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A HEARTLAND - HINTERLAND ANALYSIS OF IMAGES
OF NORTHERN CANADA AS FRONTIER, WILDERNESS,
AND HOMELAND.

BY

• PAMELA MARGARET WHITE

A Thesis submitted to the Department
of Geography, Carleton University, in
partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Masters of Arts.

September, 1979

The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies acceptance of the thesis

"A HEARTLAND/HINTERLAND ANALYSIS OF
IMAGES OF NORTHERN CANADA AS FRONTIER
WILDERNESS AND HOMELAND"

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ABSTRACT

The thesis proposes a typology of three images of northern development. The images - the north as a frontier; the north as a wilderness; the north as a homeland - are hypothesized on the basis of a review of western society's changing attitudes to the unsettled regions of North America. The typology is tested by examination of the transcripts of three recent Commissions of Inquiry: the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, the Alaska Highway Pipeline Inquiry, and the Royal Commission of the Environment. The hypothesized northern image typology is supported in both heartland and hinterland regions of Canada. The results of the thesis contribute to the heartland/hinterland model of northern development.

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CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION

Canada's north lands have always been "hinterlands" from a European perspective. During the fur trade and whaling period arctic and sub-arctic Canada was a rich store house for Britain and France. Today staples such as timber, minerals and hydrocarbons are transported in unprocessed states from the resource hinterlands of northern Canada to the industrial heartlands of Southern Ontario, United States and overseas [Kerr: 1978]. In a market economy, hinterlands function as suppliers of raw materials for metropolitan industries; as a source of unskilled and semi-skilled labour required by the industrial system; and as a provisioner of recreation areas for metropolitan dwellers [Phillips: 1978]. In Canada, the north, the area beyond the limits of productive agriculture (c.f. Wonders: 1971), has fulfilled the hinterland role of supplier of raw materials and recreation to the hinterland. Due to its small resident population however, the north has not greatly contributed to the heartland labour force. Southern Canadian rural migrants and foreign immigrants

have traditionally supplied Canada's unskilled and semi-skilled labour force requirements.

Canada's northern hinterland operating as a supplier of resources has never attained the level of development maintained by heartland regions. Developed regions, for example southern Ontario, central Alberta and the Montreal area of Quebec exhibit a high degree of secondary manufacturing, and even distribution of social services and communications, lower levels of unemployment and higher employee attainment levels of skills and education. Conversely, hinterland regions such as northern Ontario, Labrador, the northern regions of the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia, nouveau Quebec, the Northwest Territories and the Yukon Territory¹ lack secondary industrialization, experience higher unemployment rates, the labour force is a less skilled one, and services are concentrated in a few regional centres [Phillips: 1978]. All of these hinterland characteristics are intensified for the resident native population of the regions.

The hinterland of northern Canada, then, is involved in a dependancy relationship with the industrial heartlands of central Canada and the United States. The heartland decides in large measure the type and location of development in the hinterland. At the psychological level the

1. In Canada, a southern hinterland includes the Maritime Provinces, the island of Newfoundland, and the Gaspé region of Quebec.

heartland influences the image the hinterland exhibits nationally and abroad. Canada's northern hinterland has since contact been embroidered by the controlling heartland of the day.

This study discusses the nature of today's northern hinterland image in the light of earlier images in order to discover the role of the heartland in creating images of place and the reaction from the hinterland to these images. Before this can be achieved, however, a discussion of geographic and other relevant literature concerning images of place must occur.

Images of Place

Images of place, man's conceptualization of natural and built environments, are frequently depicted in landscape painting, photography, architecture, poetry, literature and in the historical record [Saarinen: 1969]. Geographers have utilized these modes of landscape expression in order to learn more about the ways in which man structures the environment, and the emotional responses he has to his surroundings. In a pioneering study, Prince and Lowenthal [1964; 1965] attempted to relate a people's image of the region in which they are resident with the landscape they created. Their study of English landscape tastes indicates that the analysis of a culture's expression of landscape appreciation, as

portrayed in various mediums, permit grographers to gain insights into man's intentions when creating and changing the physical landscape. Their study also confirmed geographers' suppositions that man makes his landscape deliberately and with reference to a preconceived and idealized plan.

Subsequent to the Prince and Lowenthal articles, geographers have greatly expanded the horizons of inquiry to include the study of man's behavioural responses to natural and built environments. Many of the recent examinations follow avenues of investigation that do not concern this thesis and therefore shall not be discussed in detail. Briefly such research includes, for example, the perception of natural hazards [Burton, Kates, 1964; White, 1974], the fields of environmental planning [Saarinen, 1976] and environmental psychology [Downs, Stea, 1973].

Tuan's [1974, 1977] work, on the other hand, is of particular interest. In Topophilia and Space and Place, Tuan highlights the linkages between man's views and conceptualizations of landscape features and regions, and his culture history and cultural biases. The western images of mountains and wilderness areas presented in Topophilia, and the similarity of cultural images of homeland discussed in Space and Place are notable examples of the relationship between spatial images and feelings for place, and man's cultural history and thought.

Tuan's analysis of man's images of natural phenomena and attitudes to place emphasizes the general trends through time of spatial representations. Other geographers also have reviewed the history of thought regarding the ways in which natural phenomena have been viewed through time (cf. Glacken: 1967)¹. But, Tuan's work is of particular importance to the discipline because he investigates, by means of a historical perspective, the dialectical nature of man's responses to natural phenomena. Within this larger framework of the history of man's conceptualization of natural regions and phenomena occur conflicts and differences in land use. In-depth analysis of the attitudes, behaviour and differing social, cultural and economic components of land use conflicts can reveal the ways in which cultures and groups actualize, symbolize and reflect upon their heritage of regional images.

The study by Vogt and Albert [1966] of five different cultural and ethnic groups resident in a region of New Mexico illustrates quite clearly the differing perceptions held amongst the groups, of the agricultural potential of the region. They found that cultural heritage profoundly influenced the ways in which people viewed their social and economic relationship with the productive sector. J. Bennett's [1969] examination of four distinct cultural and economic groups

1. The main geographical work is by Clarence Glacken, Traces on the Rhodesian Shore Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.

living in rural Saskatchewan is of a similar nature. Both studies emphasize the strong relationships between views of the land and the uses to which the land is put, and the social organization devised to obtain a living from the land. Bennett's study gives particular attention to the role of differing modes of production in determining images of place, land uses and in influencing one group's opinion of the other groups' land uses activities.

Recent investigations of land use activities of northern native peoples have documented a people's land values and social structure that is experiencing externally generated changes in this respect. The People's Land by Hugh Brody [1975], The Bankslanders [1971] by Peter Usher, and the Land Use and Occupancy Projects of the Northwest Territories [1976], Northern Ontario and Labrador [1977] differ from the previously mentioned material. Even though the economic futures of the residents of Rimrock [Vogt and Albert] and Jasper [Bennett] ranged from marginal to relatively successful, the land base which they were exploiting during the study period was relatively stable in comparison to that of northern native peoples. The northern research mentioned above, indicates that native people's images of place reflect, to a large degree, images of themselves as a people. Thus land participation, social and productive activities, and cultural heritage become intertwined when the land base is threatened.

Studies of non-native northern residents have not been as common as those of northern native people. Brody [1975] discusses to some extent white attitudes to native people, the land and the region, and Koster's [1977] article is perhaps the more revealing regarding whites' behaviour and views while in the north. Koster's work indicates that the roles whites play in determining the future of hinterland development influences in large measure their image of the region. Thus, this study reinforces the findings of other research, that the social, cultural and economic perspective from which one views the region greatly influences the image one has of it. Therefore, in order for one to understand the specifics of a spatial image, in particular an image of a region which is maintained in a dependency relationship with another region, it is necessary to investigate the way of life of groups functioning in the region, their mode of production, social organization, and land use practices. Research of the controlling forces that may shape regional images is also required.

There are, then, two major perspectives from which to view images of place. One method is to consider the broad perspective of a people's thought through time as it concerns conceptualizations of natural phenomena. This could be labelled a perceptual approach. The advantage of this approach is that it permits the researcher to gain a general view of the major changes through time of a people's world

view. However, unless the broad outlines are examined critically and with reference to specific land use conflicts and interactions such an approach could prove to be too general.

The other method is the specific analysis of land use conflicts and within-regional differences of spatial images. Emphasis on the ways in which groups respond to land use conflicts and changes in the social and productive relationships groups maintain with the region can tell us a great deal about the ways in which groups react to change, and the adaptive strategies adopted in order to maintain cultural and ethnic identities.

There is a need in the investigation of regional images to first consider the history of a culture's land attitudes and values. By so doing, the researcher can better understand the nature of past images and the creation of new ones. However, examination of specific land use conflicts provides the opportunity to analyze current and contrasting images of place.

The following discussion is divided into three parts. Chapter II provides an overview of the history of western thought regarding the land use concepts of frontier, wilderness and homeland. This overview permits a view through time of western society's changing attitudes to the unsettled areas of North America, and from this the study suggests a

typology of images of place could be found in current land use conflicts. Chapter III discusses the methodological problems inherent in the use of testimony from recent Commissions of inquiry occurring in Canada's northern hinterland. A brief summary of these Commissions of Inquiry is also presented. Chapter IV and V contain the analysis of the transcript data and the testimony of the hypothesized image themes. Views of the hinterland from the heartland are examined in Chapter IV, and in Chapter V, views of the hinterland from within. The conclusions of the study are put forward in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THOUGHT REGARDING FRONTIER AND CANADA'S NORTHERN HINTERLAND

Early Contact: The Moving Frontier

One of the earliest heartland forces shaping the images of Canada's arctic and sub-arctic lands were the explorers seeking the North West Passage. For their return to Europe, were they so fortunate to return, they invariably took samples of their findings. Furs, precious metals and not so precious ones as Frobisher discovered, landscape sketches and native people were commonly transported for European inspection. Given the reference points of those viewing the treasures of a distant cold land, sketches of ice floes or of the impenetrable forest must have seemed quite amazing in comparison to European landscapes and the English and French gardens. Native people were a curiosity frequently exhibited in the royal courts of the times and these specimens of "savage" man reinforced the European sense of cultural superiority. Furs, timber, baleen and whale oil were of utmost importance. The demand for these commodities caused many Europeans to brave the dangers of the arctic coast and the inland forests [Mirsky: 1934; R.A. Phillips: 1976; Oswalt: 1979].

Northern Canada must have seemed a strange land to Europeans. On her desolate shores lived people such as they had never before seen, and exotic animals, such as the walrus and muskox which bore little resemblance to European fauna. The northern lands appeared, from all accounts to be uncultivated barren wastes, or dark forests. It is little wonder, then, given the possibility of wealth to be made in furs, timber and perhaps the discovery of gold, that the north became a destination of all the adventuresome seeking a fortune or escaping the rigid class structure of the Old World. Wealth and prestige, then, were the perceived rewards for those who were successful in the northern hinterland [Stefansson: 1958].

Northern native people presented yet another challenge to European society. Many Europeans left accommodations that were comfortable in comparison to the cold outposts where starvation was a definite possibility in order to administer the word of Christ. Their endeavors amongst the *Esquimaux* and *red sauvages*¹ as recalled in their reports to the mission headquarters in England and elsewhere caused many to contribute money and others to devote their lives to the cause. Thus the missionaries, as did the explorers, adventurers and Hudson Bay factors increased the European knowledge of northern Canada's geography, resources, peoples and wildlife [Zaslow: 1974].

1. The Moravian missionaries referred to native people living on the coast of Labrador in this way. See Periodical Accounts.

The northern images created by explorers, traders, whalers and missionaries are much more detailed than that which has been alluded to thus far. The topic of northern historical images in its entirety is worthy of indepth analysis which is not possible in this thesis. It is sufficient to suggest that the early European visitors and residents created a major northern image which was rich in detail and inspired the adventurer's spirit. Such an image aided the colonization of the north and its development as a hinterland region because it encouraged individuals to become a part of the northern development process.

The image of the northern hinterland as a region colonized by the hardy persists today. Brody [1975:15] maintains that the early explorers are regarded today as:

... heroes for the privations they suffered, the distances they covered and the isolation they endured ... Their deeds are taken as examples of the mystique and lure of the north and the attitudes they formed towards the land and its people continues as an established tradition of the Whites of the north.

One of the images of northern Canada is a product of the activities of the early explorers, traders, missionaries and policemen. This image has been kept alive in periodicals such as the Beaver and North/Nord, and in the lives of today's hinterland residents, which will be discussed in detail in subsequent chapters. The image of the north as a place for

the hardy and adventuresome is part and parcel of the view of North America as a frontier [c.f. Finnie:1940].

The frontier phenomenon in North America has been the subject of intense discussion amongst historians, geographers and social scientists in Canada² and the United States. In order to fully understand the frontier image of North America in general and of the north in particular, it is necessary to investigate the meaning of the word 'frontier'.

Meanings of the Frontier

The concept of the frontier, the zone of active colonization, is unique to the New World and Australia [Aiton: 1940; Burt: 1965]. Inspection of the history of the word reveals that in fact it was the experience of agricultural settlement in the United States that resulted in the word acquiring a new and uniquely North American meaning [Mikesell: 1960].

The word 'frontier' originates from the latin feminine noun *frons*, *frontis*, meaning forehead, bow or front. The earliest appearance of the word in the form we recognize today was the late Latin word *frontiera*, although the form *frontaria* was also common, meaning borderland [Mood: 1949]. In old French, the word *frontière* was used to refer to the

2. Amongst Canadian scholars, there has been considerable debate as to the applicability of the Turner thesis to Quebec in particular, and more generally to Canada. See Burt: 1940; Careless: 1954; Harris: 1967; McDougall: 1929; Mikesell: 1960; Sage: 1929; Zaslow: 1940.

marches, and border of a country. During the thirteenth century, the word frontier was used in the English language to apply to the frontside and the forefront. The Oxford Dictionary [1961] gives this passage from Hakluyt's Voyages [1599:1,95] as the first published use of the word: "The principal wife placeth her court on the West Frontier".

By and large, the European usage of the word frontier was restricted to that which referred to boundary areas, limits and the border of another country. The word was also used in reference to military advances and meeting the enemy at the front lines. The North American usage of the word implied a different meaning. The 1806 edition of Webster's Dictionary defined frontier as the 'furthest settlement'. However the definition must not have been common, for the word is not defined in those forms again until 1891 [Mood: 1949]. The Century Dictionary, An Encyclopaedic Lexicon of the English Language [NY:6V, 1899-91] was the first dictionary to distinguish the European and American usage. It gave the European meaning as the following: "that part of a country which fronts or faces another country; the confines or extreme part of a country bordering on another country; the marches; the border." The American usage was detailed thusly: "that part of a country which forms the border of its settled or inhabited regions: as (before the settlement of the Pacific Coast) the western frontier of the United States". In the adjectival form, frontier town was

used. Frontiersman was defined as: "One who settles on the frontier or borders of a country or beyond the limits of a settled or civilized region".

Current dictionaries give both the North American and European definitions of the word. A frequently cited definition is the one devised by F.J. Turner [1962, revised edition]: a margin of settlement having a population density of not more than six people per square mile.

The meaning of the word frontier is based on the concept of a struggle and the defense of a country's borderlands. In North America, the struggle was directed at wilderness forces: the forest, Indians, wild animals and nature. It was the wilderness that became the focus of the early pioneers' activities. The Europeans who came to Canada and to the United States to explore or to permanently settle brought with them attitudes and a world view that was founded in the Judeo-Christian tradition. In particular, it can be argued that they perceived the wilderness to be a powerful, almost evil force that had to be conquered. The idea of stewardship which is also founded in Judeo-Christianity does not appear to have been a dominant concept during the colonization of North America.

The world 'wilderness' has an intriguing history. Wilderness is a word of teutonic origin. Nash [1973] suggests

that its root is "will", a descriptive term implying self-willed, willful and uncontrollable. From the form 'willed', the word was shortened to 'wild', an adjective used to convey the meaning of being lost, unruly, disordered, or confused.

In old English, *dēor*, meaning animal, was prefixed with wild and was used to describe creatures not under man's control. In Beowulf, the first literary use of the word, *wilddēor*, refers to savage and uncontrollable beasts dwelling in a dismal region of forests and ragged mountains [Oxford Dictionary: 1961]. Later, *wilddēor* was contracted to *wilder*, *wildden* and finally appeared as *wilderness* [Nash: 1973]. The German word, *wildnes*, reflects the word's early form.

Examination of other languages reveals that it is only in Germanic languages that the characteristics of wilderness are expressed by a specific word. The Roman languages, French, Italian and Spanish for example, do not have a word to describe wilderness places. Descriptive phrases are employed in these languages to convey the meaning of wilderness. In Spanish, *falta de cultura*, expressed the idea of an uncultivated place. The Italian phrase, *sit de disordin o confuscine*, describes a place which is unruly and not under control. *Solitude inculte* a French phrase, is used to denote those areas deserted and uncultivated. In Quebec, *natur sauvage*, refers to areas not

under man's control. A key reason for the lack of development by southern European peoples of a specific word describing areas not under cultivation is that as a culture group they were not exposed to large forested lands as were the northern Europeans. Nash [1973] believes that the forested area in which dwelt wild animals is the essence of the meaning of the word wilderness. The reference, then, of the word wilderness in the English language, is to a dark enclosing environment which is first of all alien to mankind and secondly where civilization, the controlling force, is absent. The descriptive phrases developed in the Romance languages express the ideas of lack of human control and imprint on the landscape rather than a reference to a specific landscape feature.

The word wilderness has taken on other meanings in the English language. When the Bible was translated into English the arid middle eastern environment which was frequently uncultivable was described as a wilderness. Thus, wilderness came to mean a desert. Spenser in Faerie Queen [1590:11:vii,2] uses the image of a desert when he wrote: "He traveild through wide wastful ground, That naught but desert wildernesses shew'd all around" [Oxford Dictionary: 1961].

Other meanings of the word include a labyrinth, a maze created by trees planted in a fantastic pattern. Use of wilderness in this circumstance is understandable given the structured and predictable nature of the English garden

during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The world of the intellectual unknown is considered a wilderness, as evidently was a mass of ships' masts in the harbour.

Of greater importance to our study is the abhorrence of wilderness and the moral conviction as to the correctness of its elimination that the Judeo-Christian tradition created. In the Bible, the desert is frequently compared to the garden; whereby the desert is equated with wilderness and moral chaos, and the garden to a place of order, beauty and sanctity. Man's lot in life was, upon removal from the garden, the remaking of the wilderness into a garden: an earthly heaven. These attitudes were transferred by the early colonists to North America. Their task of clearing the forests, driving back the wild animals and removing the Indians who did not appreciate the settled agricultural life was reinforced by their convictions. With reference to the arctic tundra, the image of an icy desert was created.

The image of North America as a frontier region has been a powerful force shaping our attitudes to nature, to native people, and to the function of hinterland regions. Canada's northlands prior to the 1940's were still, by and large, involved in the fur trade. It was an area which had been drawn into a mercantile relationship with Canada, but was lying in waiting for the movement north of active frontier development. The mystery and excitement of northern develop-

ment had been well founded by previous white visitors and residents and it was, and remains, a challenge for modern man to operate in the arctic. Thus the psychology of the frontier exists in Canada's northlands today. Attitudes to the environment and native people have not radically altered from earlier frontier times. Environmental laws and regulations are viewed as impediments to frontier development, as are native people. Native hiring is seen as more of a public relations exercise than as any real advantage to the industrialization of the north. The dependency relationship of native people that was initiated by the fur trade has been continued by state social service and welfare programmes, and racial conflict exists in many northern communities between natives and whites.

The frontier image of the north today is one of industrial activity: drilling rigs, hydro dams, pipelines and roads. It is one of rapid social change for the resident native population. The image is also one of marked differences in the material circumstances of resident white and native populations. This is particularly evident, the greater degree of alienation native people experience from the land. The frontier image of the north is the image of 'civilized' man's creation of the north, and as such, places the region in a colonial relationship with the heartland regions of Canada and elsewhere.

Changing Concept of Wilderness: Reaction to Urbanization

Until the nineteenth century the symbolization of wilderness as profane dominated western man's thinking. This is not to suggest that the early missionaries, settlers and explorers viewed the forests and the tundra without recognition of its beauty and appreciation of its wild state. Newly arrived in Canada, Susanna Moodie, in Roughing It In The Bush [1852] described the gloomy and terrifying aspects of forest life, but also noted the forest's beauty and lamented its destruction [Dahl: 1975]. Missionaries were more concerned with their calling and the people they were to serve than with landscape appreciation. Nonetheless, the following passage describes the astonishment experienced in 1817 by a missionary from England to the Coast of Labrador:

The continual rustling and roaring of the ice reminded us of the noise made by the carriages in the streets of London when one is standing in the golden gallery of St. Paul's Cathedral. The mountains and large flakes of ice take all manner of singular forms, some resembling castles, other churches, Waggens [sic], and even creatures of various description...

[Periodical Accounts, Vol 6, 1817: 398]

Those confronted with the task of clearing the land and extracting a living, or those inhabiting a cold and desolate area expressed a mixture of feelings about the landscape. The wilderness could be appreciated for its beauty,

but nonetheless it was also a formidable agent. As North Americans became increasingly less directly dependent on the land for their survival, their view of wilderness changed. Thus as the North American way of life became more urbanized, wilderness began to be cherished.

The change in the images of wilderness was influenced by the philosophy of the Romantics notably Jean-Jacques Rousseau and de Toqueville, transcendentalists Henry David Thoreau and John Muir, and ecologist Aldo Leopold. These three components of change in the attitude to wilderness are typified today in the environmental movement, in particular by organizations such as the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, Nature Canada, and Greenpeace.

Briefly, Romantics such as Rousseau and de Toqueville idealized the simpler societies. They viewed the European civilization, of which they were party to, to be unhealthy. The attitude of the unhealthiness of nineteenth century civilization spawned the 'noble savage' ideal. The North American Indian was believed to be stronger and healthier than civilized man because of his forest life.³ Eskimo people were considered to be a more adaptable and ingenious people because of the hardships they endured. Thus the forest and wilderness were regarded as assets rather than as liabilities to the Romantics. The Romantics viewed the

³ The noble savage image in Canadian history is fascinating. Grey Owl is our most famous 'noble savage'.

destruction of the North American forests with great alarm for from their European perspective the forests were to be preserved.

Thoreau, on the other hand, viewed the forest as a refuge from the noise and confusion of urban life. The forest symbolized tranquility, and the city: chaos. Thus a reversal in wilderness attitudes had come about, and by the end of the nineteenth century some urban dwellers were requesting the preservation of spectacular natural phenomena. Canada was receptive to this trend, which was largely an American initiated one, and in 1885 the Hot Springs at Banff were protected by federal statute. The first National Parks were designed with the concept of public enjoyment and benefit in mind [Cattell: 1977]. Such areas were clearly for the enjoyment of the wealthier urbanite and foreign visitor. Commercial development of timber resources has also been part and parcel of the parks systems.⁴ In the 1930 National Parks Act a dual role was established for national parks. On the other hand, National Parks were for public recreation and enjoyment while at the same time the parkland was to remain in an unimpaired condition [Cattell: 1977]. This dual function of national parkland has been the centre of continuing land use discussions and dispute.

4. This has been especially prevalent in Provincial Parks [c.f. Littlejohn, Pimlott: 1971].

LOCATIONS OF THE CANADIAN NATIONAL PARKS

Legislation to preserve Canadian wildlands was not enacted until after 1945 [Nelson: 1979]. From this point onwards and in particular during the 1960s when concentrated urban growth was exerting pressure on existing park facilities, preservation of wilderness areas became the object of public concern and government policy. The scientific rationale for preservation of wildlands was recognized during this period largely because of the work of ecologist Aldo Leopold [cf. 1949] Canadian scientists Dr. Chant [cf. 1973] and Dr. Pimlott [cf. 1971; 1975].

Increasing public interest in the environmental movement, advances in the ecological sciences, and the spectacular urbanization rates during the 1960s had a profound impact on Canada's northern hinterland. Canada's northlands were perceived to be the last remaining undisturbed ecosystem in Canada, and as such were becoming increasingly valuable. The extension of the industrial sector into this area was viewed as a threat to the north's fragile ecosystem. Public awareness of the impacts of northern frontier development caused federal and provincial governments to enact environmental laws and environmental assessment procedures. However, the effectiveness of these regulations and review procedures is disputed by environmental groups and concerned citizens.⁵

The beauty of the landscape has been greatly emphasized in the wilderness image of the north. Colour folios, magazine articles, and photographic exhibitions expound the

5. See Northern Perspectives, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1978.

aesthetic qualities of arctic flowers, wild rivers, thick forests, mountain ranges and the coastal waters. Arctic and sub-arctic animals are also frequently photographed.⁶ The aesthetic qualities of the northern landscape, flora and fauna symbolize the region as well as invoke public support for its preservation.

The wilderness image of the north is a response to urbanization and the need to find solitude, to experience a new environment, and to glorify the works of nature. It is a heartland created image, and one which generates conflict in the heartland as well as in the hinterland. There are obvious conflicts between the frontier image and the wilderness image of the region. Industry and wilderness preservation do not appear to be compatible. The urban need for recreation places considerable demands upon wilderness areas. Those desiring access to wilderness areas have differing perceptions of its use. Canoeists and wilderness enthusiasts find those using motorized boats, snowmobiles and travel trailers to be altering wilderness qualities. The tourist business of sports fishing and hunting is also a source of land use conflict. Environmentalists tend to view such activities as wasteful and frivolous. Sports hunting and fishing also compete with commercial fishing and subsistence hunting and fishing undertaken by native people.

6. See Wilkinson, D, The Arctic Coast Toronto: National Science of Canada Ltd., 1975 ; Spears, B., Wilderness Canada Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company Ltd., 1970 ; 1977 Photo Exhibition, Museum of Man, Ottawa by S. MacDonald; Nature Canada Magazine, for photographs of Canada's northern land, flora and fauna.

The wilderness image of the north is founded on the concept of the sacredness of wildlands. The image is, in part, a reaction against urbanization and the loss of valuable lands in southern Canada. It is also a response to the urban need for recreation outside of the urban environment. This image is founded, as well, on the scientific premise of an ecosystem in which animal and inanimate living beings are linked together as a functioning unit. The wilderness image of the north has since the early 1960s become an increasingly important one, and one which is held by many Canadians. It reinforces a belief that Canadians have of themselves that Canada retains some of its original landscapes.

Reaction from the Hinterland: Image of a Homeland

The dialectical images of Canada's northland: one depicting the region as a frontier, the other as a wilderness preserve, are heartland created images that reflect heartland needs. The frontier image encourages individuals to become part of the staple production, and in so doing extend heartland attitudes to land, technology and consumer goods into the northern hinterland. The wilderness image satisfies the Canadian urban dweller's need to know that at least a part of the original landscape of Canada exists today. As well, non-urban and non-rural places provide excellent recreation potential for heartland dwellers.

The image of the northlands as a homeland is a hinterland originated one. It presents the original inhabitants' view of the land on which they live, and the heartland processes of change.

The concept of homeland, as such, is not unique to Canadian native peoples. Throughout time peoples who have depended on the land or the sea for subsistence have expressed feelings of special attachment to the region of habitation [Tuan: 1977]. 'Home' is a word of teutonic origin and implies feelings of safety, warmth and emotional dependency [Caplow, Bahr, Sternberg: 1968]. The word also suggests the idea of a permanent dwelling in which some form of social or familial organization occurs. Thus, 'homeland' is the place or region in which one feels secure and where a form of societal organization functions and unites people who are related because of kinship, culture and mode of production.

In a small isolated community or society there is little need to articulate homeland feelings. One's functioning within the production sector, and the social organization of the community serve to bind people to the land and to themselves without the need to analyze the situation with respect to allegiance to place. Attitudes to the land, the productive sector, and social relations are passed from generation to generation by means of task sharing, legends and myths, and rights of passage, for example. These are ways of acting, of being, rather than explicit instructions as how to feel for

a place. Thus one's feelings for homeland come with participation in the social relations and in this case the land based productive sector. If, however, circumstances were to occur whereby a people were removed because of boundary dispute, conflict, or resettlement programs from the place in which they had traditionally resided, or the mode of production were to be seriously altered such that the relationship of the culture to the land would change⁷, homeland feelings would begin to be articulated.

Canadian northern native peoples in response to heartland pressure on their mode of production, in particular the curtailment of native access to and use of Crown lands, landscape changes, and resettlement, have begun to articulate their homeland feelings to outsiders. Commissions of Inquiry, land use and occupancy projects, land claims, and legal cases based on clarification of rights to land have been recent forums in Canada in which native views regarding homeland, amongst other issues, have been raised.

Native concepts of land ownership differ considerably from western ideas of the subject. In the western capitalist system which is based on individual achievement and opportunity, labour, land, material goods and capital become commodity prices - wages, rent, value added and interest, and are subject to the pressures of supply demand and monopoly ownership. Under these conditions individuals who have

7. At this time social pathologies would also become pronounced.

access to or supply any of the above derive income, profit and goods/services [Dalton: 1968]. Due to the market conditions on which western society was founded and subsequent history of land ownership [Bryant: 1972], it is inconceivable that land and resources could be regarded in any other way than as commodities.

The 'I-It' relationship that western man has with the land contrasts remarkably with native peoples' 'I-Thou' land relationship [Gutkind: 1959]. Northern native people's culture is not founded on the beliefs of exclusive individual achievement and the operations of the market system, and as such do not regard land as a commodity that can be bought and sold. Land is shared amongst those who respect it and what it can produce. Native people have a spiritual relationship with the land which is frequently referred to as a mother because of its life-giving qualities.

The concept of homeland, then, is based on a profound respect for the land. From the land native people gain the spiritual bonds of their culture, the productive circumstances of their life, and the focus of social and family organization. Northern native people have recently documented these aspects of their lives by means of land use and occupancy projects and harvest research. Land use and occupancy projects demonstrate the patterns of past and current Indian and Inuit land use, traditions and associations with the land. Harvest research,

AREAS COVERED UNDER LAND USE AND OCCUPANCY STUDIES AND HARVEST RESEARCH

on the other hand, documents the amount of present day native participation in the renewable resource sector [Usher: 1978].

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The homeland image of the north is quite different from the frontier and wilderness images. It is based on a firm belief in the strength of native culture and its peoples to shape the future of the northern hinterland. The image reinforces the present day political direction of native peoples vis-a-vis land claims, and it functions as a touchstone for a culture which is struggling against the weight of social pathologies. The homeland image is, therefore, both a political statement and the expression of cultural attachment to place.

Summary

A typology of spatial images has been proposed and discussed with reference to the history of western thought, and the development of Canada's northern hinterland. Two images, frontier and wilderness, are seen to be heartland created images, whereas the homeland image is a hinterland created image. These images: the frontier image which emphasizes the white adventurers' and entrepreneurs' northern activities; the wilderness image which focuses on the aesthetic works of nature and the preservation of wildlands; and the homeland image which expresses the native attachment to

place and desire for rights to lands, have come into conflict within the past decade in the heartland and hinterland regions of Canada. An examination of the recent land use conflict will test the appropriateness of this image typology, discuss heartland and hinterland reactions to the conflicting images, and point out the issues which focus present land use conflicts.

CHAPTER THREE

COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY: EXAMINATIONS OF SPECIFIC LAND USE CONFLICTS

In the previous chapter, examination of the history of man's view of non-settled areas resulted in the identification of three dominant image themes which characterize man's changing relationship with the environment. It is hypothesized that current images of Canada's northern hinterland will correspond to the discussed image themes. In particular, it is hypothesized that recent Commissions of Inquiry into the social, economic and environmental impacts of major resource extraction and transportation projects on the region, the environment and the social structures of the region provide an excellent data source concerning differing views of northern development.

Since 1974 there have been five major Commissions of Inquiry held in northern Canada. They include: the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry conducted by Justice Thomas Berger, May 1975 to August 1977; the Alaska Highway Pipeline Inquiry headed by Dean Kenneth Lysyk, April 1977 to August 1977; the West Coast Oil Ports Inquiry held by Dr. Andrew Thompson, July 1977 to February 1978; the Churchill River Board of

COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY

Inquiry chaired by Mr. A.H. MacDonald, January 1977 to June 1978; and the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment conducted by Justice E. Patrick Hartt, November 1977 to December 1978. In total, the Inquiries cover a broad geographic area of northern Canada.

Analysis of the transcripts of the community hearings of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, the Alaska Highway Pipeline Inquiry, and the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment will permit the testing of the three hypothesized image themes - frontier, wilderness and homeland. Due to unavailability of actual transcript documents for the Churchill River Board of Inquiry and the West Coast Oil Ports Inquiry, final reports of those Inquiries will be used when appropriate in the testing of the hypothesized image themes. Each of the inquiries is discussed in outline form below, before a discussion is provided on the problems of using inquiry transcripts as sources of images.

Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry

The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline is perhaps the best known of the five Inquiries to be discussed. Justice T. Berger's mandate, as provided by the Federal Government in 1975, was to investigate and report on the environmental, economic and social impacts of an energy corridor along the Mackenzie Valley. The proposals under intense scrutiny were the

Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry LOCATIONS OF COMMUNITY HEARINGS

Canadian Arctic Gas pipeline and the Foothills Gas pipeline.

Berger interpreted his mandate quite broadly and actively sought northern, as well as southern, Canadian opinions concerning the construction and maintenance of northern energy corridor. Formal, adversarial hearings were held in Yellowknife, Inuvik and Whitehorse. Non-adversarial community hearings were convened in thirty-five northern communities along the pipeline routes. Southern hearings, which were also non-adversarial, were held in ten major Canadian cities. The Berger Inquiry was the most intensive investigation of northern and southern views of a major resource project ever conducted in Canada, and as such has established precedents for the operation of Inquiries in Canada.

The hearings, in particular the community ones, are an excellent source of images of place and peoples' reactions to change. The community hearing data also exhibit Berger's patience, friendliness, and willingness to become acquainted with residents and to become aware of northern problems.

Alaska Highway Pipeline Inquiry

Dean Kenneth Lysyk was appointed by the Federal Government in 1977 to investigate in four months what had taken Berger practically two and one-half years to complete: an analysis of the social and economic impacts;

YUKON SETTLEMENTS IN WHICH HEARINGS WERE HELD

Source: Alasca Highway Pipeline Inquiry - Ottawa, 1977

of a natural gas pipeline. Lysyk's mandate did not include environmental concerns which were investigated by an Environmental Assessment and Review Panel (EARP) panel chaired by Dr. H.M. Hill.

Dean K. Lysyk held formal adversarial hearings in Whitehorse and non-adversarial hearings in seventeen Yukon communities. The EARP hearings by mandate are non-adversarial and do not necessarily include a community component. The community hearings chaired by Lysyk and the two other board members, Mrs. E.E. Bohmer, a representative of the Council of Yukon Indians, and Mr. W.L. Phelps, a representative of the Yukon Territorial Council, are not as intensive or as complete as the Berger hearings. The rushed Inquiry schedule and a lack of general information on the part of the participants, who had not enough time to formulate their views, is clearly evident in the hearing material. Even so, the transcripts provide the best available data on Yukoner's reactions to the project and their images of the territory.

Royal Commission on the Northern Environment

Justice E. Patrick Hartt was given a very broad mandate by the Government of the Province of Ontario in 1977 to gather citizen's views of the effects on the environment of northern Ontario: the physical, social and economic aspects of the area north of the 50th degree of latitude. The projects included the Reed Paper Timber project, damming of major

LOCATIONS OF COMMUNITY HEARINGS

Source: The Horst Inquiry, 1977-1978

rivers and coal mining. By December 1978, the Inquiry had published its preliminary data collections. At the time of writing, the Inquiry is functioning in an advisory capacity to northern communities under the direction of Commissioner E. Jolliff.

Hartt held non-adversarial hearings in Toronto and in fourteen northern Ontario communities. The material contained in the transcripts of the hearings clearly reflects the lack of a focusing project to direct discussion and the identification of issues. These hearings were also used by the provincial government, industries, and native organizations as an exercise in public relations, thus individual viewpoints were overshadowed by corporate and government created images. The hearings, nonetheless, provide the best data sources on current northern Ontario residents' images and views of the region. In particular, the images of place stated in the transcripts reflect the relationship of a hinterland that to a large degree is overwhelmed by a powerful and adjacent heartland.

Churchill River Board of Inquiry

The Churchill River Board of Inquiry was established in January 1977 by the Minister of Environment of the Province of Saskatchewan, to review the social, economic and environmental implications of the Wintego Project, a hydroelectric

generation project proposed for the Churchill/Reindeer River system. The Inquiry held non-adversarial hearings in eighteen communities in southern and northern Saskatchewan.

The Board, chaired by Mr. A.D. MacDonald, interpreted the mandate to include not only an investigation of the specific project but as well the analysis of energy supply and demand for the province, energy economics and regulation and alternative forms of energy. The Churchill River Study, and the environmental and social assessment of the project completed by Saskatchewan Hydro were also considered by the Inquiry.

The transcripts, because of their inavailability, could not be examined in this thesis. The report, however, explicitly reviews participants' images of the region. Thus, the final report provides an excellent example of the interpretation of transcript material, and has been used in this regard. Therefore, this Inquiry and also the West Coast Oil Ports Inquiry, allow for the verification of this study's analysis of transcript material, as well as providing images of other areas of the larger northern hinterland.

West Coast Oil Ports Inquiry

The purpose of this Inquiry, which was initiated by the Federal Government in 1977, was to assess the effects on

Canada of developing an oil port on the Coast of British Columbia or on the adjoining coasts of the United States. The mandate of the Inquiry permitted Dr. A. Thompson to investigate the potential physical, biological, social and economic effects of tanker traffic utilizing port facilities, the development of an oil port facility, and the effects of tanker traffic along the coast. Formal adversarial hearings were conducted in Vancouver, and non-adversarial community hearings were held in five west coast communities. The community hearings were cancelled due to the withdrawal of the Kitimat proposal by the proponent, Atlantic Richfield, and subsequent support by the industry for an oil port at Cherry Point, Washington. Dr. Thompson adjourned the Inquiry in October 1977, when the United States Congress ruled the Cherry Point oil port to be environmentally unacceptable, for at that time no active application for an oil port was in existence on the coast. The February 1978 report presents a summation of the evidence up to the termination date. Unfortunately, the hearing process was ended before many of the communities could be heard, thus the report and the analysis of issues may not necessarily be complete.

Inquiry Transcripts as Sources of Images

The five Commissions of Inquiry outlined provide images of Canada's northlands. This can be attributed to the type of project proposed, as well as to the opportunity provided by a public Inquiry for citizens to voice their opinions concerning projects that could cause considerable landscape and social change. In many cases residents had never before been given the occasion to tell a representative of the federal or provincial governments their views on projects designed outside the hinterland. Therefore, the transcripts contain viewpoints, images of places, attitudes and historical reflections that are not found elsewhere.

The analysis of the transcripts from the Berger, Lysyk and Harth Inquiries involve some interesting methodological problems. The interest of this study is not the site specific detail of project planning, the engineering technicalities of the proposals, or the logistics of construction and maintenance. While these aspects are important in that they have a direct influence on the success or failure of a project and are certainly part and parcel of an Inquiry's mandate, such matters are not the central focus of this analysis of transcript material. The intent was to uncover the ways in which hinterland and heartland residents conceptualized the north in order to test the applicability of the typology of northern images. The

community hearings material was used in all cases because of the comparable way the three Inquiries conducted the hearings. The community hearings were all non-adversarial, though in the Berger hearings submissions were sworn testimony to ensure seriousness of intent and truthfulness.

Statements made by participants, those community members who chose to speak, were usually verified by other community participants, thus certifying the commonality of opinion. While this method of community data control tended to reinforce the widely held views, it did not, however, eliminate dissenting viewpoint. People who disagreed with the views of others noted their disagreement and stated their reasons for analyzing the situation from a different perspective.

Intensive analysis of the transcripts of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, the Alaska Highway Pipeline Inquiry and the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment reveals differences amongst the three hearings. Inquiries to a great extent bear the imprint of the individual conducting the proceedings. For example, the manner in which Justice Berger conducted his hearing is clearly reflected in the attitudes participants felt they could express. The Lysyk and Hartt hearings at times show evidence of uneasiness on the part of participants to express certain views. At the Lysyk hearings native elders did not tell the old stories.

In total there were two old stories told to Lysyk in the communities other than Old Crow¹. The Old Crow hearing which Lysyk held two years after Berger had held hearings in the same community does not contain a similar wealth of cultural expression. This can in part be attributed to the fact that the people of Old Crow had spoken about pipelines once before and since their views had not changed they did not wish to go through the process again. However, the rushed schedules of both the Lysyk and Hartt hearings, the lack of information about the Alaskan pipeline project, and the lack of a focusing project to center discussion of the Hartt hearing, in addition to the imprint of the personality of the Commissioner did influence the Inquiry's testimony.

It is important, therefore, when utilizing Inquiry transcript data to attempt to identify the influence made by the Commissioner on the functioning of the Inquiry, and the community response to the Commissioner and the Inquiry process. The researcher must also be able to clearly identify actual differences in the attitudes and opinions held by groups and individuals. Therefore, field experience and extensive review of current research done in the study area is necessary in order to more fully interpret the transcript materials.

1. See My Old People Say, by C. McClelland for an analysis of native Yukon legends.

The Inquiry transcript material is clearly a unique data source for the cultural geographer. It is also a relatively untouched source, as the only data interpretations recently completed have been the final reports of the Inquiries. This use and interpretation of transcript material has been little challenged except in the case of the Berger Inquiry. Studies of the report have suggested differing interpretations of the hearing submissions [Bliss: 1978; Dosman: 1978; Gamble: 1978; Ritchie: 1978; Salisbury: 1978; Stabler: 1977, 1978; Usher: 1978]. Critical reviews of the other Inquiry reports have not been forthcoming [Lanari: 1978], however, these Inquiries did not receive the media attention that was focused on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry.

With respect to this study, the community hearing transcript material provides windows through which to view images of place, regional attachments, and the range of opinions held concerning Canada's northlands. The close schedule of hinterland Inquiries provides an overview of northern viewpoints that up to this time have not been attainable. Convening of southern hearings by the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, the Churchill River Board of Inquiry and the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment also enables the researcher to build images of the hinterland from the heartland which previously had not been possible to adequately achieve.

Summary

Commissions of Inquiry provide a unique opportunity for cultural geographers to analyse the differing images of place, and attachment to land held by groups involved in land use conflicts. In particular, this material illustrates the relationship between images of place and the imprint of ideology on the northern landscape.

It is hypothesized that the images of place expressed to the Commissions of Inquiry outlined above will group into three major image themes: frontier, wilderness and homeland. The specific images expounded by heartland and hinterland residents will reflect the history of western thought concerning frontier and wilderness areas. Homeland images, as explained by native northerners and southern native groups, will reflect their cultural history and response to externally motivated changes. As well, the community hearing material from both heartland and hinterland regions in Canada will exhibit the interaction of the images and the role they place in the definition of land use issues.

CHAPTER FOUR

VIEWS FROM THE HEARTLAND

Views of southern Canadians concerning northern development were made known at the hearings held by Mr. Justice T. Berger, Mr. Justice P. Hartt and Mr. Commissioner A.H. MacDonald. Of the three Inquiries in which southern opinions were sought, the Berger southern hearings are the most intensive survey. During May and June 1976, Berger convened the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry in the cities of Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Regina, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, Halifax and Charlottetown. Southern hearings held by the Churchill River Board of Inquiry were conducted in Regina and Saskatoon in November 1977, and by the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment in Toronto during December 1977.

The Berger transcript material provides the best data base from which to investigate southern Canadians' images of the north. The data are sufficient to provide a regional breakdown of views. Material from the Hartt Toronto hearings and the discussions in the Report of the Churchill River Board concerning southern images are not as useful a source as the

Berger hearings. Nonetheless this material will be used, where applicable, in comparison to the Berger materials.

Frontier or Homeland?

In many respects there is not a sharp division between southern and northern Canadians' views of the north. This observation is supported in the transcripts and reports of the five Inquiries discussed. The critical differences between southern and northern views is one of perspective. Southern Canadians, because they were not immediately effected by the proposed developments, could consider the projects in light of the broader issues of energy demands and conservation, foreign ownership, and the history of Native/White relations in Canada. Northerners, on the other hand, perceived the developments in narrower terms. Due to the direct consequences of the projects on their lives, northerners addressed their views largely to the immediate impacts and issues. Within southern Canada, however, minority groups such as southern native organizations and participants from Quebec displayed an inward perspective which tended to narrow the perspective they provided on issues. This occurrence can be explained in terms of the sociology of minority groups which for their own protection tend to develop self-reflective views of the world.

Within this broad perspective of views concerning northern development, intriguing images based on differing

Interpretations of northern history emerged at the Berger hearings. To some degree the pattern was evident in the Hartt hearings and the Churchill River Board of Inquiry, but the full development of its complexities were not as clearly achieved in the two day Toronto Hartt hearings and in the report of the Churchill River Board. At the most basic level the image conflict is founded on the acceptance or rejection of the concept of the north as a hinterland. One group did not conceive of the north as a hinterland. In their world view a problem is not created because one area of a country functions or has functioned as a supplier of resources to another area. In other words, there was agreement that in a well functioning economic system, the resource supplying regions are interrelated with the industrial production regions and inevitably the well-being of all Canadians is born out of the system of resource and capital inter-dependence. The other viewpoint considered the north to be a 'colony within'¹ Canada. The north was observed to be a resource hinterland responding to the demands of industrial Canada for resources and labour. The region, as a colony within, was compared to the lesser developed regions of the world such as Latin America, Africa and South America.

The opposing views were maintained by virtually every participant except those individuals representing environmental groups. Many environmentalists, including ecological scientists, refused to take part publically in the support of either side.

1. Term 'colony within', see Watkins, M. (ed), Dene Nation: Colony Within, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

of the hinterland debate. Interestingly, however, environmental research was used by both groups to interpret the effects of development on the northern environment.

Acceptance or rejection of the hinterland view of the north was the fundamental characterization of the region. It was in effect the ideological dividing line between Canadians. Agreement or disagreement with the concept of the north as functioning as a hinterland region was a direct influence on the image held of the north. Therefore, the view of the north as a hinterland distinguishes the frontier image from the homeland image. Non-involvement with the hinterland debate sets the wilderness view apart from both the frontier and the homeland images.

The North - The Frontier

It was hypothesized that the image of the north as a frontier owes its persistence in the Canadian culture to the heritage of the early explorers, policemen and Hudson Bay factors who chose to live in the north and recall their adventures. The sociology of the settlement of the agricultural regions of North America also contributed a sense of challenge and spirit to development of new regions in Canada. While this may be part of the psychology of the frontier image of northern Canada, the expression of the northern frontier, by southern Canadians to Commissions of Inquiry, was a pragmatic one.

In the view of oil and pipeline company representatives, members of Chambers of Commerce and Boards of trade, academics and private citizens, Canada's northlands were a reservoir of needed hydrocarbons and minerals that were to be used for the good of all Canadians. The north was perceived to play an important role in the Canadian economy and, as such, was a vital link in the economy's success and strength. The reservoir of the north, in particular, the hydrocarbon reserves were viewed as Canada's safety margin guarding the country against the inflationary pressures of the Oil Producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC). The north, then, was considered to be part of the larger system of Canada's domestic and international economy. A representative of the Canadian Petroleum Association, Mr. J. Poyen, described the relationship of the north to the rest of Canada in these terms:

... all Canadians benefit from a healthy economy, geographic regions cannot be insulated from the effects of a general economic setback which could result from increased reliance on crude oil imports to offset indigenous oil and gas deficiencies.

[Poyen at Calgary, Vol 52, 5241]

Concomitantly, with the view of economic interrelationships of the north and south, was observation that northern society and infrastructure was rapidly changing. The 'old ways' and the traditional native way of life was considered to be a thing of the past. Previous industrial activities, for example, the Canol pipeline construction during the Second

World War, the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line stations, construction of the Mackenzie highway and the building of Inuvik had begun the process of change in the region. Thus, the north was on the road to attaining social services and a quality of life comparable with southern Canada; the interrelationship of north and south was increasing. An Edmonton citizen, Mr. J.R. McDougall commented on the passing of the old north this way:

Within the Yukon and Northwest Territories a way of life is passing. In many respects it is over already. Modern society is permeating the north, as is evidenced by housing, hospitals, schools, clothing, snowmobiles, outboard motors, rifles, and on and on ...

[McDougall at Edmonton, Vol. 55, 5862]

The frontier image of the north holds that such changes are "... part and parcel of the fabric of life for residents of northern Canada and there is no turning back" [J. Moul at Vancouver, Vol. 51, 5080]. The passing of the traditional ways were lamented but that which was perceived to be replacing them was considered to be of better value. There would be jobs for those who wished to work, in particular for the youth, a selection of consumer goods would be available; municipal and social services would be improved: in all, northern life would be pleasanter. Thus, a healthy and growing national economy based in part on the resources of the north would also benefit the northern regional economy.

The frontier image of the north and its people considers native northern society to be in a state of transition from a pre-industrial age of hunting, trapping and petty commodity production to an era of modern technological advancement and urbanization. The construction of a major project, such as a pipeline was seen to hasten the inevitable cultural transformation. Vern Horte, president of Arctic Gas (a consortium planning to construct a gas pipeline from Alaska and along the Mackenzie Valley), stated these views quite simply when he spoke to Justice Berger in Toronto:

The transition from what is there today to something better is not going to happen overnight. But in our opinion, sir, economic opportunities such as the pipeline, properly handled, will provide an essential step commencing this process.

[Horte at Toronto, Vol. 60, 6751]

The frontier image presents a very persuasive analysis of the state of northern society; there are two possible choices - traditional ways or a modern lifestyle. The frontier view, in fact, regards the traditional way of life as arduous, and unprofitable; therefore, the modern way of life is the obvious choice. The frontier view holds that at this time in history, the northern regions of Canada are in a stage of transition from the traditional ways to a modern social structure and way of life. In order to further the transition, increased development in the region must occur. Such development should not be regarded as out of keeping with the region's past, but as a sign post to the future.

This view of the north is quite seriously held by many Canadians. Sociologists, for example Dr. C. Hobart² and M. Jenson³ provided at the Berger hearings social scientific evidence to document the transition of native society in the north. The Churchill River Study Reports, in particular the socio-economic report authored by Dr. Stabler *et al.* also supports this view of northern native society, [Churchill River Board Report: 1978].

Concerning the northern provincial areas, the frontier image takes a subtle alteration of perspective regarding the transition of native societies. There is little debate as to the acculturation of native people in northern Ontario, for example, as they as a people have been in close contact with western society since the early fur trade days. In many instances today, they are regarded as an ethnic group that has failed to take advantage of the challenge of hinterland resource development [Stymiest: 1976]. Frequently, native people living in the northern provincial regions are perceived to be unable to use the renewable resources to full capacity, or are seen to over-exploit them. The wild rice issue in northern Ontario is a case in point, whereas of the latter case, native subsistence and commercial fish quotas are frequently perceived to be in conflict with sports fishing.

2. See formal hearing transcripts Volumes 113, 157, 158, 163, 164.

3. See formal hearing transcripts Volumes 165, 166, 170.

The frontier view of native acculturation considers it to decrease as one travels north. This geographic perception of nordicity is not confined to the discussion of acculturation, but to most phenomena considered to be indicative of northness [Hamelin: 1976]. Acculturation, however, is seen as being the inevitable product of modern day activities on the frontier. As this is the case, a rapid rate of transition is demanded in order to lessen the misery of change. Therefore, since the north will ultimately benefit in both social and economic terms, resource development should be permitted to occur.

The frontier image does not expect total assimilation, as native people are expected to retain some aspects of material culture, such as artwork, ceremonies, legends and other ritualized aspects of their lives. Native people would fit in, in much the same way as Ukrainians or other strong cultural groups do in Canada. Many participants presenting the frontier image saw that the north, the last frontier, was a chance for native people to be included, much as other ethnic groups have been in southern Canada, in the social framework of community life. The desired future for the north was the establishment of a northern society in which white and native residents created a modern northern way of life.

The transcript material, in particular the Berger southern hearings, provide profiles of the corporate images of the north. Companies, active in the exploration, extraction,

and transportation fields of resource development told Berger that they quite seriously attempted to act as good corporate citizens in the north. In response to public and government pressure, companies took part in native job training and native employment programs. Attempts were also made to allow for flexible shift work arrangements in order to adjust to native land use activities. Corporations also attempted to demonstrate in the southern hearings the seriousness with which they undertook the responsibility of northern change. D.M. Murry, a representative of Canadian Utilities Limited stated the corporate responsibility as the following:

The modernization of the north must be managed so that we do not destroy the native culture and way of life without replacing them with something better.

[Murry at Edmonton: Vol. 54, 5672].

Corporate northern responsibility also involved the maintenance of the ecological balance of the region. Their stated environmental objectives were to cause the least amount of ecological damage as possible given the economies of the situation. Companies countered adverse southern public opinion by directing their comments to the reports and research conducted on their behalf by environmental consultants.

Regional differences in perspective were obvious in the Berger hearings. The region of strongest frontier feelings, measured by the intensity of the images and the ratio of frontier images to other images presented, was

Alberta. The future of Alberta rests in hydrocarbon production and their link with northern exploration is strong. Edmonton, for example, is frequently referred to as the gateway city to the north. The Calgary and Edmonton submissions exhibiting a frontier ideology firmly set out to describe a north that was in a state of transition, and in need of impetus to further the process. Eastern centres in Canada did not express as immediate a contact with the north. Participants spoke largely from the perspective of a distributor requiring a future supply of gas or other northern resources. Their position supported increased northern exploration and development so as to supply the industrial processes of central Canada. On the other hand, very few of the participants at the Halifax or Charlottetown hearings spoke from a frontier perspective. With respect to hydrocarbon development and the usage of Canadian energy the Berger hearings clearly reflect the country's regional priorities. Geographic location of corporate concentration in the energy field was clearly observable.

Many of the participants expressing a frontier image of the north were disturbed by the Dene demands for self-determination and the proposed moratorium on northern development. The native threat to southerners' livelihood was not so strongly expressed at the Hartt Inquiry or Churchill River Board Inquiry and so objugatory comments regarding native land claims were not made. Western Canadians were very critical

of the native people's demands for self-determination. Some of the remarks made were clearly racist in character, a greater number expressed a paternalistic viewpoint. Others saw the native demands as presenting a challenge to federal sovereignty, as not being in the Canadian interest, and a potential threat to the Canadian economy.

The issue of the native right to self-determination and the influence of the Dene on the Canadian public and possibly the government is not in keeping with the frontier image of northern native peoples. The demand for native rights disturbs the future scenario created by the frontier image because it suggests that native people are in fact not becoming acculturated in the fashion predicted by the frontier world view. Native organizations and southern native support groups are lobby groups petitioning the government to consider a future other than that which is proposed by the holders of the frontier image. Therefore, native rights issues are a direct threat to the status quo of northern development.

In summary it should be noted that the frontier image of the north as expressed to the Berger Inquiry is in keeping with Canada's belief that the north is a storehouse of resources. The twentieth century belongs to Canada precisely because it does possess within its boundaries substantial reserves of minerals, timber, hydrocarbons and land. The frontier image as expressed at the Inquiries also reflects the effect of federal government policy which has been since the Second World War the encouragement

of non-renewable resource land development, improvement of northern services and infrastructure. Thus, the frontier image as presented to Berger, is the product of Canada's frontier history, government policy and corporate interests.

The North-Homeland

It was hypothesized that the homeland image of the north reflected a spiritual relationship with the land (geopieté), and an assertion of territorial rights. During the southern hearings of both the Berger and Hartt Inquiries the two components of the homeland image became separated with the consequence being that greater emphasis was placed on the right to self-determination by some groups than the spiritual man/land relationship. Organizations such as Project North (an ecumenical group), the Voice of Women, Canadian Association in Support of Native People (CASNP), Committee for Justice and Liberty, labour unions, CUSO, as well as private citizens and academics, presented to Justice T. Berger an image of the north as a 'colony within'. A similar image was presented to Justice P. Hartt by Frontier College, Oxfam Canada, private citizens and academics in Toronto. Southern native organizations, on the other hand, presented an image of the north that emphasized the spiritual man/land relationship in conjunction with the right to territorial claim. As there are important distinctions to be made

between the two expressions of homeland, each will be discussed separately.

The North - Colony Within

The colony within image is based on a colonial interpretation of Canada's northern history. Since contact the northern regions of Canada have been under various forms of colonial rule: the Hudson's Bay Company, federal and territorial governments, and transnational corporations. The pattern of northern colonization was considered to be not significantly different from the experience of other areas, for example Latin America, Africa or Southern America. The result of a history of colonialism in northern Canada has been the marginalization of indigenous peoples, cultural disintegration, the removal of valuable resources from the north to centres outside the region for secondary production purposes, and the substitution of the institution and infrastructure of the colonial society for native organized ones. The injection of outside infrastructure and influence, without regard for the way of life of the original inhabitants, was regarded by those holding the colony within view to be most unjust. J. Tannebaum noted the similarity of the north with the third world in the following ways:

Most of the Third World is a testament to the economic exploitation and political social oppression of peoples at the hands of imperialism. The continuing plunder of Africa, Asia and Latin America is common knowledge; but Canada's north is also like a Third World to those who seek maximum profits.

[Tannebaum at Vancouver: Vol. 50, 4991].

Widespread support for the rights of native peoples to obtain self-determination was considered the only way that native people would be able to break the colonial power structure.

The participants who spoke in support of native peoples' right to self-determination attempted to analyse the history of northern development, to understand the differences between the western view of progress and native peoples' aspirations, and also to discuss the complex energy situation in Canada. In other words, presentations were made by serious and well-informed individuals who were not repeating simple motherhood statements or supporting a cause out of ignorance. Many of the participants recognized the role their way of life played in increasing energy demands, and causing pressure on the hinterland for resources. The churches, in particular, spoke of their previous exploitative relationship with northern native peoples. Dr. T. Leadbeater, a Project North representative, said in Edmonton:

... we accept our share of the responsibility for creating what we unhappily call the native problem. What we did in the past through ignorance and pride, we hope to avoid in the future.

[Leadbeater at Edmonton: Vol. 54, 5575]

Project North held the position that they had a responsibility to confront oppression, and for this reason, supported the Dene and other native groups' right to self-determination.

The view of native society presented by these groups was quite different from that which was depicted in the frontier image. Both images agreed that native society was under considerable pressure and that the responses to outside influence were self-destructive: the social pathologies of alcoholism, child neglect and family breakdown. The colony within view, however, concluded that there existed amongst native people considerable resistance to the government and industry proposed solutions. The Dene claims for self-determination was interpreted as evidence of the desire of native people to solve their own problems. A citizen from Calgary stated the options open to native people this way:

The choices imposed by northern industry and government are for the native people to become unskilled or semi-skilled labourers in a very few long-term positions, and rather more short-term ones, or for them to continue to receive paternal handouts. Is this a choice of the native people? Is this really a choice at all? Why not let the native people create their own economic opportunities.

[Tyler at Calgary, Vol. 53, 5497].

Participants firmly supported the native peoples' right to continue their traditional way of life if they so desired. They saw in the land claims issue a way for native people to

protect a culture which depended on a viable and accessible land base. By and large, there was considerable respect for native preference to engage in a hunting and trapping economy. However, amongst the majority of the participants the understanding of the many threats made to this way of life was incomplete and so statements made on the behalf of native people lacked the reality that marked many similar statements made in the north.

The concept of the northern native peoples' right to self-determination and the need to determine their own social and economic future was firmly held all across Canada in the submissions to Berger. Many Canadians identified their own regional aspirations with those expressed by northern native people. Alberta and Quebec submissions in particular commented on the similarity between their own regional feelings and native demand for regional autonomy.

Many southern Canadians also noted the parallel between the social and economic problems of native people in northern regions of the provinces and native people from the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. In Vancouver and the prairie cities of Edmonton and Winnipeg, where the urban native population is considerable, several submissions concentrated on the misery of marginalization, the inadequacy of the reserve system in Canada and the ghettoization of native urban populations. These submissions stressed the importance

of native people receiving, in a land claim settlement, sufficient land to support a viable native economy. It was argued that since northern native people were still involved in a land based economy it was extremely important that they obtain control over the means to their survival. Other submissions attempted to document the geographical extent of the 'native problem'. An individual from Regina remarked:

... I taught school in northern Manitoba prior to my present position with the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour, and the descriptions that I have read of the situation in the Northwest Territories are extremely similar to northern Saskatchewan and certainly similar to northern Manitoba.

[Gallagher, at Regina: Vol. 56, 6069].

Provincial problems with major resource projects were also described and the similarity to the situation in the Northwest Territories was noted. The James Bay Project in Quebec, the Dryden pulp and paper mill in northern Ontario (mercury pollution), hydro dams in northern Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba were frequently cited as examples of the adverse effects of resource development on the environment and to the native way of life.

The colony within view of the north focuses the homeland debate on the pattern of injustices committed by outsiders, however well intentioned the actions may have been. It is a view that notes a similarity between northern Canada and other developing regions of the world. It also recognizes

the right of native people to determine their own future. The spiritual component of the homeland image was not developed in the colony within view of the north as it was presented to Berger and Hartt.

The colony within view of the north is a recently articulated conceptualization of the region [c.f. Usher: 1972; Brody: 1975; Watkins: 1977]. A complete analysis of Canada's colonial history, native responses, and the native right to self-determination was presented to Berger during the formal hearings [c.f. Watkins: 1977]. Documentation of the vitality of the native economy which is part and parcel of this view, but which was not well developed in the southern hearings was argued by native organizations to Berger in the Formal hearings⁵ and by native people in the community hearings.

By and large, the colony within view of the north focused a critical and cynical eye at the northern activities of government and industry. It strongly expressed that northern people be given the opportunity to determine their future in their homeland without the intrusion and domination of government and industry.

5. See Formal hearings, Asch: Volumes 148, 160; Brody: Volumes 166, 167, 168; Cruickshank: Volumes 151, 152; Nahanni: Volumes 147, 148; Schaeffer: Volume 185; Usher: Volume 166, 167, 168.

The North - Southern Native View

Southern native organizations developed the homeland image in a different way than did those who expressed the colony within view. Southern native groups stressed their spiritual relationship with the land in a way that is difficult for those outside the culture to achieve. They also carried a message for the northern native groups, in particular, those groups who had never signed a treaty.

The north was defined by southern native groups to be the Northwest Territories, the Yukon and other areas where treaties had not been signed (Labrador, Nouveau Quebec to some extent as well). The north, a region not yet under treaty represented to southern native groups one of Canada's native people's remaining opportunities to obtain a fair and just land claim settlement. Many groups spoke from this perspective: they expounded the pitfalls of not obtaining enough land to support the native way of life, the failure of the federal government to live up to the treaty agreements and the erosion of the land base because of park creation, hydro construction, and resource development. Chief Snow of the Stoney Tribal Council said to Berger:

Today, the situation of the Northwest Territories and the Yukon is similar to what it was in Alberta, then called the Northwest, or the Northwest Territories in 1876.

[Chief Snow at Calgary: Vol. 52, 5265].

Southern native groups said that southern Canada was their homeland, and that they felt about the land in much the same way that did the Dene and Inuit. Their message to the Dene and Inuit was that if they were to protect their northern homeland they would have to learn from the experiences of those who had already signed treaties. All of southern native presentations concerned the injustices they had experienced since the signing of the treaties. Across Canada, there was a remarkable similarity of injustices cited by southern native people. Broken treaty promises; lack of access to Crown lands which had traditionally been used and which the use, by and large, had not been extinguished by Treaty; the destruction of the land base and the resources due to resource development, tourism, or pollution; and the failure of the agencies responsible to provide information of the changes that were to be made to the band, were the general issues raised by virtually all of the submissions. Southern native groups also emphasized the importance of the spiritual relationship they held with the land. Many groups contrasted their views of the land and the spiritual land relationship they maintained to the white man's land relationship. The white man's relationship was perceived to be an exploitative one and his activities were motivated by greed. Their relationship was quite different. Mrs. Corbier-Lowell representing the Native Women of Canada spoke in Toronto about the native relationship with the land:

Traditionally we have been taught by our native elders that land is not to be owned, bought or sold. Land is our mother earth, and here for the use and respect of all human beings. For without this respect for mother earth and her children, how can we all as human beings survive?

[Corbier-Lowell at Toronto: Vol. 60, 6807].

The failure of white people to understand the native concepts of territoriality and geopiety was a source of considerable bitterness. Most native groups noted that the white man's perception of those lands not yet cultivated as being not used by anyone for productive purposes suited his plans for development. R. Gregoire of the Naskapi-Montagnais spoke of these matters in Halifax, when he said:

The view of the north as a vast barren wilderness in whose watersheds, on whose continental shelf, and within whose frozen rock lies the answer to the troubled economy of the south.

[Gregoire at Halifax: Vol. 67: 7720].

Southern native groups expressed the view that the differences between native and non-native feelings for land was quite substantial. They felt that their homelands had been violated, and that similar transgressions would occur in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon unless northern native people obtained control over large areas of land. The Northwest Territories represented to some southern groups the last opportunity for native people to assert territorial rights, as it is the only political unit in Canada where

native people outnumber non-natives. In this respect, the region symbolized the last stand of Canadian native peoples.

The southern native presentations emphasized the homeland sentiment that they share with northern native people. In this respect, their submission differed from the groups that presented the colony within image, which stressed the third world status of the Canadian north. The expression of native groups of the bitterness they felt for the native/government/corporation relationship made for stark and powerful submissions; whereas the colony within presentations frequently lacked involvement with the day-to-day reality of the conflict.

The North - Wilderness

The image of the north presented by environmental groups, scientists, and citizens reflected yet another ideological position. These groups did not necessarily accept the hinterland analysis of the region; yet, they too rejected the frontier image of the north. In general, the wilderness image of the north does not reflect an interpretation of previous or on-going industry or government activities based on the concept of class dominance. Many environmentalists do not see the situation in 'political' terms, for regardless of the political persuasion of the state, development projects disrupt and destroy ecosystems and endanger animal species.

Those who spoke about the value of wilderness protection, the danger of off-shore drilling, pipeline construction, and the need to protect rare and endangered species did so from a basis of careful research and interpretation of data. Thus, submissions reflected concern and analysis.

Environmentalists supported the concept of protection for important calving, nesting and staging areas. There was also support for the preservation of unique ecosystems. The Old Crow Flats, the north slope of the Yukon, and the white whale calving areas in the Beaufort, for example, were endowed with additional sacredness. In southern Canada there was general support amongst environmentalists for the extension of the Arctic Wildlife Refuge from Alaska into Canada, and also for the International Biological Programme.

At the Churchill River Board of Inquiry, there was considerable emphasis placed on the value of the maintenance of a wild river. Participants valued not only its significance as a rich animal habitat, but also its wild, untouched state. The recreation value of the river was of importance to southern Saskatchewan residents. The Sheldon William Ecology Club stated that:

More and more people are wanting to get away and experience the north. Whether for its white water canoeing, camping or just a holiday. To these people the present state of the Churchill is worth more than electrical energy. It is an aesthetically pleasing experience, as well as a learning experience.

[Report of the Churchill River Board of Inquiry, 1978: 39].

The greatest concern amongst environmental groups presenting submissions to the Hartt Inquiry was the Reed Paper proposal to clear-cut some 40,000 acres of timber. There was considerable criticism of Reed's environmental record particularly in the light of the mercury pollution by Reed's mill at Dryden of the English-Wabigoon River system.

Canadian sentiment for the north was frequently expressed before the Berger Commission by Canadians who would never see the region. Nonetheless, these submissions emphasized the importance of the maintenance, somewhere in Canada, of an untouched ecosystem. Mr. P. Keddy, in Halifax, discussed this Canadian attitude to the north this way:

... Canada's north is part of our heritage as Canadians: it is an integral part of the Canadian culture. Now many Canadians will never see a seal, ... a polar bear, or a caribou, but they will derive pleasure from these animals merely by knowing that they continue to roam free in our north. If these animals disappear, we as Canadians will have lost a little of ourselves.

[Keddy at Halifax: Vol. 67, 7765].

Other speakers concentrated on the importance of every area in Canada, that we as Canadians would be poorer regardless of the area damaged.

Most environmental submissions stressed issues: off-shore drilling, oil tankage and spills. The amount of information presented was quite substantial, thus emphasizing

the seriousness with which environmental groups regarded these issues. In particular, people spoke of the inadequacy of oil spill clean-up technology, the lack of drilling experience in the Beaufort Sea where pressure ridges were known to be quite prevalent, and the unknown effects of a spill on the arctic coast and wildlife. The Canadian Arctic Resources Committee played a major role in the 'southern Berger' hearings by questioning the wisdom of the decision to go ahead with off-shore drilling in the Beaufort sea.

Many of the environmental groups demanded the establishment of an energy policy for Canada. The Honourable Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, Mr. Joe Green was remembered for his proclamation in 1971 of Canada's bright energy future: 900 years of oil and 330 years of natural gas. Southern environmentalists placed considerable emphasis on the need for Canada to develop renewable energy supplies.

The environmentalist view of the north included the elaboration of the emotional ties Canadians feel for all of Canada, the protection of arctic areas which were of particular ecological significance, the recognition of issues such as off-shore drilling, oil tankage, and the need for a comprehensive energy policy. The north was viewed as a special area within Canada because it was a relatively untouched region.

In many ways, the north became a symbol because as an ecosystem it was an endangered region.

As the region was perceived to be in danger, all land activities were critically examined by environmental groups. Native land use practices were seen as environmentally responsible by some groups and not by others.

The majority of the environmental presentations expressed the opinion that native people had a spiritual relationship with the land that western man did not. This spiritual relationship caused native people to respect the environment, whereas western culture exploited the environment. A submission by the Halifax Field Naturalists phrased the native attachment to the land in these terms:

Yet, while many southern Canadians are attempting to rekindle their feelings for the land, there already exists a society where such values can be an integral part of a culture. This society can be found among Canada's northern peoples.

[Halifax Field Naturalists at Halifax:
Vol. 67, 7728].

It was frequently suggested that southern Canadians could learn a great deal about environmental responsibility and respect from native people. S. MacLean of the 'Is 5 Foundation' suggested that "... it was time we shed our attitudes and opened up ourselves to learn something from the wisdom of the native people" [Maclean at Toronto: Vol. 60, 6738].

Some environmental groups, on the other hand, questioned the desirability of native control of the northern environment Project North, which supported the Dene right to self-determination, presented the view that:

Control of land must be given to those
that have shown their responsible
stewardship.

[Project North at Vancouver: Vol. 50, 4859].

Other groups, notably the Society for Pollution and Environment control (SPEC) and the National and Provincial Parks Associations seriously questioned native environmental consciousness. The Greenpeace submission to the Alaska Highway Pipeline Inquiry in Whitehorse expressed a similar perspective.

SPEC questioned the influence of a royalty type land claim settlement on native land attitudes. They considered such a settlement to be an incentive for native people to develop the non-renewable resources over which they would have control. This concern was expressed in the following passage:

... when the native people do receive their land under the land claims, as we're sure that they will, we hope that the native people, themselves, will not become the developer or promote the development of the north in the same manner that some of the developers have in the past and may do so in the future. We are concerned that once the peoples get involved with royalties and participate in resource extraction, that they may lose that feeling of culture and conservation and feeling of the environment that they have been with for so long.

[SPEC at Vancouver: Vol. 49, 4795].

The SPEC submission suggests that as long as native people stay native and involved in traditional pursuits, they should be supported by environmental groups, however if native people were to alter their way of life then environmental support would depend on the changes made in the native society.

The submission by the National and Provincial Parks Association commented on the conflict environmental groups have in recognizing native subsistence activities in protected areas:

... the National Parks Act allows for traditional native hunting and fishing activities in the parks. We are in sympathy with this, but are concerned that research and management methods be developed to safeguard wildlife and renewable resources in conservation areas.

[National and Provincial Parks Association
at Toronto: Vol. 59, 6451].

Native use of conservation areas is a very real land use conflict for environmental groups. As long as the northern wildlife populations remain viable and native subsistence activities do not appear to over harvest species, southern environmental groups will continue to support native groups. As well, as long as developers are viewed as the primary agent of environmental damage, native people will continue to be regarded as victims. However, the issue of native control over wildlife resources is a contentious one amongst environmental groups who tend to regard themselves as being the most environmentally conscious sector of Canadian society.

The environmental view of the north cherishes the image of a wilderness. The northern wilderness evokes an emotional response amongst individuals who will never see the wildlife and the region they choose to protect. However, the knowledge of the existence and continuing viability of wilderness areas is extremely important to them. Because of

the need to preserve wilderness areas, in particular those areas deemed by ecologists to be vital to the survival of wildlife, projects such as off-shore drilling, oil tankering, creation of pipeline corridors and hydro construction were publically contested.

The view of native people was a difficult issue for groups to resolve. Some considered the spiritual relationship native people maintained with the land to be evidence of their special attitude to the environment, while others questioned the rights of native people to hunt and fish in conservation areas, and the future of native environmental relationships.

The heartland wilderness image of the north is a complex one. Within the larger image, there are several differing viewpoints as to the future of the region, the role of native hunting, and the type of preservation of landscape and wildlife that should occur. It is intriguing that the heartland wilderness image should be composed of these differing perspectives. Clearly, there is potential for research in this area, especially if one were to examine the images that various environmental groups, for example Greenpeace, Sierra Club, Canadian Wildlife Federation, Ducks Unlimited and Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, hold of the north, native people, and development.

6. See Linda Graber, Wilderness As Sacred Space Washington: The Association of American Geographers, 1976.

Conclusion

The Berger southern hearings do substantiate the hypothesized typology of images of the Canadian north. The hearing material notes the persistence of Canadians' views of the north, as well as, the degree to which the conflict is rooted in the world views of the social classes in Canada. The Berger material, because of its cross-Canada hearings schedule, affords the opportunity for regional comparison. By and large, the southern hearing schedule of the Hartt hearing and comments made in the Churchill River Board of Inquiry Report permit only generalized comments to be made.

The questions that must be answered concern the representativeness of the statements made to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry. Critical analysis of the transcript material reveals that Project North and the Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples (CASNP) mobilized considerable public support for the Dene claim to self-determination and the ten year moratorium on all northern development. Equally, the Boards of Trade, and the Chambers of Commerce in every city visited by Berger prepared statements in support of northern development. Interestingly, there are contradictions between inquiries. For example, labour unions during the Berger southern hearings supported the Dene right to self-determination and the settlement of land claims prior to northern development.

However, labour union submissions to the Churchill River Board of Inquiry strongly supported the Wintego hydro project even though the social and cultural consequences to the resident Indian people would have been substantial. Therefore, the question remains were the submissions representative of public opinion at that time?

An independent study of public opinion concerning pipeline construction, native land claims, energy requirements, and the need for environmental protection was conducted just prior to the Berger southern hearing in April 1976, by Professors R. Gibbons and J. Ponting of the University of Calgary. Their results indicate that at that time in Canada, public awareness of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry was considerable. Based on a sample one third larger than that usually used in the Gallop poll, Gibbons and Pouling discovered that sixty-three percent of Canadians eighteen years of age or older were aware of the pipeline. When asked to rank five concerns pertaining to the pipeline, public opinion considered the protection of the environment to be the most important issue (27.8 per cent). The guarantee of Canadian energy supplies prior to export to the United States was ranked second in importance (24.8 per cent). Of third importance was the protection of the native way of life (20.2 per cent), and Canadian ownership of the pipeline was ranked fourth in importance (16.7 per cent). The protection of cheap energy was ranked fifth (10.4 per cent).

The Gibbons and Ponting study indicates that submissions to Berger supporting environmental protection and the protection of the native way of life were representative of public concerns and not the expressions of a minority of well funded individuals. The study appears to indicate that the oil industry claim of the necessity for the protection of cheap energy, and their assertion that development of frontier resources would shelter Canada from the OPEC energy cost spiral was not a matter of great concern.

Analysis of the response curve to the questions concerning protection of the native way of life indicate that, as the shape conforms to a normal distribution there does not exist in Canada a camp of so-called bigots at one end of the scale and at the other end a camp of so-called bleeding-heart liberals [Ponting: Vol. 62, 6944]. Therefore it appears that the majority of Canadians at the time were moderately concerned about protection of the native way of life.

The importance of the Gibbons and Ponting study to this discussion is the verification of the representativeness of the submissions to Berger. It would appear, then, that the general public supported the protection of northern environment and the native way of life. It would also appear that the frontier image may not be a widely held image, but it is, however, held by a powerful lobby group.

While the Ponting and Gibbons study does lend weight to the representative nature of the submissions to Berger, it is important to note the degree to which the three images were supported across Canada. There was a wide spectrum of views presented, of which the typology made three major generalizations. It is valid to say that the typology does represent southern views regarding the north. The substance of the hinterland images and the validity of the typology shall now be discussed.

CHAPTER FIVE

VIEWS FROM THE HINTERLAND

Introduction

Heartland images of the north discussed in the previous section revealed considerable insights into perceptions of the north and also about the ways in which southern Canadians view themselves. Their northland images were based on an understanding and appreciation of themselves as southern Canadians. These images were presented from all the regions of southern Canada, yet the commonality of perspective was that of southern Canadians looking north. The view of the north held by northern residents also reflects the polarization of northern and southern interests in Canadian society. Thus, hinterland images were frequently made by way of contrast and comparison to the south.

Northerners' views of themselves and the region, which recently has been the focus of intense outsider scrutiny, could be labeled as introspective. The images presented of the region were much starker and more immediate than was the norm in the southern hearings. Furthermore, the topics under discussion were not analyzed from a broad perspective as had been the case in the southern hearings. On the whole, the lines drawn between images were clear and distinct. Northern participants

made it known that they were very aware that comments and opinions expressed at Inquiry hearings could disrupt the social cohesion of northern communities. A public forum, such as an Inquiry, presented residents with the opportunity to express viewpoints which were usually aired in small homogenous groups. There was, then, a potential for community conflict on the basis of spoken testimony. At the Lysyk hearings a common preface to remarks was: 'Yukoners must not allow themselves to become divided over the pipeline issues'. At the Berger hearings, native people frequently said that they did not wish their remarks to be interpreted as being racist or that they disliked whites. Many of the whites added a similar comment to their remarks.

The Inquiry process provided a catalyst for the public expression of individual opinions which may or may not have been previously expressed in public.¹ The Inquiry process also presented to northerners a southern authority figure - the Commissioner - who correctly or incorrectly was frequently perceived as an individual with the capacity to decide their future. Confrontation with a southern authority figure, at times, brought out the frustrations northern residents feel when dealing with individuals who have had little northern experience but nonetheless have arrived to 'solve' northern problems. Each of the three image types presented contained

1. Small business control of local newspapers, and native organization newsletters have permitted the public expression of particular views in northern society.

expressions of anger, frustration and bewilderment with central authorities in Ottawa, Toronto, and to some degree with the territorial governments which are federally established.

In the hinterland, the momentum of the Inquiry was important. Participants remarked on what they heard had occurred at earlier meetings, and the Inquiry's process was frequently evaluated. There were clearly influences on the material discussed, for example the sincerity of the Commissioner and staff, the organization and length of duration in the community. Recognition of these influences are important to the interpretation of the images presented at the northern hearings.

The hypothesized typology of northern images was substantiated at the northern hearings. There are, clearly, differences in emphasis amongst the three geographic areas and these shall be discussed. Generally, northerners were not divided over the definition of the region as a hinterland. Amongst Inquiry participants there was recognition of the north functioning as a hinterland. Thus their hinterland status was contrasted to southern Canada, which was viewed as a centre or heartland by northern participants. There was also general agreement concerning the pressures that caused the north to exist as a hinterland. However, considerable disagreement existed as to the permanency of hinterland

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status. The northern view of the hinterland differs considerably from that which was presented at the southern hearings, where hinterland status was a hotly disputed northern characteristic. It was concluded in the case of the southern hearing material that acceptance or rejection of the concept of hinterland was a fundamental criterion for image identification. In the case of the northern material where hinterland status was not in dispute, a critical criterion for image identification was the solution suggested for the cessation of its status. The northern frontier image recognized the hinterland status of the region but was of the opinion that it was a transitory condition. If development projects were large enough, it was argued, hinterland status and its intrinsic problems of unemployment, poor services, and outdated infrastructure would be transformed. The northern homeland image recognized hinterland status but emphasized the marginal position of both the region and native people in economic, political and social terms. The solution proposed in the homeland image to the persistence of hinterland status was ideologically quite different from the suggestions made by the frontier image. The wilderness image exhibited acceptance of the hinterland position of the region but did not necessarily express dissatisfaction with it. In many regards the existing hinterland status was preferable to the solution proposed by those supporting the frontier and homeland images.

It is significant that the hinterland position of the region was so generally accepted and discussed. Most northerners expressed dissatisfaction with the economic and social position of the north relative to the south, yet varied reasons were put forward as explanation for the continuing native region's secondary status. This will be discussed by image theme.

Frontier Image - A View from Within

A frontier image of the north was expressed to Judge Berger, Dean Lysyk and Justice Hartt by the following groups - northern Chambers of Commerce, local business men, the local municipalities, and private citizens. The frontier image was characterized by a recognition of the region's hinterland status, however, hinterland status was considered to be temporary. The proper boost, such as pipelines, hydro-electric generation or increased mineral development, it was argued, could change the region's hinterland status to one which more closely resembled southern Canada's heartland condition. By and large, participants from the Northwest Territories and the Yukon were not overly concerned with the consequences of a boom and bust situation. Northern Ontario residents, on the other hand, who had repeatedly experienced the bust cycle of development were strongly opposed to the boom and bust phenomena of hinterland development.

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It should be noted that although the northern frontier image projected a future where the north becomes a viable economic unit, the image also exhibited great pride in the northness of the region: its ruggedness, isolation and scenic beauty. It can be argued that the development of the non-renewable resources of the north and the retention of its rugged beauty are mutually exclusive. This argument was not made by those holding the frontier image, instead, these two aspects of northern life were viewed as being compatible.

The view of native people was similar to that which had been expressed by participants holding a frontier image at the southern hearings. Participants from the Northwest Territories expressed considerable uneasiness with the Dene land claims, as the Dene were presenting a very unified and strong proposal that could drastically alter the existing socio-political relationships in the region. Such was not the case in the Yukon or Northern Ontario where native peoples, because of their fewer numbers and weaker organizational capabilities, did not pose a major threat to existing social and economic relationships.

The above comments concern the general themes found in the frontier image in the north. A detailed analysis of each Inquiry area illustrates the range of topics considered under the frontier image and the within region differences.

Frontier Image - A Northwest Territories Perspective

The frontier image of the Northwest Territories exhibits a particular interpretation of northern history. Inquiry participants referred not so much to the exploits of the early explorers but emphasized the changes that had occurred in the transportation systems, communications and infrastructure since the turn of the century. The beginning of northern history in all cases was the early establishment of the Hudson's Bay post or a mining claim (Pine Point, Yellowknife) or a government decision (Inuvik). Obviously, the specific local conditions differ, nonetheless, the similarity of frontier interpretation of northern history of the various northern communities was striking. Construction of the Canol pipeline and road during the early 1930's, the DEW line stations, the Mackenzie Highway, saw mills, shipping, mining developments and the building of Inuvik were cited and discussed as significant events in northern history. These events were perceived as extensions in the north of southern federal policies and industrial activity, and as such, were important sign posts to the resident business community for they represented the initial steps along the road to the north's modernization. Thus, these historical signposts also functioned as reassurance of the federal government's intent even in the light of continued federal funding of native organizations, whose purpose

vis-a-vis the transformation of the hinterland to heartland status, was not well understood.

The pipeline, another signpost of modernization, was viewed as the necessary boost that would finally bring the region out of its lingering hinterland state. The pipeline was considered to be beneficial because it represented jobs, business contracts, and would encourage people to come north; in short, business would be booming. If the northern business sector could capture a large share of the business, northern life would certainly improve. It was also suggested that the after effects of the pipeline would leave northern business finally in a competitive position with the Alberta and British Columbia firms which usually succeeded in being awarded a considerable portion of northern contracting and construction business. The pipeline, then, was viewed as providing a stimulus to the region's economy. If the pipeline were to be prevented from being built, then the region's economy would stagnate and the Northwest Territories would continue to be dependent on southern Canada.

The region's hinterland status was so unpopular that considerable comment was directed at those institutions perceived to be responsible for its continuation. The federal government, in particular the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, was considered to have enacted unreasonable

environmental regulations that placed constraints on mineral and hydrocarbon development. The federal government was also criticized for not relinquishing more responsibilities to the territorial government, especially in the area of environmental regulation and resource development. The native situation was also considered to be poorly handled by the federal government. Native people were supported by federal welfare programmes and considerable sums of money, it was perceived by those presenting the frontier image, were given to native organizations to be used for questionable purposes. If native people were to have jobs, the regional economy would be improved. The pipeline, on the other hand, could provide jobs and allow native people to acquire skills required for permanent employment.

The native problem was of considerable worry to those presenting the frontier image. Many participants presenting a frontier image expressed the opinion that the majority of native people had left the land and the traditional ways of life, and therefore jobs were needed:

The traditional way of the native people, as I understand it, is a memory for many, and it will become a memory even more with an increase in population.

[Duesterhus at Yellowknife, Vol. 34, 3266].

I think there is still a trapping economy ... most of the active trappers are probably 60 years and over, and probably some of them in their 70's; there's a few young trappers around, and I think it's a dying thing The land couldn't support everybody to be back on the land anymore.

[Leishman at Fort Smith, Vol. 33, 3996].

As was the case in the southern frontier image, native people were considered to have left the land and were generally believed to be doing little in the way of productive work. Apparent government support of native shiftlessness was a source of considerable displeasure. In particular, the federal government appeared to be funding native organizations, especially the Dene, which were advocating increased native political and territorial rights.

Demands by native people for access to political institutions and the right to govern their own affairs caused considerable animosity between whites and native people. The following statement made by Mr. G. Moniuk in Norman Wells accurately expresses the dismay whites felt at being viewed as a minority group:

The feelings in the north have changed drastically. They have deteriorated until finally one feels on the defensive because you are in business and because you are white.

[Moniuk at Norman Wells, Vol. 21, 5092].

The Dene claim was proclaimed to be racist, apartheid and undemocratic [Territorial Government: 1977]. The reaction, by those holding the frontier image, to the Dene claim is a fascinating study in colonial relations in the hinterland, which unfortunately cannot be developed at greater length in this paper.

A distinguishing feature of the Northwest Territories is the degree to which whites in the region were threatened by the Dene claim. The Dene claim tended to over-shadow the Inuit claim to territorial rights, which were also elaborated at the hearings. Another fascinating feature of this image is the concentration on the economic growth factor of pipeline development rather than on the bust or let down after construction. There was considerable optimism by the business community that they would prosper because of the pipeline. However, this sector was also actively seeking federal aid so that they could take advantage of the pipeline opportunities. In the Northwest Territories, to a greater degree than was the case in the Yukon or northern Ontario, those holding the frontier image simultaneously blamed federal interference for economic stagnation and sought federal aid to better their economic position. The behaviour of the small business sector in a hinterland situation is, as well, an intriguing area of investigation which cannot, unfortunately, be discussed in greater length.

Frontier Image -- The Yukon Perspective

The frontier image was quite strongly presented to Lysyk at the community hearings held in seventeen Yukon communities from May to July 1977. It is an image embossed with the excitement of the Klondike gold rush of 1896, the early White Pass railway construction, and continuing development of the mining sector. The analysis of Yukon history presented to Lysyk by those holding a frontier image highlighted the region's experiences with boom and bust situations. Participants said that the Yukon had had a history of this phenomena, and, therefore, knew how to cope. The Yukon had also had experience with pipeline construction - the Canol pipeline which ran from Norman Wells to Whitehorse; the Haines Junction - Fairbanks Military pipeline; and the pipeline from Skagway to Whitehorse. Mr. R. Watson for Haines Junction phrased Yukon's development this way:

Yukon communities along the highway have for many years been used to a variety of projects both large and small, and have not fared any worse than their counterparts in northern Alberta or British Columbia

[Watson at Haines Junction: Vol 13, 1976].

As was the case in the Northwest Territories frontier image, past construction was viewed as symbolic of the Yukon's coming of age.

The frontier image was presented by a broader cross-section of the Yukon population than was the case in the Northwest Territories. Many Yukoners are employed in mining, construction, prospecting, transportation, as well as, in the local business and tourist sectors. The economic well-being of these groups depends on a continuing growth of the primary and service sectors of the regional and national economy. Therefore, in order for the Yukon economy to prosper and the individuals involved in the productive sectors of the economy to continue to gain employment and maintain or improve their standards of living, new mines must be developed, hydro-electric power created or other forms of energy employed to run smelters, offices and homes built, transportation improved to meet increased demands, and communications and general infrastructure increased to cope with the growing needs. Those supporting a frontier image of the region considered pipeline construction a boost to the economy that would encourage improvements in other sectors notably hydro-development and increased smelting capacity:

The greatest benefit to Yukoners as we see it, and all Canadians, is that this pipeline project could well initiate development of cheap hydro and consequently the development of our mineral resources, and those known deposits are quite significant.

[Mitchell at Faro; Vol. 20, 2579].

A boost such as the proposed pipeline was also viewed as a stimulus to up-grade social services. Several communities contained too small a population to warrant a high school, or specialized hospital services. In this regard, a pipeline was viewed as contributing to the improvement of the Yukon quality of life as such facilities would have to be built in order to serve the increased population.

The frontier image of the Yukon, as expressed to Lysyk, was an extremely vibrant one. Its roots are founded in the lure of early gold and in the poetry of Robert Service. It is a colourful image that has been encouraged by the small business sector of the economy that depends on the sense of adventure that the Yukon inspires to encourage tourism. Yukon tourist operators, in particular those presenting a frontier image, were caught in the contradictory position of hinterland development. Tourists come to the Yukon, in part, because it is a frontier and on account of its scenic beauty and relatively undisturbed lands. At the hearings there was considerable debate as to the tenuous nature of Yukon's scenic beauty and frontier heritage if a pipeline were to cause considerable environmental damage. Others, however, commented that the perverse nature of the tourist industry was such as to make most sites an attraction:

There was complaints about the tailings on these creeks. These terrible tailings are some of the finest attractions that the Yukon has got. I know, because I take the tourists out and the effect on them is devastating and they'll never forget about it. They'll tell their friends about it and their friends will come up and see such a terrible thing as these tailings, what a terrible thing has happened here. It's a fact that's a real attraction.

[Cole at Dawson: Vol. 24, 2998-99].

The seemingly contradictory desires expressed by those holding the frontier image is an important characteristic of the hinterland. This characteristic will become more apparent as the other images are discussed in detail.

The frontier view of the Yukon native peoples is to not consider them. Zaslow [1974: 124] notes that the pattern of Yukon development commencing with the Klondike gold rush has been to largely ignore the native element. The frontier view presented to Lysyk was to consider native people as rather superfluous to the pipeline issue. Yukoners expressed the desire for native people to take advantage of the pipeline opportunities and that jobs were needed to "stop them from lolling around ... save them from alcoholism ... save them from the social ills which they are facing at the present time [Fekete at Whitehorse, Vol. 34, 4307]. In the view of those presenting the frontier image, land claims would not be prejudiced by pipeline construction. It should be noted

that Lysyk did not consider the issue of land claims to be within his terms of reference and so did not encourage its discussion. Ianari [1978] has suggested that Lysyk, himself, adopted the persistent Yukon view which considers the Yukon native people to be unnecessary to its development. Even though land claims discussion was curtailed, the frontier image did not actually appear to be threatened by native demands. It is, however, speculative to comment on the degree to which the concept of aboriginal rights to land was accepted or to discuss the areas of responsibility (education, community services, local government) that were considered to be clearly native concerns. It is important to note that recognition of native peoples different status brought considerable protest from non-native Yukoners, in particular those presenting a frontier image of the region. Lysyk held separate hearings in communities that had an identifiable native and non-native spatial arrangement of housing and facilities, thus indicating the existence of two communities. For example, an afternoon hearing would be convened in the native community centre or hall, and during the evening another hearing would be held in the white community hall. Identification of two distinct groups was not welcomed by the white community:

May I ask why you have an Inquiry in each village, in an Indian community and in the white community, instead of having one meeting in each community? I think that this two meetings is leading to divisiveness. We have an awful lot of divisiveness now in the Yukon Territory, without having a meeting for the native people and a meeting for the white people. Why can't we just have one meeting?

[Tracey at Carmacks: Vol. 28, 3242].

The substantial difference between the frontier image of native people in the Northwest Territories as expressed to Berger and that which was expressed to Lysyk in the Yukon was the inability of the residents of the Northwest Territories to ignore the presence of native people. In the Yukon, those presenting the frontier image said in effect that native people should be assisted because they were 'people with social problems, however, as a group they were not entitled to special recognition. Residents of the Northwest Territories might well support the view that native people as a group were not entitled to special recognition, but they could not ignore the fact that they were a distinct group within the social framework of the region.

The frontier image presented in the Yukon strongly supported the position of provincial status for the region. The pipeline, it was believed, would force the federal government to finally relinquish authority over the region. Provincial status symbolized in many ways the region's coming

of age. Obtaining provincial status would end the dependency the region had on the federal government, thus terminating hinterland status in the political sphere. In other words, gaining provincial status for the Yukon was viewed as one of the necessary steps required to transform the region from a hinterland to that which more closely resembled the heartland region of Canada.

The unique feature of the Yukon frontier image is the stamp of the area's history: Klondike gold rush, early development and proximity to Alaska. People from the Yukon saw themselves as a special type of northerner - a Yukoner. They held the ascribed characteristics of northerners, but with the additional imprint of the region's particular history, landscape and resources.

Frontier Image - Northern Ontario Perspective

The frontier image of Northern Ontario presented to Justice P. Hartt at the hearings held in fourteen communities from November 1977 to February 1978 is a most intriguing one. The image is similar in content to that which was stated at the Lysyk and Berger hearings, but it exhibits a unique northern Ontario variation. The concept of Northern Ontarians as northerners was quite pronounced, perhaps even to a greater degree than was the case in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. It appeared as if there was a necessity to prove

their northness; whereas in the case of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories they knew they were northerners. In fact, in the case of the Yukon, there was an additional symbolism in that they were Yukoners.

In Canada exist fascinating boundary lines of the region north. The sixtieth parallel is an important psychological boundary line for Canadians, as areas above it can certainly be labelled as north. Hamelin [1972] makes the distinction between Mid-North (Moyen-Nord) and North (Grand-Nord) on the basis of the tree line. In a political sense, especially when the role of the federal government in determining 'northern' policies is considered, the sixtieth parallel is a crucial boundary line.¹ Areas above the fifty-fifth parallel in Quebec, the prairie provinces and British Columbia are also generally accepted as north or in Hamelin's regional scheme as Mid-North. In Ontario, the fiftieth parallel marks north for provincial policy matters. Ontario exhibits a remarkable north-south polarization: in contrast to the Kingston-Windsor corridor, Timmins, Sioux Lookout and Kenora are north.

Northern participants at the Hartt Inquiry commented on the provincial government's differing perceptions of the region in comparison to southern Ontario, and there was considerable resentment by northern Ontarians to being considered as a hinterland: a backwater place. The contradictory situation

1. It could be possible to make the case that federal policy has regarded Inuit and Indians as two distinct northern groups and on that basis considers the tree line as a viable boundary line; however, considerable research would have to be done in order to substantiate this hypothesis.

that northern Ontarians perceived themselves to be in, was clearly demonstrated by their desire to be considered as a heartland area by the provincial government but at the same time to be recognized in other aspects as a hinterland region, notably for recreation potential, lack of crowding or pollution.

The boom and bust nature of the economy was at the centre of the dissatisfaction with the hinterland state. Short-term mining operations, fluctuations in world prices, and the relocation decisions of foreign owned companies had caused many residents to lose their jobs and their investments in the communities affected by the closing down of 'failing' operations. Residents stated that they wished for a stable regional economy similar to that which existed in southern Ontario. Dissatisfaction with the boom and bust cycle of resource development by residents of Northern Ontario was not shared, as has already been discussed, by Yukoners and residents of the Northwest Territories. The longer history of both profitable and unsuccessful resource development in Northern Ontario has caused residents to question the ability of this type of development to alter the hinterland status of the region. In other words, long association with primary resource development has weakened residents' convictions as to the role it can play in transforming the hinterland economy into that which more closely resembles a heartland economy where jobs and stability are perceived to prevail.

Even though failures in the resource sector have been serious for Northern Ontarians, there still remained considerable belief in the area's resource potential and frontier character. The frontier qualities of the region and the people who come to live in such a place were explicitly described and praised. The progress, that had been made, given the inhospitable conditions, was noted and accredited to those individuals who because of their place of residence had developed into a group of unique Canadians: northerners. E. Fahlgreen in Red Lake said:

Remarkable and inspiring is the fortitude, tenacity, patience and plain courage of the northern people and the way they had to cope. Northerners have developed into a breed unto themselves.

[Fahlgreen at Red Lake, Nov. 15, 627]

Man's progress in transforming the wilderness was clearly a feature of the frontier image in much the same way it had been in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. Similarly, the signposts of this progress were noted and comments made as to their effects in causing later changes.

As was the case in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, groups or government policies which were perceived to be inhibiting the region's economic growth and the transformation of the hinterland were viewed with extreme disfavour. The designation of areas as Provincial Parks, for example, was seen as inhibiting the region's growth because the timber

resources and mineral deposits would not be exploited;

We do not want to see a park development in the North It is not the wishes of the people here that a great park with nothing in it and resources go down the drain, or it will do from fires and over maturity.

[Mowat at Dryden, Nov. 16, 373].

Pollution regulations controlling the release of mine tailings and chemicals, metals, and waste water were also disputed by participants. Understandably, it was the mine operators who most openly disagreed with the need for environmental regulations and put forward the position that they were curtailing mine development and job creation. Private citizens presenting a frontier image, however, did not dispute the effect of environmental regulations on the region's economy.

Native people were considered as a hinderance to development because as a group they misused resources and failed to take advantage of opportunities. Wild rice, which native people claimed was their aboriginal right, was considered by those holding a frontier image to be underexploited and a resource that belonged to every resident of northern Ontario. Exclusive native right to harvest wild rice is disputed by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and a submission was made by the Ministry concerning this matter. Development of reserve lands was also considered to be lacking in the view of those presenting a frontier image. A

prevalent northern Ontario attitude appears to consider native people as another minority group, which in this case has failed to take advantage of the possibilities that exist on the frontier [Stymiest: 1976]. Mr. F. Devins summed up the frontier image paternalistic view of native people this way:

... I wouldn't be honest with you, sir, if I did not express disappointment over the use that the natives, who have chosen to remain on the land, have made of their woodland areas. In my view, they have much to prove. There must be greater stress on developing the land resources on and around the reserves.

Sir, let's be honest, if any white group had control of large areas of land such as these on Native reservations, they would put them to much greater use. Land is a precious commodity today, and I am sure that with proper discussion, improved input in the form of expertise and greater encouragement, the young native people could and, in fact, would take the bull by the horns and start using development to their own advantage.

[Devins at Kenora, Jan. 17, 1976].

It should be noted that of all the inquiries studied, the Hartt Inquiry contained more racist comments directed at native people than did either the Lysyk Inquiry or the Berger Inquiry.

The tourist industry, as in the case of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, was founded on the excitement of the frontier, and the relatively undeveloped landscape of the hinterland. In northern Ontario, it is an extremely important

sector of the economy, being the second largest employer in the region after the pulp and paper industry. It is, however, dependent on the maintenance of frontier condition of the region. Large scale development, pollution or urbanization could alter the area's appeal. It is this sector of the region's economy that promotes the frontier image to its greatest degree. The following statement by Mr. A. Rosenthal of Ear Falls was typical of the submissions made by those supporting the tourist industry:

Throughout these years American (and some Canadian) tourists continued to go north: They came for the good fishing and hunting and the rough untouched terrain. This frontier sense of adventure is part of the lure of the north.

[Rosenthal at Ear Falls, Nov 16, 81].

The frontier image of Northern Ontario is an extremely complex one. It bears the imprint of close proximity to a vibrant heartland: the Quebec-Windsor corridor. It has been, as well, a resource hinterland for a considerably longer period than the Yukon or the Northwest Territories, and its failures and inability at times to live up to the frontier expectations have been a source of discontentment and disillusionment for many Northern Ontario residents.

The conflicting and seemingly contradictory hinterland responses to heartland pressures were particularly

pronounced in the Hartt evidence. Discussion of the wilderness image will develop this hinterland characteristic in greater detail.

Wilderness Image - A View From Within

The theorized image of the north as a wilderness area was supported in the southern hearings. Southern Canadians saw the north, a region many would never personally experience, to be a uniquely Canadian place. The region's wilderness qualities, defined by the presence of rare and endangered species, lack of industrial activities and evidence of human activities, were considered as non-renewable resources and in need of protection. It was concluded, on the basis of Inquiry submissions, that the wilderness image as expressed by southern Canadians did not take a position vis-a-vis the hinterland status of the region.

The wilderness views submitted to Berger, Lysyk and Hartt and the northern hearings supported the hypothesized wilderness image, however, variation within each region was considerable. Within the Euro-Canadian community, environmental concerns varied according to the speaker's economic livelihood. Native people spoke a great deal about the need to protect the wildlife and the land which formed the basis of their way of life. The full impact of their concerns are more completely discussed in the homeland section.

Wilderness Image - Northwest Territories Perspective

A wilderness view of the Northwest Territories was presented to Berger by two groups: native people and concerned citizens. Unlike the Yukon and northern Ontario submissions, it is not possible to further define the group 'concerned citizens' into distinct sub-groups identified on the basis of stated economic concerns or environmental philosophies.

A. Native People

The wilderness image presented by native people (Dene, Metis, and Inuit) was closely associated with the homeland image which will be developed in the following section; however, it is possible to isolate and discuss the wilderness aspect of the native view of the north. Native people hold a utilitarian view with regard to use of the environment. They depend on a subsistence economy that is based on the products - fur, fish and game - of the north. Activities which alter in an adverse manner the productivity of the land was of considerable concern. Native people provided numerous examples of the environmental damage they had seen in the bush, in the rivers and the lakes. For example, P. Lord of Old Crow said:

... we had a three year project here, Renewable Resources was up studying the caribou and we know how the caribou reacted ... we already had effect with the caribou when there was too much traffic for the animals and [they] start chasing them all over the country.

[Lord at Old Crow; Vol. 14, 1288].

And John Kay at Fort McPherson recounted when:

Once they blocked [oil exploration personnel] the creek and made a bridge there they went across and they never did come by. And we rely on this creek for fish because fish come out of there from the lakes and lots [the Dene] come up there for the fall and rely for fish on this creek. Now we have not got no fish [sic] in this place for the past three years.

[Kay at Ft. McPherson: Vol. 11, 1010].

In the Mackenzie Delta area the Inuit questioned the ability of the companies to adequately clean-up should an oil blowout occur. They also discussed the impacts of off-shore drilling would have on marine life. B. Pokiak at the hearing at Tuktoyaktuk said:

All it takes is one blowout in the water to just about wipe out everything we make our living on.

[Pokiak at Tuktoyaktuk: Vol. 44, 4225].

The wilderness image presented to Berger by native people reflected their subsistence needs. As users of the north's renewable resources they demand a minimum of industrial activity. Native people also commented on the aesthetic

beauty of the land but this was peripheral to their major concern for the maintenance of an environment that would support an adequate, renewable resource harvest.

B. Concerned Citizens:

The views expressed by this group could be labelled as preservationist. The majority of the participants expressing this view of the north had come from southern Canada and valued the level of environmental quality and access to the natural environment afforded by hinterland living. For example, C. Hammond said in Fort Simpson:

I hate to see the day when I have to walk to my door and I say to my neighbour, "I have to go seventy-five miles to get away from it all ... you know, because today we can walk out our backdoors and in two or three or five minutes we're out in the bush and the wilderness."

[Hammond at Fort Simpson: Vol. 25, 2586].

Other participants seriously questioned the ability of companies to develop the north without causing considerable impacts to both the environment and the people who depend upon them:

... it's impossible to buy back a peregrine falcon once its been destroyed ...

[Stephannson at Yellowknife: Vol. 34, 3372].

The views expressed by concerned citizens at the northern hearings emphasized the benefits- recreational and aesthetic- of living in the north. These were aspects of northern life which would be seriously altered, if not destroyed, should the area be developed.

The unique features of the wilderness images presented to Berger were the emphasis native people placed on the maintenance of a viable ecosystem to support their subsistence activities, and the appreciation of hinterland living by non-native residents. As will be discussed in the Yukon and Northern Ontario sections, the wilderness images and issues presented to Berger involve fewer groups holding conflicting views concerning land use, access rights, and entitlement to renewable resources.

Wilderness Image - Yukon Perspective

The wilderness image of the Yukon was presented by three distinct groups: the outfitters, native people and a group which has been labelled by Yukoners as the 'back-to-the-landers'. Each group isolated and discussed a separate quality of the wilderness image.

A. Outfitters:

Outfitters, those individuals who operate fly-in camps for wealthy tourists and now 'pack, tent and canoe'

shops for wilderness campers and white water canoists, presented a utilitarian view of the wilderness. They were not opposed, in principle, to lumbering, mining or other non-renewable resource activities if these operations were zoned to specific areas of the Yukon. Areas not used for development purposes were, in the view of the outfitters, to be maintained as wildlands and not subject to intrusion. Such wildlands would necessarily be large enough to support viable populations of big game animals. The designated areas must also appear to be wild, for example, intrusions such as road cutting, a pipeline right-of-way and seismic lines could not be tolerated. As well as not conforming to the image of a wilderness landscape, these man-made landscape features provided access to the remoter areas of the territory, thereby increasing hunting pressure.

This image of the north is clearly associated with the livelihood of the individuals who spoke. It is also an image and a demand for a particular landscape that is created from outside the Yukon, as fly-in hunters and fishermen are, by and large, wealthy urban dwellers.

B. Native People:

The Yukon native view was similar to the view expressed by native people at the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline community hearings. People who depended on the land resources for subsistence and the maintenance of a particular way of life were,

understandably, quite disturbed by the possibility of loss or impairment of their economy. References were made, by Yukon native people, to the environmental changes that had already occurred. The following is a common example:

Long ago, we used to live here - no bar.
It was really good. We used to go out
fishing, hunting moose and dry lots for
the winter. Now we can't do that. We
go out hunting, there's so many people.
Too many helicopters around.

[But at Ross River: Vol. 21, 2689].

Yukon native people discussed the changes in game availability, environmental changes to areas they traditionally used, and hunting pressure. Increased activity, in particular a pipeline and related developments, was viewed as detrimental to the wildlife population and the ecosystem.

C. Back-to-the-landers:

At the Eysyk hearings, a vocal minority of young whites who lead a way of life which could be termed 'homesteading', presented a third view of the wilderness qualities of the Yukon. This group relative to others in the Yukon is small in population, however, on account of their enthusiasm, articulateness and education they form a well-informed and outspoken minority in the Yukon scene. Their origins, in general, are heartland, and they came to the Yukon because of the region's hinterland and wilderness qualities. As a group

they endorse energy self-sufficiency, small scale technology and hold a preservationist view of the environment. In many respects, the views expressed by this group were similar to submissions presented to Berger at the Southern hearings of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry. The range of concerns, the back-to-the-landers dealt with, included energy supply and demand, corporate responsibility and ability to manage a large project, and environmental consequences of pipeline development. Of particular interest to this study is the image of the north that this group expressed at the hearings. The back-to-the-landers came to the Yukon because of its undisturbed character and dissimilarity to the urbanized areas of central and southern Canada. Their view of the future landscape of the Yukon did not include the remaking of a hinterland into a heartland. The following rather long passage aptly describes the back-to-the-landers' view of the Yukon, and their reasons for speaking for its preservation:

I wish that you [Lysyk] would be able to stop and light a campfire and listen to the silence, broken only by the bird calls; to be moved by the drama of our untouched wilderness; to look in awe at hundreds of miles of virgin mountains and valleys ... I would wish for you to have the time to understand that being able to do this is one of the main reasons I and many others remain in this country. It can be found only in the isolation and wilderness, not with a compressor station in full view and hearing. There can be no compromise, or it is gone.

[Millard at Dawson: Vol. 25, 3096-97].

The wilderness view of the Yukon was presented by three identifiable groups each holding differing views of the land's use and purpose. The views held and the uses to which the land was put could clearly be associated with the group's economic interests, way of life and background. The potential for conflict within the hinterland, amongst groups perceiving themselves to be 'environmentally conscious' is considerable. The potential for conflict becomes more obvious in the northern Ontario situation where there are more groups competing for access to land resources.

Wilderness Image - Northern Ontario Perspective

Most participants to the Hartt Inquiry expressed an appreciation of the beauty of the natural landscape, nonetheless, four groups can be isolated as expressing a wilderness image of the region. As was in the case with the Yukon and Northwest Territories material, the concept of wilderness appreciation and use can be associated with the group's economic relationship to the environment. The four groups include a group advocating multiple land use planning, the fly-in camp operators, native people and environmental preservationist associations.

A. Multiple Land Use:

The multiple land use concept advocates a simultaneous use of land by several activities. Participants proposing this type of land use planning felt that it was the only way that jobs could be maintained in the timber industry and access provided for general recreational purposes. Thus, multiple land use adherents planned for logging, reforestation and recreation functioning in the same locations. These participants expressed considerable opposition to the designation of some areas as wilderness preserves, and the provision of exclusive access to special groups, in particular native people or the fly-in camp operators. Mr. L. Hudson, representative of the Local Paper Workers, spoke in support of multiple land use planning. Although the submission is a long one, it captures the environmental perspective presented by multiple land use advocates, in a clear and concise fashion:

The vast majority of the people who live in the Kenora area are living here because they like the forests, lakes and the fishing and the hunting opportunities.... It is a known fact that the Paper Industry through its logging operations has opened up vast areas to hunting and fishing and general recreations uses They have opened up the areas so that the ordinary citizen can have easy access to the game and the fish. A wilderness or restricted non-accessible area does not allow the ordinary individual with limited income to have access to the fish and game. Those restricted areas are available only to the rich and the more fortunate.

[Hudson at Kenora: Jan 17/78, 2584-85].

This view of the north is utilitarian and user oriented. The qualities of wilderness demanded by this group is lesser than that demanded by the fly-in camp operators, who also express a utilitarian concept of the usage of natural resources.

B. Camp Operators and Outfitters

The camp operators and outfitters did not advocate multiple land use planning. As in the Yukon situation, in principle they advocated resource development of the region as long as certain areas were left in the wilderness state. In northern Ontario, the conflict was focused on the operations of the logging companies who cut trails through the bush to areas which had previously been inaccessible. Camp owners stated that they had lost considerable business because of logging trails cut to lakes on which they had fly-in camps, thus no longer causing the lake to appear as an exclusive wilderness retreat.

The camp owners and fly-in operators seriously contested the lumber companies' ability to adequately reforest the areas they logged. In other words, as a group they saw themselves as conservationists; whereas the logging companies persisted in continuing poor land management practices. They also stressed the need for sound environment management practices because of the value of tourism in the region's

economy. L. Calvin said in Dryden: "natural resource protection is no longer a pious sentiment; it is a major element of survival to the north" [Calvin at Dryden, Nov. 9, 392].

C. Native People:

The native view of the wilderness qualities of the region were similar to the views expressed in the Yukon and the Northwest territories. People at Osnaburg, Whitedog, Grassy Narrows and Sandy Lake told Hartt of their land use and their way of life which was based on the use of reserve and off-reserve resources. Native people, generally speaking, were concerned about restrictions placed on their use of Crown lands, changes to commercial fishing, and the erosion of the subsistence economy. The effects of mercury pollution in the English-Wabigoon river system was of particular concern. The Anti-Mercury Ojibway Group presentation, at Whitedog, stated the following impacts of mercury pollution:

... mercury has caused us untold unhappiness because of its effects on our way of life. In 1970, quite without warning, and because of mercury pollution, commercial fishing was banned on our river system. For us this was not simply a loss of economic livelihood. It represented the loss of our lifestyle. For our people, commercial fishing was a way of life ... Gone too is much of the guiding which our people performed for tourist camp operators mercury has also meant for many of us the loss of our normal food source. To eat the fish is to eat poison, yet for years, indeed centuries, we have lived off this fish.

[Henry at Whitedog, Jan. 18/78, 2817-2818].

Native testimony at the Hartt hearings highlighted the needs and demands a renewable resource based economy make on the natural environment. Analysis of the homeland image, which better covers the complex native view of the north will be discussed in the following section.

D. Preservationist Associations:

Presentations were made to Hartt by groups formed in response to the Reed proposal to clear cut some 40,000 acres of virgin spruce. These groups questioned the ability of the region to regenerate itself and the success of Reed's reforestation programs. There was also emphasis placed on man's need for wilderness. The following statement from T.R.E.E.S. clearly states concern for man's psychological requirement for natural areas:

... wilderness just may be a psychological necessity: a secure foothold which modern mankind requires in order to cope with the modern and changing world.

[Evans, Robinson at Red Lake, Nov 15/77, 662].

The wilderness image of northern Ontario was presented by four groups, each of whom declared at the outset appreciation and respect for the environmental quality of the region, but held four differing views concerning land use planning.

The submissions from Northern Ontario clearly reflect the influence made by cultural needs, economic interests, and class expectations on the wilderness image.

Homeland - The View from Within

The homeland image presented at the southern hearings by native organizations can be broken down into three major themes. The first concerns the spiritual and cultural relationships native people maintain with the natural environment: geopiety. The second is the subsistence cycle and mode of production, and the third is the territorial right to land. Of the three themes, geopiety and native rights to land were discussed at the southern hearings by native organizations.

In the north, the three themes blended one into the other. Most submissions link the three themes together in order to fully describe their views of the region. In order to discuss the homeland image with a view to clarity the three themes will be discussed as separate parts, however references will be made to the connecting links between themes.

Homeland - The Northwest Territories Perspective

Homeland images of the north were presented to Berger by the Dene and Inuit of the Mackenzie Valley and Delta areas, with reference to the Dene submissions, spiritual, subsistence and territorial claims were mentioned by the majority of participants, though some submissions did exclusively discuss specific aspects of the native view of the north. The Inuit submissions tended to stress the subsistence and territorial

claim aspects of homeland to the exclusion of the spiritual theme.

The spiritual dimension of the homeland image as expressed by the Dene concerned the relationships they have with the land. The land was viewed with respect because it was life giving. "The land is our blood, we were born and raised on it" [Boyak, Fort Franklin; Vol. 9, 765]. Others attempted to describe the life giving qualities of the land.

... one of the things the old people always taught the younger people is that you must always keep your food good. If you treat your food good, the food in return will treat you good When they [the old people] refer to food, it means the land.

[Naidgo at Fort Franklin: Vol. 9, 604].

Another common comparative term associated with the land was that it was like a mother or father to the Dene people. These comparative terms associated with the land describe the respect and sense of nurture native people derive from the land.

Part and parcel of the spiritual relationship native people have with the land is the subsistence cycle. A considerable amount of native testimony centred on the economic, cultural and psychological importance of the renewable resource sector. The land was often referred to as a bank. In many ways it was as good as having money in the bank.

He says [Paul Baton] we call the land of ours money because we live out of it, we make money out of it, we fish and we eat and that the people who live here in Willow Lake, that's what they do to live.

[Baton at Fort Norman: Vol. 10, 867].

For many native people the land provided cash from the sale of furs, meat for food and for trade amongst relations, and skin for clothing and crafts. It was held to be extremely important because of the income in-kind it provided. Doris Itsi at Fort McPherson said of the value of country food:

We depend greatly on the caribou for its meat. And today, the prices of meat in the store is too high... and that we eat more of the caribou. The larger families can not afford to live from the local stores.

[Itsi at Fort McPherson: Vol. 12, 1110].

While income in-kind was of considerable importance, the maintenance of the cultural and social traditions founded on the traditional economy was also of concern. People spoke of sharing the meat, in particular the value of this to widows and the old people, the drying of fish and meat for the winter, and the enjoyment gained by being with their families on the land.

Of considerable concern was the erosion of the cultural and social traditions by residence in a community, government programs, the highway, and nearby development projects.

Native people did not, as had those presenting a frontier image, view these events as sign-posts to progress; rather they signified lack of native control, the marginalization of the native economy, and the growth of social pathologies. It was to these matters that native people addressed their claims to the right of land ownership and control. Native people expressed the view that if they were given control over land use management, local government, education, and the other areas that effected their lives, then they would be able to confront the problems that were destroying them as a nation and as a people.

Thus the homeland image presented by the Dene and Inuit of the Mackenzie River and Delta area includes spiritual, cultural, economic and political components. Those elements are all intrinsically related. It is an image, when compared to the frontier image, which presents a differing interpretation of the importance and significance of the recent historical events which occurred in the region.

Homeland - The Yukon Perspective

Indian people living in the Yukon presented a homeland image that was much like the one presented by the Dene and Inuit of the Northwest Territories. The three elements of the homeland image - spiritual, subsistence and territorial

claim were developed, and the view of Yukon history presented to the Lysyk Inquiry was quite different from that which had been presented in the frontier image.

Yukon native people described the nurturing qualities of the land in much the same way as had the Dene and Inuit. The land was like a mother or father; it was a life blood. The land was to be respected and handed down to the children who would follow.

Indian people demonstrated to Lysyk dependence on the subsistence economy. Country food and trapping were important economic variables in their lives. Daniel Johnson, at Burwash Landing said:

It is like money in the bank .. Our economy, the Indian economy, is based on what they call renewable resources. All the things that come back all the time. It is like the moose. The moose always come back. The trees always grow back. The fish, they always come back. It is like money in the bank and you are getting interest on it. It is always coming back.

[Johnson at Burwash Landing: Vol. 12, 1872].

As was in the case in the Northwest Territories, Yukon native people function in a dual economy - the subsistence sector and the cash economy. Country food provides an income in-kind which would not be affordable to them, due to their low cash flow, were they in the position of having to purchase all food items. Mr. Tishiga, from Upper Liard noted:

... we live off the land. You know, we go into the bush when we are hungry, the meat we buy down here costs too much, so we go in the bush and we get our meat.

[Tishiga at Upper Liard: Vol. 18, 2335].

Yukon Indian people were also aware of the foundations on which their culture and way of life was built, and to be denied access or rights to the land would mean the end of their existence as a people. "If you destroy the land, then you will destroy the Indian people" [L. [Smith, Haines Junction: Vol. 15, 2126]. Yukon native people saw as evidence of the white man's intentions to destroy the Indian people the gold rush, highway construction, past pipelines, government resettling plans and other such intrusions. The following view of the gold rush is similar to the native view of past highways and pipeline constructions and mining operations:

This gold rush attracted thousands of people, greedy people who wanted to get rich quick. Our people were introduced to alcohol, crime and slander. Our women were sexually abused. The gold that so many have found was taken out of our country. Our people were not the only ones hurt by the intruders. Yukon's wilderness got its first taste of abuse.

[Hume at Haines Junction: Vol. 15, 2138].

The land claims settlement was perceived by Yukon Indian people as a way to regain control over their lives.

In comparison to the land claim demands made by the Dene, Yukon Indians were not as well organized and under increasing pressure to relinquish their way of life.

The fascinating aspect of this homeland image is its similarity to the one presented by the Dene and Inuit. The hinterland intrusions they see as destructive to their way of life were directly comparable to the ones identified in the Northwest Territories. The reliance by native people on the subsistence economy was clearly stated to Lysyk as a vital component of their cultural well-being.

Homeland - Northern Ontario Perspective

The homeland image presented to Justice P. Hartt also reflected the three themes of spiritual attachment to the land, subsistence and territorial claim.

The Crees and Ojibway of northern Ontario have an extremely rich spiritual relationship with the land that nurtures, and to the 'Being' that caused the world to be made. At the hearings there was considerable elaboration of the spiritual aspect of their lives by the Chiefs and Elders. Chief A. Winter at Osnaburgh said:

The Indian people always had an affinity for this land. They understood the ways of Mother Earth and lived within the circle of the season. They lived on the land; they were of the land; they lived in union in all sense with their land. Contemplative by nature, they knew a Being existed which created everything they saw. This Being they called Gitchi Manitou, interpreted as Great God, or the Great Spirit. They knew that the land, Mother Earth, was their legacy through the Being. As a result, the land to them, was and is, sacred. Thus, for thousands of years they existed in harmony with the land.

[Winter at Osnaburgh, Dec. 7, 1898].

Native people expressed to Hartt a sense of betrayal: they treated the land with great respect and saw themselves as protectors of the land, however non-Indians did not share their views. Clear cutting and sports hunting and fishing, as practised by whites, were viewed by the Cree and Ojibway as being disrespectful. Tourist camps, hydro development and clear cutting were also objected to on the basis of the effects they caused to the native subsistence economy. M. Meekis at the Sandy Lake hearings described the ways in which tourist operators interfered with Indian land use:

... why does the government let those tourist operators come in from Manitoba? There are two lodges and five outposts in our area [Deer Lake]. We can't fish any more; every bend in the lake there's two or three boats of tourists out fishing. In the fall we can't hunt; there's tourists out hunting all over the place.

[M. Meekis at Sandy Lake, Jan 10/78, 2400].

As was the case in hearings in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, the Cree and Ojibway of northern Ontario attempted to describe demands their way of life placed on the environment and the need of access to relatively undisturbed areas. The following statement by F. Meekis demonstrates quite clearly the linkages between the way of life, the individual and cultural well-being:

There is a waterfall about seventeen miles from here [Sandy Lake]. Now they're talking about damming that falls. If they dam that falls, that's the end of my trap line, and our traplines go hand in hand with our life lines. My situation, sir, is identical to many in this vast north land. If I lose my way of life, I lose what I was meant to be and what I am.

[F. Meekis at Sandy Lake, Jan 10/78, 2439].

One of the major differences between the organization of the Crees and Ojibway life in comparison to the Indians in the Yukon and the Dene and Inuit people of the Northwest Territories was the definition of reserve and off-reserve lands. The Crees and Ojibway people had in Treaty 3 and 9 been given reserve lands on which to build their communities. Under the treaty agreements they were also given access to off-reserve lands, Crown Lands, for "... as long as the sun gives light to the earth, the green grass grows and the rivers flow, our people can hunt, trap and fish in the land" [Chief J. Bighead at Osnaburgh, Dec 7/77, 1886]. The territorial claim that the Crees and Ojibway people made to Hartt concerned the unresolved

area of interpretation of Treaty rights, in particular to the harvest of wild rice and usage of off-reserve lands which in recent times have come under use by other parties, notably the pulp and paper companies, hydro-electric generation, mining operations, and tourist operations.

Marginalization of the way of life of the Cree and Ojibway of northern Ontario presented to Hartt by native people could be viewed as considerable due to decreased access to off-reserve lands and the degradation of these areas. The most significant of these being the mercury pollution of the English-Wabigoon River system. The social pathologies resulting from the marginalization of the native economy was considered by native participants to be substantial. The conflict between Indians and whites was also reported to be acute in off-reserve areas. The increasing awareness by native people of their entitlements under existing treaties, and the organization of Indian people to counter restrictions placed on their land use activities are part and parcel of their present territorial claims.

The unique feature of the homeland image presented by the Cree and Ojibway to the Hartt Inquiry is the spiritual relationship they maintain with the land. This theme of the homeland image was discussed to a greater degree by the Cree and Ojibway than by the Dene, Inuit or Yukon Indians. The other feature is the similarity of the homeland image amongst

the three native groups. It should be noted that on the basis of the Churchill Board of Inquiry, the Thompson Inquiry, and personal field work in Labrador, the homeland image as discussed above is expressed in a similar fashion in the areas of northern British Columbia, northern Saskatchewan and Labrador.

Conclusion

The views of the north presented by northern residents to Commissions of Inquiry have provided intriguing insights concerning hinterland life in northern Canada. The three images discussed demonstrated quite adequately the reaction of residents to the heartland/hinterland dynamic which clearly was seen to affect their way of life. The contradictory situation evident in the frontier and wilderness images can be interpreted as a response to heartland pressures on the hinterland. Native claims to land and aboriginal rights is another reaction to heartland pressures.

Land use conflicts were clearly at the centre of the images discussed. The futures which hinterland residents saw for themselves were part and parcel of the landscape changes they wished to make.

Views of hinterland residents, landscape changes they create, and the pressures exerted on the hinterland from within

and from the heartland are clearly areas for intensive research. This chapter has been an attempt in this direction, however, comparative analyses from Canada and elsewhere are necessary before geographers can build up a body of theory concerning the hinterland phenomenon.

CHAPTER, SIX

CONCLUSIONS: NORTHERN IMAGES

Three major images of Canadian northlands have been discussed from heartland and hinterland perspectives. The forgoing analysis of the community hearing material has indicated that the underlying theme of the diverse and frequently contradictory images is the definition of the north as a hinterland. At the outset of this thesis, it was argued that northern hinterland areas could be distinguished from southern heartland areas on the basis of economic criteria such as the lack of a diversified economy, the existence of a dual economy in the north, fewer social services and lower standards of living in comparison to southern Canada. It was noted, as well, that the maritime region of Canada also exhibited many economic hinterland characteristics. Clearly, an in depth analysis of the above mentioned economic criteria could have been undertaken in order to demonstrate the hinterland position of the north [c.f. Phillips: 1978; Watkins: 1977]. Equally, discussions of the nature of heartland political relations with the north, through the research of federal, provincial and territorial government policies concerning resource development

and use, land use planning and regulation, social service and welfare provisions and renewable resource use could, as well, have been attempted [Beakhust: 1976]. There are, then, several approaches to the discussion of heartland/hinterland relationships on the frontier that geographers and other social scientists may employ. The analysis of images of ~~the~~ hinterland- the ways in which a region is characterized was, however, the chosen approach. This method, as we have seen, can lead to the interpretation of landscape changes in the hinterland and to the understanding of the forces exerted by the heartland on the hinterland and hinterland residents' reactions to such pressures.

The research plan undertaken in the thesis was designed to examine images of the northern hinterland obtained from both hinterland and heartland areas. In order to achieve an analysis of northern images, a typology was proposed and discussed. Research of the meanings of the image terms - frontier, wilderness and homeland - revealed that North American attitudes to the lesser settled areas of the continent have been changing, and from this it was hypothesized that such alterations in attitudes would be reflected in the images held of the north. The Canadian north was chosen as a research area because it is considered to be one of Canada's remaining undersettled areas. In addition, the north is a particularly interesting hinterland to study because it is an area about which many heartland residents have visited and

written. It is, as well, a region that has recently received considerable attention by government, industry and the public, and for which there is an adequate data base to discuss images of place.

The hypothesized images were tested in current heartland and hinterland situations, and were substantiated in both regions. The analysis undertaken in the thesis, therefore, indicates that present land use conflicts can be viewed from at least three differing interpretations of the purposes to which the northern hinterland's resources (renewable and non-renewable) should be put, and by whom. Moreover, underlying the three image themes was the dynamic of the hinterland and heartland situation which was observed to greatly influence the interpretation of past and on-going events in the north. Evidence of this was found in the difference between the hinterland and heartland recognition of the north's hinterland status. There were, as well, within hinterland and heartland differences.

In the southern hearings, those holding a frontier image of the north did not conceive of the region as a hinterland, rather it was considered to be part and parcel of the larger economic system which happened to be expanding into a new area. It was considered necessary and within the general framework of western capitalism for resource rich areas to be

developed and to receive, in return for the withdrawal of resources from the region, the benefits of modern industrialization. The displacement of pre-existing social, environmental, and political systems by the intrusion of modern industrialization was considered to be temporary. However, others, also from the heartland but presenting a homeland image, rejected the need for northern resource development at this time, and also confronted the frontier position concerning the temporary nature of the displacement of pre-existing social structures in the hinterland. This group considered the hinterland activities of transnational corporations and the government policies which supported them to be a form of economic colonialism.

In comparison to the heartland viewpoints, evidence presented from the hinterland demonstrated a difference in the perception of the region's hinterland status. Hinterland status was recognized and accepted by all parties, however, the permanency of this situation was a matter of considerable discussion amongst hinterland residents. Northern residents holding a frontier image recognized the hinterland status of the region but considered it to be a temporary condition. If industries could be attracted to the region, government environmental legislation relaxed, and equal access to land guaranteed, then the problems of hinterland living would be rectified. Other hinterland residents, those expressing a

wilderness image, considered tourism and the maintenance of the hinterland qualities of undisturbed areas to be preferable to the transformation of the region to a heartland. By and large, the wilderness image presented a contradictory solution to the region's problems, for on the one hand they, as small business, endorsed development, while on the other hand they depended on the lack of development and landscape change in order to attract clients. Others, holding a preservationist view of the environment, were very concerned with the effects of heartland resource development on the ecosystem, in particular, wildlife species requiring specialized or undisturbed habitats. Native people presented yet another view of the hinterland and the pressures exerted by heartland forces. Some native groups, notably the Dene suggested that changes in national recognition of aboriginal rights and territorial claims could provide a means by which native people could cope with the effects of heartland pressures. Within the hinterland, as has been discussed, native assertion of territorial rights, based on a sense of homeland and the desire to maintain this traditional mode of production, can disrupt the socio-political relationships of other hinterland residents. In theory, they can, as well, disrupt and interfere with heartland political and economic forces. However, within the larger context, it is perhaps speculative at this point to discuss the outcome and possible effects of native people's drive

for recognition of territorial rights. Although the people of Baker Lake appear to be gaining recognition of land rights, land settlements such as the James Bay Treaty and the impending COPE claim do not appear to be of the kind to seriously alter the existing heartland/hinterland relationships.

The analysis of images of the north from heartland and hinterland perspectives has provided unique insights into the nature of heartland/hinterland relations. In particular, the reactions to heartland forces in the hinterland have been evident in the responses of residents involved in land use conflicts, the debate concerning future scenarios of the region, and the social relations in the hinterland. In this respect, the community hearings material has been an extremely valuable source of attitudes, cultural values and personal opinions. This data could not be replicated, as was discovered in Labrador [personal field work: 1978], without considerable participant observation and field work. The community hearing material is not, however, a substitute for field work, but nonetheless functioned for some social scientists as complementary to fieldwork.¹

In demonstrating and discussing the linkages between the three hypothesized image themes and the heartland/hinterland context in which they are rooted, specific characteristics

1. Personal conversation with H. Brody.

of images have become evident. Discussion of the three themes in both heartland and hinterland circumstances has established the close association between the image of the region and its capabilities and the cultural and class position of those presenting the image. Thus, the observations made by Vogt and Albert [1962] of the five groups living in New Mexico and Bennet's [1972] findings amongst residents in Saskatchewan were substantiated in this study amongst heartland and hinterland residents in Canada. The field work of Brody [1975] and Koster [1976] as it concerned white attitudes on the frontier and native reactions to white society on the frontier has also been substantiated by hinterland images discussed in this thesis. In the light of the arguments presented in The People's Land and by Koster concerning the nature of colonial relations in the northern hinterland, the discussions of hinterland images made in this thesis is of particular importance.

Future geographical investigations of images of place should consider the relationship between the conceptualization of events and the region (or place) in which changes occur, in the light of class interests and socio-economic position of the individuals concerned. Of course, historical imprints, cultural differences and preferences, and political factors must also be considered. All too frequently the analysis of class interests and the impact

of powerful groups on landscape change have not been included in the geographer's interpretation of images of place [c.f. Saarinen: 1976, Tuan: 1974, 1976]. Where considerations of class have been attempted, the analysis has foundered on the theoretical problems in combining a Marxist analysis with an appreciation of aesthetic qualities [Cosgrove: 1977]. These, clearly, are theoretically important issues warranting discussion by geographers. The consideration of aesthetics, which was not discussed in this thesis, is a particular thorny area for geographers concerned with images of place, and in particular the interpretation of landscape painting, film and literature [Rees: 1979; Ironside: 1979]. Clearly, if the analysis images of Canada's north concerned the ways in which it was presented in film, literature and painting, the considerations of aesthetics would become relevant and the issues raised by Cosgrove would, as well, be of particular importance.

In conclusion, the results of this thesis can provide geographers with new avenues of inquiry. Firstly, the area of heartland/hinterland analysis is clearly in need of clarification and research. This is an important area of study for Canadian geographers and one which will improve our understanding of the forces of regionalism in Canada. It is the opinion of the author that the investigation of

images is a valuable approach to the heartland/hinterland discussion as it permits the identification by hinterland residents of heartland pressures. The greatest problem with this approach is the acquisition of the data base. Literature, film and other visual media provide a relatively untapped source of information concerning the northern hinterland. Field work, participant observation, is yet another means by which images of place can be uncovered. Obviously interpretation and analysis of these materials will be difficult. With reference to this thesis, the transcripts from three major inquiries provided a unique glimpse of the north as viewed from within and from the outside. Further research using these materials and others such as testimony arising from the Environmental Revision and Assessment Panel (EARP), court cases involving aboriginal title and land use rights, and the impending land claims which will continue to be of importance in shaping the socio-political development of the north, will greatly improve our knowledge and understanding of hinterland relations. Use of the above mentioned sources of information could further substantiate and improve upon the observations made in the thesis.

Secondly, and with reference to the three image themes, the consideration of government policies, decisions, and means of implementation could enhance our understanding of the role

of government in the hinterland. The question that could be asked in this regard concerns the image of the north held by government and the ways in which government participates in land use conflicts in the hinterland.

Thirdly, there is need for a historical interpretation of the typology of images. A historical examination of northern images could demonstrate changes in the characterization of the region and its inhabitants, thus providing a continuing analysis of the role of the northern hinterland in Canadian development.

Finally, it should be recognized that the particulars of the three images of the north - frontier, wilderness, homeland - are supported by the events of the mid-1970's in Canada. Change as to the specific details of these images will occur and may well have already occurred since the holding of the inquiries examined in the thesis. Although the specific details may change, the hinterland/heartland dynamic is likely to remain a constant feature of Canadian north/south relations for some time yet to come.

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