of human perception and social behaviour. Writing in the late 1800s, Tönnies described the transition of Western society from a community-based economy to a market-based economy.

of Native and non-Native values is helpful because of his unique perspective as a Native Canadian. Jenness, a well-known author on aboriginal culture and history, gives a good general description of indigenous attitudes and values in his essay "The Indian's Interpretation of Man and Nature." Both these authors were chosen because of their understanding of the aboriginal perspective.

William Andersen III (1990) provides an incisive look at the differences between Native and non-Native world views through the eyes of a Labrador Inuit. The Inuit are one of the two aboriginal groups that are recognized by the government of Newfoundland and Labrador.⁶ Andersen's speech is important because it is a rare sample of something that is seldom documented -- the world view of the Labrador Inuit.

The Innu, formerly known as the Montagnais-Naskapi, have already been the focus of numerous studies. Frank Speck (1935) wrote about their religious practices, Eleanor Leacock (1971, 1982) wrote about their political and economic relations, José Mailhot and Andreé Michaud (1965) did an ethnographic study on the Innu, and Calvin Martin (1980) studied their relationship with wildlife. Two recent authors, however, have written on issues that are more closely related to the topic of low-level flying and the conflict of attitudes and values surrounding this issue. Evelyn Plaice (1990) writes on the perceptions that Whites have of their relation with the Native people of central Labrador. Marie Wadden's (1991) work concentrates on the Innu perspective and is an excellent overview

⁶ When Newfoundland entered Confederation in 1949, responsibility for indigenous populations was passed to the province. Newfoundland's position at that time was that Native peoples were the same as other Newfoundlanders and thus deserted no special treatment (McRae, 1993). This situation has changed somewhat since 1949. The Innu and the Inuit have since begun land claims negotiations with the federal and provincial governments. The Labrador Métis Association, however, is still struggling for recognition as a legitimate aboriginal organization.

of the events surrounding the Innu protests over low-level flying. Georg Henriksen's (1973) book is a very telling account of the balance of interdependence and personal autonomy that exists in Innu culture. He exposes how this balance is maintained by life in the bush and disrupted by life in the settlements. Much of what is known about the Innu and their culture can be obtained from the these sources.

There has always existed a set of cultural traits and values that is shared by Canada's Native peoples. Boldt and Long list these traits as follows: "reaching decisions by consensus, institutionalized sharing, respect for personal autonomy and a preference for impersonal controls over behaviour" (1984: 538). It is safe to assume, then, that a certain degree of comparability exists between the Innu and other northern Native groups. Adrian Tanner (1973, 1979) has written on a Native group that is closely related to the Innu, the Cree people of Mistassini. His work on religious ideology and hunting is informative because it illustrates the similarity between different Native groups while underlining the unique nature of local adaptations. Tanner (1979), like Henriksen (1973) before him, emphasizes the different meanings that bush and settlement life have for northern Natives. A dichotomy of social relations exists between the summer settlement, where the social situation is viewed as a type of colonial encounter, and the bush winter camps, which the Cree see as the ideal way of life.

Hugh Brody (1990) describes the flow of cultural continuity and change among the different aboriginal groups of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula. In a similar vein, Robin Ridington (1982) writes on the adaptive strategies of indigenous populations in their patterns of resource use. Ridington is especially interesting for my purposes because he

deals with how a northern hunting society reacts to technological development. William Denevan (1983) reminds us that culture is an active agent in adaptation; culture plays a crucial role in our relationship with other people and with our environment. All of these authors are helpful because they reveal something about the continuous and dynamic nature of Native culture and its relationship to the land in the face of industrial development.

It is indigenous peoples relationship to the land that is the pivotal distinction between aboriginal and Euro-American belief systems. Scott Momaday (1976), a Native American, relates how an indigenous person's idea of self comprehends her/his relationship to the land. Peter Malthiessen (1984) explains that the Natives' disinterest in modifying nature was seen by early European colonists to be the most outlandish thing about them. Malthiessen also points out that while the Cree of James Bay call their territory Kistikani, the Cree term for 'the Garden', the majority of White society views this same territory as barren and uninhabited and fit only for flooding (Malthiessen, 1984). David Eliades (1987) shows that from the very beginning the clash over land was at the heart of the opposing cultures, economies and ecological values of aboriginals and Europeans. In his essay on Native and non-Native views of the land E.S. Rogers (1975) explains that the basic misunderstanding between aboriginals and Euro-Canadians has always been problems and questions relating to the land. Non-Natives have gone through an evolution of the idea of property in the use of land; aboriginals hold their relationship with the land to be sacred. Rogers (1975) maintains that there has been a continuous conflict between the two points of view, the Euro-American concept of private property on the one hand, and the Native concept of land as a communal resource and responsibility on the other.

Innu perceptions of the land are much different from those of the majority of non-Native Canadians. David Donnelly (1992) explains that the Innu have no concept or term for the notion of private property; Innu terms for the land engender ideas of conservation and respect for the natural environment. The Defence Department (National Defence, 1989) and supporters of CFB Goose Bay (Baikie, 1990), on the other hand, are fond of describing the low-level flying areas as barren and uninhabited. To the Innu, home is not in the bush, it is the bush (Jouveneau, 1987). The Innu word for their territory, Nitassinan, means 'our land' (Ashini, 1989). It is not so much that the Innu have no concept of the idea of property, but rather that the Innu idea of property is integrated with their idea of reciprocal responsibility, an idea which encompasses nature as well as other human beings.

The social psychology literature on cross-cultural exchange offers some more recent insights into attitudes and values. Some authors have attempted to bring down the barriers that separate anthropological and psychological approaches to the study of "culture and cognition" (Berry, 1974: 1). Cross-cultural studies of differences in attitudes and values between indigenous and European peoples are rare though. John Murdoch (1988) is one author who has studied Native and non-native world views in a psychological sense. He finds that in industrial society survival and quality of life are measured by the degree to which the natural environment can be harnessed or controlled. In hunter-gatherer societies people co-exist with nature; nature is a provider (Murdoch, 1988: 232). Ervin Staub (1989) points out that there are important differences in moral value orientations and goals. He reminds us that anthropologist Margaret Mead's work underlines the fact that cultures differ greatly in the degree to which they are competitive, cooperative, and/or individualistic

(1989: 55). Jeremiah Canning believes that behind many of the confrontations around the world today lies a "conflict in values" (1970: 5). In the same volume, Hubert Bonner outlines his concept of the "attitude-value complex" as a "relatively consistent set of acts, real or potential" that is "always a product of the culture or the period of history in which it arises, flourishes, and dies" (1970: 52). These are some of the more recent aspects of attitudes, values and cross-cultural perspectives that are explored in the literature of social psychology.

To understand conflicts such as the one over low-level flying in Labrador one must first understand the various attitudes and values that are behind these conflicts. Given the nature of the topic it is perhaps understandable that most of the writers on aboriginal and Euro-American belief systems today have a rather liberal and humanistic approach. Many authors, such as Frank Speck, Georg Henriksen, Valda Blundell, Adrian Tanner, Irving Hallowell, and Bruce Trigger, are anthropologists by trade. Others, like Calvin Martin, are historians. Yet whatever field these writers may come from they have all contributed to a better understanding of the differences between Native and non-Native views of the world.

One of my stated objectives is to show how the fundamentally different views that Natives and non-Natives have of nature contribute to the conflict over low-level flying Labrador. To this end, I have looked at the literature on European and aboriginal world views since the time of contact to obtain some idea of the historical context. I have examined literature on the fundamental differences between aboriginal and Euro-American belief systems. In terms of local context, I have thoroughly researched anything written

on or by the aboriginal peoples of Labrador and northern Quebec. Although there has not been much research done into differences in cognition and behaviour between Natives and non-Natives in the Canadian context, I have looked at the recent social psychology literature in an effort to better understand how different ways of perceiving can lead to differences in attitudes and values in a cross-cultural sense. These references form a foundation on which an understanding of the conflicting attitudes and values at work in central Labrador can be constructed.

Common Property Resource Use and Management

The second stated objective of my thesis is to show how common property resource management strategies can work to bring together divergent attitudes and values toward land and nature as, for example, is the case of the Innu and the larger White society of Labrador. As we have learned in the previous section, the Innu experience of the land and White society's relationship with the land are immensely different. The federal, provincial and municipal governments support the Defence Department in their low-level flying activities. These groups appear to harbour a belief that Labrador is a barren wilderness best put to use in the interests of defence and world peace. The Innu have a radically different interpretation of peace that precludes the use of fighter jets over their territory; their land and peace is disrupted and invaded by these practices. Is there some way in which these two visions can be reconciled? The ideas and concepts contained within the literature on common property resources suggests that there is.

This literature reveals that interest in the idea of common property resource management growing. Native peoples world-wide have long exploited common property resources successfully and governments are beginning to learn from this indigneous experience ("Whose Common Future?", 1992). Within the universe of literature on this topic, I have concentrated on indigenous resource use strategies. I have also looked at classical economics' interpretation of common property resource use for comparative purposes and for insight into the evolution of the literature on common property resources. Recent literature on the topic offers techniques and methods for reconciling the two seemingly disparate approaches to common property resources.

The concept of common property resources has historically endured a bad reputation among resource managers. When Garrett Hardin wrote "The Tragedy of the Commons" in 1968 he argued that common property resource situations eventually lead to pollution and over-exploitation of the resource. It was Hardin's conclusion that setting up a system of private property was the only way of solving the problems he associated with common property resources. Scott Gorden (1954), Hardin's predecessor, contended that common property resources could be controlled by limiting the number of users. Both Hardin and Gordon are from the school of classical economics, which combines the ideas of "economic man" with maximizing utility.

Contemporary proponents of the concept of common property resources argue against the more classical interpretation of Gordon and Hardin on several grounds. McKay and Acheson (1987) argue that the problem with Hardin's parable is that it ignores the existence of community controls, while Fikret Berkes (1989) says that 'tragedy of the

commons' experiences are exceptions, not rules. It is Berkes opinion that Euro-Americans have been influenced by Darwin and Smith into seeing competitive rather than cooperative relationships in nature. Owen Myers (1992) contends that the economic theories of Hardin and Gordon have led to wasteful practices and harmful technologies. James Acheson points out that Hardin's theory is highly "culture bound" and hence does not apply cross-culturally (1989: 353). The above and following authors have all departed from classical economics' definition of common property resources. Their reinterpretation of the concept is often couched in terms of 'traditional' indigenous management strategies.

Guidance in terms of the specific characteristics of common property resources can be found in the work of many authors but those chosen for use here were exceptional in their comprehensiveness and clarity. Fikret Berkes and Taghi Farvar's (1989) work is a superb explanation of the different concepts of common property resources, of property-rights regimes and of the multiple functions of common-property systems. Robert Goodland, George Leduc and Maryla Webb (1989) explain that the environmental mismanagement associated with common property resource use is usually due to the breakdown of a traditional common property resource system. These authors also feel that cost-benefit economic analysis tends to ignore certain intangible environmental benefits. The work of Feeny and his colleagues (1990) is a valuable source because of its succinct description of the basic characteristics of common property resources.

I chose the following authors because they specifically refer to the divergent attitudes and values that Natives and non-Natives have with respect to common property resources. A.P. Lino Grima and Fikret Berkes (1989) outline the problems that arise when

indigenous concepts of common property collide with Western ideology. Randy Kapashesit and Murray Klippenstein (1991) contrast aboriginal environmental ethics and ecological management systems with Euro-American strategies. James Acheson (1989) explains that anthropologists have proven that other societies do control their resources with various mechanisms such as controlled access, quotas, and restrictions on the age, size and sex of the animal hunted. Communal property is often managed at the community level (Acheson, 1989; "Whose Common Future?", 1992). Harvey Feit (1969, 1973, 1982) occupies a unique position in the sense that he has extensive experience with the James Bay Cree resource management structures. This work is important because of the close relation the Cree have to the Innu as a cultural group.

There is certainly no lack of writers on the techniques and strategies of successful common property resource management. Christopher Gibbs and Daniel Bromley (1989) offer four criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of common-property regimes. A management regime has to be 1) efficient, 2) stable, 3) resilient and 4) equitable in order to function in an effective manner (Gibbs and Bromley, 1989). Fikret Berkes and his colleagues (1989) did a case study on the situation in James Bay and concluded that local-level management needs to be legitimized by government to be viable. Milton Freeman (1989) calls for the integration of intuitive thinking into science's approach to renewable resources and local-level management schemes. Berkes and Feeney (1990) suggest that communal management systems, local use rights and co-management strategies are adpromising alternatives for the future. Community management schemes that personalize

and localize the institutional framework are often the most successful and effective (Ostrom, 1990; "Whose Common Future?", 1992).

Aboriginal resource management strategies are now gaining new respect. There are people, some of them important political figures, who feel that Westerners have a lot to learn from indigenous resource use systems (Brundtland, 1987; Jull, 1991). Payne and Graham (1984) argue that Native groups favour non-hierarchical resource management. Thomas Meredith (1983) thinks that some middle road that integrates Southern policies and Northern indigenous knowledge must be found. Kapashesit and Klippenstein (1991) suggest that co-management strategies are one way of combining White and Native values.

In this section on common property resources I have chosen to concentrate on literature that offers alternatives to profit maximizing resource use and development strategies. The strategies of common property resource management that seem best suited to fulfilling my objective of finding a means through which differences in attitudes and values can be mediated are those methods which integrate old, new and 'traditional' concepts of common property resource management. The literature cited in this section shows that there is hope for conflict resolution along these lines. Indigenous resource management strategies have something valuable to offer Euro-American schemes of common property resource management. The success of common property resource strategies often depends on the intimate 'traditional' ecological knowledge of local resource users. More often than not, the resource users with the richest experience of the local natural environment are the poriginal peoples of the area. The integration of aboriginal ecological wisdom into existing Euro-American infrastructure and decision-making

processes means that the divergent attitudes and values that Natives and non-Natives attach to land and property can be accommodated.

Conclusion

In the section on attitudes and values we saw how different belief systems can lead to different perceptions of and interactions with land and nature. In the section on development is was shown that different relationships to land can lead to different views and visions of development. The same is true for common property resources. How a culture values land and the physical environment, the relationship that a cultural group has with nature, a culture's conception of property -- all of these factors figure into conflicts over land. This is essentially what the conflict over low-level flying is about; it is a conflict over land. In one corner we have the Innu who have a communal notion of property combined with ideas of conservation and responsibility towards nature. In the other corner we have the governments of Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador, and Happy Valley-Goose Bay, along with the Defence Department -- for the most part, a group of non-Natives. This group values private property and sees nature more as a source of natural resources than as a responsibility. As illustrated by the last section, common property resource management strategies in which local-level management is legitimized by governmental authority is one way in which these disparate values may be integrated.

CHAPTER THREE

Land, Nature and Property: Differing Views from

Central Labrador

Introduction

The way we use land reflects our underlying perceptions of, attitudes toward and

relationship with land and nature. The two major aboriginal groups affected by low-level

flying in Labrador, the Innu and the Inuit, have approached the issue of military activity

in Labrador very differently. Yet, for both of these groups, concern for the damage that

low-level flying may be causing the environment is paramount. The Defence Department,

the provincial and federal governments, and a large portion of the population of central

Labrador strongly support military low-level flight activities in Labrador. The conflict

over this activity that erupted in the late 1980s can ultimately be traced back to underlying

fundamental differences in attitudes and values regarding land and nature.

Land is often the central issue in conflicts between Natives and Euro-Canadians.

This chapter concentrates on how and why Natives and non-Natives see land differently.

More specifically, it deals with the how and why of the disparate attitudes of the Innu,

the Labrador Inuit and the DND and its supporters towards the land of Canada's Eastern

Arctic.

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Land and Nature as Property

'Property', as it is understood in Western society, generally refers to the rights, powers and privileges that an individual has over a thing (Donahue, 1980: 34). Most of the elements of our contemporary understanding of private property date back to the decline of feudalism and the rise of capitalism and industrialization (Becker, 1980). Even before the 18th century however, the trend in Western culture was towards the concentration of property in the hands of the individual (Donahue, 1980: 35-40), but it was not until the Industrial Revolution that progress, civilization, liberty and private property rights became part of the same package.

The question of whether property is a phenomenon of natural law or social convention has been pondered since the time of Aristotle and Plato. Classical liberal theory and the modern idea of the natural law of property is based on the work of John Locke. Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill and David Ricardo built upon this with their theories of labour. Locke's 'natural right of property' argues that a person has the right to own anything that is the product of their own sweat. Smith, Mill and Ricardo recognized that a person's right to profit from their own labour is consistent with capitalism (Schlatter, 1951). Unlike Locke, who saw property as a natural law resulting from the combination of nature and a person's labour, philosophers like Immanuel Kant and Georg Wilhelm Hegel believed that property is a social convention that results from the combination of nature and an individual's will. Kant and Hegel believed that property is exploitation and appropriation and not a natural right (Minogue, 1980). In other words, property is a product of society rather than of nature.

The market economy that grew out of the Industrial Revolution transformed land and labour into commodities (Polanyi, 1944). This 'great transformation' meant that "instead of [the] economy being embedded in social relations, social relations...[became] embedded in the economic system" (Polanyi, 1944: 57). Property, as a social institution, became an integral part of the capitalist system through these changes and its role as a 'commodity' became more important than its role in social relations.

In Western society, property has always been defended on the grounds of justice, freedom, progress, peace and happiness. It is seen as a landmark of civilization (Dietze, 1971; Rogers, 1975: 95). Common property was thought to be for the 'uncivilized' who practice 'primitive communism' (Becker, 1980). Common ownership has always been rejected as incompatible with the good of society, restrictive of economic development and individual freedom, arbitrary and unjust. It was thought to be incompatible with human nature, unethical and utopian (Dietze, 1971). As we will see in Chapter Four, alternative approaches to common property which incorporate indigenous and local wisdom are rethinking this appraisal of property.

Aboriginal Perceptions of Land and Nature

It is often said that native peoples have viewed themselves as **part** of nature, while European philosophy...gives humans dominion **over** nature (Blundell, 1989: 64. Author's italics).

We belong to the earth, not the other way around (Malthiessen, 1984: 13).

A Native person's relationship with the land is different from that of the average non-Native person. Nature plays a role in the life of an Innu or Inuit that is distinct and unique from the role it plays in the lives of many Euro-Canadians. For an aboriginal person, the land is as much a part of them as their physical body. A Native person's identity is therefore strongly linked to the land (Momaday, 1976). In the non-Native world land is, more often than not, equated with property (Rogers, 1975). Land, nature and its resources exist for the use and prof., of humans. The predominance of Euro-American values means that economic development, exploitation and progress are imposed 'goods' (Trigger, 1990; Berger, 1991).

The idea that indigenous peoples have a communal rather than a private concept of property (Rogers, 1975) is somewhat simplistic. While aboriginal societies could be termed communal in nature because they place great importance on the value of sharing and reciprocity (Mailhot, 1965; Leacock, 1971; Henriksen, 1973; Brody, 1987; Ashini, 1989; Wenzel, 1991), to view them as having a communal concept of property is misleading because the idea of land as property was unknown in the indigenous world before the time of contact. In the Native person's world, land is not a "commodity but the heritage of the community" (Berger, 1991). The 'ownership' and 'use' of land are concepts that are foreign to an Amerindian (Momaday, 1976). Innu culture is no different. There is no term in Innu-aimun, the mother tongue of the Innu people, to refer to property ownership. In Innu-aimun, terms used to refer to the land denote feelings of responsibility for and protection towards the environment (Donnelly, 1992).

The use of the word 'sacred' (Rogers, 1975; Blundell, 1989) in describing Native peoples' relationship with the land is another potentially misleading term. 'Sacred' implies a romantic, 'hands-off' relationship. In reality, a Native person's relationship with the land is much more symbiotic and interactive (Vecsey, 1980). This is not to say that the

aboriginal relationship to land and nature is not deeply spiritual, but rather that the application of a European religious term to this relationship is deceptive. Native peoples do not have the same relationship with land that Euro-Americans have with God. For an indigenous person, nature is more than a religion and land is neither a good nor a god. Land and nature are life itself.

Yet many Native people describe nature in religious terms as in the following passage by Daniel Ashini, Chief of the Innu community of Sheshatshiu: "I cannot emphasize strongly enough the point that country life for the Innu people gives great meaning and self-worth. The land is a spiritual place for us, like a cathedral to Europeans" (1987: 9). The Innu people derive, as do other Native peoples, self-confidence and identity from their relationship with the land. Aboriginal people have a great respect for nature, which reflects not only reverence for the Creator but also self-respect, since humans and nature, while not the same thing, are not different (Malthiessen, 1984). Nature gives and takes life, but it is not 'sacred' in the sense of being untouchable. We must be careful not to idealize or stereotype indigenous peoples and their relationship with the land as we did with the 'noble savage' of old.

A Native person's relationship with the land is a network of rights and responsibilities (Momaday, 1976). Reciprocity and respect are the governing concepts in this relationship (Blundell, 1989; Trigger, 1990). Natives take their sustenance from the land and, in return, take care not to abuse the privilege. Peter Penashue, president of Innu Nation, believes that the values of his people "contribute to an ethic of respect for the Earth." He feels that "industrial society...has separated itself from the Earth" (Penashue

and Donnelly, 1992: 3). The Native concept of the earth is one of an interconnected cycle in which all life deserves respect (Sioui, 1989; Jenness, 1991).

History Repeats Itself

The difference between European and indigenous world views has been evident since the time of first contact. Conflicts arising from these differences have always been rooted in the land (Rogers, 1975; Jacobs, 1980; Vescey, 1980; Eliades, 1987). From the very beginning, indigenous and European spirituality implied vastly different relationships with the land. The conflict over land was, and still is, a situation in which "indigenous Indian nations, who saw their environments as the sacred interdependence of the Creator's will, confronted waves of post-Renaissance Europeans who saw in the environment a natural resource ordained by God for their sole benefit" (Vecsey and Venables, 1980; x).

The dissimilarities do not end with religion. Something else that the Native peoples of Canada's North do not share with the dominant Euro-Canadian culture is an agricultural heritage. Northern aboriginal hunters do not have a "peasant or urban consciousness" (Brody, 1987: 13). Hunting peoples like the Innu and Inuit of Labrador, because they are not attached to specific plots of land, have ideas about land that are distinct from Euro-Canadians. Among the most notable of these ideas is an indifference to private ownership (Brody, 1987). Nomadic Innu hunters place great importance on physical well-being. Europeans brought with them a religion which taught its followers to repress their physical being (Bailey, 1937). Europeans sought protection from their physical selves and from the physical world. Native peoples, being part of nature, saw and see the land as their

home and their means of survival (Brody, 1975). Whites see the northern land and climate as a harsh, daunting adversary. Technology serves to control and protect them from this environment (Brody, 1975). If a profit can be made in doing so, all the better.

Christopher Vescey claims that even the 'conservation movement' is tinged with the "Christian-Renaissance-commercial view of nature as something to be exploited through scientific method and technology" (1980: 35). In essence, it is an ideal based on efficiency rather than obligation (Vescey, 1980). There is no fundamental sense of reverence or respect here. Numerous conflicts over land between Native and non-Native have shown time and time again that Euro-Americans see land and nature as something that "must be exploited, used and dominated" (Rogers, 1975: 108). In contrast, the average Native person believes that human beings live and work in cooperation with the land. Land and nature are "not to be destroyed for materialistic gain but to be enjoyed as a complement to man himself" (Rogers, 1975: 108). The Innu live in a world in which they are part of an interdependent living web. People who support the Defence Department's low-level flying activities live in a world in which high-technology jets are a means to protection and employment.

Long before the Inuit first came into contact with Europeans approximately 200 years ago, and before the Innu first saw a White person, the cultures of each of these groups was formed. Low-level flying did not bring about a conflict in attitudes and values; the differences that underlie this conflict were already there. Innu and Inuit feelings about the land and about nature precede low-level flight activities in Labrador, as do those of Whites. The conflict over low-level flying functioned as a catalyst and as a mirror. Low-

level flying, as is the case in so many other confrontations between Natives and non-Natives across North America, brings into focus dissimilar attitudes, values and visions.

Prisms of Labrador

Conflict over land and land-use between Natives and non-Natives is at its core a contest of opposing cultures, economies and ecological values (Eliades, 1987; Bone, 1992). The attitudes, goals, preferences and values of the Innu, the Inuit and the DND and its supporters are widely different. William Andersen III, the president of the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA), sees this difference as a "huge gap between the vision which the Labrador Inuit have of their world and the way they would like it to work, and the kind of view which Newfoundlanders and Canadians take of their societies and for the place Labrador Inuit occupy within those societies" (1990: 4). Evidence of the gap between Innu and Euro-Canadian values is revealed by the Innu's confrontational approach to non-Native ways of thinking and doing. The Innu live in a world that is little recognizable to the non-Native. Innu and Inuit values and aspirations are often foreign and incomprehensible to most Euro-Canadians. These disparate visions are reflected in how each of these groups relates to the environment of Labrador.

The military see Labrador as an excellent training ground for their pilots. Labrador's climate, terrain and location offer near ideal conditions for low-level flight training activities (National Defence, 1989; Jeffs, 1992). One of the things that the military likes to stress about Labrador is its relatively low population density. In its <u>Goose Bay</u> EIS (National Defence, 1989), the DND includes several maps which compare the

population densities of Labrador with those of various NATO countries. In a National Film Board production called Hunters and Bombers (1990), Colonel Phil Engstad, former Commanding Officer of CFB Goose Bay, states that, "the beauty of low-flying in Labrador is that there's not one permanent residence in our low flying area which encompasses 100,000 km²". In any case Engstad maintains, low-level flying activity does not use the land, just the air space above it. Moreover, the low-level flying areas are large enough to accommodate any deviations from scheduled flight paths (Hunters and Bombers, 1990). Robert Fowler, the assistant Deputy Minister for policy at the Defence Department, says that there are no records of Innu being harmed by low-level flights and that low-level flying activities do not constitute cultural genocide ("We won't", 1989). The Defence Department strongly feels that any negative effects caused by low-level flying are offset by 'mitigation' and 'avoidance' (National Defence, 1989; Jeffs, 1992). Furthermore, the Defence Department claims that it bends over backwards to facilitate communication with other groups in the community (Jeffs, 1992).

The town of Happy Valley-Goose Bay shares the view of the Defence Department that the low-level flying area is uninhabited. In a statement released in the fall of 1990 the mayor of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Harry Baikie, makes it clear that the town is opposed to the position of the demonstrators on the runways of CFB Goose Bay (Baikie, 1990). The press release states that, "there are NO people in the 100,000-square kilometre area used for pilot training. No more than 200 people go into the area to hunt, and there are never that many people in the area at one time....No evidence exists to support claims that pilot training harms the environment" (Baikie, 1990. Author's emphasis). The mayor

reiterated this last point in an interview in the fall of 1992. Baikie, a trapper himself, feels that non-Innu hunters and trappers travel in the same territories that the Innu use with a minimum of trouble by simply making a phone call to the Base and notifying Base Operations of their intended destinations (Baikie, 1992). In Baikie's (1992) opinion the Innu have adopted an uncooperative political stance.

The head of the DND's Goose Bay Management Office, C.D. Young, claims that the situation in Goose Bay has been a "continual misrepresentation of the facts" from the beginning (1990: 18). The pertinent facts, in Young's opinion, are that very few people use the area, and even then, they only do so sporadically. Young, like Engstad and Baikie, points out that no one 'lives' in the area. He also objects to what he sees as the propaganda of the Innu and cautions that the DND is not going to oppose low-level flying on an emotional basis. In Young's (1990) opinion, the Labrador Inuit have been far more professional than the Innu in their approach to the conflict over low-level flying.

The different attitudes and values of the Natives and non-Natives of Labrador are also apparent in their disparate visions of what constitutes development for the area. CFB Goose Bay brings the greatest amount of income and employment to central Labrador. Harry Baikie (1992) says that the Base is the "backbone" of the economy in Happy Valley-Goose Bay. Native leaders feel that military activity is not development. After all, taxpayers are footing the bill (Andersen, 1992) for military activities that 'practice to kill people' (Penashue, 1992). Others feel that opponents of military activity are not considering the social ills that accompany unemployment and the loss of jobs that would occur if the Base were to close (Finlay, 1990; Rudkowski, 1992).

It is clear that while the DND and the supporters of low-level flying see Labrador as an uninhabited wilderness or as a frontier to be exploited, the Innu and Inuit view it as a homeland. The nomadic and seasonal nature of their hunting and fishing activities means that they have no permanent year-round dwellings in any one particular place in the low-level flight-training areas. The Innu and Inuit lack of attachment to a specific piece of land is not evidence that their attachment to the land and the area is weak or spurious. The Innu and Inuit may not 'live' in the area in the European sense of the term, yet Nitassinan (Labrador) is still their home.

The Innu see low-level flying as a personal assault on their land. They believe that it threatens their way of life because it frightens both people and wildlife (Ashini et al., 1986; Ashini, 1987). The normally tranquil bush life is disrupted and violated by the fighter jets. Bush life helps keep the Innu culture alive (Mailhot, 1987). The land is an integral part of bush life and "without the land", the Innu claim, they have "no way of life" (Ashini, 1989: 10). The Inuit feel the same way. Judy Rowell (1990), Environmental Advisor to the LIA, describes how and why the Inuit feel so strongly about the potential effects of low-level flying:

Labrador Inuit have always depended on fish and wildlife from the land and waters of northern Labrador; their culture, economy, and livelihood depends on access to healthy animals, fish, and birds. The low-level flying [is]...located in the heartland of Labrador Inuit hunting, trapping, and fishing territory. A threat to this environment is a threat to the survival of Labrador Inuit (12).

For the Innu and Inuit of the Labrador then, defence of the natural environment means defence of themselves and of their cultures, whereas national defence is of great potential harm.

Innu and Inuit do not differ in their views of land and nature but they do differ in how they deal with the issue of low-level flying itself. Historically the Innu have shown a willingness to adapt to change; their resistance to low-level flying is not evidence that they are stuck in the past or that they are anti-White (Mailhot, 1987). Culturally speaking, while northern Native hunters do not reject the value of innovation, it is the integrity of lands and the right to continue to make use of the lands in a manner of their own choosing that they value above all else (Brody, 1987: 221). In the past the Innu have protested only when their access to the land and its resources is threatened. The protest against low-level flying is evidence of a continuing pattern of great resistance to the negation of or infringement upon Innu territorial rights (Mailhot, 1987).

The Inuit too have a strong attachment to the land but are more willing to negotiate. The LIA has a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the DND that outlines the "specific arrangements intended to prevent,...monitor and mitigate impacts of Low-Level Flying on the environment, wildlife and Inuit of northern Labrador" and provides for the "meaningful participation" of the Inuit in monitoring and mitigation activities (Labrador Inuit Association, 1990: 2). The Inuit are not opposed to "military presence per se", rather they are opposed to "the lack of...any control of how the activity is carried out" (Andersen, 1992). The Inuit feel that since there is little they can do to change decisions made by NATO or by the DND, then the best thing to do is to try and have some control over these activities. The Innu question the need for any military activity in their territory. The only thing the federal government or the Defence Department wants to talk about, the Innu say, is "mitigation, mitigation, mitigation" (Penashue, 1992).

William Andersen III (1992) attributes the different approaches of the Inuit and the Innu to cultural differences, to differences in the length of time that the Inuit and the Innu have been in contact with Europeans and to the different religious denominations of the two groups.⁷ The Inuit have been exposed to Europeans for approximately 150 years longer than have the Innu (Andersen, 1992). It was only in the period between 1940 and 1960 that the Innu began to change their seasonal hunting and gathering activities and to settle in villages for at least part of the year (Mailhot, 1965). Numerous pressures compelled the Innu into a sedentary lifestyle. Government services, religious institutions and commercial establishments were some of the developments that led to the centralization of the Innu population into settlements (Charest, 1982, Penashue, 1992). This had a very negative effect on the Innu because "suddenly people who had authority and power...were now dependent on other people to make the decisions for them....whether they like[d] it or not" (Penashue, 1992). The Innu started going back into the country in the 1970s and they attribute their renewed strength and self-confidence to this movement (Penashue, 1992).

A dichotomy exists between bush life and settlement life of the Innu. Life in the bush involves hunting and gathering activities, which encourage independent (Brody, 1975) and innovative thinking. In the settlement, the Euro-Canadian way of thinking is dominant (Mailhot, 1987). Tanner describes the social setting in the settlement as a "unique type of colonial encounter" (1979: 2). Social relations are different in the settlement; there is

⁷ The Inuit of Labrador are Protestant. They were first introduced to this religion by Moravian missionaries around the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Innu are predominately Catholic.

a lot more interpersonal conflict here than there is in the bush (Henriksen, 1973). Far from the routine and competitive pressures of the settlement, Innu bush life stresses sharing and interdependence, as well as the offering experience of 'firsthand' learning (Henriksen, 1973). The values that are integral to the Innu cultural are fostered by bush life (Penashue, 1992) and it is for this reason that the land is so important to the Innu.

Land Claims or Land Rights?

The positions of the federal and provincial governments with respect to this issue appear to favour, as do other supporters of CFB Goose Bay, the settlement of land claims as a way of answering Innu objections to low-level flying. When the then federal Defence Minister, Bill McKnight, walked out of a meeting with the Innu, Pierre Cadieux, Minister of Indian Affairs, stepped in. During his visit to Sheshatshiu and Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Cadieux made it clear that he felt the land claims process was the best way to proceed with Innu grievances (Maher, 1989). Bill Rompkey (1990), the federal Minister of Parliament for Labrador, feels that, at the present, there is no alternative to low-level flying in terms of economic development. Rompkey (1990) says that he is not aware of any negative impacts caused by low-level flying.

The Newfoundland government states that it wishes to work with the Native peoples of Labrador to get their input on policy decisions that are of concern to them, to help them set up their own "economic development strategies" and to proceed with negotiations to settle land claims and establish "agreed levels of self-government" (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1992: 18). The provincial government, however, continues

to follow a land claims policy that both Innu and Inuit leaders consider to be tantamount to selling their souls (Maher, 1989; Andersen, 1990; Penashue, 1992). Neither the Innu nor the Inuit find the Newfoundland government's policy of "certainty and finality" acceptable (Haysom, 1990: 8).

For its part, the municipal government of Happy Valley-Goose Bay has consistently voiced its support of a land claims package for the Innu. Hank Shouse, former mayor of Happy Valley, believes that the Innu have hurt themselves by not filing a land claim at the same time as the LIA (Maher, 1989). Shouse accuses the Innu of squandering federal funds intended for land claims studies and questions whether or not the Innu want a "resolution of the whole thing" (Maher, 1989: 10). Harry Baikie, the current major of Happy Valley, believes that a land claims settlement will help lessen tensions in the area. A local businesswoman and former chairperson of the Mokami Project Group, Claris Rudkowski, agrees. She feels that a land claims settlement can help the Innu cause because it will give them greater and improved control over education and economic development in their community and over their lives (Rudkowski, 1992).

The Innu have consistently maintained that the protests over low-level flying have never been a bid to get to the land claims negotiations table (Penashue, 1992). They see their struggle more in terms of land rights than land claims (Maher, 1989). For the Innu, questions of development and of land are personal (Penashue, 1993). A land claims settlement would not address the issue of political control and this is the critical problem facing the Innu (Wadden, 1991). Land rights which give the Innu control over how the land and its resources are used are much more important to the Innu than a land claims

settlement that involves surrendering title to Nitassinan (Ashini, 1989) and the setting up of a reservation. They are interested in negotiating political rights (Ashini, 1986; Penashue, 1992) and not in extinguishing their claims to the land (Maher, 1989) or in economic compensation (Ashini, 1987). Before the collapse of their talks with the federal and provincial governments, the Innu were trying to bring these issues to the table (Penashue, 1992).

William Andersen links the continued viability of his people to a holistic land claims settlement process. Aboriginal "rights to land and its resources cannot be separated from cultural, social, economic, and political issues", Andersen argues (1990: 5). This vision contrasts with the Canadian and Newfoundland governments' tendency to see land claims negotiations as a "cash-for-land deal" (Andersen, 1990: 5). Both Andersen and Penashue feel strongly that the surrender of title inherent in the land claims process is antithetical to an aboriginal relationship with the land (Andersen, 1990; Penashue, 1992). As Native leaders across Canada have already pointed out, this aspect of the land claims process is representative of the government's lack of understanding of the Native point of view. It also illustrates an underlying conflict in values between Native peoples' feelings about land and nature and those of society at large.

Different Visions, Different Strategies

Each of the various interest groups involved in the conflict over low-level flying stress different aspects of the debate according to their own priorities and concerns (MacDonald and Giesbrecht, 1983). It is possible to divide the interest groups in central Labrador into

three broad groups in terms of their main strategies and priorities in dealing with low-level flying. There are the two main aboriginal groups, the Innu and the Inuit, who see the protection of the environment as their first concern. Secondly, there are the federal, provincial and municipal governments, which favour low-level flying activities in Labrador because of the jobs it provides. The business representatives from the local communities also fall into this category. All of these groups feel that low-level flying is more beneficial than harmful to the area. The third group, the DND, can be viewed as the major 'developer' of the area.

The strategies of these three groups reflect their different priorities. The Defence Department's main emphasis is on the economic benefits that their activities bring to the area (Le Breton, 1986; National Defence, 1989). They also try to downplay any negative social impacts that may result from military activities (Le Breton, 1986). For the aboriginal groups, the possible loss of independence or social identity is the crucial issue (Ashini, 1989; Andersen, 1990; Wadden, 1991). These groups stress the social disruption brought on by the project and see minimal economic benefits accruing to them from the activity (Ashini, 1987; Mailhot, 1987). The three levels of government involved all follow the opinion of the majority by promoting economic growth (Rompkey, 1990; Baikie, 1992; Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1992).

The tactics of the three groups follow the pattern observed by Scott MacDonald and Norman Giesbrecht (1983) in their research into the impact of resource development in Northern Canada, namely, that each interest group has unique characteristics. MacDonald and Giesbrecht find that industry tends to use government channels more than

any other interest group. In Labrador, the industry is the DND and therefore 'industry' already has an inside track to government channels. Natives, MacDonald and Giesbrecht observe, use anecdotal material and are usually alienated from the decision-making framework. This is especially true for the Innu. The Inuit are closer to overcoming their alienation from the decision-making structures. The actions of the various levels of government involved in low-level flying are also much like those described by MacDonald and Giesbrecht. Remedial measures -- land claims negotiations could be included in this category -- are only taken as a result of significant local pressure (MacDonald and Giesbrecht, 1983).

Many of those who favour development also exhibit an attitude of "frontierism", in other words, there is an underlying assumption among proponents of development in the North that development is good for *all* Northerners (Brody, 1975: 221). The non-Native groups in central Labrador appear to share this attitude of 'frontierism'. Peter Armitage and John Kennedy (1989) argue that a "frontier situation" does indeed exist in the area. In central Labrador there is an opposition between those groups favouring the "'rational' development of the hinterland" and indigenous peoples and/or environmental groups. In this case the Innu represent the 'irrational' faction, while the non-Natives are the 'frontiersmen' (Armitage and Kennedy, 1989: 813).

Conclusion

Opposing visions of land and nature are reflected in the conflict over low-level flying in Labrador. The indigenous peoples view the region as a home and a means of survival.

Whites tend to view the natural environment of Labrador as harsh and hostile. Life in Labrador is a struggle and they are the last pioneers. They, unlike Natives, see land as something to be possessed. The Defence Department values Labrador for its vast 'uninhabited' wilderness.

This chapter begins and ends with a discussion of the differences between Native and non-Native relationships with land and nature. For Innu and Inuit, land means cultural survival. For Whites, the land is important because of the exploitable resources and employment possibilities it offers. Both groups need the land to live but disagree over how to live with it. As we shall see in the following chapter, new relationships are being formed that redefine and restructure the way in which Natives and non-Natives share the land.

CHAPTER FOUR

Sharing Nature: Common Property Resource Management

Introduction

This chapter attempts to answer several questions that are germane to the conflict over low-level flying in Labrador. How can the different perceptions of and relationships to land discussed in the previous chapter be reconciled? Does government have a role to play here and, if so, what is it? Land is the basis of the economy for both Native and non-Native communities, but in indigenous communities, land is also the basis of culture. How can this most basic aboriginal value be translated into existing Canadian institutions?

The most troublesome of all the questions raised in this thesis is the question of how to harmonize the disparate visions of Native and non-Native Canadians. Non-Native Canadians appear to place great value on what can be extracted from the land. The main concern of aboriginal Canadians is the maintenance of the balance between mankind, land and nature. The Innu believe that the NATO jets disrupt this balance. For them, the freedom and future of the Innu people are based on this balance. Paradoxically, the same balance that the Innu cherish is practically irrelevant to the successful practice of low-level flying. The Defence Department values the Quebec-Labrador peninsula for the one thing it lacks in quantity -- people. The DND also believes that the use of avoidance and mitigation measures can solve any conflicts over land use. The Innu believe that Innu in the bush camps cannot be avoided. They would like to have more say in what happens

to the living balance of which they are part. This implies that they must have more input into provincial and federal decisions over matters that affect their lifestyle. It is here that the conflict enters the realm of power, politics and jurisdiction.

Common property resource management offers the best hope for reconciling the divergent views inherent in the conflict over land in Labrador. Local-level or comanagement strategies present possibilities for the integration of elements of federal, provincial and municipal governments with the wisdom and experience of community members who are otherwise excluded from the management of local resources. In cases where development projects are contested and Native groups are involved, environmental assessment and land claims are often the only processes that permit local input. These processes hold the greatest promise for the setting up of common property resource management schemes, that is, for the sharing of nature.

Common Property Resources Are...

The commons, in one sense or another, has existed since the dawn of humanity. In its largest and most basic sense, the commons is a shared space. The 'global village' is a commons in this sense of the word. In a stricter sense, the commons is a piece of land that is shared by the local community. Recent interpretations of the commons expand its meaning to include the "social and political space...where people derive a sense of belonging and have an element of control over their lives" ("Whose Common Future?", 1992: 124). This interpretation corresponds with aboriginal thinking and values. It also

allows for a broader interpretation of the role of local people in common property resource management.

Common property resources are, quite simply, resources that are held in common. Air would be an obvious example. Public parks are another example of a common property resource. These resources have two major problems associated with them -- excludability and subtractability (Berkes, et al., 1989; Berkes and Farvar, 1989; Feeny, et al., 1990). Common property resources are easily accessible and therefore use of them is extremely difficult to control. This is the problem of excludability. Canada, for instance, has a 200 mile coastal fishing limit, but this does not prevent other countries from harvesting fish that travel outside the limit. Wildlife, especially migratory species (Feeny, et al., 1990), present particular difficulties because their ranges often straddle jurisdictional boundaries.

The second major problem, subtractability, implies that one person's use of the resource interferes with someone else's use of that resource. Subtractability, in the form of foreign fishing fleets, is often cited as one of the major causes of declining fish stocks off Canada's east coast (Myers, 1992; Peckford, 1993). Groundwater is another good example of a common property resource where subtractability is a problem (Feeny, et al., 1990).

The examples of common property resources mentioned above share the problems of excludability and subtractability. So too do many of the resources involved in the conflict over low-level flying. The most critical resource in this case, land, is, by definition, Crown land. As far as the governments of Canada and Newfoundland are concerned, the territory that the Innu and Inuit live and travel on is the property of the

state. The Defence Department only wants to make use of the air space. However, this interferes with life on the ground. Low-level flying has a negative effect on birds, fish and mammals in the opinion of the Innu. These resources are an integral part of the social and political space of the Innu.

Classical Problems and Contemporary Thinking

Classical definitions and solutions offered by the common property resource literature rest firmly on the concept of land and resources as property. Much of this discussion revolves around various ways to regulate and control the use of the resource. Not much attention is given to the community in classical theories of common property resources. The individual appears as a totally rational, profit maximizing, cost minimizing 'economic man'. Successful management is seen as depending upon exclusion and the institution of private property. These tenets are the mainstay of the classical understanding of the 'tragedy of the commons'.

Garrett Hardin (1968) epitomizes the classical approach to common property resource management and it was he who coined the phrase 'tragedy of the commons'. Private or state ownership, Hardin argues, is essential to the success of a common property regime because it permits the allocation of entry rights to the commons. Hardin also asserts that the commons approach to the management of resources is only "justifiable" under conditions of low population density (1968: 1248) because the actions of rational 'economic man' lead to inefficiency under commons conditions. The underlying assumption is that each user of the common property resource will continue using the

resource past the point where it is efficient to do so. This implies that all users will suffer because of the greed of a few. Hardin concludes that a commons situation will eventually lead to pollution and degradation of the resource. Scott Gorden (1954), one of the first to apply economic theory to common property resources, also believes that the unregulated use of the commons leads to deterioration. In his case study of the fishery, Gorden concludes that the only efficient way to manage a common property resource is to limit access to it through the institution of private or state ownership.

Contemporary thinkers have criticized the classical interpretation of common property resources on many levels. For instance, Hardin's assumptions do not always hold true: resource users do not always have unlimited access to the commons, individual behaviour is not always unconstrained, demand is not always greater than supply and users are sometimes capable of changing the rules (Feeny, et al., 1990: 12). Hardin does not explore communal property resource regimes, nor does he seem aware of the failures of private and state common property resource regimes. Evidence exists which suggests that communal property rights can effectively exclude users (Berkes and Feeny, 1990), while state and private property regimes can fail to provide adequate exclusion (Acheson, 1989; Feeny, et al., 1990).

A distinction needs to be made here between common property resources and property rights regimes. The former refers to the resources themselves, while the latter refers to different types of property rights. Four kinds of property rights are discussed in the literature on common property resources: open access, private property, communal

property and state property (Feeny, et al., 1990). The 'commons' is a social institution, a fact which Hardin has been criticized for missing (McKay and Acheson, 1987).

Hardin's (1968) assertion that the commons can only succeed where there is low population density has also been challenged. Fishing in Japan is offered by Feeny and his colleagues as an example of a common property resource regime that works in an area with a high population density (Feeny, et al., 1990: 7). Feeny and co-authors also point out that private property rights frequently lead to the unsustainable use of resources because rational owners will try to maximize present value.

Similar criticisms of Hardin's theory are made by other authors. Berkes and his co-authors (1989) claim that Hardin's model falls down because it confuses common property regimes with open access and because it assumes that individual behaviour is unconstrained by local institutional arrangements. Hardin's assumptions are accused of being weak because, among other things, they betray an underlying faith in private property, 'economic man' and technical capacity (Acheson, 1989: 357; see also McKay and Acheson, 1987).

The 'tragedy of the commons' scenario is also questioned on the basis of the paradigms it represents. Hardin's hypothesis has roots in two schools of thought: the first, based on the work of Thomas Hobbes, promotes the idea that society and nature exist in a state of conflict, while the second, derived from the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, is based on the premise that society needs a higher authority to function effectively (Berkes

⁸ Many authors refer to the aboriginal concept of land as communal property, but I argue in Chapter Three that this is plainly a 'White' definition.

and Feeny, 1990). Classical approaches to common property resources also betray a bias towards 'survival of the fittest' thinking (Berkes, 1989).

The stress that the 'tragedy of the commons' model places on competition and conflict is problematic for many critics. Most contemporary thinkers on the subject of common property resources believe that Hardin's argument ignores the ability of individuals, working together as communities, to cooperate towards common interests. In other words, Hardin's theory overlooks the possibility that the behaviour of local users can be self-regulating and sustainable (McKay and Acheson, 1987; Acheson, 1989; Berkes, et al., 1989). There are even those who claim that government policies based on the classical interpretation of common property resources lead to wasteful practices and harmful technologies (Myers, 1992). Faced with these criticisms, it is not difficult to see why the hunting and gathering practices of aboriginal peoples are viewed by many as an alternative to classical common property resource management regimes. The contemporary approach to common property resources argues for a new paradigm -- a paradigm which recognizes the viability of communal and community control of resources (Berkes and Feeny, 1990).

The views of property inherent in Hardin's model are based on Western way.. of thinking about property (Berkes and Farvar, 1989). These highly culture-bound views do not hold cross-culturally (Acheson, 1989). Anthropologists have shown that various societies do control resources. This control is usually based on community-level rule and local knowledge. Examples of community management techniques include open or controlled access to resources, quotas, technological or area restrictions, restrictions on

the age, size or sex of animals taken, secrecy, and/or temporary property rights (Acheson, 1989).

Hunters and Gatherers

Aboriginal resource use is often categorized as communal in nature (Acheson, 1989; Berkes, et al., 1989; Berkes and Feeny, 1990; Feeny, et al., 1990; Kapashesit and Klippenstein, 1991). This means that the principles of aboriginal resource use regimes "balance the needs of particular groups within the community and the collective good of all" (Kapashesit and Klippenstein, 1991: 934). The communal nature of these regimes is reflected by the practice of sharing. In Native communities, the responsibilities of hunting and gathering and of the harvest are shared among the whole community. The distribution of food in the community is seen as a right rather than as an obligation (Leacock, 1973). Sharing ensures that no member of the community goes hungry, whether they be infirm, incompetent or simply unlucky hunters (Mailhot, 1965; Henriksen, 1973; Brody, 1987).

Resource management, like the sharing of food, is part of the fabric of those indigenous societies that rely on nature for their physical or cultural sustenance. The 'tragedy' scenario does not happen under aboriginal management systems because of the "existence of an environmental ethic, a social system, and institutions resting on collective 'ownership' and self-management principles" (Kapashesit and Klippenstein, 1991: 935). Governments frequently fail to recognize the self-imposed rules of aboriginal management systems, yet there is ample evidence that "negative social sanctions, incentives and beliefs

affect and control Aboriginal hunting practices" (Kapashesit and Klippenstein, 1991: 933).

Feit (1971, 1979, 1982) has done extensive work on how Canadian subarctic hunters manage resources. His experience with the Cree of James Bay reveals that hunters have a dynamic relationship with their environment and take an active role in maintaining it. Aboriginal hunters use techniques such as intermittent and rotational harvesting. These practices ensure that hunting territories are left 'fallow' for periods of time to ensure future supplies of game. Alternative food supplies are also used when a species becomes scarce in a certain area (Feit, 1979). In the management of hunting territories, no one maintains exclusive or absolute rights (Scott, 1988); the management of resources is a community concern.

The behaviour of Innu hunting groups is a reflection of the Innu approach to resource management. Two or three families often travel and camp together during sojourns in the bush. These small groups are efficient because hunting groups have to be mobile (Mailhot, 1965). The constant movement of caribou -- the major source of bush food -- makes any claim to a particular territory meaningless (Henriksen, 1973). The mobility of Innu hunting groups allows them to follow the game; if the animals are not plentiful in one area, the group can casily move camp (Mailhot, 1965). This practice ensures that game is not over-hunted in any one area.

The Innu perspective on development is equally conscious of nature's balance. The Innu have a healthy ecological consciousness because of long years of first-hand experience with the subarctic environment. Penashue (1992), the president of Innu Nation, is opposed to many of the types of development that the Newfoundland government

proposes for Labrador. He questions the use of clear-cut and machine harvesting in the extremely fragile forests of Labrador. In his opinion, the hand-harvesting of trees would not only be less disruptive to the ecosystem, but would also lead to greater employment opportunities for local people. The Innu are also against the proposed development of the lower Churchill river, for both political and ecological reasons (Penashue, 1992). Flooding displaces people and wildlife. Basically, the Native groups of Labrador favour a management regime that encourages community or regional control of the development of the land and its resources (Lethbridge, 1992).

Alternative Strategies

Alternative common property resource management strategies are emerging from the close examination of aboriginal resource and land use practices. Closer attention is also being paid to the concerns of local communities affected by development and resource use. Evidence from aboriginal and local resource management strategies suggests that common property resource use does not have to be destructive. Community or local-level control of common property resources can be sustainable and efficient. Co-management, where government and local communities share responsibility and management for resources, is one way in which the concerns and experience of the community can be integrated into governmental processes. The wisdom of local community members is the greatest asset of a common property resource regime.

Alternative common property resource regimes stress the ecological/economic perspective of resource use. This perspective, unlike Hardin's model which imposes legal

and political structures on the commons, is responsive to social relationships and to changes in land use. The legal and political means of enclosing the commons are secondary to the strategies initiated by the commoners in the ecological/economic approach (McKay and Acheson, 1987).

An ecological/economic regime could solve some of the problems associated with low-level flying and similar controversial development projects in Labrador. It would answer to residents' objections to decisions made by 'experts' from outside the area (Penashue, 1992; Rudkowski, 1992; Saunders, 1992; Wood, 1992). At the present time, most of the decisions concerning development and resource use in the area follow the pattern of a legal/political regime in which government officials, far removed from the scene, make decisions *for* local communities. The ecological/economic strategy responds to the Innu reality because it treats the 'commons' like a social institution instead of like a property regime gone astray.

There are four basic criteria that a good common property resource regime should fulfil in order to function well. It should be efficient, stable, resilient and equitable. A well-functioning common property resource regime can provide several services, such as possibilities for conflict resolution, resource conservation and ecological sustainability. These regimes can also ensure security of livelihood and production, as well as access equity (Berkes and Farvar, 1989).

The success of these four criteria depends on the institutional environment that defines who controls what and how techniques are applied (Gibbs and Bromley, 1989).

There are three basic requirements that need to be fulfilled by the institutional arrangement

in order for a common property resource regime to succeed. Firstly, common property regimes need to be responsive to local conditions. Policy and administration should vary to reflect local variations (Gibbs and Bromley, 1989). Governments must recognize that flexibility is a strength in such situations. This may lead to various combinations of common property institutions and property rights regimes (Berkes and Feeny, 1990). The second important factor is that governments must be willing to legitimize local common property institutions and encourage the participation of local users (Gibbs and Bromley, 1989; Berkes and Feeny, 1990). Case studies from James Bay suggest that the success of local-level or co-management strategies often depend upon legitimization by the central government (Berkes, et al., 1989). Thirdly, the above considerations require that the administration of common property resource regimes be decentralized. Governments have to get accustomed to sharing power and they need to change current thinking and practices that emphasize centralized management practices (Gibbs and Bromley, 1989; Berkes and Feeny, 1990).

Alternative common property resource management regimes that require the devolution of central power enable local community members to have greater involvement in the management process. Various terms, such as co-management (Berkes and Feeny, 1990), local-level management (Freeman, 1990) and community regulation (Ostrom, 1990), are used to describe these regimes. While the terms used to describe them may be different, the basic goal of all these regimes is the same: to bring local users and government managers together in a collaborative decision-making process in which the duties and responsibilities of resource management are shared (Berkes and Feeny, 1990).

Co-management strategies that integrate Southern policies with indigenous knowledge go a long way to solving many of the conflicts over land and resources in Canada's North (Meredith, 1983). One example of this type of co-management that is already being tried in Canada is the Beverly and Kaminuriak Caribou Management Board, which is a co-management board representing wildlife users and government (Canadian Wildlife Service, 1989). Aboriginal ecological wisdom is a valuable resource for local-level management regimes. For these types of shared management schemes to work, however, the "users have to be essentially co-owners with both rights and duties" because the communal nature of indigenous resource use systems rests on "collective ownership and self-management principles" (Berkes and Feeny, 1990: 54).

Community regulation is a proven method for successfully managing common property resources. In Ostrom's (1990) opinion, neither the state nor the market can compete with collective regulation when it comes to the long-term, productive use of natural resources. Community models are different from state and market institutions because they stress the importance of groups in institutional arrangements and the probability of a broader set of outcomes (McKay and Acheson, 1987). They fulfil two of the institutional requirements of a good common property resource regime because they are localized and flexible.

Classical economic analysis such as cost/benefit analysis does not have the ability to integrate ecological values because it discounts the future value of resources and treats all impacts as if they are reversible (Goodland, et al., 1989; Grima and Berkes, 1989). Community-based arrangements offer a localized physical setting in which shared norms

and patterns of reciprocity can develop and be maintained (Ostrom, 1990). If ecologically sound development is to be carried out, it is vital that local people be involved; it is the local population that has the most to lose by unsound management practices ("Whose Common Future?", 1992). Local people have the greatest interest, and the greatest experience, in protecting the commons.

Since it is clear that the integration of local knowledge is necessary to the success of common property resource management, this leads one to the question of what form will these alternative management systems take. Aboriginal wisdom and experience, intuitive thinking and non-hierarchical institutional structures are some of the ways local knowledge can be used and applied (Payne and Graham, 1984; Brundtland, 1987; Freeman, 1989; Berkes and Feeny, 1990). The successful management of common property resources is much more than a story of successful regulation or profitable development; it is also a tale of social and cultural triumph for the surrounding communities. With the help of local communities the commons can be at once open-ended, receptive, adaptable, dynamic and personal. Common property resource regimes are "locally based, responsive to community imperatives, sensitive to changes in the resource base, and grounded in the vernacular" (Meredith, 1983: 108). The effective management of these regimes can contribute to local or group power in an egalitarian manner and it can ensure common safety ("Whose Common Future?", 1992). In short, it is a superb tool for the empowerment of local communities -- if it works -- and it can only work with the cooperation of government.

Land Claims, Impact Assessment and Conflict Resolution

Land claims negotiations and impact assessment are two political processes that provide governments with the opportunity of encouraging input from aboriginal and local communities. If there is a conflict between Native peoples and non-Natives over land in which the question of 'ownership' is yet to be settled, then the political response is to set in motion a land claims process. Impact assessment is fast becoming the accepted way of dealing with the objections of local communities to proposed development projects. Land claims and impact assessment can allow for the input of local communities and are, therefore, processes which offer possibilities for the integration of aboriginal and local resource use strategies into existing political structures.

Local input at the land claims negotiation table implies not only the involvement of government and aboriginal peoples, but also input from other concerned communities. In Labrador this does not appear to be a problem as the community of Happy Valley-Goose Bay trusts the provincial government to look after the interests of the community (Baikie, 1992). The Innu and Inuit have expressed dissatisfaction with a land claims process that requires an *a priori* abnegation of their rights (Andersen, 1990; Penashue, 1992). Like Native peoples all across Canada, the Innu hope that the land claims process can become less a struggle for property and more a tool for aboriginal self-government and political control (Bone, 1992; Penashue, 1992).

The Innu believe that their current relationship with the provincial government is a cumbersome one and would like to have direct dealings with the federal government.

This would mean that the Innu would come under the Indian Act and would therefore be

in the same position as the rest of the aboriginal peoples in Canada ("Labrador Innu", 1992; McRae, 1993). Thomas Siddon, the federal Minister of Indian Affairs, says that Ottawa is not about to change its relationship with the Innu. He claims that no obvious need has been demonstrated that would bring about such a change and declares that it rests with the Innu to trace their history so that their status can be confirmed and reserves can be created ("Labrador Innu", 1992). As it now stands, the Innu, and the Inuit, must sit down to the land claims table with both the government of Newfoundland and Labrador as well as the government of Canada. Present federal policy defers to provincial jurisdiction on lands, resources and wildlife, so in the case of the common property resources being discussed here, the provincial government has the upper hand. Sadly, intergovernmental competition for authority and power often "eclipses the interests and values that are really at stake" at the land claims negotiations table (Haysom, 1990: 10).

It is doubtful that the government of Newfoundland and Labrador would be willing to get involved in a common property resource management scheme even though these regimes are being tried elsewhere in Canada⁹. As of January 1993, the Newfoundland government has broken off land claims negotiations with the Innu. The Innu removal of some 100 hydro metres from their homes provided the excuse. The Innu sincerely believe that the Newfoundland government is trying to destroy them (Ashini, 1993). Despite its commitment to working with "aboriginal peoples in Labrador to ensure their input into

The Teme-Augama Anishnabai band and the Ontario government have just reached a tentative land claims settlement that resembles a 'localized' common property resource management regime in many ways. The Teme-Augama people will share in land use and land management decisions on Crown land surrounding the claim. In addition to this, a "shared stewardship body" will be created which will have authority over the land and resources of approximately 1,295 km² around Lake Temagami (Powell, 1993).

government policy decisions that particularly affect them" (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1992: 18), the actions of the Newfoundland government offer little evidence of any willingness to consult with the people of Labrador, aboriginal or otherwise, about development projects in the area.

Impact assessment is another process which involves local communities and holds promise for conflict resolution. The present impact assessment framework tends to polarize participants and to put them into antagonistic roles (Tanner, 1992). A sore point for aboriginal peoples is that their 'traditional' ecological wisdom is not respected in this process because little credence is given to anecdotal evidence. Another problem is that 'after-the-fact' hearings are frequently seen as a waste of time by both proponents and opponents. A restructuring of the impact assessment process implies opening it to communities involved before, during and after the preparation of the impact statement. Furthermore, impact assessment should not be viewed as a closed, one-time process that ends with public hearings and the publication of an impact statement. Rather, it should be viewed as an on-going procedure, lasting long after the commencement of a project (Mulvihill, 1993).

One of the complaints raised by Native groups at the 1989 federal environmental assessment and review hearings on low-level flying was that the panel had no mandate to address the project's viability. The panel's mandate was also criticized for ignoring the political complications surrounding low-level flying (Armitage, 1986b; Ashini, et al., 1986). One of the major issues for the Innu is that low-level flying violates their territory, and, by extension, the sovereignty of Innu Nation. The assessment panel has no way to

address such issues. Impact assessment, even social impact assessment, is a 'scientific' process and it is the government's responsibility to deal with political and jurisdictional problems. Impact assessment, because of its narrow mandate, is not capable of attacking a problem in a holistic manner. It is an ironic case of getting lost in a forest of too few trees.

Conclusion

There are many problems associated with the current resolution strategies that are being used in the North. For example, market solutions fail to incorporate divergent values; private bargaining raises questions about the public interest; litigation is a costly and confrontational affair; and legislation is slow and usually not representative of local concerns (Young, 1992: 110-112). Land claims and impact assessment are two processes that offer new possibilities for the resolution of conflict over land and resources in the North. This is particularly true for common property resources when input from local communities is essential. With expanded mandates, land claims and impact assessment can be used to set up alternative common property resource regimes. These expanded processes can incorporate substantive conflict resolution strategies, such as minimizing conflict, optimal mixes of uses, lexicographic orderings (ranking of relevant values), zonal systems and primacy of rights (Young, 1992: 114-117).

Common property resource regimes offer a way out of costly and ineffective centralized management schemes while nurturing the empowerment of local communities.

Cooperative management that stresses the ecological/economic perspective forces

governments to abandon colonial attitudes and classical views of resources. These types of management schemes can be very helpful in situations like the conflict over low-level flying. When existing methods are not working, it is time to look to the horizon for alternatives.

CHAPTER FIVE

Shifting Horizons: Questions and Comments

Flight and Fight

This thesis has tried to give some insights into the conflict over low-level flying in Labrador. At first glance, it is a conflict over military activity, but closer examination reveals that it is really a confrontation of perceptions, attitudes, values and world views. Different visions of freedom, of peace, of land, of nature, and even of life itself, are at the core of this conflict.

The height of the Innu protests were between 1986 and 1990. In 1988, tents were set up at the end of the runways of CFB Goose Bay and the media came to watch as the people of central Labrador struggled to deal with the painful reality of the divergent visions they were being forced to face. The Innu also went on Canadian and European speaking tours, initiated court proceedings and camped on the practice bombing range of CFB Goose Bay in an effort to bring attention to their concerns.

The cancellation of the proposed NATO Centre early in 1991 cleared the air but did not end the battle. The Innu do not fool themselves that their demonstrations were the reason for this cancellation. They believe that the fall of the Berlin Wall had more to do with the change in plans than did any other factor (Penashue, 1992). While the Defence Department attributes the changing geo-political climate and lack of funding as the major reasons for NATO's decision not to set up a Fighter Training Centre at CFB

Goose Bay, it also admits that local concerns did play a role in the final decision (Jeffs, 1992).

The Innu are continuing their protests. They no longer camp on the runways and their story in no longer 'hot', but they still go on speaking tours and conduct awareness campaigns. For them, the bilateral agreements are just as harmful as the NATO Centre (Ashini, 1986). No amount of low-level flying is acceptable to them and the governments insistence on carrying out these activities is proof that they are trying to destroy the Innu people (Ashini, 1993).

The low-level flights are not about to end. The Defence Department is currently negotiating to renew its MMOU with the British, Germans and Dutch when the current agreement runs out in 1996 (Jeffs, 1992). The Inuit have decided they have no power to change what NATO or the Defence Department does, so they are trying to get some control over whatever activities do get carried out (Andersen, 1992). The Innu are choosing to remain 'outside' the arena. They have repeatedly refused offers from the mayor of Happy Valley-Goose Bay to meet and talk (Baikie, 1992; Penashue, 1992). Their feeling is that such meetings would be a waste of time since representatives from Happy Valley-Goose Bay and the Innu people cannot agree on anything (Penashue, 1992).

Cultural Conundrums

The different attitudes and values of the Innu and the non-Natives of central Labrador are at the centre of the conflict over low-level flying. Their divergent views of land and nature make it difficult, if not impossible, for them to understand one another. Indeed, the Innu

relationship with the land is so radically different from that of non-Natives that they cannot even agree to disagree. Low-level flying has different implications for different people. The people of Happy Valley-Goose Bay realize that their town would not exist if it were not for the presence of the military base. CFB Goose Bay is the economy of central Labrador. The Innu feel that low-level flying destroys their link to the land and therefore threatens their culture. For one group, low-level flying is their livelihood; for the other, it destroys their livelihood.

Fancies and Fantasies

Alternative common property resource management strategies and innovative approaches to land claims negotiations and impact assessment are some of the avenues worth exploring in terms of conflict resolution. These strategies offer the possibility of 'opening up' decision-making processes and making them more flexible and localized. For these types of strategies to work, however, government has to be willing to legitimize local indigenous resource use strategies. There is sittle evidence that this about to happen in central Labrador.

The Inuit have worked long and hard at the land claims process, even though their vision of the world does not encompass the notion of surrendering land rights with "certainty and finality" (Andersen, 1990: 5). They have signed an MOU with the DND in the hope of having some input into the process (Andersen, 1992). Representatives from Happy Valley-Goose Bay feel that a land claims settlement for the Innu is the best, and perhaps only, option for a resolution of the conflict over low-level flying (Baikie, 1992;

Rudkowski, 1992; Saunders, 1992). Many of them complain that the government of Newfoundland treats Labrador as if it is a colony (Rudkowski, 1992; Saunders, 1992; Wood, 1992). The Innu, arguably the people with the closest connection to the physical landscape of Labrador, are perhaps the most isolated from the political landscape of the province. They do not appear to have any desire to work on collaborative projects, alternative or otherwise. Meanwhile, the provincial government uses Innu protests over other development projects as an excuse to stall processes that are working.

Metamorphosis

Alternative resource management strategies imply a change not only in decision-making procedures but also a change in thinking. The kinds of changes required entail more than an evolution, more than a devolution and more even than a quantum leap. What is called for is a metamorphosis of attitudes and values.

The intimate knowledge that aboriginal and local resources users have of the natural environment is, in itself, a valuable resource. The 'traditional' ecological wisdom of indigenous peoples shows that our relationship with the land does not have to lead to degradation of the natural environment. Does low-level flying degrade the environment? I don't know. Those who support low-level flying say there is no scientific proof to back Innu claims that this activity is 'killing' the land and the Innu. Are the Innu protests simply political games? I don't think so. The Innu have consistently and persistently objected to projects and activities which infringe on their freedom to travel and hunt on the land, even though there are many who claim that culture cannot be maintained by

lifestyles that are no longer 'traditional'. Is this a power struggle? Most certainly Ultimately, however, it is up to the people of central Labrador to shape their own horizons. The choices they make will always be shaped by their attitudes and values.

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