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NATIVE LAND USE AND COMMON PROPERTY: WHOSE COMMONS?

by

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ABSTRACT

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From the perspective of southern Canada, northern Native land use is commonly seen as taking place in a "wilderness" setting. In a legal framework, much of the harvesting activity is seen to occur on "unoccupied Crown land." The resources involved are often seen as common property. The purpose of this paper is to contrast these viewpoints with data obtained from a case study of land use and occupancy of a Cree community in northern, subarctic Manitoba.

Community land use is demonstrated in collective maps of trapping travel, of prime areas significant to wildlife harvest, and of preferred commercial fishing sites. Current South Indian Lake land use covers an area of approximately 35,000 km^2. This land use tends to refute notions of "wilderness" and the connotation of "unused" which accompanies the legal term "unoccupied." The public's sense of resources is that of common property (*res publica*), the community's that of communal resources (*res communis*).

The facts of use and occupancy, and the divergent perceptions of common property resources must be recognized in management structures. Comprehensive co-management of resource areas and payment of royalties from resource rents to aboriginal governments may provide means of addressing the facts of traditional land use and occupancy.

KEY WORDS: common property; land use and occupancy; Native resource harvesting; wilderness; unoccupied Crown land; resource co-management.

NATIVE LAND USE AND COMMON PROPERTY: WHOSE COMMONS?

INTRODUCTION

Development in northern Manitoba has a largely industrial focus. It advances and slows in relation to southern investment initiatives, commodity prices, and government subsidization. It also operates on a set of presuppositions regarding historical and contemporary Native land and resource use, the nature of resources, and the character of the land. These underlying and implicit assumptions form the basis for continued misunderstanding between southern-based governments, or corporations, and native communities in the North regarding future land use and development. The purpose of this paper is to introduce three prevalent views regarding property, land, and resources and to contrast these viewpoints with results from a case study of land use and occupancy from a northern Manitoba community. These data will explicitly demonstrate the basis of a differing understanding of land and resource issues. They will also fundamentally contradict the presuppositions which inform much of our thinking on northern development issues.

To accomplish this objective, I will first review prevalent views of wilderness, Crown lands, and common property. It is both valid and instructive to look at ideas concerning northern lands which are widely held in society. It is these, as well as the fundamental constitutionally-defined arrangements under which lands and resources are governed, which inform our legislation and development proposals for

these lands. Then I will briefly introduce the rationale and methodology of land use and occupancy studies. Through data obtained from people of the Cree community of South Indian Lake, land uses, competing interests in land, and the meaning of historical and contemporary occupancy will be discussed. A summary of relevant property and resource management issues will conclude the paper.

PREVALENT VIEWS OF LAND AND RESOURCES

In a Canadian setting, indigenous peoples are minority populations in all jurisdictions but the Northwest Territories. Regionally, the North in Manitoba would have a majority Native population only if northern urban centres were excluded from consideration. It is, therefore, readily understood that where viewpoints at odds with those of the mainstream population are held by Native groups, these perspectives might be unknown or discounted by the majority. In the case of lands and resources, northern Native perceptions are not based on fancy, but on current reality and historical fact. Nonetheless, it can be suggested that despite this empirical underpinning, Native perceptions do not figure highly in the formulation of prevalent mainstream views of land and resources.

The first concept for review is that of "wilderness". The Concise Oxford Dictionary mentions "desert, uncultivated and uninhabited tract", citing biblical references. The notion of wildness carries with it a sense of wasteland: empty and somewhat threatening. A contemporary understanding derives from, but departs from a dictionary definition of the term.

There are wilderness parks, wilderness preservation groups, and wilderness

activities. All these uses of the term are common in contemporary speech and apparently commonly understood. On the whole, the concept seems to involve lands which appear to have been predominantly unaffected by human activity, and which are without permanent human settlement. The notion requires that the area be uninhabited and "unspoiled". But wilderness travellers have discovered another element which seems to have been missed in the formal definition. The term wilderness carries with it a sense of awe or of mystery encountered, which endows the land with added value. The requirement that the land be apparently untouched remains; wilderness travel is somehow spoiled by encounters with other groups of humans. The sense that "maybe no one else has been here before" seems to be an aspect of the wilderness experience. Wilderness parks may place restrictions on the number and timing of visitors or limit travel to non-motorized forms in order to preserve this character of the experience.

Therefore, in the popular imagination, wilderness is seen as natural, uninhabited, and somewhat mysterious. It awaits discovery. In the Manitoba context, this classification would include a large portion of the province. Certainly, a glance at a provincial map encourages this perception. Areas without railway, roads, or transmission lines are extensive, particularly as one moves northward. In the North itself, communities appear as scattered dots separated by lakes, bush, and muskeg. There is no doubt that much of northern Manitoba typifies the essence of wilderness in the imagination of the contemporary majority population.

In Manitoba, many of the areas defined in the popular imagination as wilderness would be provincial Crown lands. This designation includes forest

reserves, provincial parks, wildlife conservation areas, and the bulk of the provincial area which is "unoccupied Crown land". These are lands for which no private individual or firm has acquired rights of property, or title. Without resorting to legal expertise, in simple terms, absolute title to land remains with the Crown regardless of fee simple ownership (demonstrated through the right of expropriation). However, this sense is not apparent in a general-currency definition of private lands. Crown lands are generally understood as those to which no recognized title exists.

In contrast with "wilderness", "unoccupied Crown land" is a phrase which is more legal and denotative. It has a recognized place in law and its usage is narrowly prescribed. Nonetheless, it does take on associative meanings in its use for the general populace. As with the term "wilderness", unoccupied has come to mean uninhabited. In strict legal parlance, "unoccupied" refers to rights of property. However, the connotation, particularly with lands in the North, is that these lands are unused.

This leads directly to the notion of common property. The term itself is formal, and generally limited to academic usage. It does not appear in common parlance. But the concept is rooted in Canadians' sense of their country, and of their rights to enjoyment of it. Crown lands are common property. They are thought to belong to the public: in other words, to everyone.

Crown lands, as well as being uninhabited and generally unused for specific or exclusive purposes, are also thought of as available. Since they are public lands, the public can use them: access is open. In keeping with general societal trends, they are available for developments deemed to be in the general public interest.

The term "common property resource" is used primarily in the fields of economics and natural resources management. In traditional economic terms, as a class these resources are rival (one's use detracts from another's) and nonexclusive (difficult to exclude additional users) (Randall 1987). More recently, common property resources have been classed more finely according to the relevant property-rights regime in operation (Berkes and Farvar 1989; Feeny *et al.* 1990). In terms of the general sense of the population, the resources of Manitoba's unoccupied Crown lands are seen as property of the state (*res publica*). Ownership and management control is held by the Province, and access is generally open, if regulated.

In summary, when the majority of Manitobans look northward, they see wilderness. These lands, held by the Province, are unoccupied and available for use, including individual recreation and potentially, industrial development. The resources within the landscape are seen as the property of all, though specification of private rights remains a possibility.

LAND USE AND OCCUPANCY STUDIES

Land use and occupancy studies have evolved since 1973 to document specific territories to which aboriginal interest has developed over time (Usher 1990). This type of study documents the historic and contemporary land use of an identifiable Native group, and in so doing, documents an area which comprises a homeland for these people.

Approximately standardized techniques have been developed to carry out

such research (Freeman 1976; Ballantyne *et al.* 1976). Land use within living memory is documented through interviews producing "map biographies" of active resource users. These biographies record the respondent's recalled involvement with the land and the harvest of its resources. Composite maps are created from the individual biographies which demonstrate collective land use activity for the group.

Maps of land use show the travels and perhaps the harvest areas of the persons interviewed. They do not necessarily constitute an exclusive interest through this use (Usher 1990). Occupancy, on the other hand, relates to the territory used by that group over several generations. In general terms, the area of occupancy will be represented by a core area of land use, since the fringes of mapped use likely overlap with the traditional use of other groups.

SOUTH INDIAN LAKE LAND USE AND OCCUPANCY

In contrast to the prevalent majority views of northern wilderness are the facts of native land use and occupancy. Results from a case study of land use and occupancy of the community of South Indian Lake which was carried out in 1989 and 1990 (Hrenchuk 1991) will be used in this paper. It is doubtful that the details of South Indian Lake land use would be identical with those of any other community. Nonetheless, it is likely that the results are representative of the general land use situation in many other localities.

Background

South Indian Lake is a Cree community (approximate population 900) in northern Manitoba which formed a permanent settlement in its current location (57°N 99°W) sometime near or before the turn of the century (Figure 1). This date should be

seen as a point in a continuum of use and occupancy, and not as definitive of occupancy. What is being considered is a gradual movement from nomadic to more settled existence. From archaeological evidence, it is known that Cree-culture groups have been in the area for at least 1200 years (Pettipas 1989).

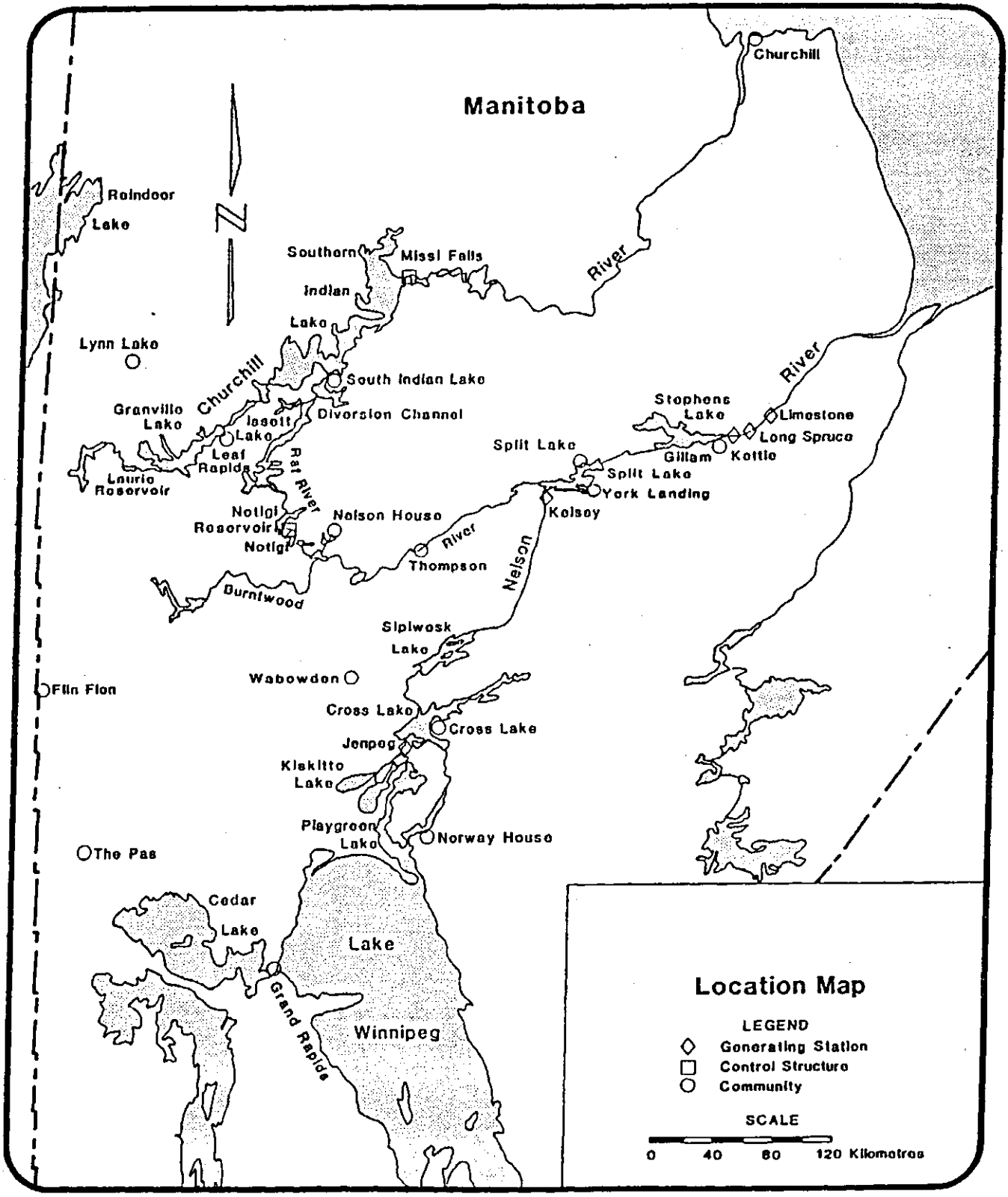
The major resource, Southern Indian Lake, is a biologically productive system; its relatively shallow depth and inflow of nutrients combined to create conditions which could readily support a fishing culture. The Cree term for the place, *Opipunapiwin* ("wintering place"), indicates its desirability as a seasonal home. Fish, moose, and for most of the period, caribou provided the basis of subsistence living.

In the period of European presence, trapping trade has been in evidence since 1700 (Wright 1971). Commercial fishing operations began in 1942, and until the mid-1970's, the commercial fishery of Southern Indian Lake was the largest in northern Manitoba (Bodaly *et al.* 1984). At that time, Southern Indian Lake was impounded as a part of Manitoba Hydro's Churchill River diversion, and the mean lake level raised 3 m. Prior to this time, the community was largely self-sufficient, with little external assistance or government infrastructure (Van Ginkel Associates 1967). The flooding brought road access to the south end of the lake in 1972; television reception in 1974; and a modern townsite, if lacking running water and sewage facilities for most residents, by 1975.

Methodology and Data Limitations

The purpose of the research was to determine the use and occupation of the area by the community within the period of living memory. The location of hunting, fishing, and trapping resources; the sites of residency and travels of community

Figure 1: Location of South Indian Lake

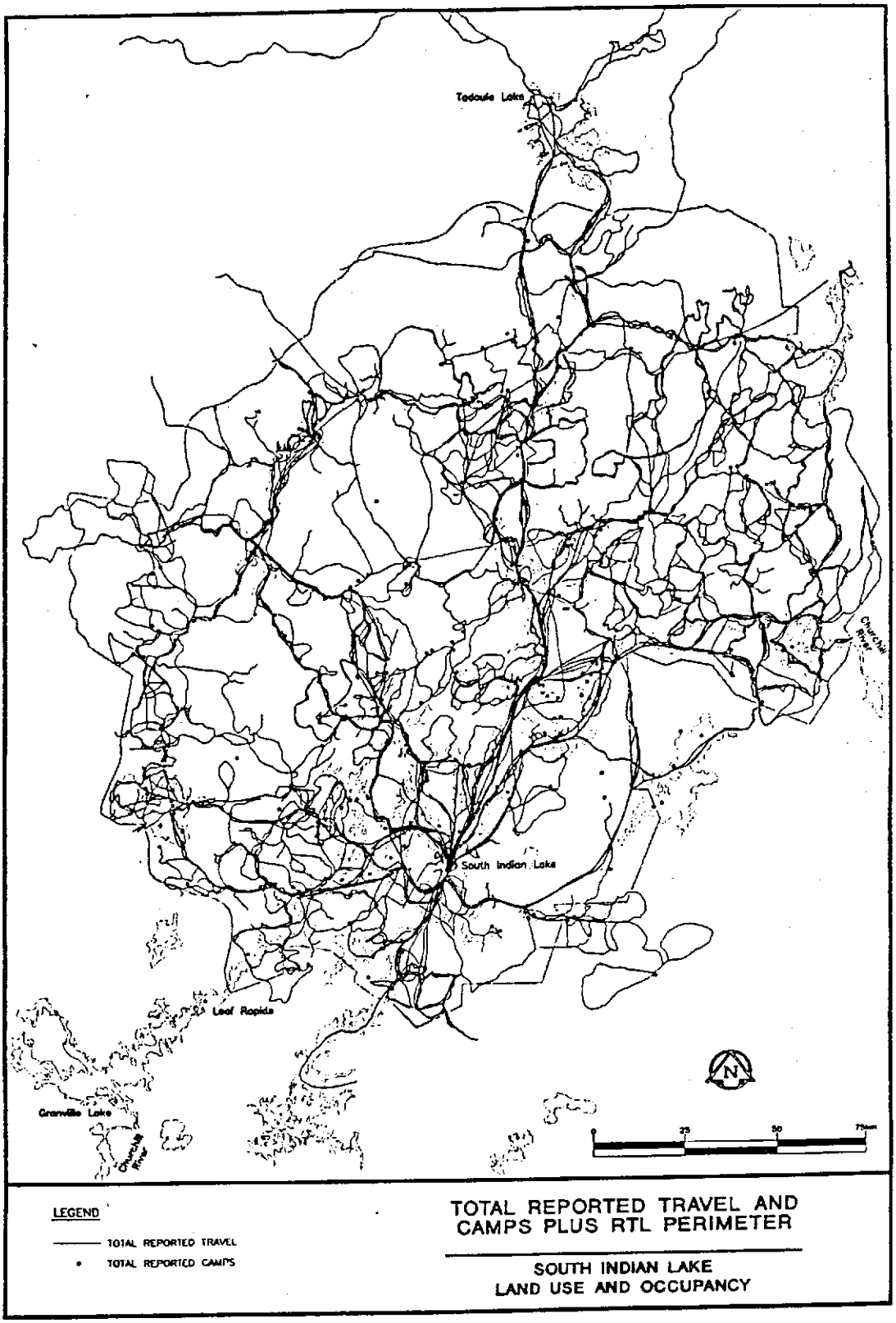


members; and areas of preferred use were mapped through individual map biographies between December 15-20, 1989 and between May 31 and August 8, 1990. Composite thematic maps of community use were compiled from the individual maps. The interviews were open-ended in format and designed to allow for elaboration of the meaning and importance of resource use as well as for description of its location.

The interview sample was sought to represent: 1. even geographic distribution of trapping effort, 2. representation from three age classes, with the inclusion of all available male elders, and 3. involvement of trappers, hunters, and fishermen identified as significant figures within in these fields. Of 47 interviews conducted, 36 involved a map biography; others focused more narrowly on the nature and timing of community origins.

The mapped results represent a minimal picture of the degree of community activity. Most of the maps present the activity of a minor portion of the harvesters of the community. Since effort was made to include in the sample many of the major harvesters, linear extrapolation of the results would not be expected. However, it is clear that data from a more complete sample would result in more comprehensive coverage. The study ignores women's harvesting altogether. The travel and trapping routes marked are only the major routes, and in no way represent the minor trapping trails nor the lifetime travel of individuals. Similarly, camps marked are a fraction of the places where individuals might have spent the night. The maps of wildlife areas are those of favoured hunting grounds, and tend to an understatement of hunting range. The hunting of many wildlife species was

Figure 2: Total reported hunting and trapping travel, with camps and Registered Trapline perimeter



not mapped at all. Extensive travels from early in this century were recorded anecdotally, but could not be mapped.

Areas of low defined use in the composite maps of travel may therefore result from sampling bias or from relatively little actual use. It should be noted that there has been a general understatement of community activity by study methods, and only partial documentation of community use of resources.

Land Use Information

Despite the limitations of the study data, an adequate portion of land use information was collected and compiled to represent the territorial extent of South Indian Lake land use. The most fundamental demonstration is made by the compilation of total reported travel and camps (Figure 2). The map represents the major trapping routes of individuals in their living memory, and to a degree, travel for hunting purposes. Camps as marked indicate principally cabins. The image portrayed is of a land base which has been travelled extensively and which is known intensively. If it were not for the bias of the relatively small sample, it is likely that the bulk of the area within the Registered Trapline (RTL) perimeter would be covered to uniform density with travel lines.

Travel for trapping purposes formerly extended considerably beyond the perimeter of the RTL section (indicated on Figure 2), which was established in 1946. The area adjacent to the current community of Tadoule Lake was regularly trapped from South Indian Lake when specific fur prices warranted the extended travel. Since trapline registration, trapping is formally limited to the RTL section. However, hunting travel still takes place up to a distance of 400 km from the community.

The extent of hunting involvement is suggested by Figure 3, which maps areas indicated to be of current significance to the South Indian Lake wildlife harvest. The map contains no historical component; it is a picture of contemporary use only. A total of 232 prime sites in four wildlife classes (3 for caribou, 102 for moose, 108 for waterfowl, and 19 for muskrat) were identified by 32 individuals. Hunting sites ranged throughout the RTL section, and were marked in 39 of 50 traplines. It should be noted that the location of areas for hunting grouse, ptarmigan, rabbits, beaver, porcupine, lynx, and bear was not attempted. It can also be assumed that a more complete sample would have identified further sites, with more even coverage. Considering the limited number of species for which mapping was done, hunting can be seen as an important and widespread activity for South Indian Lake residents.

Harvesting activity is by no means limited to an area near the community. Favoured sites were identified at a distance of up to 175 km by air from South Indian Lake. Of note is the relative unimportance given the areas surrounding Southern Indian Lake itself. Habitat alteration due to lake impoundment has limited summer availability of waterfowl and moose. The presence of a flooded zone of trees or of sheer banks due to slumping has increased the difficulty of spotting, shooting, and retrieving moose. Therefore, although hunting is still pursued with considerable interest, a portion of this activity has been displaced inland by development effects.

Commercial fishing is another use which has been affected by lake impoundment and diversion. Figure 4 maps the preferred and most consistent net sites on Southern Indian Lake as identified by respondents. A total of 380 prime

Figure 3: Prime areas significant to current South Indian Lake wildlife harvest

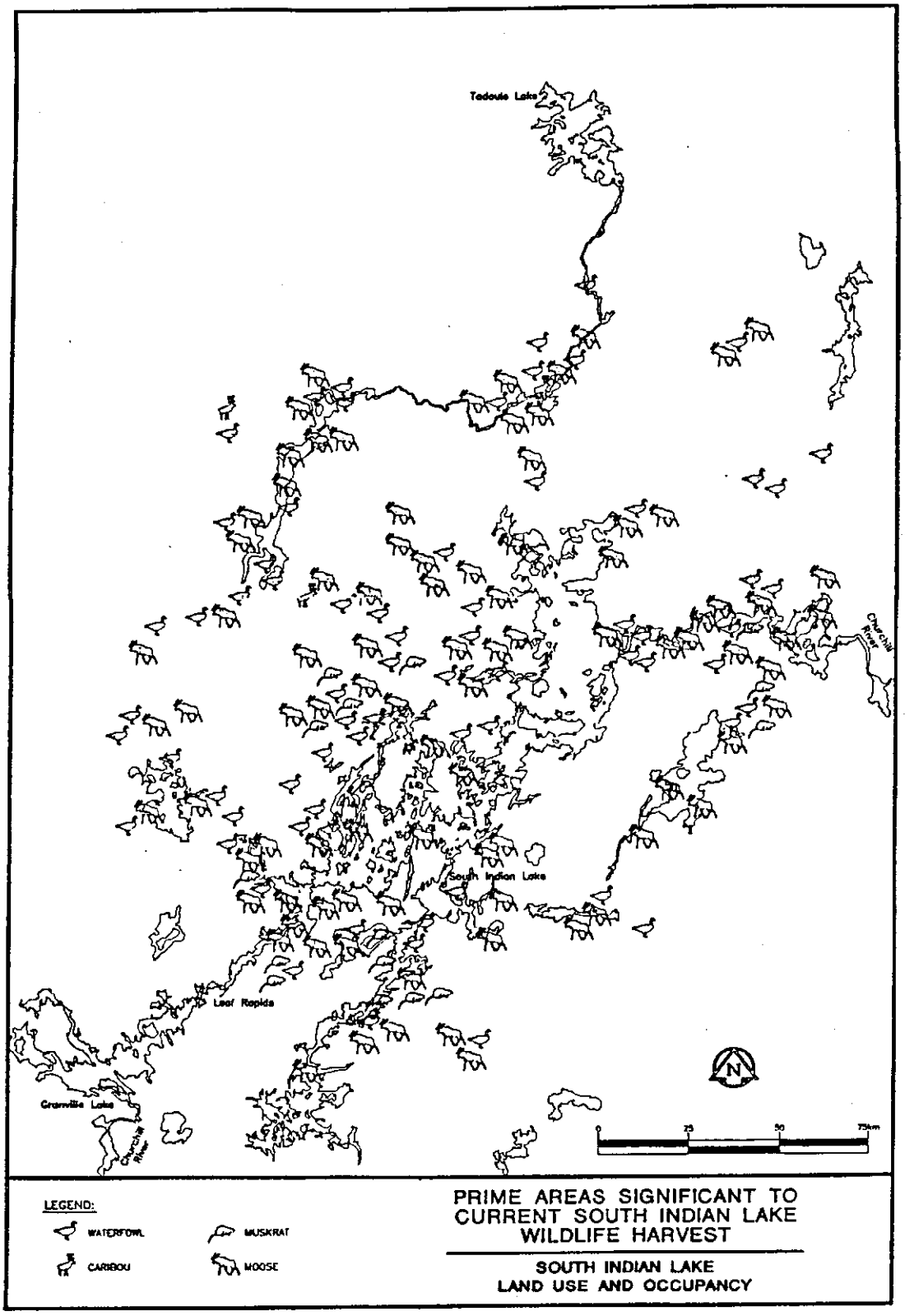
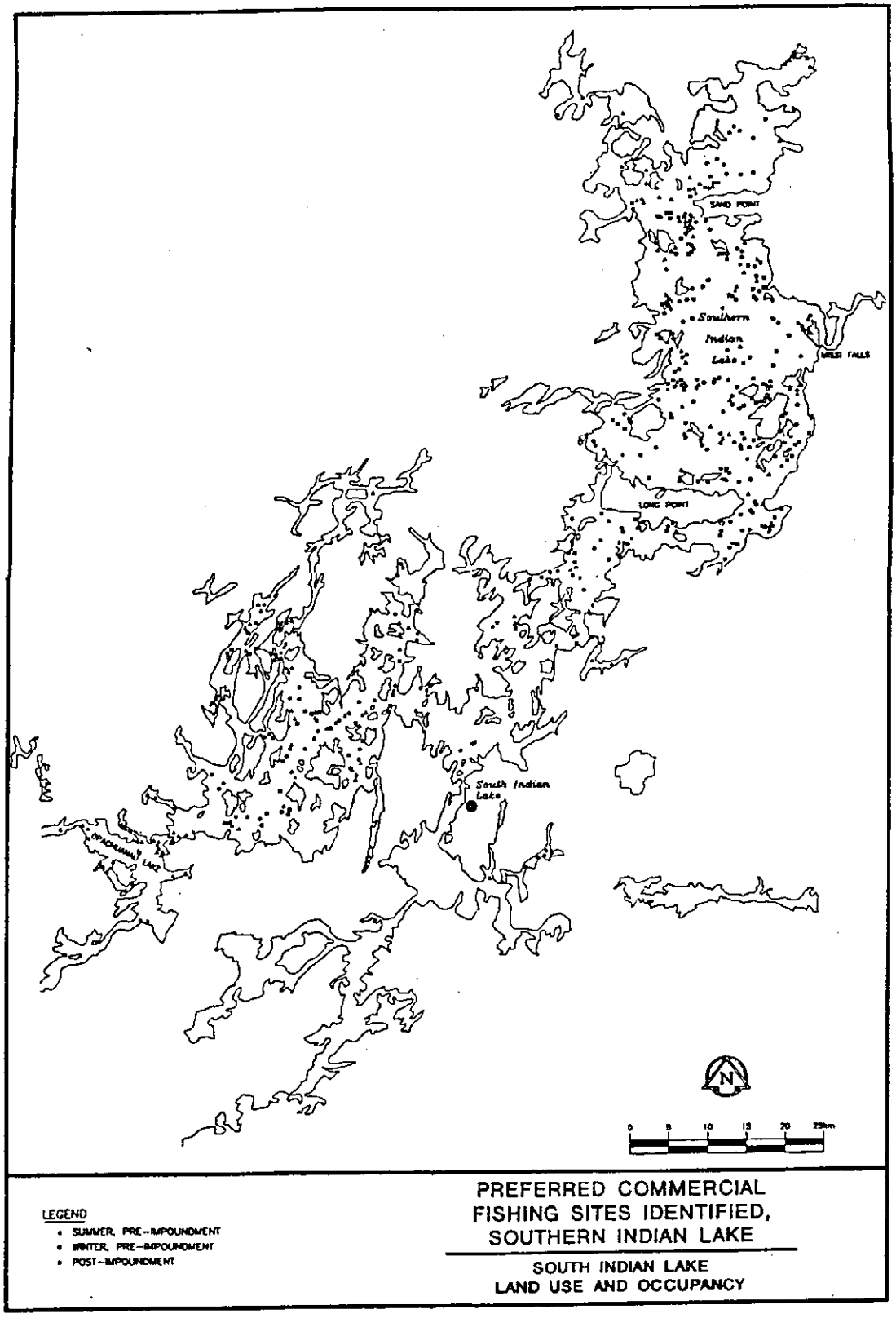


Figure 4: Preferred commercial fishing sites identified, Southern Indian Lake



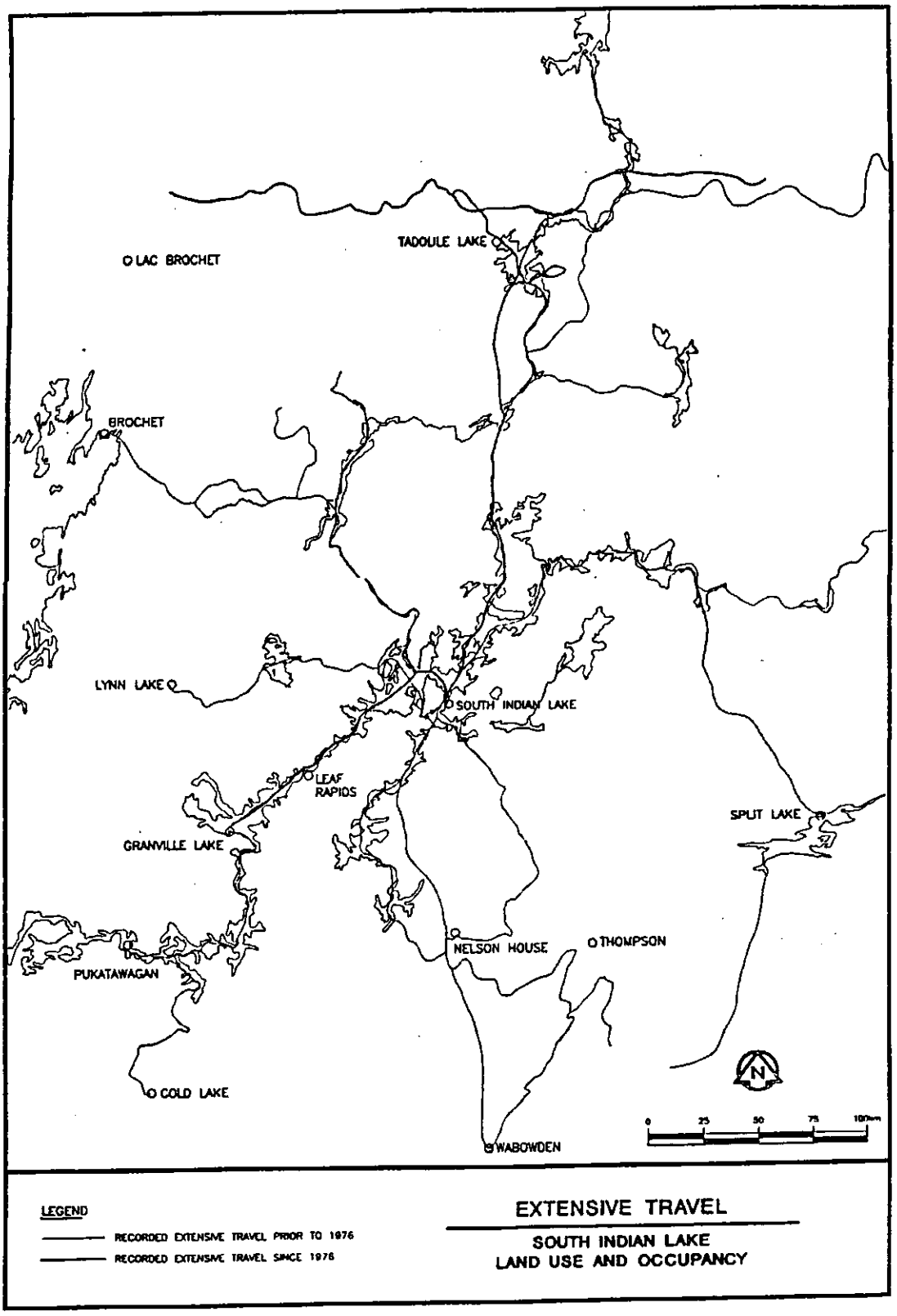
locations were identified for the period prior to impoundment, and 114 since. There is low correspondence to date between pre- and post-impoundment sites. The decline in the quantity and the quality of the whitefish catch following lake impoundment has been well documented, and in part, mapped (Bodaly *et al.* 1984; Peristy 1989). The case study data tend to confirm the results of these authors, but also to expand the geographic area considered to be of importance in the distribution of fishing effort. For the purposes of this paper, the extensive use of the majority of Southern Indian Lake is of principal interest. To return to the previous comment concerning hunting surrounding the "main" lake, it can be readily seen that three months of such widespread open water fishing effort each year would normally provide considerable hunting opportunity.

A total of 58 "inland" lakes commercially fished by South Indian Lake permit holders was identified. Considerable effort has gone into these, largely fly-in, fisheries since flooding and diversion. A compensation program administered by the South Indian Lake Fishermen's Association has encouraged this trend and was intended to offset the loss of productivity of the main lake.

Domestic harvesting of fish was not well represented in the case study. A small sample of lakes was identified inland: 37 lakes by 21 individuals. However, the interview process did not specify between inland lakes fished only commercially, and those which were fished commercially and, at some time, domestically. Furthermore, domestic fishing locations were not sought for Southern Indian Lake.

Travels by canoe, boat, dogteam, or snowmobile which extended beyond the primary area of trapping travel were recorded at a different scale, and compiled as a map of extensive travel (Figure 5). The method recorded singular routes, and did

Figure 5: Extensive travel recorded from South Indian Lake



not redraw trips along the same track. Earlier extensive travels were made for employment in freighting supplies for the Hudson's Bay Company, for trading furs, for trapping, and for social reasons. In the contemporary period, the furthest travels tend to be for caribou hunting and for recreational purposes.

Anecdotal reports of extensive trips were recorded which could not be mapped. Failing eyesight of the respondent or the inability to relate the memory of a trip from long ago to a topographic map were general limitations. Memorable trips to "the barrens" were corroborated from several sources. Trips as far as Nueltin Lake on the NWT border and to Churchill, as well as to unspecified areas north of Tadoule Lake, were mentioned.

Occupancy

Occupancy refers to the group's collective sense of its own territory in relation to that of others (Usher 1990). In a sense, it is defined by a summation of historic use of the area. Land use, however, may not be exclusive to a single group. Overlapping use likely takes place at the fringes of the area utilized. The territory occupied typically has a well-defined core, and less well-delineated boundaries.

In the case of South Indian Lake, the major overlap in travel and hunting takes place to the north with the Churchill Band of Tadoule Lake, and to the south with the Nelson House Band in their RTL. Excursions are made to the north primarily for caribou hunting; from the north for moose and geese. To the south, South Indian Lake residents hunt moose and waterfowl. Little travel into the South Indian Lake RTL from the south for hunting purposes is indicated.

On the one hand, this type of overlapping land use has been going on for centuries (Dickson 1977). The boundaries of use and occupancy may change over

time, but a delineation of territory is mutually recognized among neighbouring groups. Boundaries may fluctuate, but a core area remains. On the other hand, overlapping of resource harvesting takes place in another more modern fashion. Resources within the understood territory are allocated by the state to other uses and alienated from the group. In the case of South Indian Lake, tourism operations, active mineral claims, and private land with ownership outside of the community now exist within the RTL section. As well, areas identified by the Nelson House Band for land exchange under the terms of the Northern Flood Agreement also occur within the area traditionally occupied by South Indian Lake residents. Unlike the gradual alteration of boundaries, this newer process does not engage South Indian Lake land use at the edges, but potentially at the heart of its territory and its central resources. The flooding of Southern Indian Lake for the purposes of diversion and hydro development is an omnipresent demonstration of this fact for the people of South Indian Lake. The economic component of hunting, trapping, and fishing has declined as a direct result of the intervention.

In summary, historic and contemporary land use has defined a territory for South Indian Lake which engages the land area used by other groups. The defined core area of community occupancy is approximately 35,000 km^2. This territory is known in intimate detail, travelled, and named.

Involvement in traditional resource uses remains vital to the community. For example, figures for the 1987/88 season placed the value of the South Indian Lake trappers' sales as the largest in the province for a single community. Hunting takes place over a wide area in the current context. The fishery, though reduced since

impoundment, maintains ongoing economic and social significance for the community (Baker 1990).

The persistence of traditional values can be seen in this land use. The case study sought to investigate the vitality and importance of this resource-based activity to current community life and culture. Personal, cultural, and economic motivations were suggested by respondents to explain their continued involvement in "bush" life. These reasons are essentially interrelated. In the mixed village economy, subsistence and commercial sectors overlap. Cultural values are central to the existence of bush life, which sustains the social relations of the culture, and which to date, has provided the economic framework of the community.

The bush life figures in a community perception of its future. The majority of respondents (16 of 29) envisioned a viable lifestyle based in the bush in which community members could take part. This life in the future was seen to involve adaptations of traditional pursuits to meet economic opportunities. The life is based on the land itself: in the words of one respondent, there is a need for "healthy country", with game and fish, in order to "manage". The land base has been at the centre of the culture. Historical land use and harvesting has defined territory which has been, and remains, occupied by the people of South Indian Lake.

SOUTH INDIAN LAKE OCCUPANCY *vs.* PREVALENT VIEWS OF RESOURCES

The effect of long-term use and occupancy of an area is a territorial interest. It is these particular lands and resources which have supported the culture and allowed the survival of the people. From a community standpoint, this territory is generally understood to be their own.

How does this sense arising from occupancy stand against views of land and resources generally prevalent in society? It is not the intention of this paper to consider strict legal distinctions, nor attempt any clarification of the confusion surrounding definition of aboriginal rights. No fine distinctions will be made between status, non-status, and Metis opportunities under the purview of law. Rather, the prevalent majority views regarding northern lands and resources will be investigated in light of traditional occupancy of lands and of use of the resources of these lands. Clearly, traditional use and occupancy contradict some of the fundamental assumptions underlying these widely-held views.

The case study should conclusively illustrate that the region is not "wilderness" in a conventional sense, but homeland for the people who have used it for generations. The territory is intimately known through continuing intensive and extensive use. These lands do not await discovery, except in a personal sense. As indicated by overlapping of traditional use with that of other groups, these areas of occupancy are largely contiguous across the North. If land use and occupancy studies were to be carried out right across northern Manitoba, it is likely that this "wilderness" theme would be refuted at almost every point. These lands are known, named by local custom, and in use.

The character of wilderness as perceived remains partly illusory. It seems that appearance more than reality is of importance to the wilderness traveller. The wilderness encounter apparently must remain pure and inviolate; seeing others in the landscape somehow spoils the experience. The facts of the matter argue differently. These areas have been in use for centuries, and remain so. No doubt

there is a wonderful exhilaration in travelling northern lakes for the 'first' time -- first for that individual. The solitude and the land itself are captivating. But it is illusory to think that others have not gone on before, and do not inhabit the area today. The points of communities on the provincial map may seem dispersed among this "wilderness", but the extent of community travel and the intimate detail in which the lands are known belie this naïve notion.

As indicated, "unoccupied Crown land" is fundamentally a legal term with precise distinctions regarding property. The Natural Resources Transfer Agreement, a schedule to the Constitution Act (1930), mentions the right of the Indians of the Province "of hunting, trapping and fishing game and fish for food at all seasons of the year on all unoccupied Crown lands" (paragraph 13). In law, the denotative meaning is understood. It discounts historic occupancy outside of reserve lands entirely, where treaties have been signed. The connotative association is that the lands are unused. Though there is little fee simple title in the South Indian Lake area, from a pragmatic standpoint it cannot be said that these are unoccupied lands. A fundamental contradiction exists between the two perceptions. On the one hand, there is a legal definition of "unoccupied". On the other hand is evidence of historic and contemporary land use and group occupancy of a recognized territory.

This concept is extended to the resources of these "unoccupied" lands. Native people have had no authority on the basis of aboriginal title or on the basis of customary use to regulate the allocation of resources within their traditional areas (Usher 1982). This has been the prerogative of the state. Overall, these resources

are seen by the majority population and in law as common property of the state (*res publica*). In the community, however, despite a recognition of this view under law, there is an abiding sense that these are South Indian Lake lands and resources, and communal property (*res communis*). Access to all resources is not open to all, in a community apprehension of the issue. Rather, the resources are shared or apportioned by custom among community members. After all, it is these resources upon which the community was founded, and upon which it has survived. Perceptual differences underpin the divergent views of the nature of land and resources between the dominant mainstream culture and that of the community.

This conflict of perceptions can only lead to non-compliance with state-imposed regulation and allocation with respect to resources where there are resource pressures or conflicts. Decisions which are perceived as unfair lead to resource degradation and related injustice among users (Grima and Berkes 1989). Part of the perception of unfairness stems from the lack of formal input from the community for management or allocation of local resources. Land use and natural resources regulation is discretionary and responsive to a limited range of uses or users (Rees 1987). Decisions regarding fisheries or trapping made by the state may be informally brought to community resource associations for comment. But it is entirely discretionary whether this does indeed take place, and whether the input received in the community is at all utilized. Decisions regarding mines, roads, or hydro which indirectly concern the resource base receive community input only through a much wider and more general process of public participation in environmental assessment.

State management has tended to emphasize forest, mineral, and hydro

resources in the North. This approach tends to generate conflicts at the local level where the major social costs to such development are felt (Feit 1988). In the situation of South Indian Lake, the development of the Churchill River diversion is exemplary of this tendency. Little share of the prosperity created by the project has accrued to the community: while at the same time the project has degraded community self-sufficiency through impacts on the resources on which the economy was based. The sense of common property held by the state enabled the project to proceed. The sense of communal property through long-standing use and occupancy led to a pervasive sense of injustice within the community. No amount of compensation can overcome the sense of having lost what was rightfully, historically, and communally held.

CONCLUSION

Conflicting views of northern territory, resources, and property exist between the majority population and northern Native communities. On the one hand are assumptions regarding wilderness, unoccupied Crown lands, and property resources held in common by the state. On the other hand are notions, developed through historic use and occupation, of communal resources and territory.

It is unlikely that the impetus to aboriginal self-government can be fully understood without an appreciation of the history of use and occupancy of northern lands. The extensive and intensive use of the bush within contemporary community cultures forms part of the rationale for self-government for First Nations. At the community level, there continues to be an interest in, and a reliance on the

resources of the bush for personal, economic, and cultural reasons. Yet this engagement with the land is formally disregarded by the land- and resource-use policies of the state and by the underlying assumptions of such policy.

At some point there must develop the recognition of the need to connect these divergent viewpoints. Resource managers interested in compliance with regulations regarding resource use must become cognizant of the long-standing patterns of use and local control of resources. Co-management schemes go some distance in recognizing this claim. But these schemes to date, outside the context of comprehensive land claims, generally deal only with fish and wildlife resources. However, this limitation is both artificial and unrealistic for several reasons:

1. The actual resource base of the communities is not restricted to these categories.
2. Ecosystems are integrated, and development effects are not limited to political categories of resources.
3. Social life within the community culture is tied to resource harvesting and to the sharing of its products.

Some measure of authority over the entire resource base which supports the culture would be preferable. In this way, those with the most to lose would gain some control over their territory.

Governments interested in community development and in lessening the flow of transfer payments must recognize the legitimate interest of communities in traditional resource areas. Payment of royalties from resource rents earned within community resource areas (such as those from hydro generation) would be a more direct recognition of this historic interest in lands. This could provide an additional

economic foundation for these communities and a true stakeholder's position in northern development, where some true measure of control had also been gained. Native communities interested in maintaining (or regaining) some control of traditional resources must attempt to document the type and extent of their traditional land use, on a historical and contemporary basis, in order to make the facts known to the wider world. For, despite an underpinning in current reality and historical fact, Native perceptions do not figure highly in the formulation of prevalent mainstream views and policies regarding lands and resources.

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LIST OF FIGURES