

To see ourselves / to save ourselves

Ecology and Culture in Canada

Conscience et survie

Écologie et culture au Canada



Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens

Volume XIII, 1991

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Edited by / sous la direction de
Rowland Lorimer, Michael M'Gonigle,
Jean-Pierre Revéret & Sally Ross

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Introduction

To See Ourselves / To Save Ourselves: Ecology and Culture in Canada

In developing themes for Canadian Studies conferences it is always a challenge to make a choice which is at one and the same time, topical, interdisciplinary and significant. When the theme *To see ourselves / to save ourselves: ecology and culture in Canada* was chosen, we felt satisfied with our choice. Little did we realize how timely our choice was. Shortly after the topic was announced, "the environment" was suddenly catapulted to the top of the public and political agenda. While we cannot claim a causal correlation, perhaps it is an indication of how, without leaving behind scholarly rigour, Canadian Studies is sensitive to the issues of the day.

We hope that these proceedings will make a modest contribution to the debate and to the reorientation that is called for as we begin to reaffirm our interrelationship with nature. Certainly the conference, where these papers were originally presented, was lively, and the Association for Canadian Studies itself has become more sensitive to ecological issues.

There is little doubt that human beings are sucking the life-blood out of the planet. To adapt a phrase of Harvard biologist, E.O. Wilson, we are threatening birth with death. Developed nations do so by overconsumption. Lesser developed nations do so by overexploitation. In Canada, some resource extraction quite unnecessarily overtaxes the ecosystem. More trees are cut than planted: too many fish are caught and breeding grounds destroyed. Other resource extraction, of say minerals, expels acids, filth and carcinogens into the water and the air. Manufacturing, almost universally, consumes our resources and spews effluent over the whole of our environment, from the depths of the pre-Cambrian shield to the quickly multiplying cells of the human foetus.

Our relationship to the environment is cultural, from the largest sense of that word — Western civilization or even biosocial behaviour — to the smallest

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sense — our daily habits. Just as there are many ways of behaving that are ecologically unsound there are also many that are ecologically sound. The beaver impinges upon its environment far differently than does the otter, the eagle, the bear, or the wolf. Is any animal “ecologically unsound”? The paradoxical nature of such a question underlines the necessity to understand our, and any, relationship in nature as a dynamic equilibrium. To dredge up a concept we all learned in school, it must be considered within the “balance of nature.”

For such reasons we conceived of this conference to take into account three sets of conditions: boundary conditions (a Canadian perspective), symbolic elements (culture) and nature (ecology). We reasoned that while respect for the environment can be easily agreed on as a universal good, there must be a plurality of voices as humankind begins to reaffirm its connection to the natural world. Secondly, those voices must begin to speak from the symbolic framework within which they make sense of their lives. Thirdly, of course, is nature. In short, our intention was to stimulate ecology from a distinctive Canadian perspective.

The two verbs we used, “see” and “save” in the English title and “conscience” and “survie” in the French title, were chosen to convey both thought and action. The duality was designed to provide equal encouragement to the humanities and the social sciences. Whereas the role of the humanities is, most often, reflective, social scientists often work directly on specific policies, or on gathering information to contribute to the formulation of policy and programs of intervention or non-intervention.

We hope that the selection of papers that makes up this volume contributes to a sense of the need for a plurality of voices and specifically stimulates Canadians to speak out on the basis of their experiences and within a framework that they consider to be ecologically sound.

Ian Angus begins with a paper that explores the relationship between self and world drawing on the work of Harold Innis and George Grant. He explores Innis’s “space bias” and Grant’s concept of “knowing and loving what is one’s own” to the more general and accepted notion of the domination of nature that liberal technology has engendered and within which these ideas exist. He wonders whether Canadian conservatism can be seen as conservatism even as he senses tension between making something one’s own and that thing’s wildness before it is symbolized.

Yves Hébert and Eric Darier both add to the conceptual exercise begun by Angus. Hébert traces the development of ecological thought in Quebec, focusing on the late nineteenth century. While suggesting a number of possible avenues of research, he singles out individuals and groups that have increased

public awareness with regard to the protection and conservation of natural resources.

Using Michel Foucault's theoretical framework, Eric Darier analyses the empirical and philosophical stranglehold of conservationism in Canada. Seen as a constant attempt to reconcile protection and exploitation, conservationism locks action in an adversarial dichotomy. Darier points to the discourses and practices of native peoples as providing a possible breakthrough.

Laurie Ricou delves into the particular — not just of thought but of region, prose and poetic style. Ricou explores the oppositional cultures of the economy and the poets of "ecotopia." He details the case that the grandeur and riches of the Pacific coast induce a truth of concern from Alaska through British Columbia to California.

Guy Perreault follows with a discussion of the emergent ideology in the ecological exploitation of Quebec's forests. As world attention is captivated by the Amazon forest, Perreault's analysis reminds us that we do not have to travel abroad to witness the devastation of clear cutting. Perreault links the wisdom of Quebec's native peoples in the matter of forest management with the global environmental movement. He also shows how the complicity between the forest companies and government enhances the gap between laws and enforcement. In the final analysis, it appears easier to adopt a green vocabulary than to force green behaviour.

Matthew Speier and Mark Roseland both deal with the connection of the local to the global. To explore the need for considering both physical and political ecology, Speier takes up two notions, heroics and dialectics. A theme that runs through his paper is the constraints within which Canadians must act.

Roseland focuses on the notion of equity, and within that context, considers three issues. The first is sustainable development as a planning principle for communities. Second is the power of local governments in a global context. Third is the kinds of models that might be imported into community planning for sustainable development.

Jacques Saint-Pierre explores the complex historical relationship between the habitats and habitants along the south shore of the Saint Lawrence River, first colonized in the late 1700s. Adaptation, tradition and modernization have played differently on the diverse environmental and economic landscapes that characterize this region of Quebec.

Jacqueline Pearce reintroduces the symbolic world with an examination of the representation of ecological sensibility in literature. She centres her exploration around readership, specifically children. She notes how authors handle

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ecology when writing for children. She analyses three different types of novels: the traditional survival story, the novel based on environmental issues and the story of personal growth through experience in nature.

C.J. Taylor and Thomas Dunlap explore various aspects of national parks. Taylor notes the variation within the conception, form and use of Canada's national parks. His study points to national parks an element out of place in the general scheme of society. Their vulnerability is thus revealed.

Dunlap both elaborates on and introduces other elements to our understanding of Canada's parks. He introduces an American comparative context and provides a useful discussion of the evolution of administrative concepts in the context of the pressures of the day.

Frank Tester takes us into the labyrinth of Green politics. He discusses both internal and external contradictions in Green politics working within a very non-green system. He outlines the necessity of the Greens to move beyond their founding ideology into a recognition of the principles of gaining and exercising power in a contemporary context.

Bob Jickling ends our collection with a discussion of a conceptual distinction — on the one side, environmental education and, on the other, environmental advocacy. On the basis of that distinction he draws a contingent distinction — the role of the citizen as opposed to the role of the educator.

We would like to thank all those who contributed to both the conference and the publication of this volume. They include, Béatrice Kowaliczko, Executive Director of the Association for Canadian Studies and Susan Hoeltken, who organized the conference; Vince Masciotta, who co-ordinated the production of these proceedings; Claire Martin, Jill Capri, Élise de Bellefeuille and Denis Desjardins, who prepared the texts for publication as copy editors and translators; Northern Telecom Limited, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Social Science Federation of Canada, the Canadian Federation for the Humanities, and the International Council for Canadian Studies, which provided funding for the conference; and Petro-Canada Inc., which provided special funding for the publication of the official conference program and these proceedings.

The Editors

Introduction

Conscience et survie : Écologie et culture au Canada

Le défi qui se pose chaque fois qu'on élabore un thème de colloque en études canadiennes, c'est de faire un choix qui soit à la fois d'actualité, multidisciplinaire et significatif. Lorsque nous avons choisi le thème *Conscience et survie : écologie et culture au Canada*, nous étions assez satisfaits de notre choix, mais nous étions alors loin de nous douter à quel point il était à propos. En effet, peu après l'annonce de ce thème, la question de l'« environnement » a été catapultée en première position de l'ordre du jour public et politique. Bien qu'il n'y ait pas eu là de relation de cause à effet, il reste que cette coïncidence ou concormance témoigne peut-être du fait que les études canadiennes peuvent être très sensibles aux questions de l'heure, sans pour autant négliger la rigueur intellectuelle.

Nous espérons que ces actes apporteront une modeste contribution au débat, et à la réorientation qui s'impose, au moment où nous commençons à réaffirmer notre interrelation avec la nature. Le colloque qui a servi de cadre à la présentation initiale de ces communications aura certainement été des plus animés, et l'Association d'études canadiennes elle-même est devenue plus sensible aux questions environnementales.

Les êtres humains sont, à n'en pas douter, en train de saigner à blanc la planète. Pour employer une expression de E.O. Wilson, biologiste à l'université Harvard, nous sommes une menace de mort pour ce qui naît. Les pays développés le sont par la surconsommation et le gaspillage, tandis que les pays en développement le sont par la surexploitation des ressources. Au Canada, certaines industries extractives imposent un fardeau inutilement lourd à l'écosystème. On coupe plus d'arbres qu'on n'en plante, on pêche trop de poissons, et on détruit les lieux de reproduction et les habitats naturels. D'autres industries qui reposent sur l'exploitation des ressources naturelles, comme

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L'industrie minière, rejettent, dans l'air et dans l'eau, des acides, des déchets et des substances cancérogènes. De façon presque généralisée, le secteur manufacturier consomme nos ressources et rejette des polluants dans tout l'environnement, depuis les profondeurs du bouclier précambrien jusqu'aux cellules du foetus humain en croissance.

Notre rapport à l'environnement est culturel, du sens le plus large du terme, qui englobe la civilisation occidentale ou même le comportement biosocial, à son sens le plus étroit, à savoir nos habitudes quotidiennes. Autant il y a des comportements qui sont nuisibles à l'environnement, autant il y en a qui lui sont favorables. Le castor agit sur son habitat de façon bien différente de la loutre, de l'aigle, de l'ours ou du loup. Peut-on dire pour autant qu'il y a des animaux qui sont nuisibles pour l'environnement? La nature paradoxale d'une telle question souligne la nécessité de comprendre notre relation avec la nature — et toute interaction avec la nature — comme un équilibre dynamique. Cette interaction doit être examinée dans la perspective de l'équilibre du monde naturel.

C'est pour de telles raisons que nous avons voulu que ce colloque tienne compte de trois ensembles de paramètres : une délimitation dans l'espace (perspective canadienne), des éléments symboliques (culture) et la nature (écologie).

Cette décision s'appuyait sur le raisonnement suivant : s'il est aisé de faire le consensus sur la nécessité de respecter l'environnement, il faut par ailleurs qu'une multiplicité de voix puissent se faire entendre au moment où le genre humain commence à réaffirmer son rapport au monde naturel. Deuxièmement, ces voix doivent s'exprimer à partir du cadre symbolique qui donne sens à leur vie. Enfin, bien sûr, il y a la nature. Bref, notre intention était de stimuler l'écologie dans une perspective distinctement canadienne.

Les deux termes que nous avons retenus pour le titre du colloque — « conscience et survie » dans le titre français et « to see » et « to save » dans le titre anglais — cherchaient à traduire deux notions importantes : la pensée et l'action. Cette dualité avait pour but de mettre à contribution aussi bien les études humaines que les sciences sociales. Tandis que les études humaines jouent, la plupart du temps, un rôle axé sur la réflexion, les spécialistes des sciences sociales participent souvent directement à l'élaboration de politiques spécifiques ou à la collecte d'informations qui contribueront à la formulation de politiques et de programmes d'intervention, ou de non-intervention.

Nous espérons que la diversité des articles réunis dans ces actes contribuera à faire comprendre la nécessité d'une pluralité de voix et qu'elle encouragera plus particulièrement les Canadiens à faire connaître leurs expériences et à exprimer ce qu'ils estiment favorable pour l'environnement.

Le premier article, d'Ian Angus, explore la relation qui existe entre l'être pensant et l'univers, en se fondant sur les travaux de Harold Innis et de George Grant. Angus explore le « parti pris spatial » d'Innis et le concept de « connaître et aimer ce qui nous appartient » de Grant, pour enfin aborder la notion plus générale et acceptée de domination de la nature que la technologie libérale a engendrée et qui sert de cadre à ces idées. Il se demande si le conservatisme canadien peut être assimilé au « conservationisme », même s'il ressent la tension entre l'appropriation d'une chose et le caractère sauvage de cette chose avant qu'elle ne devienne symbole.

Yves Hébert et Eric Darier poursuivent tous deux l'exercice conceptuel commencé par Angus. Hébert relate l'histoire de la pensée écologiste au Québec, en mettant surtout l'accent sur la fin du XIX^e siècle. Tout en suggérant des possibilités d'avenues de recherche, il traite plus particulièrement de certaines personnes et de certains groupes qui ont contribué à sensibiliser le public à la protection et à la conservation des ressources naturelles.

Se fondant sur les approches théoriques de Michel Foucault, Eric Darier analyse le carcan empirique et philosophique du conservationisme au Canada. Envisagé comme une tentative constante de concilier protection et exploitation, le conservationisme paralyse l'action dans une dichotomie conflictuelle. Selon l'auteur, nous pourrions trouver, dans le discours et les pratiques des Amérindiens, une issue possible.

Laurie Ricou approfondit le particulier, non seulement au niveau de la pensée mais aussi de la région, de la prose et du style poétique. Il explore les cultures opposées de l'économie et des poètes de l'« écotopie ». Il soutient, avec exemples détaillés à l'appui, que la grandeur et la richesse de la côte du Pacifique suscitent un réel sens de l'engagement depuis l'Alaska jusqu'à la Californie, en passant par la Colombie-Britannique.

Guy Perreault enchaîne avec une analyse de l'idéologie qui est en train de se dessiner dans l'exploitation écologique des forêts du Québec. Tandis que l'attention mondiale est tournée vers la forêt amazonienne, Perreault nous rappelle que nous n'avons pas à aller bien loin pour constater les ravages des coupes à blanc. Il fait le lien entre la sagesse des peuples autochtones du Québec à l'égard de la gestion forestière et le mouvement écologique mondial. Il montre aussi comment la complicité entre les entreprises forestières et le gouvernement élargit encore l'écart entre les lois et leur application. En dernière analyse, il semble plus facile d'adopter un discours vert que d'imposer un comportement vert.

Matthew Speier et Mark Roseland traitent tous deux de la relation qui existe entre le local et le planétaire. Pour explorer la nécessité de prendre en compte l'écologie tant physique que politique, Speier distingue deux notions : l'idéologie

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héroïque ou utopiste, et l'idéologie dialectique ou conflictuelle. Un thème récurrent de son article : la retenue dont les Canadiens doivent faire preuve dans leur comportement.

Roseland se concentre sur la notion de justice sociale et, dans ce contexte, examine trois questions. La première est celle du développement durable en tant que principe de planification au niveau des communautés. La deuxième question est le pouvoir des gouvernements locaux dans le contexte mondial. Et la dernière question concerne les modèles dont pourrait s'inspirer la planification au niveau communautaire pour favoriser le développement durable.

Jacques Saint-Pierre examine les relations historiques complexes qui ont lié les habitants de la rive sud du fleuve Saint-Laurent, dont la colonisation remonte à la fin du XVI^e siècle, et leur habitat. L'adaptation, la tradition et la modernisation ont eu une incidence différente sur les divers paysages environnementaux et économiques qui caractérisent cette région du Québec.

Jacqueline Pearce revient au monde symbolique en examinant la représentation de la sensibilité environnementale en littérature. Elle centre son analyse sur les lecteurs, et en particulier les enfants. Elle montre comment les auteurs traitent de l'écologie lorsqu'ils écrivent pour les enfants. Elle analyse trois types de romans : le récit d'aventure et de survie traditionnel, le roman « à thèse » écologiste et le récit de croissance personnelle par l'expérience de la nature.

C.J. Taylor et Thomas Dunlap examinent divers aspects des parcs nationaux. Taylor signale les variations dans la conception, les formes et les utilisations des parcs nationaux du Canada. Son étude montre que les parcs nationaux sont des éléments qui ne cadrent pas dans le plan général de la société — d'où leur vulnérabilité.

Dunlap approfondit cette question et introduit de nouveaux éléments qui nous permettent de mieux comprendre les parcs nationaux du Canada. Il fait la comparaison avec la situation américaine et présente une analyse très éclairante de l'évolution des théories et pratiques administratives dans le contexte des contraintes et pressions actuelles.

Frank Tester nous emmène dans le labyrinthe de la politique « verte ». Il examine les contradictions tant internes qu'externes des mouvements politiques verts au sein d'un système qui, lui, ne l'est pas du tout. Il souligne la nécessité, pour les verts, d'aller au-delà de leur idéologie de départ pour reconnaître les principes d'accession et d'exercice du pouvoir dans la société contemporaine.

Bob Jickling conclut ce recueil d'articles en faisant la distinction entre deux concepts : l'éducation à l'environnement, et le militantisme environnemental.

Sur la base de cette distinction, il énonce une troisième distinction connexe : le rôle du citoyen par opposition au rôle de l'éducateur.

Nous aimerais remercier toutes les personnes et tous les organismes qui ont contribué à l'organisation du colloque et à la publication de ces actes. Ce sont : Béatrice Kowaliczko, directrice générale de l'Association d'études canadiennes, et Susan Hoeltken, qui ont assumé l'organisation du colloque; Vincent Masciotta, qui a coordonné la publication de ces actes; Claire Martin, Jill Capri, Élise de Bellefeuille et Denis Desjardins, qui se sont chargés de la révision et de la traduction; la société Northern Telecom, le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada, la Fédération canadienne des sciences sociales, la Fédération canadienne des études humaines, et le Conseil international d'études canadiennes, qui ont assuré le financement de ce colloque; ainsi que la société Petro-Canada, qui a rendu possible la publication du programme officiel et des actes du colloque.

Le Comité de rédaction

Canadian Roots for an Ecological Relation of Self and World

Abstract

This essay develops the Canadian critique of industrial society in a direction that converges with the rethinking of the relation between self and world in ecological thought. The argument begins from the work of Harold Innis and George Grant to develop key themes in the critique of industrial society. Innis' critique of space-oriented media of communication shifts emphasis to time-oriented media and stability, or "balance," between these competing orientations. Grant's critique of the age of technology and the "hectic subjectivity" that it involves motivates a desire to root human "values" in a supra-human world-order. These themes, according to a dominant interpretation, are characteristic of the conservative stream of Canadian social thought. This essay suggests that they are more linked to the "conservationist" perspective of ecological thought and politics. The argument concludes by developing an ecological understanding of the self/world relation through a meditation on two central themes in Canadian thought and history: wilderness and border.

Résumé

Cet essai aborde la critique canadienne de la société industrielle en la faisant converger avec la redéfinition, dans la pensée écologiste, du rapport entre l'être pensant et le monde. L'auteur part des travaux de Harold Innis et de George Grant pour développer des thèmes clés dans la critique de la société industrielle. La critique que fait Innis des médias de communication axés sur l'espace déplace l'intérêt vers les médias axés sur le temps et vers la stabilité, ou « équilibre », entre ces deux orientations concurrentes. Quant à la critique que fait Grant de l'ère technologique, et de la « subjectivité trépidante » qu'elle

implique, elle justifie le désir d'enraciner les « valeurs » humaines dans un ordre universel suprahumain. Selon l'interprétation dominante, ces thèmes seraient caractéristiques du courant conservateur de la pensée sociale canadienne. L'auteur suggère qu'ils sont davantage reliés à la perspective « conservationiste » de la pensée et de la politique écologistes. L'auteur conclut en proposant une compréhension écologiste du rapport entre l'être et le monde, par une réflexion axée sur deux thèmes centraux à la pensée et à l'histoire canadiennes : la nature sauvage et la délimitation du territoire par des frontières.

The theme of our conference, “To see ourselves/to save ourselves,” implies a productive relationship between insight and action. It also implies that the university (an institution in which many of us work), which is committed to thought, teaching and research, may produce relevant reflections for public deliberation and action. The subtitle, “Ecology and culture in Canada,” specifies further that ecology — which we may term the “household of nature,” or better, the set of interrelationships in the environment, including the human place in those relationships — is a key topic requiring insight relevant for public action at the present time. To couple ecology with “culture” is to indicate that human culture in the ethnographic sense, which includes technology, eating, domestication of animals, art, language, ritual, and so forth — in short, the totality of everyday practices of a given group — intervenes significantly in the household of nature. This is an entry-point for a concern that many of us have come to share — a concern that the significance of human intervention in natural interrelationships has come to a critical point in which public decisions of a far-reaching character for industrial society are at stake. But, as the initial connection of “seeing” and “saving” reminds us, ecology is also coupled with culture in the sense that used to be called “high culture” — education, art, science, philosophy, and so on — suggesting that very classical claim that the beautiful products of learning cannot only describe current practices but can also evaluate them in a manner that brings insight to our critical public situation. Thus, I take it that we are called upon at this conference to bring the resources of our learning into the public arena, to stand forth from the disciplines and divisions of academic research, and to bring the totality of everyday practices into sharp relief in a manner that anticipates alternatives for a public deliberation.

But what of the “in Canada” in the title? Surely, problems of ecology, nature, and the environment are world problems. Perhaps it is simply the accident of our location here that we must address. After all, serious world problems must be addressed in Argentina, Kenya, Yugoslavia, and Canada too — perhaps even in the United States and the Soviet Union. Ecological problems raise questions of the whole, of the totality of human relationships as they are interconnected with non-human nature. These interconnections now span the

globe, and it seems reasonable to anticipate that they can only be adequately addressed by a thinking which focuses on the planet as our common home.

Nevertheless, we can understand the notion of “world” in another sense as well — the world as a network of involvements, such that we may speak of my personal world, the business world, or the world of the Aztecs. A person, group, or culture has a certain style of belonging in and inhabiting its world that distinguishes it from other worlds. This sense of world pertains to the *origin* of a human cultural environment — from what root experiences it springs, what characteristic style is maintained throughout changes in content, and what goals and aspirations are brought forth within it. In this sense, the ecological question is not only “in Canada,” but “of Canada.” In other words, while Canada is indeed a place in relation to others on the planet, it is also a history, a characteristic cultural style, and a certain, or perhaps still uncertain, set of aspirations.¹

In the first sense of world, it is a question of one place in relation to a totality of other places; in the second sense, it is a question of the origin of a place, of what gives it a certain kind of unity such that it can be considered to be a single place. To simplify slightly, before there can be a relationship between places, there must be a division of space and a cultural formation of the separate place through a specific style of practical life. Henceforward, this place can enter into relations with other places, but only through the distinctive style of its locality. In this sense, the ecological question is not only concerned with the planet, and therefore with Canada as one part of the planet, but also with the origin and style of our world — and therefore with the *type of interaction* that we can have with the other worlds that populate the planet.

Planetary ecological problems will be addressed from many different worlds. This is the “ourselves” of the conference theme: that which we see which also needs saving or preserving. Interwoven here is a relationship between three senses of ourselves — that which is *seen*, that which is *saved*, and that which *sees*, in reflection, in order to set up a productive relationship between the seen and the saved. Already we can glimpse the danger here that some ways of investigating may not allow and foster this productive relationship. We are called upon to *accomplish* a productive relationship between seeing, saving and the seen. This accomplishment is Canadian thought: not simply thought in Canada, nor only thought about Canada, but thought of Canada, belonging to Canada. To enact this thought, we need to draw upon traditions from Canada’s social history, intellectual style and public life in order to speak from academic disciplines and divisions to the issues facing our common world.

These two senses of “world” can be connected to two Canadian thinkers — Harold Innis and George Grant — who have made distinctive and far-reaching contributions to a Canadian thought which constitutes this place. Innis called

the increasing interconnection of the planet that has been accomplished by industrialism “control over space.” The orientation to space is characteristic of writing and print for Innis, although it has been furthered even more by telecommunications and micro-electronics in our own day. Media of communication contain a “bias” that emphasizes spatial or temporal relationships and thereby shapes the totality of everyday practices of a society.² The space orientation of industrialism in Canada emerges from the emphasis on transportation necessary to a dependent colonial economy based on the extraction and export of staple resources to be processed in the imperial centre and returned as finished manufactured products. Both resource extraction and consumption tie the dependent economy to industrial production, but the relation is to an external industrial base and, later, when this production enters to a degree inside Canada, it remains largely foreign-owned. Thus, though Canada is certainly hooked into the dominant space orientation of the planet, the directing power of its industrial development is experienced primarily as deriving from elsewhere.

Consequently, the Canadian economy is subject to continuous boom-and-bust cycles originating in external industrial conditions. This instability over time was diagnosed by Innis as an overreliance on media oriented to space and developed into a defence of oral tradition as an undervalued time-oriented medium of communication.³ This allows us to appreciate a fact of Canadian social history that was not investigated by Innis — the central role of ethnic communities in settling and developing Canadian society.⁴ The bias toward time is characteristic of decentralized institutions, whereas space favours centralization.⁵ Though undervalued, time-oriented media of communication have provided the temporal stability without which the dominant push to control space could not have survived. Innis’ theory of communication points toward an ideal balance between spatial and temporal dimensions. We are at present overbalanced toward space, inhabiting a highly developed planetary system that is subject to endemic crises. Thus, the healing dimension of communication theory is to justify and extend the concern with time, with the decentralized and local institutions that are presently dominated by the imperatives of world-system management.

If we can interpret Harold Innis’ communication theory in this manner as a critique of the planetary order brought about by industrialism, it is similarly important to recall George Grant’s use of the term “one’s own.” As he put it in a justly famous statement, “In human life there must always be place for love of the good and love of one’s own. Love of the good is man’s highest end, but it is of the nature of things that we come to know and to love what is good by first meeting it in that which is our own. . . .”⁶ This term functions as a critique of the industrial domination of nature and the massive socio-economic institutions that it requires. In an age when industrial space-domination draws the planet into an increasingly larger and more tightly knit system, any critique or

resistance requires the justification of a form of allegiance of a less universal scope. The term “one’s own” was used by George Grant mainly to justify Canadian sovereignty,⁷ but also as a philosophical concept — which we may call “particularity” — that theorizes local attachments in the midst of the drive to universality and homogeneity characteristic of modern technological empires. The particularity that is one’s own is that with which one is involved in such a way that it cannot be treated as one among many. One’s own is what is loved, prior to reflection.

The condition for the unleashing of the domination of nature was the undermining of traditional conceptions of meaningful world order which kept technology within defined limits. Modern science and philosophy criticized such conceptions of world order as anthropomorphic projections and thereby provided the foundation for a scientifically based technology armed with both a theoretical justification and a research program. Thus, industrialism consists in the assertion of human will against nature understood as a law-like mechanism without moral order. Human purposes could no longer be derived from nature, or indeed from any factual state, and could be founded only in the activity of their assertion itself. Consequently, we speak of “values” as chosen or asserted by human subjects because the ground for any justification of human ethics in the order of Being has been sheared off. The condition of modern technological empires is a restless conception of subjectivity continuously unable to provide grounds for itself juxtaposed with the law-like necessity of objectivity in nature and society.⁸ In this context, the concept of particularity is a critique of the language of “values” that is inherent in the domination of nature. Grant’s philosophical intervention was to turn back the drive to universality in both political and philosophical affairs toward one’s own world — toward the world understood as a place for belonging, not as one place among others.

Thus, we may derive from George Grant a characterization of industrialism as homelessness that complements Harold Innis’ analysis of the space-oriented planetary system of industrial domination of nature. From this perspective, we may define industrialism as based on the subject-object relationship in which all purpose and value are deemed “subjective,” and what is objective is viewed merely as a resource to be utilized for these purposes. Industrialism is the practice of this subject-object *separation*, which then involves a subsequent *relation* of domination and exploitation.

It is significant that both of these thinkers situate themselves as critics of the dominant industrial capitalist trend of European societies since the seventeenth century. Canadian thought, as an expression of Canadian society, has rarely accepted the assumptions of “possessive individualism” (to use C.B. Macpherson’s phrase) inherent in this dominant trend. In contrast to the emphasis on progress, industry and individuals in the United States, Canadian

thought has tended to centre on history, tradition and community⁹ — though its relation to industry has been more equivocal, both in public life and in thought. Innis' argument for a "balance" of space by time still accepted the desirability and/or inevitability of the industrial form of organization. Grant's defence of belonging became increasingly remote from public life exactly to the extent that it came to be directed at contemporary technological society as a whole. For this reason, both thinkers can be interpreted as conservatives in the classic sense, that is, as critics of industrial capitalism on the basis of traditions and values that precede the modern revolutions and that subsist, though to a neglected extent, afterward. In short, they can be interpreted as Red Tories or backward-looking critics who, nevertheless, accept that there is a certain inevitability in industrial development and argue a kind of "strategy of containment," of limitation, of conservation.

Now, I want to suggest that this strategy of containment is no longer possible and to begin to sketch the basis of another strategy. But first, let me state a hypothesis: that the conservatism of Innis and Grant, and perhaps by implication the conservatism of much of Canadian society and thought, can be better interpreted at the present juncture as *conservationism*. In other words, their critique of industrialism is fundamentally an attempt to conserve and recover traditions of social community and less destructive relations to nature, and that such a recovery is not inherently politically conservative in the sense of tending to preserve hierarchy and inequality. In recent years, new social movements — such as ecology; antinuclear activism; feminism; ethnic politics; local, regional and national autonomy movements; human rights organizations; and the aboriginal people's movements — have implied that the old right-left political spectrum is inadequate in present circumstances.¹⁰ This spectrum pertains only to criticisms of inequalities *within* industrial society, not to the present juncture which requires a *critique of industrial society* as such. These new social movements constitute a *new formation* whose difficult emergence involves elements of both socialist and conservative thought — a combination of substantive equality with conservation — that is unsettling the bases of argument axiomatic *within* the industrial order. We may call "ecological thought" the attempt to render clear and rigorous the suspicion that underlying these connections there is a shifting of the dominant industrial relation of self and world. My hypothesis in a formula: Canadian conservatism, minus the acceptance of industrialism as inevitable, can be a key conservationist element in an emergent ecological thinking with sympathetic resonances to the new social movements.

In looking ahead, how stands it with the relation of self and world such that this relation might be called "ecological"? An important step outside the assumptions of industrialism was made when key currents of twentieth-century philosophy affirmed the primacy of practical life over issues of scientific knowledge, since modern science and technology are key components of the

industrial domination of nature. Although, I should add parenthetically, science and technology can themselves play an anticipatory role in this turning. In particular, human reality was defined by Martin Heidegger as Being-in-the-World, rather than in terms of subject-object relationship. This is not a spatial relationship of being-contained-in, like groceries piled in a basket, but a relation of mutual definition in which the characteristic of human reality as being-in ties it essentially to practical involvements with the world. In the world, humans are not simply alongside, or next to, other beings, but (as Heidegger puts it) their "Being towards the world is essentially concern."¹¹ The self cannot, therefore, be defined as *against* the world of things, other beings, tools, and so forth, but gains its identity precisely through its involvement with a world that it inhabits. Thought, or reflection, is founded upon this more fundamental practical involvement; consequently, the self is not primarily defined through thought, but is rather a centre of focus in what may be called a "field of care."¹² Reflection, when it occurs, is not upon a subjectivity estranged from worldly entanglements, but upon the whole field of care in which the self is enmeshed.

We may expect to find a more ecological relation of self and world within this description of the inhabiting of the world by an involved self, and to address the problem of reflection from this starting point. However, a fundamental complication arises at this point. The phenomenological description of the self-world relation, while an important move beyond industrialism, incorporates an assumption that leaves it at a distance from the central experience of Canadian social history. Moreover, this is exactly the same assumption that underlies the Red Tory strategy of containment.¹³ Human reality, described as a totality of practical involvements in the world, suggests a self that is "at home" in the world, that dwells in and inhabits a world with which it is familiar and to which it is accustomed as the fundamental experience.¹⁴ It is the notion that this being-at-home-in-the-world subsists undisturbed beneath the dislocation of industrialism that is precisely what must be held up to question at the present turning point.

To return to my hypothesis that the Red Tory critique of industrialism can pursue a strategy of containment because of two related assumptions: first, as I have shown, the inevitability of industrialism and, second, what we might call the "superficiality" of industrialism, in the sense that it does not penetrate "all the way down." Thus, it is assumed by both Harold Innis and George Grant that there remain experiences of oral tradition and of our own — in short, a fundamental experience of "being-at-home" from which their critiques can be developed.

Within the assumption of a primordial being-at-home, we can discern a mutually confirming relation between that which is seen, that which is saved, and the seeing act of reflection. The belonging of practical life can be seen

through a reflection which confirms and clarifies practical belonging in order to continue and preserve it. In this interpretive circle, the saving brought forth by reflection would be a continuous expression of belonging. What, then, would be the motive for the disruption of unconscious belonging by the act of reflection? The motive must be exclusively outside this interpretive circle of mutual confirmation. External disruptions of our history of belonging motivate a conservative reflection that pushes away the disruption and terminates in a recovery of being-at-home. We may call this an interpretive circle of the Same, since it brings together the seen and the saved through the temporary interruption of a seeing that effaces itself. In short, all three aspects are moments of the Same continuous process of self-understanding.¹⁵

This circle of the Same provides the basis for the mutual confirmation of the two senses of world with which we began. Innis' focus on the world-system of industrialism provides the disrupting motive, while Grant's thinking of our own provides the moment of recovery. This mutually confirming interpretive circle, rooted in our Red Tory tradition, is deeply ambiguous. It has clearly served to defend and extend the practical belonging of our home. Nevertheless, it has done so by defining all disruption of the serenity of belonging as external, thereby obscuring the disruptions and divisions within our borders, and most fundamentally, the encounter with wilderness that is characteristic of Canada as a New World society. They have defended Canada only through imagining it as a continuation of Europe and, in this sense, their imagination is that of the dominant ruling class. The disruptions of the wilderness are pushed outside as we are imagined to inhabit the house of the Same.

Within this imagined being-at-home, disruptions appear as external. In particular, the disruptions and crises brought about by industrialism appear to be only external threats. It is this assumption of Canadian experience as a primordial belonging that I now want to displace in order to develop Canadian roots for an ecological relation of self and world that is conservationist, but not conservative. To do so, disruptions must be recognized as also internal, the New World as a discontinuity, and we must open to an abjection that blows away the security of interpretive self-confirmation within the Same.

The fundamental level of our practical inhabitation of the world in Canada cannot be characterized as being-at-home. The history of inhabitation is the story of the *construction* of settlements in the wilderness, and therefore of a fundamental tension between wilderness and building a home. When one later embraces in reflection the prior built sphere of belonging, one must also turn to embrace the wilderness. Innis and Grant, in embracing solely the belonging in our inhabiting, have incorporated a falsely European conception of Being-in-the-World as being-at-home. In the New World, being-at-home cannot be regarded as either fundamental or unproblematic. The primal experience is of *making a home* and thus also of wilderness and homelessness. A difference

between humanity and wilderness that does not attempt to tame the wild (through the concept of nature) undoes the enclosure of humanity within its socially constructed reality, and opens us to the affections of the embodied environment. We must construct a home, and place it alongside the homes of others, but we must also accept the wind that shakes all foundations, uncovering the inevitable locality of all constructions. Our abjection is revealed by this wind.

From this standpoint, we can reinterpret the Red Tory interpretive fusing of seen, saved and seer. We need to take a “step back” with regard to this interpretive circle: that is, not simply to deny it, but rather to cease from engagement in it in order to see it more clearly. This step back reveals that the interpretive circle of the Same occurs through the construction of cultural continuity *against* nature. It presupposes and extends the division between nature and culture and, for this reason, cannot address adequately the concerns of contemporary ecological thought — centring on the concept of “environment” — which is beyond the nature/culture division. In order to clarify the relation between seen, saved, and seer revealed by this step back, I will conclude by developing the concept of particularity beyond that which was possible within the Red Tory interpretive circle.

Both Innis and Grant actively *embrace* particularity in their thinking — a “particularity” understood on many levels from one’s own body, through local oral traditions to Canada itself, and perhaps beyond. Particularity is not a defined arena of social life, but a concept which pertains to the character of one’s *encounter* with any given arena of social life as a legitimization of a less universal, but necessary and good, moment of belonging or being-at-home. It is because it is not a defined sphere of social life that particularity must be actively embraced. We may say that particularity is a mode of concern in which the specificity of initial encounter is valued precisely insofar as it is our indispensable way toward the universal. Innis and Grant performed this embracing in order to begin their thinking of Canada. The thinking is clear enough, but the embracing itself, which is the prior condition of the thinking, has been occluded. What is embraced has been thought, but not the embracing itself. This claiming or embracing of one’s own needs to be further clarified in order to advance the concept of particularity.

Claiming one’s own is not the same as simply having it or living it through. Particularity is embracing one’s own as a first meeting with a belonging that extends indefinitely beyond toward universality.¹⁶ In this sense, particularity is not a contingency which could be dispensed with, but an initial encounter without which no reaching toward universality is possible. The conditions for apprehending universality include not only inhabiting a particular world, which is a matter of contingency, but also “embracing” this world as mine — as the locus in which I can be myself — and, therefore, in recognizing that it

is not the world as such, but one world among others. It is one among many, but cannot be treated as simply contingent because it is *this particular way* toward the good.¹⁷ Such a formulation suggests that there is an important distinction between inhabiting and embracing which is occluded in the work of Innis and Grant and which has to do with the reflective activity in which we grasp our prior involvements with the world.

Reflection must also recapture a moment of wildness, of loss, and of absence. For wilderness is precisely what cannot be captured. In the same moment that we reflect on our construction of a home, the ineradicability of the wilderness must be brought *inside* as an acceptance of the locality of all belonging. This means acceptance of a kind of abjection — an abandonment of the world in which one belongs. Underneath all home making is an absence of belonging, an absence of being a particular self. Thus, in a reflection that is oriented to the whole history of inhabiting, there must be also an experience of the limits of recapturing, a limit of thought insofar as it can claim to dominate its object. In this moment, Canadian thought recovers wildness without subduing it, discovers in its own thinking a thought of the limit of thought, an abjection stumbling blindly at the edge of wilderness.¹⁸ It is in the tension between the embracing of one's home making that initiates a higher consciousness of belonging, and the recovery of abjection that bathes us in the stream without a source, that Canadian ecological thought is stretched.

It is because we have not succeeded in building a home, in really belonging, that we have needed the Red Tory defence and lament. It is also why the encounter with wilderness has fuelled the domination of nature, rather than drawing us on toward environmental ethics. Either in imagined purity, or in unlimited domination, we are entrapped within the circle of the Same. But the recovery of abjection opens the Same to the Other, where even the Same is our loss of the Other. For an ecological thought which does not force identity through the assertion of itself against the wilderness, the slogan must be “no more of the Same.”

In searching for Canadian roots for an ecological relation of self and world, we have come upon an ineradicable tension between culture, or home making, and wilderness. To the extent that the subtitle of our conference couples ecology solely with culture, we erase one side of this tension. The interwoven relationship between that which is *seen*, that which is *saved*, and the reflective *seeing* that sets up a relation between the seen and the saved, is too easily tamed. We see only part of ourselves, and thus seek to save *only* ourselves. But in seeing ourselves as *becoming* ourselves through home making, we see also beneath “ourselves” into a great wilderness before the distinction between humanity and nature. We see too, I hope, that this must also be saved. And thought that sees the relation between the seen and the saved is itself plunged into this tension between belonging and abjection. In an anticipatory thinking that risks

a departure from the reign of knowledge, seeing becomes also a being *seen*. The more we discover and create ourselves, the more we find ourselves on the border of an extensive unknown: an unmeasurable sea, both Atlantic and Pacific, that supports the world as Atlas supported the universe and with which we must make our peace — a peace which can be no contract, but which we may uneasily approach when we take the saving beyond ourselves.

Notes

1. By putting this point about world in this way I do not imply that there is a homogeneity to Canadian history and culture. In fact, I have argued elsewhere that it is exactly the question of “plural origins” that is characteristic of Canadian experience. Nevertheless, to talk about Canada at all implies that the totality of these origins, as well as their reciprocal encounters, becomes itself a characteristic “world.” See Ian Angus, “Oral Tradition as Resistance,” in Manoly R. Lupul (ed.), *Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta’s First Ukrainians* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988) and *George Grant’s Platonic Rejoinder to Heidegger* (Lewiston and Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1987), 3-24.
2. Thus, media of communication do not merely represent, or portray, already existent social relations but constitute social relations with a characteristic style. For a short statement of this position, which is a common postulate of the media theory of Harold Innis, Marshall McLuhan, Eric Havelock, and Walter Ong, among others, see Ian Angus, “Media Beyond Representation,” in Ian Angus and Sut Jhally (eds), *Cultural Politics in Contemporary America* (New York: Routledge, 1989).
3. Harold Innis, “A Plea for Time” and “The Problem of Space,” in *The Bias of Communication* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973).
4. See Ian Angus (ed.), *Ethnicity in a Technological Age* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988).
5. Harold Innis, *Empire and Communications* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 7.
6. George Grant, “Canadian Fate and Imperialism,” in *Technology and Empire* (Toronto: Anansi, 1969), 73.
7. See especially, *Lament for a Nation* (Toronto and Montreal: McClelland & Stewart, 1970).
8. See, especially, George Grant, “A Platitude,” in *Technology and Empire*.
9. See Gad Horowitz, *Canadian Labour in Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), especially Chapter 1, and C.B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).
10. The suggestion that the new radicalism had some common ground with elements of conservatism was around in the Sixties, but it didn’t go anywhere — at least theoretically — but perhaps precisely into the new social movements. I have recalled one of these discussions with George Grant in “For a Canadian Philosophy: George Grant,” in *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory*, 13:1-2 (1989).
11. Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 84. The work of Karl Marx, properly understood, is also very important in this shift. See Michel Henry, *Marx: A Philosophy of Human Reality*, trans. Kathleen McLaughlin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983).
12. This phrase is not, to my knowledge, generally current in phenomenological studies of the self, but has been fruitfully used by Neil Evernden to bridge these studies as a whole with the

- concerns of environmental thought. See *The Natural Alien: Humankind and Environment* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).
13. This is the theoretical basis for George Grant's reading of Heidegger, which has exerted so much influence in recent years. It suggests, to put it schematically, that the role of the "turning" in Heidegger's thought is similar to the relation between conservatism and the new conservatism that this essay begins to work out. A critique of Grant's "humanism" is central to this task. See *George Grant's Platonic Rejoinder to Heidegger*, 53-70.
 14. See Heidegger's discussion of these metaphors in order to argue that such dwelling is exactly the sense in which "Being-in is the formal existential expression for the Being of Dasein, which has Being-in-the-World as its essential state." *Being and Time*, 80.
 15. My use of the notion of the "Same" is clearly indebted to Martin Heidegger, *Identity and Difference*, trans. Joan Stambaugh (New York: Harper & Row, 1969). I developed a similar notion of a disruption of a hermeneutic circle of interpretation in Canadian philosophy that leads to an "outside" in "Crossing the Border," in *The Massachusetts Review*, Special Issue on Canada, 31:2-3 (Spring-Summer 1990).
 16. This formulation of the concept of particularity attempts to quickly sum up, extend and clarify various earlier formulations in which I have tried to think through this key component of Grant's work. See Ian Angus, "Introduction," *Ethnicity in a Technological Age*, xvii; *George Grant's Platonic Rejoinder to Heidegger*, 17-24, 121; "Crossing the Border"; and "The Politics of Common Sense: Articulation Theory and Critical Communication Studies," in Stanley Deetz (ed.), *Communication Yearbook 15* (forthcoming).
 17. In this context, the work of Richard Rorty is an instructive symptom. Having realized, in *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), that there could be no simply universal metalanguage in which all disputes between incommensurable languages could be in principle resolved, he then argues, in *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), for the simple contingency of all languages. Thereby he misses exactly the key moment in a contemporary rethinking of the relation between universality and particularity. In its disillusioned moment, the imperial mentality concludes that its claim to universality was merely apparent, and that it is therefore merely one among others. We may expect this moment to pass over into a new affirmation — that in being "just one," it has as much right as any other to totalize. This alternation between false universality and mere contingency is a failure to think through the particularity of an encounter that nevertheless leads on to a truth beyond that encounter (and accessible from other routes). This is the philosophical turning. It is available, in principle, to all, but its practical necessity is presented more clearly to the colonized.
 18. This analysis implies that the metaphors that have guided thought in European philosophy, particularly "reflection" (the water/mirror) and "light" (the Sun/seeing), need to be rethought in Canadian thought. Especially central are the metaphors of wilderness and border. I have only been able to touch initially and tentatively on this project here.

La genèse de la pensée écologique au Québec, 1800-1940

Résumé

L'histoire environnementale au Canada et particulièrement au Québec constitue un nouveau champ de recherche pour les historiens. D'ores et déjà ce courant s'est affirmé aux États-Unis, en France et en Europe et a contribué à ouvrir de nouveaux horizons de recherche en histoire. L'idée de protection de la nature dans le monde occidental émerge de façon significative au début du XIX^e siècle. La protection de la nature au Québec entre 1800 et 1940 a été définie par des scientifiques et des intellectuels provenant des universités canadiennes et des sociétés d'histoire naturelle. Des associations liées à la conservation et à la préservation de la nature ont notamment contribué à mieux faire connaître le patrimoine naturel des Québécois. L'implication des gouvernements, par la création de commissions diverses sur les ressources naturelles a permis, dans une certaine mesure, de protéger la nature. En dépit des tentatives de conservation et de préservation au Québec, l'approche écologique a pris du temps à s'implanter. L'histoire de la protection de la nature au Québec, entre 1800 et 1940, est en même temps celle d'une mentalité, celle-ci évoluant d'une conscience de « l'inépuisable » vers une conscience de « l'épuisable ».

Abstract

Environmental history constitutes a new field of research for historians in Canada and particularly in Quebec. This discipline has been developing in the United States, France and Europe, thus creating new perspectives in history. The idea of the protection of the wilderness in the Occident became more significant at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The protection of the wilderness has been defined by scientists and intellectuals in Canadian universities and linked with natural history associations. Organizations de-

voted to conservation and preservation have focused on the education and the understanding of the natural heritage of the Québécois. Several government commissions on natural resources have allowed for, in a certain way, the protection of the wilderness. In spite of attempts to make conservation and preservation possible, the ecological approach took a long time to become established. The history of the protection of wildlife in Quebec, between 1800 and 1940, is the history of a mentality, based on the assessment of resources and nature for the purposes and needs of human beings.

Introduction

L’histoire environnementale au Canada et surtout au Québec constitue un nouveau champ de recherche pour les historiens. Ce courant historiographique a été l’objet depuis deux bonnes décennies d’un nombre impressionnant d’études et de publications en Europe et aux États-Unis¹. Des revues comme *Forest History* ou *Environmental Review* aux États-Unis ont bien fait connaître les liens entre l’environnement, l’écologie et l’histoire humaine. Depuis quelques années, au Canada, un certain nombre d’ouvrages ont accordé une place non négligeable à l’histoire environnementale et à l’approche écologique en histoire. Il faut souligner notamment les travaux de Janet Foster sur l’histoire de la préservation de la faune au Canada et les études sur la conservation de la forêt de Thomas R. Roach et Peter Gillis². Au Québec, l’historiographie a fait peu de place à des études sur l’histoire de la pensée environnementale³. À notre connaissance, c’est la thèse de Michel F. Girard qui lance l’idée d’une histoire de la pensée environnementale au Québec⁴. Cet article a pour objet de présenter quelques jalons ou quelques pistes de recherche qui pourraient s’avérer fécondes pour les études canadiennes et à fortiori en histoire du Québec.

L’histoire environnementale se définit comme l’étude des liens qui s’établissent entre les êtres humains et leur environnement, à travers leurs perceptions de la nature, leurs activités de production et de consommation et leurs initiatives de sauvegarde de l’environnement, tenant compte des transformations environnementales qui surviennent dans des périodes historiques différentes. Cette histoire environnementale s’inscrit autant dans les études académiques que dans la perspective de l’histoire appliquée.

La protection de la nature aux XVII^e, XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles

En Occident, la protection de la nature trouve ses origines dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle. De fait, de nouvelles attitudes à l’égard de la nature et des paysages émergent. Pour illustrer ces changements, l’historien Alain

Corbin a étudié la perception des paysages et remarque en effet qu'on a apprivoisé les rivages longtemps perçus comme répulsifs⁵. Plus tard, en France et en Angleterre, au moment de la révolution industrielle, la nature qui est perçue comme réservoir de ressources naturelles à la disposition de l'être humain prend désormais un sens différent aux yeux des artistes et des intellectuels⁶. Les changements technologiques ont pour effet de susciter des réflexions sur l'appropriation de la nature à des fins économiques⁷. Or, les assises culturelles de la protection de l'environnement sont intimement liées aux valeurs morales et esthétiques des nouveaux courants scientifiques, littéraires et philosophiques qui apparaissent à l'époque en Europe.

La théorie évolutionniste de Darwin marque un changement important dans la perception de la nature de manière générale⁸. Le darwinisme a notamment inspiré les premières réflexions sur la science écologique. Chez les intellectuels, de même que chez les artistes européens, la nature est perçue comme un réservoir d'inspiration et aussi comme un champ de combat idéologique. On s'accorde ainsi à relier l'émergence des premières mesures de conservation de la nature à l'influence de nouveaux courants artistiques et littéraires⁹. Les animaux, les plantes et les paysages prennent dorénavant une place importante dans la vie des gens.

Chez les occidentaux, la tendance à vouloir dominer la nature est omniprésente. Aux yeux de la morale chrétienne, Dieu, l'homme et la femme sont supérieurs et la nature a été créée pour leur bien-être et leur survie. Mais les sensibilités se transforment et elles expriment désormais l'équilibre et l'harmonie de l'être humain dans la nature. Des mouvements liés à la protection de la nature émergent ici et là, le plus souvent guidés par les Sociétés d'histoire naturelle. La Société protectrice des animaux, par exemple, est fondée en Angleterre en 1824 et fait son entrée plus tard en France (1846), aux États-Unis (1866), et au Québec (1870)¹⁰. Prônant d'abord et avant tout la protection et la conservation des ressources naturelles, les mouvements de conservation de la nature cherchent à mieux gérer les ressources naturelles à des fins utilitaires et scientifiques.

Protéger la nature aux États-Unis

Aux États-Unis, particulièrement au XIX^e siècle, la protection de la nature prend quatre formes. On perçoit d'abord les mouvements de « conservation », auxquels adhèrent des scientifiques, professionnels, académiciens et industriels. Dès 1871 on crée la United States Fish Commission et en 1881 la Division of Forestry. Dans cette optique, il faut conserver les ressources afin de les exploiter de façon plus rationnelle¹¹. L'émergence de la foresterie aura des incidences importantes sur les mouvements de conservation.

Les mouvements de « préservation » de la nature soutiennent pour leur part que la nature mérite d'être conservée pour sa valeur intrinsèque. Henry David Thoreau, John Muir et Charles W. Eliot sont les précurseurs de ce mouvement¹². C'est à la suite des pressions exercées par ces mouvements que naissent les parcs nationaux. Dès lors, la fondation du parc Yellowstone ouvre la voie à la préservation de la nature.

Le mouvement « écologique », tel qu'on le connaît aujourd'hui, apparaît aussi au XIX^e siècle. Dans cette perspective, l'homme fait partie de la nature et vit en harmonie avec celle-ci. L'idée centrale du mouvement écologique repose sur l'équilibre de la nature, des écosystèmes et sur la relation étroite des êtres humains avec leur environnement. Ce courant est notamment développé par George Perkins Marsh. Soulignons que le mot écologie a été forgé en 1866 par un naturaliste allemand partisan de la théorie de Darwin, Ernst Haeckel.

Le quatrième courant, qui se situe aux antipodes des précédents, est caractérisé par le « laisser-faire »¹³. L'environnement existe pour l'homme, afin qu'il puisse l'exploiter pour servir les besoins collectifs et individuels de la nation.

Les États-Unis et le Canada ont depuis une bonne centaine d'années échangé des idées et pris des mesures réciproques pour la protection de la nature. Pensons à la Convention canado-américaine sur les oiseaux migrateurs. Dans cette optique, le Canada a été influencé par les États-Unis, mais en même temps, il a fourni aux États-Unis d'excellents éléments dans le domaine de la conservation. John Muir, l'un des premiers à manifester l'importance de la préservation aux États-Unis, est d'abord un conservationiste canadien¹⁴. À cet égard, il serait intéressant, dans la perspective des études canadiennes, d'orienter la recherche sur les relations qu'entretiennent les États-Unis et le Canada en matière de protection de la nature.

L'expérience canadienne

La protection de la nature existe depuis l'époque de la Nouvelle-France. Les ordonnances du Roi nous montrent que certaines espèces d'arbres, comme le chêne, doivent être protégées et que la chasse également doit être contrôlée. C'est le cas surtout des seigneuries riveraines du fleuve Saint-Laurent. Loin des préoccupations écologiques, ces mesures visent exclusivement une conservation des ressources à des fins mercantiles pour la France. Le contrôle des gouvernements sur la protection de la nature durant le Régime français représente ainsi un intéressant sujet de recherche. En fait, l'étude de la perception de l'environnement et des attitudes à l'égard de la nature permettrait de découvrir quelle a été l'expansion des premiers blancs au pays et l'impact des activités humaines sur l'environnement. De surcroît, on pourrait étudier les changements culturels que les Anglais ont apporté dans leurs attitudes à l'égard

de la nature au Canada à partir de la Conquête. L'apport des cultures amérindiennes constitue également une voie de recherche intéressante.

L'expérience québécoise, 1800-1940

Le discours sur la protection de la nature au Canada français émerge surtout au début du XIX^e siècle. Avec les années, jusqu'en 1940, les idées de conservation et de préservation de la nature apparaissent. À partir de 1940, et surtout après la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, ce discours se transforme avec l'apparition de la pensée écologique et d'une nouvelle science, l'écologie.

Il apparaît important de souligner l'influence des naturalistes canadiens-anglais sur l'émergence d'une sensibilité nouvelle à l'égard de la nature au Québec. Mentionnons, parmi d'autres, Charles Fothergill et John Muir. D'abord, Fothergill est probablement l'un des premiers naturalistes à s'inspirer du romantisme et à prendre position à propos de la destruction de la nature en 1813. Philosophe, peintre et naturaliste, Fothergill fit un bref séjour au Québec et nous livre sa pensée dans son *Essay on the Philosophy, Study, and Use of Natural History* (1813). On lui connaît également un certain nombre de dessins en couleur qui dénotent d'après leurs sujets un profond attachement à la nature¹⁵. John Muir de son côté a d'abord fait ses premières armes dans les forêts ontariennes. En 1898, il était de passage au Québec pour y faire de l'observation¹⁶. D'autres Canadiens anglais ont oeuvré comme pionniers dans la conservation des ressources. Mentionnons Bernhard Edward Fernow, considéré comme le père de la foresterie nord-américaine et James Little, marchand de bois à Montréal¹⁷.

Quelques figures dominantes chez les Canadiens français

Chez les Canadiens français, avant que ne prennent forme de véritables mouvements de conservation, quelques individus militent et participent à certaines associations, pour la plupart éphémères, afin de sauvegarder la nature. Mentionnons Pierre Fortin, Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière, Jean-Charles Chapais, Léon Provencher, Avila Bédard, le peintre Horatio Walker et le Frère Marie-Victorin.

C'est Pierre Fortin qui figure comme l'un des premiers conservationistes au Québec. Dès 1852, il navigue dans le golfe Saint-Laurent et inspecte les pêcheries. S'offusquant du passage de bateaux de pêche américains en territoire canadien, Fortin déplore l'exploitation abusive de la pêche au maquereau. Alors député de Gaspé aux Communes, il relate la disparition de la baleine noire et du morse dans le golfe et celle du hareng dans l'estuaire du Saint-Laurent¹⁸. À propos du hareng, ce passage nous renseigne aussi sur les attitudes des Canadiens français à l'égard de la nature.

Mes honorables amis de Témiscouata, Kamouraska, L'Islet et Montmagny se rappellent l'époque où le hareng remontait en bancs immenses jusqu'à l'embouchure de la Rivière Ouelle, sur le fleuve Saint-Laurent, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à 300 milles de l'embouchure du fleuve et même plus haut. Au lieu de protéger ce poisson, la population riveraine établissait des barrages en treillis où les harengs se prenaient par millions, et y périssaient en grand nombre. On en recueillait une certaine quantité pour les manger, mais on en laissait la plus grande partie pourrir sur place¹⁹.

Au moment où ces lignes étaient écrites, en 1879, le discours sur la conservation de la faune aquatique était lancé. En dépit du peu de succès qu'il obtint à la Chambre, Fortin est le premier à avoir présenté un projet de loi aux Communes pour créer la Société de Géographie de Québec. Il est également l'un des premiers, avec Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière, à parler de la conservation des forêts au Québec lors de la session de 1870²⁰.

Joly de Lotbinière est aussi un des pionniers importants dans la conservation des forêts au Québec et au Canada. Issu d'une famille bourgeoise, possédant entre autres la seigneurie de Lotbinière, Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière est l'un des premiers à s'être soucié de l'avenir des forêts au Québec en créant la Société de reboisement de la province de Québec, en 1875, qui d'ailleurs eut peu de succès²¹. Il s'est notamment intéressé au rendement soutenu, qui vise à l'équilibre entre le nombre d'arbres marchands abattus et les nouveaux sujets, qui par régénération assurent une nouvelle récolte. Par ailleurs, il « introduisit le précieux noyer noir au nord de régions où les spécialistes estimaien qu'il avait des chances de prospérer »²². Joly de Lotbinière fut aussi président de l'Association forestière du Québec. Aujourd'hui, il est possible de visiter le domaine et la résidence d'été de Joly de Lotbinière à Saint-Louis de Lotbinière. On y remarque les « vestiges » de l'ancien jardin et du boisé que Joly avait créé à l'époque.

Henri De Puyjalon, lui, influença le mouvement de préservation au Québec. De fait, il nous a laissé un nombre intéressant d'études sur la chasse au XIX^e siècle. Il est également considéré comme l'un des premiers conservationnistes du Québec. Il déplore dans ses écrits les carnages que font les chasseurs dans les forêts québécoises et souhaite notamment créer avec le gouvernement des réserves sur la Côte-Nord où la chasse et le pillage des oeufs d'oiseaux migrateurs seraient interdits. Il s'intéresse aussi au canard Eider qui pourrait être protégé et exploité de façon rationnelle pour le duvet qu'il procure²³.

Au moment où ces pionniers oeuvrent pour la conservation des ressources, peu d'associations scientifiques ou de mouvements de conservation sont créés. Il faut dire qu'on ne parle pas encore d'écologie au XIX^e siècle au Québec. Ce

n'est qu'au tout début du XX^e siècle que ce courant apparaît. Le discours sur la conservation au Québec a davantage été produit par les sociétés scientifiques et par des spécialistes des sciences de la nature, à la fin du XIX^e siècle.

Sociétés scientifiques, mouvements de conservation et de préservation au Québec, 1800-1940

Au Québec, au cours du XIX^e siècle, plusieurs groupes ont été sensibilisés aux problèmes de l'exploitation et de la conservation des ressources. L'étude de ces groupements indique la participation du clergé, des institutions d'enseignement et de l'État dans le mouvement de sensibilisation pour la protection de la nature. De plus, il est intéressant d'analyser le milieu intellectuel dans lequel naissent et évoluent ces institutions et, d'autre part, les idées qui y sont véhiculées. Mais afin de mieux saisir l'implication de ces groupes, il faudrait d'abord en établir la nomenclature. On pénètre alors dans le champ de la vie associative qui s'inscrit dans le domaine de l'histoire sociale. La naissance des associations liées à la protection de la nature peut sans doute s'expliquer par le fait que les pouvoirs en place n'ont pas drainé et contrôlé tous les intérêts liés à la conservation au Québec²⁴. Voilà une orientation de recherche qui pourrait s'avérer intéressante.

L'étude des associations nous aide à mieux comprendre l'évolution des idées de conservation, de préservation et d'écologie au Québec. Mais d'où proviennent ces idées ? De quelles manières sont-elles abordées ? En vertu des mandats de ces organisations, quelle place occupe la protection de la nature dans les activités de ces groupes ? De quelles manières protège-t-on la nature au XIX^e siècle ? Ces pistes de recherche méritent d'être étudiées, et peuvent s'inscrire à plusieurs égards dans le courant de l'histoire des idées et de l'histoire des sciences.

Il existe diverses façons d'établir une catégorisation des groupes impliqués dans la conservation et la préservation au Québec. Premièrement, on peut les classer en tenant compte de leur degré d'engagement dans la protection de la nature. Deuxièmement, on peut les considérer par secteur (faune, forêt, eaux). Troisièmement, il est intéressant de cerner la vie associative en considérant les milieux d'origine de ces groupes (milieu gouvernemental, milieu professionnel, institution d'éducation). Nous allons considérer ici une vingtaine de groupements liés à la protection de la nature qui se retrouvent principalement dans la région de Québec.

i) La protection de la nature une priorité ?

Au XIX^e siècle, il existe très peu de mouvements dont les objectifs premiers visent la protection de la nature. À Québec, selon notre recherche en cours, on en retrouve deux : la Société protectrice des animaux (1870) et la Société de reboisement de la province de Québec (1875). La première vise la protection des oiseaux, des chevaux et des animaux domestiques. Cette société nous livre, dans ses rapports annuels, une quantité appréciable d'informations sur ses membres, ses objectifs et ses interventions²⁵. Aussi l'implication très assidue des femmes dans la sensibilisation des jeunes à la protection de la nature nous apparaît fondamentale à étudier. Cette société a joué un rôle prépondérant dans le développement de la pensée naturaliste et humanitaire au XIX^e siècle et a contribué notamment à transformer les mentalités et les sensibilités à l'égard de la nature au Québec.

La Société de reboisement de la province de Québec, que lançait Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière en 1875, ne dure pas plus qu'une dizaine d'années. Lotbinière ne manque pas d'ailleurs de porter à l'attention des membres de la Chambre d'assemblée de la province de Québec la question du reboisement. Le discours sur le reboisement que lançait Lotbinière au Québec était nouveau et difficilement accepté. Malheureusement, peu de choses nous sont connues de cette société.

ii) Les associations à vocation scientifique

L'histoire de la protection de la nature au Québec est étroitement reliée à l'histoire des sciences et des idées. C'est pourquoi les premiers discours sur la conservation naissent à l'intérieur de diverses sociétés scientifiques. Au Québec le développement de la science coïncide avec l'influence intellectuelle des Canadiens anglais. Les premières sociétés à caractère scientifique, qui s'orientent davantage vers les sciences naturelles, ont en majorité des membres anglophones à leur début. Il est intéressant de constater, toutefois, que de tous les organismes à vocation scientifique nés vers la fin du XIX^e siècle, peu ont disparu aujourd'hui. Il faut souligner aussi que certaines conjonctures, comme la guerre 1914-1918, influencent le dynamisme de ces organisations. Par ailleurs, au fil des années, ces organismes se sont modifiés pour devenir, dans certains cas, des groupes influents au sein de la communauté scientifique contemporaine. Je pense entre autres à la Société de géographie de Québec, à la Société linnéenne de la province de Québec et à l'Association canadienne pour l'avancement des sciences (ACFAS).

La première organisation scientifique importante à Québec est la Literary and Historical Society of Québec, fondée en 1820. À ses débuts, cette société avait une vocation largement scientifique et s'orientait surtout vers les sciences de

la terre. Suit, en 1827, la Société d'histoire naturelle de Montréal. En fondant une revue en 1857, le *Canadian Naturalist and Geologist*, cette société s'est impliquée notamment dans la protection de l'orignal pour empêcher sa disparition du territoire québécois²⁶. Après 1845, il faut attendre une bonne trentaine d'années avant que soit créée la Société de géographie de Québec, fondée en 1877. On avait bien fondé une Société canadienne d'études littéraires et scientifiques, en 1843, mais elle ne fut active que pendant deux ou trois ans. Les instigateurs de la Société de géographie de Québec sont Pierre-Étienne Fortin et Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière²⁷. À ses débuts, la société s'oriente vers la connaissance, l'étude et la protection des richesses naturelles. Mais, selon Michel F. Girard, c'est avant la Première Guerre mondiale qu'elle se préoccupe davantage de conservation²⁸.

Les deux principaux groupes impliqués dans la conservation de la forêt sont l'Association forestière québécoise, fondée en 1882, et l'Association forestière canadienne, créée en 1900²⁹. Ces associations se sont fixé comme objectif de concilier l'exploitation forestière et la protection de la nature. Les étudier, c'est du même coup se faire une idée des principaux enjeux économiques canadiens du XIX^e siècle confrontés avec les enjeux de la conservation des ressources naturelles. C'est sans aucun doute la forêt qui suscite le plus de débats dans la protection de la nature à la fin du XIX^e siècle.

Au début du XX^e siècle, les associations à caractère scientifique se développent au Québec. Certaines sont reliées de près aux institutions d'enseignement, d'autres sont autonomes et leur dynamisme s'accroît avec les années. Deux de ces sociétés attirent l'attention : la Société Provancher d'histoire naturelle du Canada et la Société linnéenne de Québec.

Des études spécifiques sur l'histoire de ces sociétés et de leur engagement dans le domaine de la protection de la nature pourraient être entreprises. Fondée en 1923, la Société Provancher oeuvre surtout à mieux faire connaître l'ornithologie et la protection des oiseaux. Elle a ainsi mené une action énergique pour la protection des îles Razades dans l'estuaire du Saint-Laurent, lieu de nidification des oiseaux migrateurs. La société vise en particulier la sensibilisation des jeunes à la protection de la nature³⁰. On perçoit ici combien la frontière entre l'histoire des sciences et l'histoire environnementale est mince.

Pour sa part, la Société linnéenne, fondée en 1929, s'intéresse à l'étude et à la vulgarisation des sciences naturelles au Canada. Elle cherche notamment à développer la recherche dans ce secteur et à établir des rapports scientifiques entre les naturalistes et les scientifiques canadiens et étrangers³¹. À ses débuts, la Société linnéenne cherche des assises scientifiques dans *Le Naturaliste canadien*. Depuis sa création elle a centré son activité sur la protection de la nature. Aujourd'hui, elle participe à l'élaboration de programmes de

sensibilisation à la nature, notamment à la réserve faunique de Cap Tourmente, et à la protection du béluga du Saint-Laurent.

Certes, au début du XX^e siècle, il existe d'autres organismes scientifiques voués à la protection de l'environnement. Je pense notamment à la Montreal Bird Protection Society qui, en 1937, achète une très grande île dans le détroit de Belle-Isle, où se trouvent près de 60 000 « perroquets de mer » ou macareux moines.

iii) La participation de l'État

Au XIX^e siècle, il faut le dire, la protection de la nature était surtout revendiquée par des individus isolés, par quelques associations et certains hommes publics, comme Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière. Les gouvernements ne s'intéresseront que tardivement à la gestion des ressources naturelles. Une série de lois furent promulguées afin de prévenir les feux de forêts, et de limiter les prises de chasse et de pêche au XIX^e siècle. Mais les véritables services de gestion des ressources ne sont créés qu'au début du XX^e siècle. Dès 1885, le gouvernement du Québec encourage la formation de clubs de protection du poisson et du gibier³². L'Association de protection du gibier et du poisson du Québec voit le jour vers 1887³³. Cet organisme propose « une politique d'intégration des activités de surveillance et de développement du patrimoine »³⁴. En 1926, un projet de création d'une Association protectrice de la pêche et de la chasse dans la province de Québec vise à contrer le braconnage³⁵.

Les principales actions que le gouvernement du Québec devait entreprendre, jusque vers 1940, sont étroitement liées à une meilleure gestion des ressources naturelles. On cherche alors à protéger les ressources qu'on exploite. C'est dans cette optique, que le gouvernement de la province de Québec crée la Commission des eaux courantes, en 1910. Une étude exhaustive pourrait être entreprise concernant cette commission. Quel a été son rôle dans la protection des cours d'eau au Québec au début du XX^e siècle ? En contrepartie, quelles étaient les conséquences sur l'environnement, de la création de barrages et de digues sur les principales rivières du Québec ?

La Société de protection des plantes, pour sa part, publie ses rapports dans les *Documents de la session* de la province de Québec. Ses origines, compte tenu de l'état de notre recherche, ne sont pas claires. Il semblerait qu'elle ait été fondée par un groupe de professeurs du Collège MacDonald³⁶. De concert avec la section entomologique, cette société se préoccupe surtout d'agriculture. Il est étonnant de ne pas retrouver de service gouvernemental relié à l'écologie des ressources, car les différents services créés par le gouvernement au début du XX^e siècle entretiennent de nombreux liens. Il est surprenant de constater aussi le retard du Québec à créer un Service de protection des forêts, qui n'apparaît

qu'en 1924. Auparavant, les associations forestières régionales ainsi que différents partenaires, comme la Commission des Chemins de fer, contribuent à la prévention des incendies de forêts³⁷. Il faut souligner aussi que la création des réserves forestières telles que le parc de la Gaspésie, le parc des Laurentides et celui du Mont-Tremblant demeurent des initiatives isolées du gouvernement de l'époque. Elles ne correspondent pas à une véritable politique de parcs nationaux comme celle que l'on connaît aujourd'hui. Au début du XX^e siècle, ce phénomène est embryonnaire au Québec. La création du parc des Laurentides, par exemple, vise à protéger les vieilles forêts, le poisson, le gibier et les réserves d'eau³⁸.

L'état présent de notre recherche ne permet pas d'élaborer grandement sur l'influence du gouvernement dans la protection de la nature. Il serait souhaitable, toutefois, d'étudier la contribution de la Commission canadienne de conservation au Québec. Quelle a été l'influence du gouvernement fédéral sur le gouvernement provincial dans le domaine de la protection de la nature ? Quel fut l'apport de la Commission de conservation au Québec ? Bref, de nombreuses questions surgissent, suggérant ainsi de multiples voies de recherche qui pourraient s'avérer fécondes pour les études canadiennes et québécoises.

Une des hypothèses que nous suggérons pour le Québec est la suivante. L'écologie au Québec n'est pas née au XIX^e siècle. Les premiers écologistes qui abordent les problèmes environnementaux de façon globale apparaissent surtout après 1940. Ce qui caractérise le XIX^e siècle, dans cette perspective, c'est que l'on prend progressivement conscience que les ressources ne sont pas inépuisables; que la protection de la nature est nécessaire, dans l'optique de la conservation en vue d'une utilisation et d'une exploitation plus rationnelle des ressources naturelles. La préservation de la nature est à peine amorcée au XIX^e siècle. Seulement une poignée d'individus sensibles à l'équilibre fragile de la nature cherchent à faire changer les choses. L'histoire de la protection de la nature au Québec entre 1800 et 1940 est en même temps l'histoire d'une mentalité, celle-ci évoluant d'une « conscience de l'inépuisable » vers une conscience de « l'épuisable »³⁹.

Notes

1. Pour en connaître davantage sur les travaux publiés en Europe, voir l'excellente bibliographie publiée par l'Association Européenne pour l'Histoire de l'Environnement dans *Environmental History Newsletter*, 1 (1989); pour la France, les travaux issus du Colloque de Florac demeurent importants : A. Cadoret, *Protection de la nature, histoire et idéologie. De la nature à l'environnement*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1985; pour les États-Unis, voir Donald Worster, *The Ends of the Earth. Perspectives on Modern Environmental History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 309-23.

2. Janet Foster, *Working for Wildlife, the Beginning of Preservation in Canada*, Toronto et Buffalo, University of Toronto Press, 1978; Thomas R. Roach et Peter Gillis, *Lost Initiatives : Canada's Forest Industries, Forest Policy and Forest Conservation*, New York, Greenwood Press, 1986.
3. Nous avons consulté à cet égard les ouvrages suivants : Paul Aubin et Louis Marie Côté, *Bibliographie de l'histoire du Québec et du Canada (1946-1980)*, 6 tomes; Yvan Lamonde, *L'histoire des idées au Québec, 1760-1960 : bibliographie des études*, Montréal, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1989.
4. Michel F. Girard, « La forêt dénaturée : les discours sur la conservation de la forêt québécoise au tournant du XX^e siècle », Thèse de maîtrise (Histoire), Université d'Ottawa, 1988.
5. Alain Corbin, *Le territoire du vide, L'Occident et le désir du rivage, 1750-1840*, Paris, Flammarion/Champs, 1988.
6. René Louis de Girardin, *De la composition des paysages*, Paris, Éditions du Champ Urbain, 1979 (Réédition de 1777).
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8. Philips P. Wiener, *Dictionary of the Historical Ideas. Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas*, Volume 2, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973, p. 130.
9. Allan Ellenius, « Ecological Vision and Wildlife Painting towards the End of the 19th Century », *The Natural Sciences and the Arts : Aspects of Interaction from the Renaissance to the 20th Century, An international Symposium, Uppsala*, Stockholm, Imgrist et Wicksell International, 1985, p. 147-65.
10. Roderick Frazier Nash, *The Rights of Nature. A History of Environmental Ethics*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1988, p. 25.
11. Carl H. Moneyhon, « Environmental Crisis and American Politics, 1860-1920 », dans Lester J. Belsky (éd.), *Historical Ecology. Essays on Environmental and Social Change*, Port Washington, National University Publication, 1980, p. 143-6.
12. John McCormick, *Reclaiming Paradise. The Global Environmental Movement*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1989, p. 12.
13. Ibid., p. 52.
14. Stephan Fuller, « In the Footsteps of John Muir », *Borealis*, (Fall 1989), p. 30-3.
15. Elaine Theberge, « Fothergill, Canada's Pioneer Naturalist Emerges From Oblivion », *The Beaver*, (février-mars 1988), p. 12-18.
16. Jim Butler, « The First Environmentalist », *Borealis*, (Fall 1989), p. 27.
17. William Mackay, *Un patrimoine en péril, la crise des forêts canadiennes*, Québec, Éditeur officiel du Québec, 1987, p. 35, 45.
18. *Débats de la Chambre des communes Vol. 2*, (1879), 1754-5.
19. Ibid.
20. Marcel Hamelin, *Les premières années du parlementarisme québécois (1867-1878)*. Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1974, p. 183-4.
21. *Quebec Directory*, (1875).
22. Mackay, *Un patrimoine en péril*, p. 38.
23. W.E. Greening, « North Shore naturalist », *The Beaver*, 284 (sept. 1953), p. 23-5.
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25. Archives de l'Université Laval, Fonds Ville de Québec, *Rapports annuels de la Société protectrice des animaux*, 1874-1927.
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27. Christian Morissonneau, *La société de Géographie de Québec, 1877-1970*, Québec, les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1971, p. 26.
28. Girard, « La forêt dénaturée », p. 37.
29. Jean-Charles Chapais, « La petite histoire de . . . », *La Forêt québécoise*, 1 : 7 (oct. 1939), p. 10-12.
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31. Gérard Dumont, « La Société Linnéenne de Québec, ses 40 ans de vie active », *Le Naturaliste canadien*, 96 : 6 (1969), p. 979-84.
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33. *Directory of Quebec*, (1887).
34. Girard, « La forêt dénaturée », p. 57.
35. « L'Association protectrice de la Pêche et de la Chasse dans la province de Québec », *La Forêt et la ferme*, 1 : 2 (août 1926), p. 60.
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37. Damase Potvin, *Aux fenêtres du parlement*, s.l., s.n., s.d., p. 197-205.
38. Serge Gauthier, *Historique des parcs nationaux*, Mémoire de diplôme (Foresterie), Université Laval, 1970, p. 24-30.
39. J'emprunte ici l'expression « conscience de l'inépuisable » à Georges Maheux. Georges Maheux, « Conservation and Survival », *Délibérations, mémoires et comptes rendus de la Société royale du Canada*, (1956), p. 4

Une généalogie du « conservationisme » et de l'écologie au Canada

Résumé

Les approches théoriques de Michel Foucault nous permettent de faire ressortir les trois rationalités qui sous-tendent les discours et les pratiques conservato-environnementalistes : la rationalité de connaissance scientifique, la rationalité instrumentale de gestion et celle de « gouvernementalité ». Malgré une tentative de critique, l'écologie « profonde » et l'écologie « sociale » demeurent ancrées dans les trois rationalités conservato-environnementalistes issues de la fin du XIX^e siècle. L'omniprésence du conservato-environnementalisme, encore aujourd’hui, serait donc un des obstacles à une critique radicale. Les pratiques de résistance des Amérindiens contre la normalisation de l'environnement par le conservato-environnementalisme, nous offrent un exemple de critique qui se situe en dehors des trois rationalités identifiées. Ceci rend donc possible une critique fondamentale en vue d'une véritable révolution « verte » au Canada.

Abstract

Michel Foucault's theoretical approaches enable us to reveal the three rationalities which underpin conservation-environmentalist discourses and practices: rationality of scientific knowledge, instrumental rationality and rationality of "governmentality." Despite an attempt to formulate a critique, "Deep" Ecology and "Social" Ecology remain imbedded in the three rationalities of conservation-environmentalism which emerged at the end of the nineteenth Century. Therefore, the continued omnipresence of conservation-environmentalism today, is one of the obstacles to a radical critique. Practices of resistances by Amerindians against normalization of the environment by

conservation-environmentalism, is an example of critique located outside the three identified rationalities. Therefore, it opens possibilities for a fundamental critique towards a true "Green" revolution in Canada.

Le XXI^e siècle sera celui de l'environnement et du combat pour sa survie. Il s'agit donc également, directement et indirectement, de la survie de l'humanité. C'est du moins l'image et l'impératif qui semblent émerger en cette fin de siècle. Serait-ce une manifestation moderne de la peur d'un nouveau millénaire ? La protection de l'environnement est devenue à la fois une commodité marchande comme une autre et une nouvelle stratégie de marketing. Les désastres écologiques sont devenus des spectacles pour les médias. L'ensemble des discours et pratiques autour de l'environnement apparaît de plus en plus comme faisant partie des techniques politiques de « gouvernementalité »¹.

Pour sortir de l'antagonisme trop simpliste qui oppose les « amis » de l'environnement aux pollueurs, il faudrait replacer l'ensemble de cette problématique dans ce que Michel Foucault appelait « un champ de pouvoir », c'est-à-dire l'ensemble des « institutions, des processus économiques et sociaux, des formes de comportements, des systèmes de normes, des techniques, des types de classification »².

C'est à partir de ce champ de pouvoir, historiquement constitué, que sont déterminées les possibilités d'apparition ou de non-apparition de tel ou tel type de discours et de pratiques, par exemple les discours et les pratiques autour du thème de l'environnement. Afin de comprendre les conversions actuelles à la protection de l'environnement, il est nécessaire d'étudier les différents rapports de force à l'intérieur du champ de pouvoir. Il s'agit de reconnaître la complexité de ces rapports et les possibilités d'apparition de ces rapports plutôt que d'identifier des acteurs exclusivement pollueurs ou environnementalistes. Afin de nous aider dans cette tâche, nous adopterons le cadre analytique et méthodique de Michel Foucault³. Cela nous permettra non pas de définir l'environnement en tant que tel, c'est-à-dire un « environnement naturel » capturé dans son essence même, mais au contraire l'environnement devenu simultanément et entre autres des « ressources naturelles » et des « parcs nationaux ». Ce qui nous intéresse ici, c'est l'environnement en tant que catégorie sociale⁴.

Dans ce contexte, le cas du Canada est particulièrement intéressant. En effet, à première vue, l'environnement a joué et joue un rôle crucial dans la formation et l'évolution d'une identité canadienne. Par exemple, Margaret Atwood a très bien illustré certains des changements et des continuités dans la littérature anglo-canadienne sur le thème de l'environnement⁵. Dans le discours littéraire,

la « nature », a subi plusieurs métamorphoses en passant d'une « Divine Mother Nature » à une « nature morte ou indifférente » pour aboutir à une « Nature Monster »⁶.

Sur le plan politique, l'État canadien se définit en grande partie comme une masse territoriale qui s'étend *a mari usque ad mare* et qui contient des « richesses naturelles » variées et abondantes. À cet égard, le choix du castor et de la feuille d'érable comme symboles de l'identité canadienne est révélateur. Puisque l'environnement semble être un des principaux éléments constitutifs de l'identité canadienne, nous pourrions nous attendre à ce qu'il existe un ensemble de pratiques de préservation de cet environnement. En fait, dans de nombreux domaines, le Canada est plutôt en retard par rapport à d'autres pays industrialisés. Les coupes forestières à nu, la construction de mégaprojets hydro-électriques, l'utilisation très libérale de pesticides et l'épuisement des bancs de pêche ne sont que quelques-uns des phénomènes qui remettent en question, à première vue, cette soi-disant affinité entre l'environnement et l'identité canadienne. Nous pourrions suggérer que la configuration spécifique du champ de pouvoir au Canada, à la fin du XIX^e siècle, autour du thème de l'environnement, a été telle, qu'elle limite encore les possibilités d'apparition d'un mouvement contemporain vert au Canada. L'importance de ce que nous appellerons ici le « conservationisme » canadien, c'est-à-dire l'articulation d'une redéfinition des rapports avec l'environnement à la fin du XIX^e siècle, a été si marquante que le mouvement écologiste/vert contemporain canadien a des difficultés à se sortir du conservationisme ambiant. Il pourrait paraître paradoxal, à première vue, qu'un puissant discours conservationiste de la fin du siècle dernier soit encore actuellement un des obstacles principaux à un mouvement vert. C'est cette particularité qui caractérise peut-être l'expérience au Canada. Le conservationisme au Canada a été si répandu et si divers qu'il gèle encore l'apparition d'un discours vert. L'autre élément du paradoxe est que le conservationisme canadien a rendu possible ce fort attachement de l'identité canadienne à l'environnement.

L'environnement dans le champ de pouvoir

Nous inspirant de Foucault, nous pensons que ces discours et pratiques font partie de ce qu'il appelait un champ de pouvoir plutôt que *le* pouvoir. C'est à l'intérieur de ce champ de pouvoir que s'affrontent les différents discours et pratiques qui tentent d'imposer leurs perspectives. Ces discours et pratiques autour du thème de l'environnement font partie d'une stratégie *de* pouvoir mais non d'une stratégie *du* pouvoir. Foucault a remis également en question l'illusion selon laquelle les effets de pouvoir auraient diminué parce que la violence et la coercition auraient diminué depuis le XVIII^e siècle. Pour Foucault, il s'agit d'une nouvelle stratégie de pouvoir, qu'il appelle « pastoral », et qui se caractérise par une individualisation et une intériorisation constantes. Le

pouvoir n'est plus imposé « d'en haut », mais « accepté » intérieurement par tous. Ce pouvoir « pastoral » est mis en place par de nouvelles disciplines dont celles des sciences humaines.

En ce qui concerne les discours et pratiques autour du thème de l'environnement, il semblerait qu'au lieu de s'opposer aux « pollutions », ces mêmes discours et pratiques ne font que maintenir en le rationalisant, et tout en le modifiant, un régime de « destruction écologique » sous le couvert, entre autres, de « l'exploitation des ressources naturelles ». L'objectif n'est pas uniquement de camoufler les « pollutions », mais bien plutôt d'en discourir profusément, notamment par l'intermédiaire de sciences, afin de constituer des définitions « contrôlées » de l'environnement. Cette situation est le résultat de la structure spécifique du champ de pouvoir au Canada; la forte présence du conservationisme dans l'environnementalisme.

Le conservationisme de l'environnementalisme

On appelle généralement conservationisme, l'ensemble des discours et pratiques visant à protéger la nature qui émergèrent vers la fin du XIX^e siècle. Il s'agissait d'une nouvelle définition des rapports avec la « nature » et d'une tentative de réconciliation entre les impératifs de sa protection et de son exploitation. La force des discours et des pratiques conservationistes au Canada réside dans l'existence simultanée d'acteurs professant ces discours et d'intervenants engagés dans ces pratiques conservationistes. Une partie du milieu des affaires se rendit compte que l'absence de pratiques de conservation menaçait à terme la source même de leur rendement⁷. Des agences d'État se rendirent compte de l'importance de réglementations et d'interventions, que ce soit pour des raisons de sécurité de revenu fiscal, ou d'affirmation du pouvoir de ces agences sur un territoire ou dans une compétence. Certaines des nouvelles sciences, par exemple la biologie, offrirent une nouvelle définition de la « nature » basée sur sa matérialité.

Rappelons que c'est le biologiste allemand Ernst Haeckel qui aurait créé le mot « écologie » dans les années 1860. Les deux composantes de ce mot, éco- (*oikos*, « maison, habitat ») et -logie (*logia*, « théorie », de *logos* « discours ») reflètent bien ce souci de « gérer son habitat d'une manière rationnelle ». Le mot « écologie » à la fin du XIX^e siècle exprime la configuration du champ de pouvoir des discours et pratiques de l'époque, c'est-à-dire l'enchevêtrement de trois rationalités : une rationalité de connaissance scientifique au service d'une rationalité instrumentale de gestion (principalement dans les entreprises mais aussi pour des agences d'État) et une rationalité de pouvoir que Foucault appelle la « gouvernementalité »⁸. La combinaison de ces trois rationalités constitue la base du « conservationisme ». Cette configuration n'a presque pas

changé aujourd’hui⁹. Depuis les années 1970, les trois types de rationalités conservationistes sont encore bien présentes.

La rationalité de gouvernementalité est illustrée, entre autres, par la quantité impressionnante de législations adoptées dans les années 1970¹⁰. Au cours des années 1980, les discours et pratiques semblaient avoir relativement délaissé cette approche législative pour se concentrer sur une approche basée sur les droits fondamentaux. L’adoption de la Charte des droits et libertés en 1982 a ouvert de nouvelles possibilités (et de nouvelles limites) d’insertion de l’environnement dans le cadre constitutionnel canadien¹¹. En plus du cadre législatif et constitutionnel, cette rationalité de gouvernementalité a également généré récemment maints ouvrages qui visent à encourager de nouvelles pratiques environnementalistes auprès de la population¹² par l’intermédiaire de techniques d’individualisation de pratiques quotidiennes. Ferions-nous face à une nouvelle orientation de contrôle, de discipline de type « pastoral »¹³ ? Michel Foucault aurait donc raison. Nous semblons assister à une mise en place de techniques subtiles de contrôle dans les pratiques quotidiennes et multiples des individus que ce soit par exemple en tant que « consommat-eurs/rices » ou comme simple « jardini-ers/ères » d’occasion¹⁴ !

La rationalité de gestion est de nouveau à l’avant-scène dans les années 1970 et 1980. Dans ce contexte, la problématique autour de la protection de l’environnement « [...] is not one of whether pollution is bad and conservation good: it is not a matter of absolutes, but of a balance of costs against benefits »¹⁵.

L’environnement est donc réduit à une des variables dans le calcul rationnel de la gestion économique. Les années 1980 semblent avoir confirmé cette tendance. La rationalité instrumentale de gestion prétend de nouveau à une incorporation sans problème de l’environnement dans la rationalité économique contemporaine.

Concerns about conservation, preservation and environmental quality are now finding their way into economic calculations.
Sound economic planning and sound environmental management do not, in this light, conflict; rather, they reinforce each other¹⁶.

Cette rationalité hyper-instrumentale nous mènerait à un « développement durable ».

Les rationalités de gestion et de gouvernementabilité font donc appel à des techniques instrumentalistes basées sur une rationalité scientifique. La protection de l’environnement demeure l’application d’une bonne technique de gestion. Toutes les facettes de l’environnement deviennent uniquement des problèmes de bonne gestion : on parle de « coastal management »¹⁷, de « management of environmental hazards »¹⁸, et de « fisheries management »¹⁹. Ces techniques

de gestion présupposent une distanciation entre le gestionnaire et l'objet à gérer. Ce gestionnaire demeure objectif et donc soi-disant neutre par rapport aux autres intervenants.

Environmental assessment generally reflects the increasing public sensitivity to the short comings of the traditional ways in which major development decisions are made. Specifically, however, environmental assessment may soon be seen as either an attempt to identify the environmental, social, cultural and economic costs of development and to sensitize the developer to these costs so they might be minimized; or it may be seen as an attempt *to have the ultimate decision about development to someone other than the developer, someone who is more attuned to the total cost and less sensitive to the benefits of development.* The first view describes environmental assessment as an information gathering process; the second, as a decision making mechanism²⁰. [souligné par moi.]

On retrouve là l'une des prémisses de la rationalité scientifique, c'est-à-dire la séparation entre l'observateur et l'objet qu'il/elle observe. Le but de cette rationalité est non seulement de permettre de nouveaux discours du savoir, mais aussi de nouvelles pratiques, de type instrumental, sur l'objet observé.

Le conservationisme de « l'écologie profonde » et de « l'écologie sociale »

Depuis les années 1970 sont apparues deux « écoles » qui prétendent, chacune à sa façon, remettre en question les discours et les pratiques conservationistes que nous venons d'esquisser. Il s'agit de « l'écologie sociale » et de « l'écologie profonde »²¹.

Ces deux écoles ont transité principalement par les États-Unis et se sont transplantées, avec relativement peu de difficultés, dans le contexte canadien. L'importation de ces deux courants de pensée confirme notre hypothèse suivant laquelle le conservationisme canadien serait tellement présent dans le champ de pouvoir qu'il aurait rendu impossible l'apparition *sui generis* au Canada de l'écologie profonde et de l'écologie sociale. Ceci serait donc une illustration concrète de l'aspect limitatif des discours et pratiques conservationistes au Canada.

L'écologie sociale reconnaît la dimension historique et l'importance des rapports sociaux dans la crise contemporaine de l'environnement. La pré-condition pour sauver l'environnement est donc un changement radical des rapports sociaux. En fait,

The ecological revolution in its ultimate form fuses with Marx’s vision of the « withering away of the state » to an anarchic ecologized human community in which the principle is another vision of Marx : « to each according to their needs and from each according to their capacities »²².

Murray Bookchin, le père spirituel de l’écologie sociale en Amérique du Nord, fait appel à une révolution sociale qui entraînerait une redéfinition radicale de la relation entre l’humain et la nature²³.

L’écologie profonde critique le conservationisme et l’environnementalisme.

Ecologically responsible policies are concerned only in part with pollution and resource depletion. There are deeper concerns which touch upon principles of diversity, complexity, autonomy, decentralization, symbiosis, egalitarianism and classlessness²⁴.

Dans cette optique, l’écologie profonde accuse l’écologie sociale d’offrir une perspective encore trop centrée sur l’être humain. Les écologistes « profonds » suggèrent une approche « biocentriste », c’est-à-dire la défense intégrale et totale de l’environnement même au prix de la disparition d’humains²⁵. Ce débat entre ces deux courants écologiques démontre bien la configuration spécifique du champ de pouvoir en cette fin de XX^e siècle. Notre hypothèse de départ (c’est-à-dire la puissance du conservationisme de la fin du XIX^e siècle au Canada structure et limite encore aujourd’hui les discours et pratiques du champ de pouvoir) est confirmée par Robyn Eckersley qui

[...] traced the debate back to the nineteenth century, revealing some of the long-held prejudices the current debate exposes. She shows how the earliest conservationists, typified by John Muir, advocated a total immersion in nature, often to the exclusion of any discussion of the social or historical roots of environmental destruction²⁶.

Pour notre part, nous croyons que les deux courants tentent, sans succès, d’offrir une critique des trois types de rationalités que nous avons identifiées²⁷ comme des éléments importants dans la configuration du champ de pouvoir à la fin du XIX^e siècle.

L’écologie sociale critique plus les motivations des rationalités de gestion (le profit) et de gouvernementalité (le contrôle social par une classe) que ces rationalités en elles-mêmes. En fait, l’écologie sociale veut préserver et promouvoir la rationalité scientifique. Le seul changement est le déplacement dans la hiérarchie des diverses sciences. Pour Bookchin, l’écologie est *la*

nouvelle science par excellence, qui « [...] more closely realizes Marx's vision of science as dialectics than any other science today, including his own cherished realm of political economy²⁸. »

Cependant, Bookchin justifie cette nouvelle science qu'est l'écologie par l'intermédiaire d'autres sciences telle que la biologie²⁹. De plus, cette nouvelle science écologique s'insère totalement dans la rationalité scientifique comme moyen d'action instrumentale. Pour Bookchin, l'écologie a donc le dessein de « [...] providing the guidelines for a viable, harmonized future utopia³⁰. »

L'écologie profonde offre la critique la plus radicale des rationalités de gestion et de gouvernementalité mais conserve aussi une rationalité scientifique toujours nécessaire pour la définition du « biocentrisme ». Tim Luke va jusqu'à dire que le biocentrisme de l'écologie profonde est un instrument de rationalité de gouvernementalité. En effet, pour Tim Luke,

[...] deep ecology could function as a new strategy of power for normalizing new ecological subjects — human or non-human — in disciplines of self effacing moral consciousness. In endorsing self-expression as the inherent value of all ecosphere entities, deep ecology also could advance the modern logic of domination by restraining humans to surveil and steer themselves as well as other beings in accord with "Nature's" dictates. As a new philosophy of nature, then, deep ecology, provides the essential discursive grid for few enthusiastic ecosophical mandarins to interpret and impose its deep ecology dictates on the unwilling many [...]³¹.

De plus, Tim Luke remarque que le biocentrisme qui prétend s'opposer à l'anthropocentrisme dominant est lui-même une forme « soft » d'anthropocentrisme³².

Nous venons de voir très brièvement que les tentatives de critiques de l'environnementalisme par l'écologie sociale et profonde, sont limitées et structurées par les trois rationalités des discours et pratiques conservationistes. Serait-il donc impossible, au Canada, d'échapper à l'emprise du conservationisme/environnementalisme ?

En guise de conclusion : les résistances aux discours et pratiques environnementalistes et l'écologie des peuples autochtones

Dans la section précédente, nous avons examiné les aspects limitatifs et structurants du conservationisme sur les discours et pratiques contemporaines autour du thème de l'environnement (l'environnementalisme). Même les

critiques de l'environnementalisme (l'écologie sociale et l'écologie profonde) sont incluses dans le périmètre des possibilités de ce dernier. Cependant, comme Foucault le suggérerait, les contraintes et limites imposées par des discours et pratiques (dans notre cas conservato-environnementalistes) ouvrent aussi des possibilités de résistance. Au Canada, la force et la diffusion très large des discours et des pratiques conservato-environnementalistes ouvrent des possibilités d'apparition et d'expansion pour des discours et des pratiques à venir.

Il serait donc possible au *niveau analytique et théorique* de (re)découvrir à travers l'histoire des exemples spécifiques et précis de résistance à la normalisation de « l'environnement » par les discours et pratiques conservato-environnementalistes. Au niveau *normatif et stratégique*, cette (re)découverte d'exemples de résistance pourrait permettre et contribuer à établir les conditions d'apparition et de développement de discours et de pratiques que nous appelons post-conservato-environnementalistes.

Comme nous l'avons déjà vu, l'écologie sociale et l'écologie profonde sont prisonnières des trois rationalités du conservationisme. Il faut donc chercher ailleurs des possibilités de résistance.

Au Canada, les peuples autochtones semblent pouvoir nous offrir une perspective de l'environnement qui se situe parfois en dehors des discours et des pratiques conservato-environnementalistes. Par exemple, l'étude historique des Hurons par l'anthropologue Bruce Trigger révèle l'unité totale entre une nature « enchantée » et les pratiques quotidiennes des Amérindiens.

The Hurons lived in a world in which everything that existed, including man-made things, possessed souls and were immortal. Souls that had the power to influence human beings were called “oki.” These included the spirits that resided in the forests, lakes, rivers, and elsewhere in nature and which could bring good or bad fortune to people in such diverse activities as travel, war, and making love [...].

Observances of a religious nature were associated with every type of Huron activity. When Huron men engaged in these activities, they were careful not to permit the fat from the catch to fall into the fire or the bones to be burned or thrown to the dogs. If this were to happen, the soul of the dead animals would be angered and, in retaliation, living animals would no longer permit themselves to be caught [...]. These rituals illustrate very clearly the difference between the Huron's view of himself as part of nature and the traditional European concept of man as having domination over his environment³³.

Les peuples autochtones nous offrent également des exemples concrets de luttes contemporaines dans le contexte de pratiques conservato-environnementalistes, et ceci dans de nombreux domaines : régime de l'exploitation forestière, minière ou de l'hydro-électricité pour n'en citer que trois³⁴. La majorité des luttes des peuples autochtones utilisent néanmoins le langage du conservato-environnementalisme³⁵. Ceci est partiellement le résultat de considérations stratégiques, mais aussi « d'assimilation » par les discours conservato-environnementalistes.

Malgré les réserves précédentes, ces luttes représentent des résistances à la normalisation conservato-environnementale de l'environnement. Les discours et pratiques des peuples autochtones au Canada occuperaient donc une place privilégiée dans la configuration du champ de pouvoir. C'est cette caractéristique relativement rare³⁶ qui rendrait une étude plus approfondie sur le Canada très intéressante et ceci pour deux raisons : analytique et stratégique. Sur le plan analytique, cela permettrait de vérifier le bien-fondé des considérations théoriques de Michel Foucault. Au niveau stratégique, la (re)découverte de résistances à la normalisation de l'environnement par le conservato-environnementalisme permettrait peut-être de faire apparaître des conditions de nouveaux discours et pratiques post-conservato-environnementalistes que nous appellerons « verts ». D'une manière ironique, c'est l'emprise actuelle du conservato-environnementalisme qui pourrait bien être l'une des causes d'une véritable révolution « verte » au Canada.

Notes

1. « [...] « gouvernementalité » politique [...] manière dont la conduite d'un ensemble d'individus s'est trouvée impliquée, de façon de plus en plus marquée, dans l'exercice du pouvoir souverain. » Michel Foucault, *Résumé des cours, 1970-1982*, Paris, Julliard / Conférence, essais et leçons du Collège de France, 1989, p. 101.
2. Michel Foucault, *L'archéologie du savoir*, Paris, Gallimard, 1986 [1969], p. 61.
3. Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, Paris, Gallimard, 1966; *L'archéologie du savoir; Histoire de la sexualité. Volume 1 : La volonté de savoir*. Paris, Gallimard, 1976.
4. Cette perspective n'est pas nouvelle. Par exemple, déjà en 1919, Georg Lukács, sur les traces de Marx, déclarait :
“Nature” is a societal category. That is to say, whatever is held to be natural at any given stage of social development, however this nature is related to man and whatever from his involvement with it takes, i.e. nature's form, its content, its range and its objectivity are all socially conditioned.
Georg Lukács, « The Changing Function of Historical Materialism », in *History and Class Consciousness*, Londres, Merlin Press, 1971, p. 234.
5. Margaret Atwood, *Survival. A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*. Toronto, Anansi, 1972.
6. Ibid., p. 54 et 59.
7. Principalement des entreprises dans les domaines liés à l'exploitation des ressources

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- naturelles. Voir H.V. Nelles, *The Politics of Development. Forests, Mines and Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario 1849-1941*, Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1974.
8. Voir note n° 1.
 9. Deux articles de Judy Reade m’ont aidé à compléter et à mettre à jour la bibliographie de cette section. Judy Reade, « Canadian Books on the Environment » et « Canadian Newsletters and Periodicals on the Environment », in *Bulletin de l’Association d’études canadiennes*, 12 : 1 (printemps 1990), p. 9-13.
 10. Voir Karen Savage, *A Digest of Environmental Protection Legislation in Canada to January 1, 1977*, Montréal, Canadian Industries Ltd, 1977. Au fédéral : Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, 1970; Canada Shipping Act, 1970; Canada Water Act, 1970; Canada Air Act, 1970-1977; The Fisheries Act, 1970; The National Harbours Board Act, 1970; Oil and Gas Production and Conservation Act, 1970; Pest Control Products Act, 1970; Territorial Lands Act, 1970; Environmental Contaminants Act, 1974-75-76; Ocean Dumping Control Act, 1975; Artic Mining Industry Emission Guidelines, 1976, etc. En Ontario : Public Health Act, 1970 and Environmental Protection Act, 1971. Au Québec : La loi sur la qualité de l’environnement, 1972; la loi sur les réserves écologiques, 1974, la loi sur la protection de la santé publique, 1972, etc.
Voir aussi : Ernest Rovet, *The Canadian Business Guide to Environmental Law*, International Self-Counsel Press, 1988; Terry R. Davis, *Successor Liability for Environmental Damage*, Calgary, Canadian Institute of Resources Law, 1989; Harriet Rueggeberg et Andrew Thompson, *Water Law and Policy Issues in Canada*, Vancouver, Westwater Research Centre, 1984; Paul L.S. Simon, *Hazardous Products : Canada’s Right-to-Know Laws*, Don Mills, Ont., CCH Canadian, 1987; et la revue bimestrielle, *Canadian Environmental Law Report*.
 11. Voir Nicole Duplé (dir.), *Le droit à la qualité de l’environnement : un droit en devenir, un droit à définir*. 5^e conférence internationale de droit constitutionnel, Montréal, Québec/Amérique, 1987 : William Andrews, « The Environment and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms », p. 263-72; Dale Gibson, « Constitutional Entrenchment of Environmental Rights », p. 275-99; François Frechette, « Fédéralisme et protection de l’environnement », p. 337-56; Alexandre Charles Kiss, « Le droit à la qualité de l’environnement : un droit de l’homme ? », p. 67-89.
Voir aussi Donna Tingley, (éd.), *Environmental Protection and the Canadian Constitution : Proceedings of the Canadian Symposium on Jurisdiction and Responsibility for the Environment*, Edmonton, Environmental Law Centre, 1987; John Swaigen (éd.), *Environmental Rights in Canada*, Toronto, Butterworths, 1981.
 12. En fait, il ne s’agit pas de la population en tant que telle, mais plutôt de la seule catégorie sociale qu’une économie marchande reconnaîsse, c'est-à-dire les « consommateurs/rices ». Voir : John Elkington et Julia Hailes, *The Canadian Green Consumer Guide*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1989.
 13. Michel Foucault. *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison*, Paris, Gallimard, 1989 [1975]. [...] pouvoir pastoral [...] il s’agit d’un pouvoir qui individualise en accordant, par un paradoxe essentiel, autant de prise à une seule des brebis qu’au troupeau tout entier. C’est ce type de pouvoir qui a été introduit en Occident par le Christianisme et qui a pris une forme institutionnelle dans le pastoral ecclésiastique.
Foucault, *Résumé des cours 1970-1982*, p. 100.
 14. Peter Weis, *Weeds and Seeds : A Gardeners' Companion*, Ganges, B.C., Horsdal and Schubart Publishers, 1985. Ce livre nous « discipline » dans des techniques de jardinage sans utilisation de produits chimiques !
 15. Philippe Crabbé et Irène Spry (éd.), *Natural Resources Development in Canada*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 1973, p. 331.
 16. Peter Bird et David Rapport, *State of the Environment. Report for Canada*, Ottawa, Ministry

- of the Environment, 1986, p. 3. Voir aussi : William A. Neff, « Development and Environmental Protection : Establishing a Balance » in Duplé (dir.), *Le droit à la qualité de l'environnement*, p. 109-26; Walter E. Block (éd.), *Environmentalists Versus the Economy*, Vancouver, The Fraser Institute, 1986; E.A. Ripley, *The Environmental Impact of Mining in Canada*, Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1982.
17. Peter Harrison et Felix Kwmene, « Coastal Management in Canada », in Bruce Mitchell et W.R. Sewell (éd.), *Canadian Resource Policies : Problems and Prospects*, Toronto, Methuen, 1981, p. 84-108.
 18. Harold D. Foster, « Reducing Disaster Losses : The Management of Environmental Hazards » in Mitchell et Sewell (éd.), *Canadian Resource Policies*, p. 209-32.
 19. Dianne Draper, « Oceans Exploitation : Efficiency and Equity Question in Fisheries Management », ibid., p. 109-50. Voir aussi : Reg Lang (éd.), *Integrated Approaches to Resource Planning and Management*, Calgary, The University of Calgary Press, 1986; *Here to Stay : A Resource Kit on Environmentally Sustainable Development*, Toronto, DEC Book Distribution, 1989; et les revues : *Canadian Environmental Control Newsletter*; *Water Pollution Research Journal of Canada*; *Resilog — An Exchange of Views and Information on Waste Management across Canada*; et *Leaking Underground Storage Tank Newsletter* (!).
 20. Paul Edmond, *Environmental Assessment Law in Canada*, Toronto, Emond-Montgomery Ltd, 1978, p. 5.
 21. Pour plus de détails, voir Brian Tokar, « Exploring the New Ecologies : Social Ecology, Deep Ecology and the Future of Green Political Thought », *Alternatives*, 15 : 4 (1988), p. 31-43.
 22. Fred Knelman, *Anti-Nation : Transition to Sustainability*, Oakville, Ont., Mosaic Press, 1978, p. 149.
 23. Murray Bookchin, *The Ecology of Freedom*, Palo Alto, Calif., Cheshire Books, 1982. « Our world, it would appear, will either undergo revolutionary changes, so far-reaching in character that humanity will totally transform its social relations and its very conception of life, or it will suffer an apocalypse that may well end humanity's tenure on this planet » (p. 18).
 24. Arne Naess, « The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement : A Summary » in *Inquiry : An Interdisciplinary Journal of Philosophy*, 16 (1973), p. 95-100.
 25. Tim Luke, « The Dreams of Deep Ecology » in *Telos*, 76 (Summer 1988), p. 65-92.
 26. Robyn Eckersley, « Marx Faces Muir : The Roots of the Red vs. Green Tension » in *The Trumpeter*, 5 : 2 (Spring 1988), cité par Tokar, « Exploring the New Ecologies », p. 32.
 27. Rationalité de connaissance scientifique, rationalité instrumentale de gestion et rationalité de gouvernementalité.
 28. Murray Bookchin, *Toward an Ecological Society*, Montréal, Black Rose Books, 1980, p. 272.
 29. Ibid. « Ecology [...] provides the basis, both socially and biologically, for a devastating critique of hierarchical society as a whole » [souligné par moi].
 30. Ibid.
 31. Luke, « The Dreams of Deep Ecology », p. 85.
 32. Ibid., p. 81.
 33. Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic. A History of Huron People to 1660*, Montréal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987 [1976], p. 76.
 34. James B. Waldram, *As Long as the Rivers Run : Hydroelectric Development and Native Communities in Western Canada*, Winnipeg, University of Manitoba Press, 1988; Bruce W. Hodgins et Jamie Benidickson, *The Temagami Experience : Recreation, Resources, and Aboriginal Rights in the Northern Ontario Wilderness*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1989; Miles Goldstick, *Wollaston : People Resisting Genocide*, Montréal, Black Rose Books, 1987; Christopher Vecsey et Robert W. Venables (éd.), *American Indian Environments* :

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Ecological Issues in Native American History, Syracuse, N.Y., Syracuse University Press, 1980.

35. Par exemple, les Algonkins de Barrière Lake parlent de *Alienation Through Conflicting Uses of the Traditional Lands of the Algonquins of Barriere Lake*, (préparé par Rebecca Aird pour « The Barriere Lake Council »), 1989, 8 p., et de *Quebec's New Forestry Policy : Its Implications for the Algonquins of Barriere Lake and for Nature and Wildlife Conservation in Quebec*, (préparé et mis à jour par Rebecca Aird) 1989, 30 p. Voir aussi M. Boldt, « Philosophy, Politics, and Extra Legal Action : Native Indian Leaders in Canada », *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 4 : 2 (1981), p. 205-21.
36. Le Brésil est un autre exemple évident.

Articulating Ecotopia

Abstract

Joel Garreau uses the title of Ernest Callenbach's 1975 novel Ecotopia to label a cross-border region stretching from just north of Los Angeles to Homer, Alaska. "Ecotopia means home place, but the more obvious meaning lies in the contraction of Ecological Utopia." Examining poetry and novels from both Canada and the United States, in a culture which nurtured both the Sierra Club and Greenpeace, reveals the persistence of the ecotopian motif in the Pacific Northwest. To study Canadian culture on the West Coast requires sensitivity to the interdependencies implicit in the concept of ecosystem, and, therefore, necessitates crossing both disciplinary lines and national boundaries.

Résumé

Joel Garreau emprunte à Ernest Callenbach le titre de son roman Ecotopia (1975) pour décrire une région transfrontalière qui va du nord de Los Angeles jusqu'à Homer, en Alaska. « Écotopie signifie chez-soi, mais son sens le plus évident réside dans la contraction des termes écologie et utopie ». L'examen des œuvres poétiques et romanesques du Canada et des États-Unis, dans une culture qui a donné naissance aussi bien au Club Sierra qu'au mouvement Greenpeace, révèle la persistance du thème écotoptique dans le Nord-Ouest du Pacifique. L'étude de la culture canadienne de la côte Ouest exige d'être sensible aux interdépendances inhérentes au concept d'écosystème et, par suite, de franchir les frontières tant disciplinaires que nationales.

What attracted you to this year's Association for Canadian Studies meeting? The lure of a million of the electric-pink rhododendron blossoms used as this year's Learned Societies logo? In the pre-conference brochure, Tourism Victoria assured you that the city has "twenty major parks, . . . an abundance of gardens, and magnificent views of the Olympic mountains," all "complemented by the most temperate climate in Canada." Also, less predictably, it offered "nearby forests with trees over 600 years old." Promises of "recreational paradises" are conventional in tourist promotion, but 600-year-old trees grow more local roots. On the North Pacific slope, history is written not in dates and forts, but in sustained biological processes. The monuments are not buildings but trees. A garden bordered by 600-year-old trees typifies the rhetoric of Ecotopia, the Canadian-American region of which Victoria is a capital.

No writer has so extensively developed the idea of North America's cross-border regions as has Joel Garreau. His *The Nine Nations of North America* (1981) is pop cultural geography, "a kind of private craziness," which defines nine "entities that are much more than parishes and provinces," yet "limited to an understandable concept for each one — a concept that relies on a certain intuitive, subjective sense of the loyalties that unify it." "What's special about the Pacific Northwest," according to journalist Garreau,

is the number of otherwise ordinary middle-class suburban homeowners, major party politicians, and even captains of industry there who seem to be prepared to walk [the] paths of ["alternative ways of life"]. And not consider it remarkable. (Garreau, p. 250)¹

He labels this nation Ecotopia. Its boundaries run from Point Conception, north of Los Angeles, to Homer, Alaska, in a coastal strip defined by the mountain ranges which cause the plentiful rain:

The name Ecotopia for the nation of the Pacific Northwest comes from the title of a melodramatic, but nonetheless brilliant, 1975 novel by Ernest Callenbach. . . . Taken back to its Greek roots, Ecotopia means home place, but the more obvious meaning lies in the contraction of Ecological Utopia, which, in the novel, is precisely what the Northwesterners proceed to build, after sealing off their borders to the insidious influences of the rest of the continent. (Garreau, p. 250)

A complex linking of ecology, home place, and utopia constructs British Columbia in writing as it surely does the states of Oregon and Washington. In nature writing broadly considered, the interconnections seem stronger than the

differences evidently marked by the 49th parallel (south of which Victoria, of course, is situated).

A student of Canadian culture — certainly one on the West Coast — had better think of a bioregion as well as a political entity, since the dictates of environmental intradependency have strongly shaped that culture.² Evidently, to study these entities in literature we need to study the interaction of forces and dependencies which are, in universities, usually hived off into separate disciplines. The thematic direction of ecotopian writing is summarized by Jack Hodgins' discussion of *The West Coast Experience*:

Those who deal with landscape/seascape are concerned with more than just the famous beauty of the environment, and with more than its threatening presence; more often they write with a sense of guilt or sorrow for the rapacious manner in which it has been treated, and with a concern for its safety. (Hodgins, 1976, p. 1)

Lost trees especially, grieve — or anger — Northwest writers: Seattle poet David Wagoner sends this “Report from a Forest Logged by the Weyerhaeuser Company”:

Selective logging, they say, we'll take three miles,
It's good for the bears and deer, they say,
More brush and berries sooner or later,
We're thinking about the future — if you're in it
With us, they say. It's a comfort to say

Like *Dividend* or *Forest Management* or *Keep Out*.
(Wagoner, 1976, p. 224)

But even a B.C. businessman, in Bertrand Sinclair's novel of high finance *The Inverted Pyramid* (1924), shares the complaint:

“...logging in B.C. today is an orgy of waste. They're skimming the cream of the forest, spilling half of it. Kicking the milkpail over now and then, refusing to feed the cow they milk.” (Sinclair, p. 97)

Obviously, the predominantly male myth of an extractive economy based on infinite natural resources has a strong hold in Northwest culture (think of the sequence of gold rushes).³ But ecotopia's favourite theme is to counter that tradition and oppose its consequences.

The enthusiasm for the environment in 1990 — among politicians, market analysts and conference organizers — obscures the history and pervasiveness

of the ecotopian vision in the Pacific Northwest. Two of the world's most effective conservation groups had their beginnings in Ecotopia. In 1892, John Muir founded the Sierra Club in San Francisco (Wolfe, [1945] 1978, p. 254). The Greenpeace movement was initiated in Vancouver in 1970, the impetus coming, according to founder Robert Hunter, from the environment itself:

British Columbians . . . had the advantage of living in a lush, rich, under-populated region where the natural environment had not yet been altered beyond recognition or repair. It was this characteristic of B.C. that had attracted so many refugees from Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New York, and other urban American "sinks." Unlike the natives, who took British Columbia's natural state for granted, the newly arrived Americans were determined to preserve "Beautiful B.C." from the kind of industrialization that had already destroyed so much of their homeland. (Hunter, 1979, pp. 9-10)

Moreover, even Captain Vancouver's explorations, although they resulted in charts and maps which guided so much European mistreatment of the land, enabled biologist Archibald Menzies' parallel documentation of the region's flora. And behind almost all writing of the Pacific slope lies a sustained and searching interest in the aboriginal people's relationship to nature. Not surprisingly, on *Greenpeace's* voyage to try to halt the Amchitka nuclear test, Robert Hunter took a "pamphlet . . . of North American Indian prophecies and myths," where he found the myth of the Warriors of the Rainbow, who "would spread the great Indian teaching . . . to bring an end to the destruction and desecration of sacred Earth" (Hunter, p. 28).

One important literary version of this almost inevitable impulse in Northwest writing is David Wagoner's *Who Shall Be the Sun? Poems Based on the Lore, Legends and Myths of Northwest Coast and Plateau Indians* (1978). Typically, his primary motivation for retelling Indian stories in a "form that [a contemporary reader] could use" (O'Connell, 1987, p. 52) is the native people's ethic of sharing the planet with everything "organic and inorganic" (Wagoner, p. viii):

There were all kinds of holy places. They moved with respect in the natural world, partly because it was peopled by what they called "the first people." When they [the first people] learned that Indians were coming, they were transformed from their original shapes into rocks, stones, trees. You didn't know which of these were the first people. The rock you picked up might be a holy rock and you didn't know what powers it might have. (O'Connell, 1987, pp. 53-4)

In his retellings of native story, such transformations are inevitable and casual, as in this excerpt from a courtship narrative:

Loon said, *You may wear my skin.* And he wore it.
 His eyes and his beak were copper, around his neck
 A ring of copper. He dove into the water
 And fished all night for Trout. In the cold morning
 He went as himself and laid it at her doorway.
 (Wagoner, 1978, p. 86)

This passage represents one key aspect of the poetics of ecotopia: the unadorned and truncated syntax (“Loon said” “And he wore it”), and the commonplace verbs (“dove,” “fished,” “went”) which mark as ordinary what would be read as fantastic and bizarre in European culture. To paraphrase Wagoner’s introduction to the book, we recognize with awe that we share the planet as equals with loon and trout and copper (Wagoner, 1978, p. viii)⁴. Such interdependence implies my argument for Canadian studies: the ecological model makes it still more urgent that the *multidisciplinarity* of the field must also be *interdisciplinarity*. My introduction has already mentioned four disciplinary lines which must be crossed — among economics, literary studies, biology and anthropology. And as ecological studies are rooted in bioregion, Canadianists cannot stop their investigation at an international boundary.

To amplify, let me speculate on the poetics of ecotopia in three domains — form, style, and setting.⁵ In form, the key principle is *proprioception*, advanced by the Black Mountain School, and fostered on Canada’s West Coast in the 1960s by the *TISH*-movement. The term is itself physiological and refers to receptors within the body which respond to stimuli produced within the body. To the poet, the fundamentals of ecology are implied: a reciprocal interaction of stimuli and responses within an interdependent closed system. The poem, like the natural world, in the view of Fred Wah, is an infinite series of interrelationships among living things each in itself a process. The emphasis on one’s own special, particular interaction with the world (not *about* place but *among* the multiple connections of place) might be expressed in such lines as:

And we just stood there
 in the Forest
 look
 at everything around us
 looking
 surrounding
 (Wah, 1972, p. 18)

The unexpected imperative (or noun?) “look” shifts attention from object seen to the reciprocity between observed and observer, written and writer.

Proprioceptive writers respond to the moment-by-moment stimuli of the external world at the instant of perception, and simultaneously to their reaction, *while they are writing*, to the language they are using, to the way the language affects perception of nature and of the language itself. In the book from which Wah's poem comes, the poetics of interdependence are reinforced by the physical make-up of the book: text, in green typeface, overlays lighter green photographs of trees which change from page to page (themselves, of course, made from the forest).

Gary Snyder, raised in Seattle and Portland, promotes a similar ecologically responsive form south of the border, and probably has more to do than any other recent writer with urging a cross-border vision of the Northwest. He claims the individual must be linked with flora and fauna:

every person should be the product of a specific place, like a coho salmon or a rhododendron bush, and then something in their work will reflect that. . . . The only oneness that's interesting is the oneness of a mosaic of diversities, which is the nature of the ecosystem as well. (O'Connell, 1987, p. 320-1)

Snyder's phrasing may sound "Canadian" to the readers of this publication. Recall, for example, Leslie Armour's analysis of the philosophical underpinnings of the Canadian state, in which he contemplates the "Canadian relation to nature":

George Blewett, perhaps our most distinguished native born philosopher . . . even thought the earth had a right to respect for forms of being unlike us . . . the Thomist tradition like the Hegelian tends toward the dissolution of the subject-object dichotomy in the social sphere.

Thus we have the basics of a Canadian world view that emphasizes community, reason, and our collective relation to nature. The alternative view which sees man as individual, experience as immediate and independent of reason, and nature as something mainly to be *used* requires a different view of knowledge. (Armour, 1981, p. 117)

Of course, many commentators believe this dichotomy delineates a fundamental difference in the concept of Canada and of the United States. I am arguing that, although the dominance of the frontier thesis in American thinking reinforces such a dichotomy, when it comes to the territory I have been calling Ecotopia, and which Snyder and others term the "natural nation" of Cascadia (O'Connell, 1987, p. 317), the distinction breaks down. The history of a strong environmental movement in the American Northwest perhaps originates in the

logic of the end of westward movement: when there is no further West, no further territory to open up and exploit, then imperialism and territorial ambition perhaps wither, to be replaced by a concern for the place at hand, the only place left. Perhaps, then, a dominant U.S. ideology shifts closer to George Blewett's conviction.

The same impulse for a form emphasizing the intimate reciprocity of people and organisms in place permeates the visual arts in the Pacific Northwest. Again, Gary Snyder makes a key point about the ecological radical:

What is Northwest Coast art? It's cedar, the most beautiful wood that grows naturally everywhere around here, carved. And what is carved? Ravens, salmon, beavers, sculpins — all the beings who live in Ish country. And what are the masks? The masks are the animals and some of the creatures from dreams. And so the songs and the masks and the dances and the carvings made out of the prime material of the region are all a perfect expression of what the region is. Now that's what art does, when it's doing its job right. There's truly a spiritual exchange then between the physical ecology and the mental ecology of the people. (O'Connell, 1987, p. 321)

This last sentence could easily be a description of the quintessential artist of ecotopia, Emily Carr. "It must be lovely," she wrote, no doubt with her Native friends in mind, "to be a creature and go with the elements, not repelling and fearing them, but growing along through them" (Carr, 1966, p. 241). Her aesthetic depends on a continuously dynamic symbiosis in nature: "Nothing stands alone; each is only a part. A picture must be a portrayal of relationships" (Carr, p. 54). This sense of the energy of the interconnections carries through to her colour scheme: "Try working in complementaries; run some reds in to your greens, some yellow into your purples. Red-green, blue-orange, yellow-purple" (Carr, p. 95).

On the other side of the border, the trace of Asian, particularly Zen, influence which touches Carr's intimacy with nature, emerges centrally in the aesthetic of the school of painting known as the Northwest School. In the work of Morris Graves, for example, we still detect the abstract spiritual animals of cedar masks, but the use of a random oriental calligraphy as background/overlay becomes essential to the ecological vision. As one critic describes the painting, *Dove of the Inner Eye*:

When we allow our eyes to follow their natural inclination to trace the linear path of "white writing," the painting offers us a succession of glimpses: a serpent and a barely perceptible bird,

woven into a unifying web of lines that metaphorically may appear interchangeably as sound, rock, water, and winds. (Kass, 1983, p. 40)

Graves' evocation of easy metamorphoses from bird to rock to wind remembers the animism of totem poles and dance masks. His forms, like the traces of narrative which may be detected in Wah (particularly in *Pictograms from the Interior of B.C.*, 1975), seem to find inspiration in the anthropological enterprise. The outline of the biography of Franz Boas, who was born in Germany and lived mainly in New York, suggests a primary Northwest narrative: Boas rushes from one Native settlement to another in crowded, intensive field trips to record native myth and custom and remove artefacts; gradually he learns to be more patient, to reflect on what he has gathered and to take time to listen to a complete repertoire of stories (Maud, 1982, p. 50-4). But as Ralph Maud explains, Boas was seldom able to fuse in his reports "scientific" objectivity with his personal reactions and accounts of performance. Much of Northwest writing since Boas — in anthropology, and in fiction and poetry — has been an attempt to write the interdependence of observer, performer, and performed. George Bowering's *Burning Water* (1980) and Ivan Doig's *Winter Brothers* (1980) are excellent recent examples. Such works should be read and studied together, not, as now happens, in separate contexts on opposite sides of the border.

The other primary narrative in the Northwest follows the sequence of the spirit quest. So frequently does this story-line appear, that it is common to dismiss such work as Gary Snyder's with the term "white shamanism." I am not about to deny either the superficiality or the insensitivity of much armchair shamanism, but I certainly recognize in many writers' interest in the spirit quest a rich and engaging narrative central to the poetics of ecotopia. In the vision quest, young people, fasting and alone with nature, seek to encounter their "spirit." The questers become, as Robin Ridington says, "practicing ethologists, able to understand the behaviour and communications of animals" (Maud, 1982, p. 189, note 29). In that shift from anthropocentric to ecocentric understanding lies the resolution of numerous Northwest fictions, such as, to name a very few, Matt Cohen's *Wooden Hunters* (1975), Keith Maillard's *Two Strand River* (1976), and Don Berry's *Trask* (1960).

This consideration of the "tradition" of the narratives of anthropological study and Native customs of initiation, also raises questions of language. How is the ecological vision conveyed in particulars of style? This question has too many answers (one for each artist?) to answer here. But I would begin to answer it by considering the fundamental principle of ecology to be a complex and infinite interdependence, and considering how such an ecological principle emerges in the infinite interdependence of language.

Style begins in names themselves, and as Kim Stafford has so eloquently put it, the Northwest writer seeks a new primary connection to place through names:

The Kwakiutl people of the northwest coast had a habit in their naming. For them, a name was a story. We say "Vancouver," naming an island for a captain; we say "Victoria," naming a village for a queen. For them, a place name would not be something that is, but something that happens. They called one patch of ocean "Where Salmon Gather." They called one bend in the river "Insufficient Canoe." (Stafford, 1986, p. 3)

Reminding us that the natives took their own names, which might change several times during their lives, and their clan names from the creatures and events in nature, Stafford makes a simple statement of ecological naming: "If the Kwakiutl habits of naming were childlike, naive, they were also utterly mature. Their language shows connections where we have made separations" (Stafford, p. 5).

Naming the Northwest in English has often been an attempt to use a language that shows connections rather than separations. Marissa Brightcloud is a central character in the novel which gives us the name Ecotopia (Callenbach, 1975, p. 50). Another well known example is Emily Carr's adopting the name Klee Wyck (and also Small) for her autobiography. A more extended naming of place is found in that crucial Northwest novel, H.L. Davis' *Honey in the Horn* (1935). When Davis wants to mark a change in place, in his setting, he frequently does it not by place name, nor by mapping co-ordinates, but by a triplet or quartet of plant names characteristic of the new place. Chapter 22 opens by describing the sound of a place through three plants: "The grass country was quiet, because there were only service berry and scrub juniper bushes to catch the wind and the bunch grass cushioned the earth against sound" (Davis, p. 461). New country is different vegetation, all tied together with "and"s: "There was no marshy ground except close to the streams, and though all the slopes were one solid thatch of stiff salal and deer-brush and balm-bush and mountain-laurel, the wild game and half-wild cattle had made trails through it everywhere" (Davis, p. 259). Thus he emphasizes the profoundly local knowledge which is essential to an understanding of, survival in, and respect for the network of natural relations. And, as in Kim Stafford's suggestion, place is not limited by a human claim to possession, but by continuously evolving processes tying living things together.

Another stylistic strategy mimics the principle of proliferation (Alcorn, 1978, G-8) which is central to nature. Tom Robbins gives us a fine example with this (excerpt from a longer) passage on Northwest rain:

Rain poured for days, unceasing. Flooding occurred. The wells filled with reptiles. The basements filled with fossils. Mossy-haired lunatics roamed the dripping peninsulas. Moisture gleamed on the beak of Raven. Ancient shamans, rained from their homes in dead tree trunks, clacked their clamshell teeth in the drowned doorways of forests. Rain hissed on the Freeway. It hissed at the prows of fishing boats. It ate the old warpaths, spilled the huckleberries, ran in the ditches. Soaking. Spreading. Penetrating.

And it rained an omen. And it rained a poison. And it rained a pigment. And it rained a seizure. (Robbins, 1972, p. 108)

By such proliferation, animating an aspect of weather, associating it with ancient history, native myth (the shamanistic quest is evoked again), and technological achievement, burlesquing a familiar formula (It rained . . . cats and dogs?) to discover new meanings in his verbs, Robbins suggests a continual flow and exchange of energy between plant and animal, living and non-living, concrete and abstract. Despite its short sentences, the incremental repetition in this passage offers another style of environmental interdependence.

In Robbins' endless rain, land becomes indistinguishable from water. In this idea, ecotopia finds the characteristic setting which might sum up its poetics. As in Ursula Le Guin's *Always Coming Home* (1985), the setting is not beginning or end, origin or extinction; it is all river, and middle, and flow, and transition. The salmon people live by and through the salmon's magnificent life cycle from fresh to salt water and back to fresh—and share its spectacular fight to die in its home (eco-) place as it gives birth to its successor: their story is central to the form of much Northwest writing (cf. its importance in Hubert Evans' *Mist on the River*, 1954). Ecopian writing prefers this zone of transition: *The Intertidal Life* (1984) of Audrey Thomas' title, or the more spectacular *tsunami* zone of Jack Hodgins' *The Resurrection of Joseph Bourne* (1979). The great river of Ken Kesey's encyclopedic Northwest novel *Sometimes a Great Notion* (1964) is a tidal zone, which flows both ways. In Daphne Marlatt's *Steveston* (1974), the site of ecotopia is neither mountain peak nor sea, but delta, and tidal estuary, and shifting shore, where the flow of language and form answers to the Native cultures whose home this was, and may be again. These are yet other examples of an exchange between physical ecology and the mental ecology of a people. To study them we need to explore the interchangeability of disciplines across international boundaries.

Notes

1. See Heinz Tsachler's analysis of Callenbach's narrative forms, "Despotic Reason in Arcadia? Ernest Callenbach's Ecological Utopias," *Science-Fiction Studies* 11:3, (November 1984), 304-17.

2. For a useful overview of major environmental issues in the American West, see John Opie, "Environmental History in the West" in Gerald D. Nash and Richard W. Etulain (eds), *The Twentieth-Century West: Historical Interpretations*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 209-32. Opie describes the emergence of the subdiscipline of environmental history, and includes a brief section on cross-border issues.
3. For an overview of the culture's obsession with exploiting natural resources, see Martin Robin's two-volume history, *The Rush for Spoils: The Company Province 1871-1933* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1972) and *Pillars of Profit: The Company Province 1934-1972* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1973).
4. See Jarold Ramsey "'The Hunter Who Had an Elk for a Guardian Spirit' and the Ecological Imagination" in Brian Swann (ed.), *Smoothing the Ground: Essays in Native American Oral Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983). Ramsey, while taking account of much fashionable sentimentalizing of the Native people's environmental wisdom, revealingly analyzes the way a single story imagines the human relationship to the biosphere.
5. The pioneering study of the intersection of literary form and ecology is Joseph W. Meeker, *The Comedy of Survival: Studies in Literary Ecology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974). Meeker argues that "comedy [unlike tragedy] and ecology are systems designed to accommodate necessity and to encourage acceptance of it" (pp. 30-1).

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L'idéologie émergente dans l'exploitation écologique des forêts du Québec

Résumé

D'une façon générale, l'action humaine est basée sur l'ideologie, sur l'intérêt personnel ou de groupe, mais aussi sur la réalité. L'importance accordée à chacune de ces trois motivations détermine les résultats de l'action. Appliquée à la gestion de la forêt québécoise, cette grille d'analyse peut permettre de se donner une vision assez réaliste de ce qui nous attend par rapport à cette ressource que l'on commence à percevoir comme étant des plus importantes tant d'un point de vue social qu'économique. Une courte présentation montre l'état actuel (réalité) de la forêt québécoise. Le texte s'attarde ensuite aux discours (ideologie) officiel, écologique et « expérimenté » sur cette forêt; il est possible de se rendre compte que l'intérêt (ou les intérêts en cause) ne permettent pas souvent à ces discours de se réaliser. La conclusion se veut réaliste, certains diront pessimiste; ne faut-il pas tenter de voir la réalité en face ?

Abstract

Generally speaking, human action is based on ideology and personal or group interest, but it is also based on reality. The importance granted to each one of these motivations determines the result of action. When applied to the management of Quebec forests, this analytical grid provides a fairly realistic picture of what we can expect from a resource we are beginning to consider of major social and economic importance. A brief introduction discusses the actual state (reality) of Quebec forests. The text then examines the official, ecological and "experienced" discourses (ideology) concerning these forests, and points out that the interest (or interests) at stake do not often allow these discourses to come to fruition. The conclusion endeavours to be realistic, some might even say pessimistic; but should we not try to face reality?

Introduction

D'une façon générale, l'action humaine est basée sur l'*idéologie*, sur l'*intérêt* personnel ou de groupe, mais aussi sur la *réalité*. L'importance accordée à chacune de ces trois motivations détermine les résultats de l'action.

Appliquée à la gestion de la forêt québécoise, cette grille d'analyse (Perreault, 1984)¹ peut permettre de se donner une vision assez réaliste de ce qui nous attend par rapport à cette ressource que l'on commence à percevoir comme étant des plus importantes tant d'un point de vue social qu'économique.

Une courte présentation montrera l'état actuel (*réalité*) de la forêt québécoise. Le texte s'attardera ensuite aux discours (*idéologie*) officiel, écologique et « expérimenté » sur cette forêt; il sera possible de se rendre compte que l'intérêt (ou les intérêts en cause) ne permettent pas souvent à ces discours de se réaliser. La conclusion se voudra réaliste, certains diront pessimiste; ne faut-il pas tenter de voir la *réalité* en face ? Cette étude s'appuie principalement sur des articles et ouvrages récents.

État de la situation actuelle

Les informations ne manquent pas sur l'état actuel de nos ressources forestières : effet néfaste des coupes à blanc, capacité démesurée des moyens de récolte du bois, ignorance volontaire des meilleures méthodes d'exploitation, rupture de stocks. Donald Mackay² est probablement celui qui a le mieux exposé l'état lamentable de nos forêts et de ce qui nous attend. « Si nous exploitons [nos forêts] à la façon d'une mine comme dans les 150 dernières années, ses produits contribueront de moins en moins à l'économie et nous perdrons notre rang de premier pays producteur de bois »³. Le Québec ne fait pas particulièrement figure d'innovateur dans ce domaine, comme nous le verrons plus loin.

Le discours officiel

Le discours officiel est presque toujours basé sur la nécessité de la rentabilité (*intérêt*) avant tout et sur l'*idéologie*. Il est d'une très grande efficacité pour faire croire qu'à l'avenir, le gouvernement prendra les moyens nécessaires afin de corriger la situation.

Dès 1922, le gouvernement du Québec exige des compagnies exploitant « dans des régions encore intactes » d'exposer « les méthodes envisagées, leur plan de travail sur lequel statuerait le Service forestier ». Mackay ajoute : « Quelques compagnies seulement se plieront à ces exigences »⁴. Cette première tentative

de rationalisation de la part du gouvernement sera suivie de plusieurs autres. La dernière en date est la création d'une Société de protection des forêts contre les insectes et les maladies (SOPFIM). Le conseil d'administration est essentiellement constitué de représentants du gouvernement et de l'industrie forestière⁵, ce qui démontre la volonté du gouvernement de tenir la population loin des centres de décisions concernant la forêt.

Le nouveau régime forestier, adopté en décembre 1986 (loi 150 instituant un nouveau régime forestier) et en vigueur depuis le 1er avril 1987, veut traduire « notre souci d'une saine gestion de nos forêts » affirmait récemment le ministre Albert Côté⁶. Comme cette politique est mal connue, il demande « que l'on revoie notre politique de communications ». Pourtant, rien n'assure actuellement que les contrats d'approvisionnement et d'aménagement forestiers (CAAF) qui devraient maintenir le rendement soutenu seront efficaces. Cette loi, comme celles qui l'ont précédée, semble être une fuite en avant. Il est plus utile de la faire connaître que de la faire respecter. C'est de la poudre aux yeux. Les plantations que l'on dit suffisantes pour remplacer le nombre d'arbres coupés sont déjà remises en question : pour 1991, le ministère de l'Énergie et des Ressources (MER) avait prévu produire 73 millions de plants; il n'en produira que 50 millions et favorisera la forêt publique plutôt que la forêt privée au rendement bien supérieur⁷. Cette politique de renouveau porte ses fruits cependant : même René Dumont et Gilles Boileau, dans un volume publié en 1990, semblent s'y laisser prendre : ils décrivent comme étant de l'histoire ancienne, une gestion pourtant bien actuelle « le capital forestier du Québec a été un peu considéré comme une réserve illimitée, que l'on exploitait comme le fait d'une mine, sans trop se soucier de son renouvellement, du maintien de la production⁸. »

Ces auteurs continuent : « D'où la loi de 1986 qui oblige les entreprises forestières à réaliser les travaux nécessaires pour maintenir un niveau suffisant de repousse : notamment par le reboisement, et par des méthodes de coupes moins brutales, qui favorisent la repousse. On a décidé que, pour chaque arbre coupé, un autre devrait pousser⁹. » On voit ici toute la force de l'idéologie exprimée qui prend les mots pour les faits, la *réalité*, et qui arrive à convaincre. Pourtant, même si l'on considère la capacité de régénération à 18 millions de m³ annuellement, les contrats signés entre le Québec et les utilisateurs atteignent 26 millions de mètres cubes¹⁰. On pourrait faire le même raisonnement avec les industries forestières polluantes et ravageuses. L'Association des industries forestières du Québec (AIFQ) ne cache pas que les CAAF ne règlent pas tous les problèmes¹¹. Elle veut cependant, elle aussi, redorer son image, face à une « hostilité traditionnelle des environmentalistes » qui conduit, selon elle, à des « préjugés populaires », des « idées fausses »¹².

La déclaration récente de Adam Zimmerman (p.d.g. de Noranda Forest Inc.) est peut-être la meilleure preuve que, encore aujourd'hui, l'intérêt demeure

principal objectif des groupes forestiers. Dans le cas des projets environnementaux obligés, Zimmerman croit que « in most cases is beyond what the operation is able to sustain from generated cash flow » et s'en prend à Greenpeace « qui n'est pas Dieu »¹³.

Ainsi, même si des actions concrètes arrivent à voir le jour sous la pression populaire, le discours officiel du gouvernement et des industries vise d'abord à donner une bonne image.

Si les forêts sont vues d'abord comme source de production de matière ligneuse, elles n'ont pas de valeur en elles-mêmes. Leur destruction n'est pas souhaitable car elle crée le chômage et la pauvreté. Ce genre de raisonnement pousse les autorités à agir. Mais comme ces autorités ne pensent qu'à court terme, elles arrivent mal à réaliser un développement durable, même si elles laissent croire à leur capacité d'y arriver.

Le discours écologique

Jusqu'ici, l'abondance de la forêt québécoise et l'adaptation de l'industrie aux arbres récoltés de plus en plus petits a permis au Québec de s'en tirer, malgré le discours souvent catastrophique des environnementalistes.

Selon Marcel Lortie, professeur à l'École de foresterie de l'Université Laval, ce sont les forestiers, depuis le milieu du XIX^e siècle, qui « ont annoncé des pénuries prochaines de matière ligneuse au Canada »¹⁴. L'accessibilité des forêts du Nord et l'utilisation de nouvelles essences ont retardé l'échéance de ces pénuries. Ce n'est qu'à partir de 1970 que la menace fut prise au sérieux et, avec la publication récente de l'ouvrage de Mackay, une vision plus globale de la réalité devient possible. La vraie forêt n'est plus, on parle maintenant surtout de matière ligneuse.

Au discours intéressé et souvent local des gouvernements et des industries s'oppose le discours plus global des écologistes. Rendement accru ou soutenu, utilisation polyvalente des forêts, entretien de la forêt et coupe d'arbres sélectionnés, régénération naturelle et plantation massive, importance de la forêt pour la qualité de vie sur la terre, autant de discours, d'*idéologies* qui se veulent basées sur la *réalité* et non seulement sur les *intérêts* personnels ou de groupe à court terme. *L'homme qui plantait des arbres* de Jean Giono, si bien mis en valeur par le film de Frédéric Back, peut inciter des individus à reboiser, mais la solution globale ne peut venir seulement d'actions désintéressées et individuelles.

Une vision plus globale commence à circuler. C'est à toute la terre qu'il faut penser, pour l'avenir de nos descendants, pour protéger le patrimoine. Au

Québec, ce sont d'abord les Amérindiens qui apportent cette vision globale comme on le voit dans le texte suivant de Richard Kistabish, président du Conseil Algonquin de l'Ouest du Québec en 1989 :

En parlant du Nord, on parle en fait de notre mère la terre... Le minimum à connaître c'est que pour nous, la Terre, c'est notre maman, c'est la source de la vie. [. . .]

Nous allons examiner un peu ce qui est arrivé ici, en territoire algonquin, depuis environ un siècle. [. . .]

D'abord, des gens se sont présentés pour couper les cheveux de notre maman, ses arbres, qui sont aussi ses poumons. [. . .] Et aujourd'hui, ça continue même si notre mère montre des signes évidents de fatigue. [. . .] Elle devient maintenant chauve par plaques¹⁵.

Pour Richard Kistabish ce n'est pas là du folklore. Aux blancs, il propose des solutions concrètes :

Nous ne voulons pas arrêter ce que vous appelez votre progrès. Nous vous proposons d'utiliser nos yeux et notre sagesse pour comprendre ce qui arrive ici et d'employer de l'énergie à guérir notre mère plutôt que de l'enfoncer encore plus vers le désespoir et la mort¹⁶.

Ce discours a été qualifié de poétique; voilà une bonne façon de ne pas le prendre au sérieux.

George E. Sioui, dans un ouvrage publié en 1989, rappelle à son tour la nécessité pour l'homme blanc d'écouter la sagesse amérindienne : « De façon plus concrète, tous les Amérindiens font référence à la terre comme à leur mère, composée comme eux d'un corps, d'une intelligence et d'un esprit »¹⁷. Pour une mentalité qui accorde de l'importance à tous les êtres vivants, Sioui nous propose aussi l'exemple amérindien :

Ce qui fait la force singulière de la philosophie amérindienne est la capacité de toutes les nations amérindiennes de s'entendre quant à l'idée de l'unité et de la dignité de tous les êtres. L'Amérindien, lorsqu'il se recueille pour prier, adresse une salutation à tout l'univers¹⁸.

Ces idées ont également cours ailleurs dans le monde. Selon le sociologue français Edgar Morin, les sciences de la Terre ont fait leur jonction dans les années 60. Ces sciences ont compris « que la Terre constituait un système complexe, animé par des mouvements et transformations multiples ». Il

devient donc possible de « concevoir la Terre comme un être vivant [...] dans le sens auto-organisateur et autorégulateur d'un être qui se forme et se transforme tout en maintenant son identité » selon l'« hypothèse Gaïa » (la Terre) de James Lovelock¹⁹.

Edgar Morin explique aussi la nécessité de penser au niveau planétaire :

Dans ce sens, nous sommes encore dans l'Age de fer de l'ère planétaire. Pour le meilleur et pour le pire, tout ce qui advient dans une partie du globe a une portée planétaire. De plus en plus, tout devenir local est en inter-rétroaction dans et avec le contexte global²⁰.

Ainsi, l'*idéologie* écologique tend vers un discours planétaire où tout est interrelié et basé sur le respect de toute vie. La réalité devient donc globale. Quant à l'action locale, celle qu'il faut mettre en oeuvre, elle sera maintenant mieux perçue par le discours « expérimenté », le discours de ceux qui ont étudié la forêt.

Le discours « expérimenté »

Comment traiter la forêt pour qu'elle réponde à toutes les attentes ? D'autres pays, en particulier la Suède, sont cités comme modèles à suivre pour non seulement maintenir mais augmenter la production de matière ligneuse. D'après ces modèles étrangers, il faudrait planter davantage, augmenter la superficie, cultiver la forêt, changer les méthodes de cueillette, etc.

Le cours *Gérer sa forêt* (1987) de la Faculté de foresterie et de géodésie de l'Université Laval, préparé en collaboration avec de nombreux partenaires, s'adressait d'abord aux propriétaires de lots boisés au Québec. L'objectif était d'abord de rentabiliser la propriété privée en répondant davantage aux besoins du marché. Rien n'indique dans ce cours que la forêt publique ait besoin des mêmes soins²¹. Plus récemment, des producteurs agricoles pressaient le gouvernement d'autoriser la propriété privée de fermes forestières. Ici encore, l'objectif est, à long terme, la rentabilité.

L'expérience et l'étude semblent à la base de toutes ces recommandations. Des individus, amoureux de la forêt, commencent aussi à s'exprimer après de longues années comme praticiens et chercheurs. Les observations et expériences de Léonard Otis et Gilles Lemieux seront citées ici comme exemples de discours expérimentés.

Dans *Une forêt pour vivre* (1989), Léonard Otis déplore qu'actuellement encore, la forêt ne serve qu'à l'exploitation irrationnelle des matières premières

au profit d'étrangers et au détriment des populations locales avec la collaboration de l'État québécois²².

Lui-même sylviculteur, Léonard Otis montre bien par son exemple que le Québec doit investir pour préparer les forêts à produire davantage et être rentables à long terme. La forêt devrait être morcelée en fermes forestières aménagées intensivement par des propriétaires privés qui sauraient trouver des méthodes de coupes après lesquelles il ne serait pas toujours nécessaire de reboiser. Le jardinage de la forêt qu'Otis préconise assure un renouvellement constant et une production toujours croissante²³.

En attendant que ça [la privatisation des forêts] change, c'est la dépendance. Cette dépendance semble voulue par nos gouvernements pour que la région reste une région-ressources où l'on vient chercher sans retour ses ressources naturelles et ressources humaines, nous confinant dans le rôle d'éleveur de main-d'œuvre pour les grands centres²⁴.

Gilles Lemieux, professeur au Département des sciences forestières de l'Université Laval, est également un ardent défenseur de la propriété privée pour favoriser une bonne gestion de la forêt québécoise en voie de disparition. Au colloque « L'Homme et la Forêt » tenu à l'Université de Dijon en 1986, Lemieux affirmait :

Ainsi pensons-nous que la forêt publique située entre le 45^e et le 50^e parallèle devrait être *privatisée* dans les plus brefs délais et uniquement dans le *cadre de la cellule familiale* à l'exclusion totale des grandes industries. Ces dernières ont démontré une *certaine* efficacité dans la transformation et le commerce des produits forestiers sur tous les marchés. Mais, après un siècle, elles ont également montré leur inaptitude à gérer la forêt sur la base d'un rendement équilibré et soutenu²⁵.

Lemieux, avec d'autres chercheurs, fait aussi la promotion du bois raméal fragmenté (BRF), cette immense source d'engrais pour l'agriculture et la forêt constituée de « déchets forestiers », branches, cimes des arbres, dont on ne savait quoi faire jusqu'à maintenant. Des expériences menées depuis 1983 démontrent toutes les possibilités que l'on pourrait tirer de ces résidus de coupe. Le recyclage de ces 50 millions de tonnes pourrait servir à « reconditionner les sols agricoles dégradés par l'abus de produits chimiques » estime le Groupe de coordination sur les bois rameaux²⁶. Gilles Lemieux estime « qu'il faudra attendre une vingtaine d'années, avant de voir les bois rameaux fragmentés utilisés de façon intensive sur les terres arables du Québec »²⁷.

Pendant ce temps, le ministère de l'Énergie et des Ressources du Québec décroche un prix d'innovation technologique pour le lance-flamme « Terratorche » qui « permet de brûler en toute sécurité les déchets de coupe amassés sur les sites d'ébranchage »²⁸.

Pour nos dirigeants, les idées les plus prometteuses, même scientifiquement éprouvées, ne font pas encore le poids avec les technologies destructrices, même si aujourd'hui l'environnement prend tellement d'importance pour la population.

Conclusion

Pour changer le faux système humain, il faut aussi changer l'individu. . . les mêmes individus formeraient éternellement les mêmes Sociétés²⁹.

Tous les sondages montrent, depuis quelques années, que la population québécoise et canadienne est prête à faire le nécessaire pour sauvegarder et améliorer son environnement³⁰.

On peut conclure à partir de cet exposé que le discours officiel, même s'il récupère de plus en plus le discours écologique, reste attaché à la rentabilité à court terme, l'*idéologie* exprimée ne se traduisant guère en action concrète. Le monde fermé de l'État-industrie ne montre pas encore qu'il veut vraiment impliquer la population dans le développement des ressources forestières.

Le discours écologique utilise aussi souvent le thème de la rentabilité, mais à plus long terme, en associant parfois d'autres utilisations qui affectent la qualité de vie que peut apporter une forêt à usages multiples et intégrés.

Plus récemment, une vision globale montrant les effets sur la Terre entière de nos modes de gestion a commencé à se répandre. Qualifiée encore de « poétique », cette vision semble pourtant la seule qui tienne vraiment compte de la *réalité* des faits; elle est également la plus prometteuse pour conserver et améliorer le patrimoine à laisser à nos enfants.

Enfin, des discours venant de praticiens et de chercheurs qui ont expérimenté des alternatives tendent à montrer qu'il faut repenser complètement le mode de propriété et envisager la récupération de millions de tonnes de résidus pour favoriser la vie. Ces chercheurs ont d'ailleurs adopté comme leitmotiv ce dicton africain : « La fertilité du sol dépend de l'arbre ».

Vision globale, développement intégré, implication des citoyens et changement de mentalité de la part des décideurs me semblent faire partie de l'idéologie émergente pour l'exploitation écologique des forêts au Québec.

Notes

1. Guy Perreault, *Exposé d'une grille d'analyse et de décision : l'idéologie, l'intérêt personnel et la réalité des faits*, (Rouyn-Noranda), Université de Montréal, août 1984, 52 p., non-publié. Par idéologie, il faut entendre tout ce qui est croyance. Parfois, elle peut se rapprocher de la réalité, rarement y coincider, souvent en être totalement séparée. Le discours fait partie de l'idéologie telle qu'entendue ici.
L'intérêt personnel ou de groupe comprend tout ce qui peut favoriser un individu ou un groupe au détriment d'un autre individu ou groupe.
La réalité des faits, c'est ce qui est réellement, fondamentalement. De la Garanderie (*Pédagogie de l'intelligence*, Paris, Centurion, 1990) rappelle les croyances de Platon dans le *Cratyle* : « il est clair que les choses ont par elles-mêmes un certain état permanent, qui n'est ni relatif à nous ni dépendant de nous ». Contrairement à l'idéologie, pourrions-nous ajouter.
2. Donald Mackay, *Un patrimoine en péril. La crise des forêts canadiennes*. Québec, Les publications du Québec, 1987. Traduction approuvée par le ministère de l'Energie et des Ressources du Québec de : *Heritage Lost : the crisis in Canada's forests*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1985. L'édition française est préfacée par Marcel Lortie.
3. Ibid., p. 263.
4. Ibid., p. 92.
5. Québec (P.C), « Québec crée une société pour protéger les forêts », *Le Devoir*, 18 avril 1990, p. 4.
6. Albert Côté, « La politique forestière du Québec est mal connue », *Le Devoir*, 20 janvier 1990, p. A9.
7. Victor Larivière, « Plus de 3000 producteurs de bois devant l'Assemblée nationale », *La Terre de Chez-nous*, 10 mai 1990, p. 3.
8. René Dumont et Gilles Boileau, *La contrainte ou la mort*, Montréal, Méridien, Environnement, 1990, p. 124.
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11. Ghyslain Loiselle, « L'Association des industries forestières fait le point », *La Frontière*, 27 février 1990, p. 14.
12. Camille Beaulieu, « Forêt : Faire table rase des préjugés », *La Frontière*, 20 février 1990, p. 33.
13. Adèle Weder, « Forest firms see red over the green wave », *Financial Times of Canada*, 7 mai 1990, p. 9.
14. Marcel Lortie dans la Préface de l'ouvrage de Mackay, *Un patrimoine en péril*, p. viii.
15. Richard Kistabish, « Kiwetan », dans L.-E. Hamelin et M. Potvin (éd.), *L'avenir du Nord québécois*, Québec, Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1989, p. 235.
16. Ibid., p. 237.
17. Georges E. Sioui, *Pour une autohistoire amérindienne*, Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1989, p. 20.
18. Ibid., p. 33.
19. Edgar Morin, « Pour une nouvelle conscience planétaire », *Le Monde diplomatique*, n° 427, 36^e année, (octobre 1989), p. 19.
20. Ibid.
21. Faculté de foresterie et de géodésie, « Gérer sa forêt », publié dans *La Terre de Chez-nous*, du 27 août au 24 décembre 1987.
22. Léonard Otis, *Une forêt pour vivre*, Rimouski, GRIDEQ, témoignages et analyses, Université du Québec à Rimouski, 1989, 124 p.
23. Victor Larivière, « Léonard Otis, un gars qui en dérange certains », *La Terre de Chez-nous*, 26 avril 1990, p. 29.

24. Otis, *Une forêt pour vivre*, p. 95.
25. Gilles Lemieux, « La cellule familiale et la propriété forestière : le patrimoine du présent et de l'avenir », *L'économie du Centre-Est*, Université de Bourgogne, 1987, 29^e année, n° 1, p. 97.
26. Edgar Guay, Lionel Lachance, Aban Lapointe et Gilles Lemieux, *Dix ans de travaux sur le recyclage biologique du bois raméal*, Québec, MER et Faculté de foresterie de l'Université Laval, 1987. (Texte préparé pour le « Carrefour de la recherche forestière. »)
27. Régys Caron, « Engrais à base de broussailles. Une idée neuve qui fait peur », *La Terre de Chez-nous*, 28 janvier 1988, p. 14.
28. Gilles Drouin, « La forêt à l'heure de l'innovation technologique », *Québec-Science*, (juin 1989), p. 9.
29. Andres Médiavilla, *La lutte pour le système par l'amour révolutionnaire*, 1976, cité par Michel Odent, *Genèse de l'homme écologique*, Paris, Épi, 1979, p. 49.
30. « [...] lorsqu'ils ont à choisir, les Canadiens considèrent désormais la qualité de la vie plus importante que la quantité des biens de consommation, la sauvegarde de l'environnement, plus désirable que l'expansion économique à tout prix, la santé préférable à la poursuite du matérialisme. » Lucien Bouchard, (5 oct. 1989), « Environnement et développement durable : pour jalonner la voie de l'avenir », *Bulletin de l'AEC*, 12 : 1 (printemps 1990), p. 31.

The Political Ecology of Globalism: Canada in the World System

Abstract

A conceptual treatment is offered that places the political economy approach to Canadian society within a global perspective. Particular attention is called to the growing process of globalization that links the internal workings of Canadian society to outside forces of sociopolitical influence. Globalization is compatible with an ecological paradigm that recognizes the salience of interconnectedness and interdependence within the world ecopolitical system. To better understand Canada's role within the system we need to place Canada in a global ecological paradigm that reveals the presence of that ecopolitical system in the particularities of Canadian political economy. By adopting a global problématique we may critically assess the meaning of "thinking globally and acting locally" to see how Canadians think or act beyond local perspectives and determinants. To be sure, ideologies of globalism are involved in the emerging world ecopolitical system. Two ideologies can be distinguished generally: (1) heroic or utopian and (2) dialectical or conflictual. One unfortunate result of heroic globalism has been to assume that the emerging global paradigm in international affairs is felicitous and coincides with a new planetary consciousness that will transform human relations outside of ecopolitical realities. To assume so is to court disaster and to depoliticize the emerging world system conceptually, when in reality it is never possible to remove the political from mental or physical ecology since conflict is endemic to the human condition. Forms of domination in human societies will continue to play a central role in the emerging world system and their effect is pandemic in persistent and growing world crises, not the least of which is environmental destruction at the purely natural and physical level of the planetary ecosystem. It is Canada's unique role as a nation of resource wealth that has led to its dilemma in the political economy of continental North America: it remains a perennial frontier to those at home and elsewhere

pursuing the industrial ideology of capitalism who look forward to greater integration into a globalism that perpetuates conflicts of ecopolitical domination producing widespread human suffering.

Résumé

L'auteur propose un traitement conceptuel qui situe l'économie politique de la société canadienne dans une perspective planétaire. Une attention particulière est accordée au processus de mondialisation qui rend le fonctionnement interne de la société canadienne de plus en plus tributaire des forces et des influences socio-politiques extérieures. La mondialisation est compatible avec un paradigme écologique qui reconnaît l'importance des interconnexions et interdépendances au sein du système écopolitique mondial. Pour mieux comprendre le rôle du Canada dans ce système, nous devons situer le Canada dans un paradigme écologique mondial qui révèle la présence de ce système écopolitique dans les particularités de l'économie politique canadienne. En adoptant une problématique mondiale nous pouvons faire une évaluation critique du sens de « politique mondiale et action locale », pour voir comment les Canadiens pensent ou agissent au-delà des perspectives et des déterminants locaux. Il est indéniable que les idéologies mondialisantes interviennent dans le système écopolitique mondial qui est en train de se dessiner. On peut généralement distinguer deux idéologies : (1) héroïque ou utopiste et (2) dialectique ou conflictuelle. L'un des résultats regrettables du mondialisme héroïque est de présumer que le paradigme mondial qui ressort des affaires internationales est heureux et coïncide avec une nouvelle prise de conscience planétaire qui va transformer les relations humaines en dehors des réalités écopolitiques. Croire cela, c'est aller au-devant de la catastrophe, et c'est aussi dépolitiser, sur le plan conceptuel, ce système mondial en émergence, alors qu'il n'est en réalité jamais possible de séparer l'écologie politique de l'écologie intellectuelle ou de l'écologie physique, puisque le conflit est inhérent à la condition humaine. Différentes formes de domination sociale continueront de jouer un rôle central dans le système mondial en émergence, et leurs effets sont pandémiques dans les crises mondiales persistantes et croissantes, dont la destruction de l'environnement au niveau purement physique et naturel de l'écosystème planétaire n'est certainement pas la moindre. C'est sa situation unique de pays riche en ressources qui a mené le Canada au dilemme suivant dans l'économie politique du continent nord-américain : il demeure une « frontière » perpétuelle pour ceux qui, au Canada et ailleurs, embrassent l'idéologie industrielle du capitalisme et souhaitent s'intégrer davantage dans un système mondial qui perpétue les conflits de domination écopolitique, sources de considérables souffrances humaines.

Globalism and the Global Problématique¹

How do twenty-six million Canadians see themselves as belonging to one self-contained society and territory? I want to argue that, because outside forces are becoming stronger all the time, to fully comprehend their significance and know who we are, we must examine Canadian society in a global perspective that includes both our society and the larger global forces in the same analysis. I want to call particular attention to a growing process of globalization of institutions and human relations and to how they link up with external structures and outside forces of influence. To see ourselves properly then, we need to address the impact of globalization on our lives. The framework of analysis for this kind of understanding must be ecological in a worldwide sense. We need to know much more to create a theory of global ecology in order to see ourselves better locally.

There is a contradictory element at work here, a hidden dialectic that sets up an opposition between local and global interests. The currently fashionable slogan “think globally, act locally” contains a contradiction which is unfortunately glossed over too frequently, and which I will comment upon later. Integrating or articulating local with global realities is a key problem in developing a theory of global ecology.

We need to achieve a clearer understanding of globalization impacts that are, to say the least, perplexing to the average Canadian. The idea of global ecology must be raised to a new height of intellectual awareness. To borrow a term from Elise Boulding,² we need to develop a sensitivity to studying the *global problématique*, which must include what I will call *ideologies of globalism*. At the same time, we should also consider the idea of “ecological literacy” in its broadest possible meaning, going beyond, but including the science of physical ecology,³ to encompass the *dimensions of a global political economy*. This kind of literacy goes beyond “ecological ethics”⁴ to encompass a political consciousness about the accelerating global ecology processes now endemic to the planet. To be optimistic, I would say that the development of a political ecology has the potential of liberating us from the more oppressive forms of globalism that threaten to undermine the ecological balance of society and nature. I hope to promote a debate about various globalisms⁵ in order to see and save ourselves on the largest human scale of planetary participation and politics.

In framing this larger dialogue we need to consider globalism as both a sociohistorical process and an ideological development. It seems helpful at the outset to pose two ideological dimensions to globalism: *heroics* and *dialectics*. Much has been written that verges on the heroic with a decidedly utopian vision of planetary unity.⁶ A full understanding of global ecology needs to temper heroic thinking with the more disturbing dialectics of the world political economy. Not to do so would be to ignore the false promise of industrialism and

the invasive global marketplace ideology of world capitalism. To eradicate world hunger is a truly heroic task, but how could it be accomplished without confronting the contending forces of the politics of food⁷ in a world economy that allows the majority of the world to go hungry? It is in this dialectical context that one sees precisely the contradiction within the now popular idea of sustainable growth (read development) in contemporary world industrialism, especially its dominant capitalistic sector, as it attempts to become ecologically minded (green) while pursuing further development (and greed). It is against this larger global background of struggle that our national fate may be better analyzed.

Canada and a Global Ecological Paradigm

As Canadians, to see ourselves is a national pastime or even a cultural pathology. No need for me to remind those of you teaching about Canada or calling yourselves “Canadianists” how crucial the issue of Canadian identity is for the sociohistorical study of Canadian society. Many volumes have been written on the major cleavages in our culture.⁸ And much has also been written on the unique relationship Canada has had with the United States, especially in the very Canadian mode of analysis known as the political economy approach,⁹ an area dear to me because of its critical stance on such things as the colonial mentality, branch plant economy, cultural subordination, dependency status, and resource exportation we have long experienced. I ask you to keep in mind how much these self-critical concerns and their realities are inward looking and how much they are linked to larger global contexts.

In our ongoing search for who we are as Canadians and for solutions to wider problems of ecological survival, we need a global ecology paradigm that locates us within a larger world system. I also want to stress the overriding importance of what the modern ecological movement has done to our way of thinking to help us find solutions to the sociopolitical dilemmas of our time.¹⁰

A global ecology perspective provides the basis, I believe, to make the link between seeing ourselves and saving ourselves: seeing requires a dialectical perspective, saving involves heroic visions. How can this link be made so as to include the necessary changes of political economy within the vision of a unified world order? On the heroic side, can we build new forms of human relationship and identification with others outside the confines of economically narrow and competitive self interests that promote the global domination of foreign capital and privileged elites at the expense of local interests? An ecological perspective can be inclusive of a common humanity within a common ecosphere in which human rights are universal interests.

A change in consciousness about the unity of humanity may well be taking place paradigmatically, as Willis Harman contends in his theory of world-system change.¹¹ I am prepared to believe that we are undergoing this change in order to save ourselves as a species in the face of massive threats to our planetary survival: the compounding crises of poverty, hunger, war, nuclear war risk, and environmental destruction. However, I am less prepared to believe we can succeed so heroically without grounding our analysis in the facts of the world political economy.

Heroics is about the conscious goal to save the ecosphere; dialectics is about the struggle for power, the forms of social domination that necessarily arise out of people's struggles to legitimize or delegitimize political control. These struggles enter into ecospheric mismanagement and conflict and sometimes lead to radical change. A global ecological paradigm includes the complex processes of political decision making and ideological struggles by powerful groups that are stakeholders in the world economy, i.e. governments, investment firms, financial institutions, multinational corporations, etc., and their critics, forms of opposition, organized alternatives, co-opted parties, and powerless victims.

At this point I want to expand the ideas of a political ecological paradigm¹² and indicate its relevance for the globalization process now well under way. To begin, I want to borrow the term "global ecopolitics" from Dennis Pirages' seminal thoughts on the origins of ecopolitics.¹³ Pirages specifies three basic principles of ecology: (a) populations and interactions, (b) populations and resources, (c) the global population explosion.¹⁴ To expand on (b) and (c):

(b) Resources are in limited quantity to sustain human populations. The amount of resource space available limits the carrying capacity of any specific territory. This introduces the concept of *natural carrying capacity*. Humans use trade and technology to enhance the natural carrying capacity of their habitats.

(c) World population grows exponentially, doubles rapidly, at present every thirty-five or so years. There is a close relationship between levels of industrial development and population growth rates. In 1970, there were 1.1 billion people (30% of world's population) in industrial countries and 2.6 billion (70%) in less developed countries. A population shift of great ecopolitical impact will occur by the year 2020 at present growth rates: only 1.6 billion will live in the industrial world (11%) while 12.7 billion (89%) will be in the less developed world. As Pirages states, at this point in time "the political and economic pressures rising from the resource demands of this population will shape the content of the emerging ecopolitical paradigm."¹⁵

In a previous analysis of globalization¹⁶ I referred to the “global imperative,” by which I meant the increasing globalization and interconnectedness of cultural, political and economic systems to the point where local or national realities cannot be properly understood in isolation from global connections. As Walker and Mendlovitz state, new forces have emerged

that seem to be remaking the world in unforeseen ways. New technologies . . . have the capacity to fundamentally alter the nature of human interaction. With the increasingly capital-intensive nature of modern production processes and the global flexibility of capital flows, economic life is being transformed more rapidly than most economists, let alone ordinary citizens, can properly comprehend. . . .

The key issue here is not so much the capacity of existing authorities to manage these things, but that they can occur as global rather than territorial phenomena. If there is little doubt that the state will continue to be the primary political formation for a long time to come, there is also little doubt that some of the most important forces in the modern world occur on a global scale. . . . In a world in which political life is monopolized by the state yet many of the most important forces that affect people’s lives are effectively beyond state control, it is reasonable to expect a search for new categories of political analysis, new forms of social community, new forms of group identity.¹⁷

To be able to see ourselves in this global perspective, with the entire world as the context of our understanding, requires a new ecological paradigm that shifts our attention from a state-centric world of nation-states to a transnational concept of world order, despite the hold nation states still have politically with their tenacious state anarchy in the international arena.¹⁸ To add to the complexity of the political picture, consider also the conflicts within nation-states between nationalities of culturally distinct ethnic/tribal groups whose territorial claims are challenges to state authorities who may not recognize the legitimacy of aboriginal or indigenous peoples’ rights.¹⁹ In Canada, native people join forces with aboriginal people elsewhere in the Fourth World in their similar struggles for political self-determination and liberation from dominant groups sharing the same global industrial model of hinterland development. Here the globalism of the Fourth World is not ideologically the same as the globalism of the First World.

The Canadian Political Economy and Ecopolitics

As far as the political ecology of the world economy is concerned a very persistent question for Canadians will be: where does Canada fit into the

changing global marketplace? According to Boyce Richardson, in his new book *Time For Change*,²⁰ Canada remains a dependent colony, a theme that has received much attention for at least two decades, with roots in the much earlier thesis by Harold Innis that staples are the key to understanding the Canadian political economy in its reliance on resource extraction industries.²¹ The latest expression of this dilemma may be seen in the controversy over the impact of the Free Trade Agreement, the full damage of which is, I believe, yet to come.²² Boyce sees the unavoidable globalization process and points out Canada's economic vulnerabilities and dependence on other economies:

In the last years of the 20th century Canadians find they must confront a global economy that has been transformed beyond recognition in only a couple of decades. . . .

Canada is trying to find its place in this bewildering new economy, where high technologies have become the key to economic growth and prosperity, resource extraction is a dead-end, and agriculture is a mighty question mark.²³

My purpose here in linking the global marketplace to Canadian economic problems is to indicate that in the area of economics we quickly grasp the import of the ecological idea of interconnectedness, and see it manifested in our daily material existence and in the idea of "cheap labour." Low cost labour increases profit margins in the global assembly lines that have been growing rapidly in many Third World countries like the Philippines and Mexico. How many Canadians realize that most of the electronic products that they consume are made in those countries by intensive labour pools of very poorly paid women between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five? This kind of political ecological literacy conveys information about women in the world order, their global proletarianization, and their exploitation at the hands of distant global forces. As consumers, how do Canadians participate in this kind of globalism? Locally it is experienced as unemployment, but globally it contributes to female exploitation in the Third World.

A major contribution of the widely circulated Brundtland Report²⁴ was the concept of "sustainable development." This term has become a buzzword as well as a stumbling block because it appears to contradict itself by equating development with growth and, while the report offers a challenge to the industrial ideology of limitless progress and growth, it does not offer a way out of the internal contradictions of that ideological position. Some very insightful critiques of the report have been made, such as the editorial "Whose Common Future?" in *The Ecologist*²⁵ and the articles in *Teaching Peace* by F.H. Knelman, "The Brundtland Report: A Critical Assessment" and "Environmental Issues: Debate on Growth, Development, and Conservation."²⁶

Pirages describes the impending revolution we may face at the end of our century “as the world’s rapidly growing human population encounters environmental limits to growth on a global scale.” New perceptions and rules of behaviour in international relations have already been set into motion by global ecopolitics, which involves

the use of environmental issues, control over natural resources, scarcity arguments, and related concerns of social justice to overturn the international political hierarchy and related system of rules established during the period of industrial expansion. . . . The consensus that bound existing international alliances together in the industrial world is also changing as alliance concerns shift from military matters to economic issues and the problem of maintaining cheap access to the commodities that are the essential building blocks of industrial societies.²⁷

Citing Harman, Pirages describes the dominant social paradigm (or dominant world view) of industrial societies that is unable to resolve anomalies without a system change. Harman defines *four such anomalies*: (1) the growth dilemma (we need growth but are unable to take the consequences), (2) the control dilemma (we need to exert more control over technology but reject centralized control), (3) the distribution dilemma (rich nations and individuals do not want the expense of sharing wealth with the poor but not to do so courts disaster), and (4) the work roles dilemma (society can’t keep up with the expectations of youth for new work roles). According to Harman, this is the logic of new scarcity: not simple shortages, but planetary limits to growth, a property of the global ecosystem itself.²⁸

It is clear to me that these dilemmas are rooted in political economic conditions and must be addressed as such within a dialectical framework. *To assume that a global mind change in itself will bring about the resolution of the dilemmas is to depoliticize the issues.*

Where the environmentalist movement is concerned, for example, the “greening” of industrial interests must always be subordinated to corporate control of the market: ecological commodities and measures must be profitable. The potential for co-optation of the ecological movement within industrial society is very great. Can heroic globalism be oblivious to economic interests that are by definition opposed to challenging the dominant world view of progress and development? It should not be underestimated to what extent modern industrial capitalism has globalized its values associated with free enterprise, competition, and private property — always in the context of necessary labour exploitation, capital accumulation and profit motives, and consequent class formations and distinctions. A mere glance at Third World societies and the

extent of human suffering produced by structural violence²⁹ linked to militarization and environmental destruction so prevalent in them reveals the kinds of globalisms at work.

The relevance of dependency theory, so popular two decades ago, still applies despite recent criticisms to the contrary. World capitalism as a global economic system and its industrial ideology has clearly played a major role in the “development of underdevelopment,” as Andre Frank cogently argued in 1966.³⁰ That is to say, the globalism of capitalism has had a profound negative impact on sociocultural and ecological realities around the world, not the least of which is an entrenched underdevelopment for Third World peoples, notable especially now in the form of astronomical Third World debt, as Susan George has brilliantly pointed out in her radical analysis, *A Fate Worse Than Debt*.³¹

The Emerging World System and Ideologies of Globalism

Silviu Brucan, a Rumanian political scientist, observes that we are going through a period of transition “from the international state system to the emerging world system.”³² He hypothesizes on the establishment of a world authority:

I submit that neither the convergence in time of global problems, nor the commonality of their nature and scope are accidental. Although they seem to be products of a chaotic amalgamation of factors, processes, and phenomena, there is a certain logic in their appearance, manifestations, and magnitude. I think they actually inform us about something fundamental taking place in the very system of international relations: the emergence of the world system.³³

In the emerging world system, the dialectics of a newly formed global political ecology is reflected in our language about world stratification: North/South, Third World, East/West, Fourth World or Indigenous First Peoples. Geopolitics overlaps with ecopolitics in singling out the dominant role of nation-states, continentalism, regions, spheres of influence, and other territorial units which remain part of the old way of thinking about the international world. Ecopolitics tries to break out of the confining paradigm of conventional international politics associated with geopolitical territorial references by shifting the focus to the global ecosystem.

Ecological practitioners like Jonathan Porritt would quickly point out the failures of the industrial model of progress, capitalist or socialist, in the Third World.³⁴ Porritt:

Year by year the figures reveal that the developed world takes far more out of the Third World than it puts in, largely in terms of repatriated profits on foreign investment. It is impossible for us to maintain our levels of affluence without a massive appropriation of Third World resources. . . .

. . . Far from alleviating the worst manifestations of poverty, the sort of foreign investment generated by contemporary industrialism merely aggravates them. If anywhere, the wealth of the Third World trickles down to us rather than to its own people, though most of it goes to building up privileged elites within each Third World country and swelling the vast profits of the multinational corporations.³⁵

Will the built-in biases of old international political thinking dissolve away in the new parameters of globalization? This will certainly not happen easily, despite the optimism and idealism of those who foresee a global mind change looming ahead. The hegemony of Western global economic forces and its ideology of globalism will continue to justify doctrines of development. Canada is linked up today with the new postindustrial forces of the Pacific Rim, which includes the Far Eastern success stories of world capitalism, with Japan as the model and perhaps a new centre of gravity in the world system. The newly industrializing countries of the Far East and their very rapid rate of growth have led critics like Nigel Harris to predict the end of the Third World,³⁶ while other critics like James Laxer see the superpowers in economic and social decline.³⁷ All of these global changes are bound to force us to reassess the role of capitalism in the world economy, but only in a redistributive sense, as old centres of power decline and new peripheries are created. What is Canada's future in the global restructuring now taking place?

We know that the *dominant world view*³⁸ of modern industrial society has certainly provided massive ideological justification for the spread of industrial capitalism to the rest of the world, altering it radically, displacing it culturally, and dominating it economically. The proponents of the 1950s' convergence theory of modernization (*à la* W.W. Rostow)³⁹ that see the rest of the world modelling itself after the American economic system, will be looking at the dramatic changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe with that ideological bias in mind. Take for example the current political transformation of Eastern Europe and the reformation (some say collapse) of socialism as a political system. Whatever endemic forces have brought about these changes, they are being heralded by some North American and Western European analysts as the "triumph of capitalism" over socialism in a world system sense.⁴⁰

Regardless of such assertions, these events have already changed our perception of East/West relations, as expressed in rethinking the scope and purpose of military defence policies, such as in NATO, for example. In the political

ecology of North American continental defence, Canada may now be able to acquire more autonomy than was possible during the Cold War polarization years, but an obstacle remains in the Canadian political economy being so closely tied to the U.S. defence trade relation agreements (Defence Production Sharing Arrangements or DPSA).⁴¹

The Dialectics of the Localist/Globalist Problématique

Finally, we need to put into proper perspective the role of individuals and local interests in the globalization process. Here we can expect to encounter forces of opposition of considerable significance. What is considered necessary in a globalist outlook may be disregarded or rejected by local interests. The two are by no means well harmonized. In a penetrating look at the dialectics of this problem, Alger and Mendlovitz examine grass-roots initiatives and the linkages to globalization.⁴² They discuss the disjunction between the global and local:

Despite the transformational potential of the widely used phrase — “think globally, act locally” — it has often become a trite shibboleth. Indoctrinated by the ideology of the state system, most people still accept the notion that matters beyond the state border will be taken care of by small élites that have been specially trained and authorized to attend to “foreign affairs.” . . .

Particularly regrettable has been the degree to which those espousing global transformation have failed to provide roles for local activists in their visions of the future. . . . It is unfortunate that globalists and localists working on the same problems — whether it be poverty, social justice, ecology, or violence — tend to work in isolation of each other. . . .⁴³

The authors offer revealing findings on the local/global problématique: (1) regarding isolation, state boundaries are a real barrier between the localists and globalists; localists' discussion of issues did not show awareness of how local issues are affected by world systems; nor did they see the limitations of confining their interest to the boundaries of their countries, (2) the emphasis on decentralization interfered with global outlooks, (3) globalists on the other hand were out of touch with local perspectives and communities by focusing on dialogue with other globalists, (4) globalists tended to separate their personal lives from their global transformation prescriptions and seemed more fragmented compared to local activists who were more integrated in their community roles, (5) there was a “strong tradition of the invention of global futures” to globalists and a lack of same among localists, (6) globalists welcomed new institutions and approaches that tended to require centralization, while localists emphasized decentralization.⁴⁴

Although both outlooks share a criticism of the performance of state governments in correcting problems, and to this extent share an anti-statist sentiment, there are conflicts over top versus bottom points of departure. Localists may disparage the globalists as premature without first achieving grass-roots changes at the bottom; globalists tend to believe local changes are futile so long as state and corporate structures control world systems at the top.⁴⁵

Alger and Mendlovitz cite Manuel Castells cross-cultural analysis of urban movements, *The City and the Grass Roots*,⁴⁶ which emphasizes problems of bridging the local/global gap. According to Castells, urban movements confront overwhelming external forces in the world economic system and nation-states:

To handle satisfactorily the production and delivery of public goods and services, . . . [it is necessary] to be able to reorganize the relationship between production, consumption, and circulation. And this task is beyond any local community in a technologically sophisticated economy that is increasingly organized on a world scale. . . .⁴⁷

Alger and Mendlovitz argue that there are a number of reasons why localists explicitly avoid global issues. First, there is the principle of "building local communities first" before meaningful action can take place. Second, there is the importance of empowerment as a lesson in self-organization for broader action possibilities later. Third, there is a commitment to help ordinary, poor people directly and actively rather than focus on remote populations. Fourth, if global issues are added to the already overloaded agenda, local interests would suffer. A critical issue that must be confronted by globalists is the suspicion of local activists. When have globalists consulted with localists about designing alternative futures? If they are excluded, no dialogue is created and local and global issues, which of course are often enough linked, are left detached and disarticulated.⁴⁸

To conclude, the sooner we are able to translate global issues into local ones, the more our awareness of the globalization process will develop ecopolitically. Examining ideologies of globalism and adopting an ecological paradigm are necessary steps towards a new understanding of the dialectical process of historical change. Hopefully, we can then be more effective in reaching our heroic visions of a more just world.⁴⁹

Notes

1. This is a revised version of the paper presented at the Association for Canadian Studies Annual Conference, May 31-June 1, 1990, University of Victoria, under the title "Global

- Education and Ecological Literacy.”
2. Elise Boulding, “Retrospective: The Symposium as Mid-Point in a Two-Hundred Year Present,” in John Trent and Paul Lamy (eds), *Global Crises and the Social Sciences: North American Perspectives* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1984), 141-51. See also, pp. 3-6 of the same volume.
 3. A good review of the principles of physical ecology and their history is Robert McIntosh, *The Background of Ecology: Concept and Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
 4. For a discussion on the applications of ecological ethics to teaching biology, see Abour Cherif, “Ecological Ethics and School Education: Alternative Approach,” prepared for *Science in 2000—Catalyst '90 Conference*, Simon Fraser University, April 27-8, 1990; see also Cherif, “Mutualism: The Forgotten Concept in Teaching Science,” *The American Biology Teacher*, 52:4 (April 1990).
 5. Among the more recent studies on globalization are: Trent and Lamy (eds), *Global Crises and the Social Sciences*; Ernst-Otto Czempiel and James Rosenau (eds), *Global Changes and Theoretical Challenges: Approaches to World Politics for the 1990s* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1989); E. Gondolf et al. (eds), *The Global Economy: Divergent Perspectives on Economic Change* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1986); Peter Russell, *The Global Brain* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1982); David Orr and Marvin Soroos (eds), *The Global Predicament: Ecological Perspectives on World Order* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979); and Burns Weston (ed.), *Toward Nuclear Disarmament and Global Security: A Search for Alternatives* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1984). Also relevant is Lester Brown et al., *State of the World, 1990* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1990).
 6. On the heroic character of global crises management studies and conferences, see Trent and Lamy (eds), *Global Crises and the Social Sciences*.
 7. On the politics of food, see John Warnock, *The Politics of Hunger: The Global Food System* (Toronto: Methuen, 1987).
 8. See the recent interdisciplinary volume of readings by Eli Mandel (ed.), *A Passion for Identity* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson, 1987).
 9. For concise summaries of the political economy approach to Canadian studies, see William Carroll, “The Political Economy of Canada” in James Curtis and Lorne Tepperman (eds), *Understanding Canadian Society* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd, 1988), 129-58; Wallace Clement, “The Labour Process” in Curtis and Tepperman (eds), 161-82; Clement, “Canadian Political Economy,” in M. Michael Rosenberg et al., *An Introduction to Sociology* (Toronto: Methuen, 1983), 375-400. The bibliographies in these texts provide numerous definitive works on the subject. See also, Dimitrios Roussopoulos (ed.), *The Political Economy of the State: Quebec/Canada/U.S.A.* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1973).
 10. A leading thinker that has contributed to finding such solutions via an ecological paradigm is Murray Bookchin. See his *Remaking Society* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1990); *The Ecology of Freedom* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1990); along similar lines, see Dimitrios Roussopoulos, *Green Politics: Agenda for a Free Society* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1990).
 11. Harman, *Global Mind Change* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Knowledge Systems Inc., 1988).
 12. R.E. Dunlap states:

This emerging “ecological paradigm” provides a new image of human societies, for it entails recognition that despite their possession of exceptional characteristics humans are not immune to ecological constraints and cannot evade ecological laws. Adherence to this paradigm leads one to view human beings as members of a finite global ecosystem, their existence ultimately dependent upon the continued stability of the system.

Dunlap points out human dominance by means of technology "threatens the continued stability of the ecosystem upon which our existence depends." See "Paradigmatic Change in Social Sciences," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 24 (1980), 8. Clearly, the operation of technological development cannot be properly understood outside a political economic framework of analysis.

13. Pirages, "The Origins of Ecopolitics," in Richard Falk et al., *Toward a Just World Order* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1982).
14. Ibid., 449-59.
15. Ibid., 457.
16. M. Speier, "The Development of a New Field of Study: Peace and World Order Studies in Global Perspective," paper presented at the Forum on Peace Education, 23rd Annual Meeting of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, June 4-7, 1988, Windsor, Ontario.
17. R.B.J. Walker and Saul Mendlovitz, "Peace, Politics, and Contemporary Social Movements," in Mendlovitz and Walker (eds), *Towards a Just World Peace* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1987), 7.
18. Among the more impressive recent works on the role of the nation-state in international conflict is Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence* (Volume 2 of *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*) (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1987).
19. See the special issue of *Teaching Peace*, 11 (Fall 1989) on human rights in the Third and Fourth Worlds. Also see, George Manuel and Michael Posluns, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan, 1974). For a major piece on Fourth World conflicts, see Bernard Nietschmann, "Third World War: The Global Conflict Over the Rights of Indigenous Nations," *Cultural Survival Quarterly* (September 1987).
20. Richardson, *Time for Change: Canada's Place in a World in Crisis* (Toronto: Summerhill Press, 1990).
21. Among the notable treatments of the so-called "staple thesis", see Mel Watkins, "A Staple Theory of Economic Growth," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* (May 1963); and Watkins, "Economic Development in Canada," in Immanuel Wallerstein (ed.), *World Inequality: Origins and Perspectives on the World System* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1975). The roots are found in Harold Innis, *Essays in Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956); and Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1930).
22. See John Warnock's treatment of free trade politics and its connection to corporate demands for maximum freedom in the global marketplace: *Free Trade and the New Right Agenda* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1988).
23. Richardson, *Time for Change*, 101.
24. The World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). Sometimes called the "Brundtland Report" after the chairperson, Gro Brundtland of Norway.
25. See *The Ecologist*, 20:3 (May/June 1990), 82-4. This critical analysis of the underlying political economic factors of the Brundtland Report begins with the assertion, "Never underestimate the ability of modern élites to work out ways of coming through a crisis with their power intact." The editorial goes on to accuse the "crisis managers in high places" of wanting a formula for change that implies that "environmental issues are technological and financial and not matters of social equity and distribution of power. . . ."
26. See *Teaching Peace*, 10 (Spring 1989), 4-7. (*Teaching Peace* is the newsletter of the Peace Education Centre of British Columbia, Matthew Speier, Editor.)
27. Pirages, "Origins of Ecopolitics," 443-4.
28. Ibid., 446.
29. This term is Johan Galtung's; it links the violence of armed conflicts (military violence) with the everyday violence of social and economic injustices, such as hunger, homelessness, and poverty, that has its roots in social structures or institutionalized forms of oppression, as in

- military regimes, for example. See Galtung, *The True Worlds: A Transnational Perspective* (New York: The Free Press, 1980); also *Essays in Peace Research*, 5 vols, Copenhagen, Eljers 1975-80, (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press).
30. See Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," *Monthly Review* 18:4 (September 1966), 17-31. This essay has been reprinted many times, such as in the excellent collection by Charles Wilber (ed.), *The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment*. 3rd edition. (New York: Random House, 1984), 99-108. See also, Frank's *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967).
 31. George, *A Fate Worse Than Debt* (London: Penguin Books, 1988).
 32. Brucan, "The Establishment of a World Authority: Working Hypotheses," in Weston (ed.), *Toward Nuclear Disarmament*, 615.
 33. Ibid., 622.
 34. Porritt, *Seeing Green: The Politics of Ecology Explained* (Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988).
 35. Ibid., 96. This section is entitled, "Global Rip-Off."
 36. Harris, *The End of the Third World: Newly Industrialized Countries and the Decline of an Ideology* (Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin Books, 1987). For a summary of the various development economists' views across the political spectrum and Harris' conclusion that "the mighty engine of economic development" of capitalism might *not* in fact be a "formidable hurdle to human advancement" causing inevitable underdevelopment in the periphery, see pp. 25-9. See also, the quantitative data in Chapter 4, "A Global Manufacturing System," for an assessment of the global output of the NICs. The main idea here is that insofar as Third World NICs catch up with the First World nations, as in the Far East, the Third World will disappear.
 37. Along similar lines, but with different conclusions about the winners and losers in today's global economy, see James Laxer, *Decline of the Superpowers* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1987).
 38. For a discussion of the idea of a dominant world view, see W.P. Catton, Jr and R.E. Dunlap, "New Ecological Paradigm of Post-Exuberant Sociology," *American Behavioral Scientist* 24 (1980), 15-27.
 39. See C. Wilber and Kenneth Jameson, "Paradigms of Economic Development and Beyond," in Wilber (ed.), *The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment*, 4-25.
 40. Much has been written lately on the breakdown of socialist political systems in Eastern Europe and in relation to Soviet political changes under Gorbachev. See, *Dissent*, 37:2 (Spring 1990); *Glasnost*, II:5 (January-March 1990); Philip Eden et al., "The Triumph of Capitalism?" and Vincente Navarro "Historical Triumph: Capitalism or Socialism," *Monthly Review*, 42 (November 1990); Gavan McCormack, "Capitalism Triumphant? The Evidence from Japan," *Monthly Review*, 41 (January 1990). An interesting viewpoint is found in Vaclav Havel, *Living in Truth* (London: Faber & Faber, 1990).
 41. See Ernie Regehr and Simon Rosenblum, *Canada and the Nuclear Arms Race* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1983), 63-97 on the economics of the arms race in Canada.
 42. See Chadwick Alger and Saul Mendlovitz, "Grass-Roots Initiatives: The Challenge of Linkages," in Mendlovitz and Walker (eds), *Towards a Just World Peace*, 332-62.
 43. Ibid., 333.
 44. Ibid., 344-6.
 45. Ibid., 346.
 46. Castells, *The City and the Grass Roots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1983).
 47. Alger and Mendlovitz, "Grass-Roots Initiatives," 348-51.
 48. Ibid.
 49. For an excellent collection of papers on world order dialectics and problems, see Richard Falk et al., *Toward a Just World Order*.

Social Equity and Sustainable Development: The Implications of Global Thought for Local Action

Abstract

The (Brundtland) World Commission on Environment and Development incorrectly emphasized the role of poverty, rather than wealth, in environmental degradation. Sustainable development requires that Canadians reduce present per capita levels of materials and energy consumption, a prescription with profound implications for social equity.

Most policy initiatives for sustainable development will have to be implemented at the community level. Vancouver's Clouds of Change program is described as an example of globally inspired local action. To reduce carbon dioxide emissions twenty percent by 2005, the City has developed a series of initiatives concerning transportation planning and traffic management, land-use planning, energy conservation and efficiency, and municipal leadership.

Local government's role in sustainable development is important but constrained. New institutions for sustainable community development, such as community land trusts, are needed. By assisting such sustainable community development institutions to expand through linkage programs, local governments can have a truly appreciable effect on sustainable development.

The ecological crisis is largely a creativity crisis. By soliciting the bare minimum of public "input," rather than actively seeking community participation from agenda setting through to implementation, decision-makers have failed to tap the only source for successfully meeting the myriad challenges posed by sustainable development: human ingenuity.

Résumé

La Commission mondiale sur l'environnement et le développement (Commission Brundtland) a insisté, à tort, sur le rôle de la pauvreté, plutôt que sur celui

de la richesse, dans la dégradation de l'environnement. Pour en arriver au développement durable, les Canadiens devront réduire leur consommation actuelle de matières premières et d'énergie; cette prescription aura de profondes répercussions sur le plan de la justice sociale.

La plupart des politiques de développement durable devront être mises en application au niveau de la collectivité locale. Le programme Clouds of Change, de la ville de Vancouver, est décrit comme un exemple d'action locale d'inspiration universelle. Afin de réduire les émissions de dioxyde de carbone de 20 % d'ici l'an 2005, l'administration municipale a élaboré une série d'initiatives touchant la planification du transport et la gestion de la circulation, la planification de l'aménagement du territoire, la conservation et l'économie d'énergie, et le leadership municipal.

Le rôle que les gouvernements locaux doivent jouer dans la réalisation du développement durable est important mais est soumis à certaines contraintes. Il nous faut mettre en place de nouvelles institutions qui favoriseront le développement durable au niveau communautaire, comme les sociétés de gestion des terrains communautaires. En favorisant la croissance de telles institutions communautaires par la mise en oeuvre de programmes de réseautage, les gouvernements locaux pourront contribuer concrètement à la réalisation du développement durable.

La crise environnementale est en grande partie une crise de créativité. En ne sollicitant que le strict minimum de participation publique au lieu d'encourager l'engagement actif de la collectivité, depuis la définition du programme jusqu'à sa mise en oeuvre, les décideurs ont négligé la seule source qui leur permettrait de relever avec succès les innombrables défis que pose le développement durable : l'ingéniosité humaine.

Introduction

The quest for “sustainable development” takes us quickly into the realm of social equity. Given mounting evidence of global ecological decline, for development to be considered sustainable it must clearly reduce humanity’s destructive impact on the biosphere. We can no longer rely on our 200-year tradition of material growth as the primary instrument of social policy.¹

This perspective raises two critical issues in regard to social equity. The first concerns equity between the Industrialized Minority and the world’s poor: balancing the needs of the biosphere with the needs of the vast majority of the human population. The second concerns equity within developed nations such as Canada: balancing the needs of the biosphere with the needs of our own poor.²

In recent years these issues have once again emerged on the agendas of national decision-makers as well as in the consciences of individuals. Yet at the level of *community* — neighbourhoods, towns, cities — there has been relatively little discussion.

In an attempt to bridge this gap, this paper addresses the following questions: (1) What are the implications of sustainable development for planning at the community level? (2) Can local governments in North American communities address the global ecological crisis in a substantive, effective and equitable way? and (3) Can existing models from outside the “environmental” arena, such as land-use planning and housing, be employed in the interests of sustainable community development?

In addressing these issues, actions now being taken in Vancouver to address the problem of global atmospheric change (e.g., global warming) will be described. However, a global context from which to examine such local activity is first required.

Thinking Globally

The call for “sustainable development” must be addressed within the context of the ecological crisis. The ecological crisis includes a familiar and growing list of trends, for example: desertification, rising sea levels, deforestation, forest die-back, acid precipitation, toxic contamination of food and water supplies, soil erosion, species extinction, marine pollution, fisheries collapse, ozone depletion, greenhouse gas build-up, and climatic change. Most scientists now agree that the most critical aspect of the ecological crisis is the threat of major atmospheric and climate change.³

Since the publication of the World Commission on Environment and Development report (Gro Harlem Brundtland, Chair), *Our Common Future*, in 1987, intense debate has been generated in Canada over the meaning of the Commission’s call for “sustainable development.”⁴ In the context of other significant global reports on the environment over the last two decades (e.g., *Limits to Growth, Global 2000*), a major contribution of the World Commission was its explicit recognition that poverty is a major source of environmental degradation. For example, the collection and use of firewood by families in developing countries is sometimes considered a major reason for deforestation. While this connection seems reasonable enough at first glance, the main causes of deforestation are actually large-scale lumbering, agricultural expansion, overuse of existing agricultural land, burning of forests to encourage fodder growth, over-grazing and rapid urban growth.⁵

The Commission's poverty focus led, logically enough, to the argument that economic growth must be stimulated. However, the major flaw of the Commission's well-intended but misguided analysis (and the likely reason *Our Common Future* has been embraced by governments and corporations as much as by environmentalists) is that it downplays the extent to which environmental degradation results from *wealth*.

That the Commission chose indiscriminate economic growth and all its attendant social and environmental impacts (e.g., its tendency to exploit both labour and the environment) over a consciously appropriate development strategy for the Third World (e.g., adequate housing and clean water rather than export plantations and automobile factories) is bad enough. That the Commission's emphasis on economic growth contradicts its stated goals of equity, social justice, and environmental sustainability, is even worse.⁶ Yet the Commission's argument is warped even further. Its call for growth was addressed not only to the developing countries but also to the industrialized countries. The Commission went so far as to call for a five- to ten-fold increase in world industrial output without any analysis to show whether such economic expansion is ecologically possible.

Despite such environmental optimism, it is inconceivable that *both* the developed countries *and* the Third World can greatly increase their consumption without destroying major life-support systems. The combination of depleted resource stocks (e.g., fossil fuels, fisheries, forests) with degraded life-support systems (e.g., ozone depletion, global warming, acid rain) together make it inconceivable that *both* the developed countries *and* the Third World can greatly increase their consumption without destroying major life-support systems.⁷ Put simply, the missing element in the Commission's analysis is a concept of "enoughness."

Alternatives to rocket science

The threat of atmospheric change clearly illustrates the role of wealth in global environmental damage. Fossil-fuel-based carbon emissions (e.g., carbon dioxide) are a leading source of global warming. The wealthy, energy-intensive quarter of the world's population is responsible for nearly seventy percent of these carbon emissions. It is a simple fact of atmospheric science that the planet will never be able to support a population of eight billion people generating carbon emissions at even the rate of Western Europe today. Yet North Americans generate carbon emissions at twice the rate of Western Europeans.⁸

One does not need to be a rocket scientist to realize that "sustainable development" requires that we live within the carrying capacity limits of the biosphere. Given that Canadians are among the world's most inefficient and wasteful per capita consumers of materials and energy — indeed, one could

argue that too many of us think like rocket scientists — it is incumbent upon us to learn to live more lightly on the planet. The entire world population could live with the quality of energy services enjoyed by West Europeans — but cannot live in the style of North Americans, with our larger homes, more numerous electrical gadgets, and auto-centred transportation systems.⁹

For North Americans to contribute to global sustainability will require major shifts in the lifestyles of the affluent. A wide variety of approaches are called for, including appropriate technology, recycling, and waste reduction. The most important adaptation, however, is a drastic reduction of our *present* levels of materials and energy consumption. This will require a more globally conscious kind of local development than we are accustomed to.

Acting Locally

With this global context in mind, let us now consider the planning implications of sustainable development at the local level. Most North American cities were built on technologies that placed a high priority on economic goals and assumed abundant, cheap energy would always be available. In the process, a wide range of environmental aspects were neglected. On the assumption of cheap energy, many communities grew quickly and inefficiently; cheap energy made it possible to greatly increase the spatial area from which cities could draw their raw materials, and cities became dependent on lengthy distribution systems. Cheap energy affected the construction of our buildings, our addiction to the automobile, the increased separation of our workplaces from our homes, and the design and livability of our cities.¹⁰

In contrast, sustainable development implies that the use of energy and materials in an urban area be in balance with what the region can supply continuously through natural processes such as photosynthesis, biological decomposition, and the biochemical processes that support life — in other words, *redeveloping our communities for sustainability*. The immediate implications of sustainability for cities are a vastly reduced energy budget, and a smaller, more compact urban pattern interspersed with productive areas to collect energy, grow crops, and recycle wastes.¹¹

It is quite probable that the ultimate success or failure of society as a whole to achieve sustainability will be determined by our cities and towns. We can at least conceive of a vision of urban life in a more harmonious relationship with the natural environment. But how do we translate that vision into practical steps?

The central lesson of realistic policy-making is that individuals and organizations change when it is in their interest to change,

either because they derive some benefit from changing or because they incur sanctions when they do not. . . . In [North America,] where environmental statutes are second to none in their stringency, and where for the past 15 years poll after poll has recorded the people's desire for increased environmental protection, the majority of our populations participate in the industrialized world's most wasteful and most polluting style of life. The values are there; the appropriate motivations and institutions are patently inadequate or nonexistent.¹²

The critical policy question then, is: what kinds of motivations and institutions are required in market-system democracies such as ours so that sustainability is indeed *in* the interests of the population?

The challenges raised by this question are evidenced by the global debate over whether to adopt, and how to implement, a twenty percent reduction in carbon dioxide emissions. The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency has estimated that merely to *stabilize* atmospheric concentrations of carbon dioxide at the current level, carbon emissions must be cut by fifty to eighty percent. Scientists and policy-makers meeting in Toronto in 1988 offered a short-term goal: cutting them twenty percent by 2005.¹³ (Meanwhile the Canadian government is only considering freezing 1990 carbon emissions levels, not reducing them.)

While international bodies and national governments struggle to formulate policies to reduce carbon dioxide emissions, *it is at the community level where most of these initiatives will have to be implemented.* Many local governments have therefore started taking action singlehandedly. One community's attempt at such globally inspired local action is described below.

Clouds of Change

The City of Vancouver appointed a Task Force on Atmospheric Change to study this aspect of the global environmental crisis, and to recommend to Council steps it could take to help address the problem. In its final report, *Clouds of Change*,¹⁴ the Task Force argued that the City of Vancouver should commit itself to achieving the following three targets:

- 1) a complete phase-out of all uses of products containing ozone-depleting chemicals within the city by the year 1995;
- 2) immediately reducing emissions levels of sulphur dioxide and methane; and

3) a twenty percent reduction in 1988 level carbon dioxide emissions by the year 2005; and bringing emissions of local atmospheric pollutants within federally determined acceptable levels.

The Vancouver Task Force addressed the first two targets by proposing a series of recommendations to phase out all uses of ozone-depleting chemicals; reduce emissions levels of sulphur dioxide; and reduce the amount of methane released into the atmosphere. They addressed the third target by proposing a series of recommendations based upon the following six objectives:

- 1. Reduce the number of automobile trips in the city and the region*
- 2. Increase opportunities for non-auto transportation including bicycles, walking, rail, buses, and alternative vehicles*
- 3. Reduce the use of gasoline and diesel fuel in conventional buses, autos and trucks*

The Task Force recommended that Vancouver achieve these first three objectives by taking a series of actions in the area of transportation planning and traffic management. Among the recommendations were a trip reduction by-law requiring larger employers to reduce peak-hour trips and increase the number of people to vehicles by instituting car-pools and other alternatives to single-occupant vehicle commuting. The Task Force also recommended pricing parking to favour high-occupancy vehicles, making bicycle transportation a serious alternative, exploring telecommuting as an alternative to commuting, and investigating road pricing strategies (such as requiring all drivers entering the downtown core to display a valid monthly transit pass in their vehicle). Revenues generated from these proposals would be designated to improve transit service, reduce transit fares, and fund experiments with clean-burning fuels.

- 4. Reduce the need for transportation in the city and the region*

The Task Force recommended that Vancouver achieve this objective by taking a series of actions in the area of land-use planning. With the goal of breaking the city's automobile addiction, the Task Force recommended a set of energy-efficient land-use policies, proximity policies and incentives (to change the focus of City planning from access by transportation to access by proximity), residential intensification to reduce the need for commuting and urban sprawl, encouragement of home-based occupations, and initiatives to ensure that all local and routine planning and rezoning decisions contribute to the reduction of atmospheric pollution.

5. Increase energy efficiency in all sectors of the city by ten percent by the year 2000

The Task Force recommended that Vancouver achieve this objective by taking a series of actions in the area of energy conservation and efficiency. Included in the Task Force recommendations were residential and commercial retrofit by-laws to bring all buildings up to an energy conservation standard at the time of sale, infrared scanning for energy leakages, low-interest energy conservation loans, and adoption of energy-efficient lighting standards.

6. Become a leader in addressing atmospheric change

The Task Force recommended that Vancouver achieve this objective by taking a series of actions associated with the following principles. To *recognize atmospheric change as a public health issue*, annual reports to assess health effects of atmospheric pollutants were recommended. To *make polluters finance transportation alternatives*, a regional carbon dioxide tax was recommended. The tax would fund transportation alternatives and development of clean-burning fuels. To *absorb carbon from the atmosphere*, the Task Force recommended an expanded urban reforestation program. To *reduce and recycle waste*, the Task Force recommended accelerating existing programs, a by-law to minimize non-degradable, nonreturnable, and non-recyclable food and beverage packaging, and establishing neighbourhood composting programs. To *develop leadership by example*, the Task Force recommended that the City shift away from fossil fuels for City vehicles, conserve energy in municipal operations, encourage commute alternatives for City employees, redirect investments and purchasing toward companies with environmentally sound business practices, advocate environmentally responsible policies and actions at all government levels, and support environmentally appropriate technologies. To *foster public involvement and education*, the Task Force recommended a series of initiatives including information campaigns, demonstration projects, and assisting the community in implementing citizen-generated programs.

In October 1990, Vancouver City Council adopted the recommendations of the Task Force, which will be implemented in phases over the next several years. The Vancouver Council response to atmospheric change illustrates that local government can indeed play an extremely important role in encouraging a globally conscious culture of sustainability in our cities. Yet the institution of local government has many constraints: constraints of jurisdiction, of resources, of the bureaucratic, administrative mindset, and of equity.

For example, several recommendations proposed to the Vancouver Task Force by staff researchers and by the public which directly addressed the social equity implications of the City's atmospheric change measures were rejected as being

"too political," "beyond our mandate," and so on. Among the rejected recommendations were economic conversion assistance for displaced automobile industry workers and increasing the availability of affordable housing.

Institutions for Sustainable Community Development

To overcome the constraints of local government there is a need for decentralized, flexible, locally controlled, democratic and open community institutions to implement sustainable development at the community level. One of the most promising such institutions is the community land trust. The community land trust (CLT) model was developed in New England in the 1960s to address long-term issues of land tenure.

Land trusts have been employed for many years by environmentalist and preservationist organizations using local nonprofit corporations in their attempts to protect endangered land and buildings. Like these more familiar trusts, the CLT removes property from the speculative market. Unlike them, however, the CLT takes a different approach to equity. The CLT implements a conception of land that draws upon Native and traditional world-views in that it regards land as a common trust, rather than a commodity.

A community land trust is an organization created to hold land for the benefit of a community and of individuals within the community. It is a democratically structured non-profit corporation, with an open membership and a board of trustees elected by the membership. The board typically includes residents of trust-owned lands, other community residents, and public-interest representatives. Board members are elected for limited terms, so that the community retains ultimate control of the organization and of the land it owns.¹⁵ Several geographically decentralized communities or "units" might be quite different in size, structure, and even purpose, but could all be strengthened under the umbrella of a single regional land trust.

There are many successful CLTs now in both rural and urban areas in the United States. The model is being used by neighbourhoods, organizations concerned with the plight of agricultural lands and wilderness, and city planners. The United Nations International Year of Shelter for the Homeless (1987) cited three CLTs in the U.S. for its Special Merit Award.¹⁶

Land-use planning and environmental protection, placed in the hands of CLTs, would . . . seem to satisfy those critics of traditional restrictions on use who decry the confiscatory nature of zoning and other police-power regulations, and who fear the centralization of land-use planning in higher and higher units of government.¹⁷

The CLT represents a means of “returning the power to plan and develop to local hands.”¹⁸ The primary limitation of the CLT from a sustainable development perspective is that it makes little impact on the large concentrations of property and power which now abound in North America, and thus does not effect the pattern of landownership and institutional framework of land tenure outside of the CLT’s domain.¹⁹ Yet it is conceivable that CLTs could have a significant impact on sustainable development.

The Local Government to Non-Profit Connection

For CLTs and related institutions to have a truly appreciable effect on sustainable development, public powers and public funds will be required for their expansion. At the local government level, a good model would be the “linkage” programs which have been used in several cities to provide funds for affordable housing, job development, and day-care.²⁰ Linkage works by taking a portion of the value created by investment in areas undergoing substantial development, and directing that value to build affordable housing, provide job training, and fund social services in less fortunate neighbourhoods. Linkage policies represent “a new social contract to build lasting bridges of economic opportunity between areas of the city experiencing rapid growth, and the people . . . who, historically, have not shared in the benefits of that growth.”²¹ Linkage programs for sustainable community development, modeled after these existing programs, could provide a means for the environmental costs of conventional development to be balanced by conservation and ecologically appropriate development, such as urban habitat restoration.

Supporting legislation and programs of start-up funding and technical assistance from provincial and federal governments could enable community institutions such as CLTs to flourish, as they are starting to in some New England states.²² With such support, CLTs and other community-based institutions could become an effective, decentralized, locally controlled and politically popular way to implement equitable sustainable development.

Creative Problem Solving

To a considerable extent, the ecological crisis is a creativity crisis. By designing hierarchical and bureaucratic mechanisms to solicit the bare minimum of public “input,” rather than actively seeking community participation from agenda setting through to implementation, local and senior decision-makers have failed to tap the well of human ingenuity. They have failed to recognize that *only* from this well can the myriad challenges necessary to redevelop our communities for sustainability be successfully met. Effective and acceptable local solutions require local decisions, which in turn require the extensive

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knowledge and participation of the people most affected by those decisions, in their workplaces and in their communities.

Such local decisions, and the thousands of concrete innovations that they are testing, are providing models for national level policies and programs. Vancouver's *Clouds of Change* program, together with efforts underway in Toronto and many other cities, demonstrates both the political will and many of the creative local policy initiatives necessary to reduce the threat of global atmospheric change. Community land trusts demonstrate a new kind of institution that can complement the role of government in fostering sustainable community development. And programs in several cities show how local government initiatives can be linked to support activities in the non-profit sector.

While senior governments weigh sustainability against short-term political concerns, a growing number of globally inspired local actions are already underway. Many Canadians are calling the 1990s the "turnaround decade." If we are serious about leaving a healthy, sustainable world for our children and grandchildren, we had best get on with it.

Notes

1. William E. Rees and Mark Roseland, "The Challenge of Sustainable Development," in *Planning for Sustainable Development: A Resource Book* (Vancouver: UBC Centre for Human Settlements, 1989), 11-23.
2. Julia Gardner and Mark Roseland, "Thinking Globally: The Role of Social Equity in Sustainable Development," *Alternatives*, 16:3 (October/November), 26-34.
3. See for example, Christopher Flavin, "Slowing Global Warming," in Lester R. Brown et al., *State of the World 1990: A Worldwatch Institute Report on Progress Toward a Sustainable Society* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1990), 17-38.
4. See for example, William E. Rees, "Defining 'Sustainable Development'" (Vancouver: UBC Centre for Human Settlements 1989).
5. *U.N. World Survey on the Role of Women and Development*, cited in Hilkka Pietila, "Environment and Sustainable Development," *ifda dossier*, 77 (May/June 1990), 61-70.
6. Ted Trainer, "A Rejection of the Brundtland Report," *ifda dossier*, 77 (May/June 1990), 71-84.
7. Edward Goldsmith and Nicholas Hildyard (eds), *The Earth Report: The Essential Guide to Global Ecological Issues* (Los Angeles: Price Stern Sloan Inc., 1988), 133.
8. Flavin, "Slowing Global Warming", 19-22.
9. Alan Durning, "How Much is 'Enough'?" *Worldwatch*, 3:6 (Nov/Dec 1990), 14.
10. Urban Environment Sub-Committee, Public Advisory Committees to the Environment Council of Alberta, *Environment by Design: The Urban Place in Alberta* (Edmonton: Environment Council of Alberta, 1988, catalogue No. ECA88-PA/CS-S3), 13. See also David Morris, *Self-Reliant Cities: Energy and the Transformation of Urban America* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1982).
11. Sim Van der Ryn and Peter Calthorpe, *Sustainable Communities: A New Design Synthesis for Cities, Suburbs, and Towns* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1986), ix.

12. William Ruckelshaus, "Toward a Sustainable World," *Scientific American*, 261:3 (September 1989), 168-9; quote modified from U.S. focus to North American focus.
13. Flavin, "Slowing Global Warming", 20
14. This discussion is adapted from *Clouds of Change: Final Report of the City of Vancouver Task Force on Atmospheric Change* (Vancouver: City of Vancouver, 1990). The author was Research Director for the Task Force and the principal author of the report.
15. The Institute for Community Economics, *The Community Land Trust Handbook* (Emmaus, PA: Rodale Press, 1982), 18-35.
16. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, *United Nations International Year of Shelter for the Homeless: Official U.S. Special Merit Award Projects—Monographs* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987).
17. J.E. Davis, "Reallocating Equity: A Land Trust Model of Land Reform," in Charles Geisler and Frank Popper (eds), *Land Reform, American Style* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Allanheld, 1984), 226, fn 29. Davis notes that the CLT concept also draws heavily from Gandhi, especially in its emphasis on decentralized political and economic development controlled by community-based associations.
18. Ibid., 228.
19. Ibid., 223.
20. While linkage programs have operated for several years in U.S. cities such as Boston and San Francisco, they are also becoming more common in Canada. In December 1990, Vancouver approved its first agreement with a commercial developer in which the capital costs of a day-care centre are financed as a condition of rezoning.
21. Boston Redevelopment Authority, *Linkage* (brochure). Winter, 1988.
22. Some of the New England states have passed forms of enabling legislation and funding for CLT development and expansion. For more on such policy support, see Karl Seidman, "A New Role for Government: Supporting a Democratic Economy," in Severyn T. Bruyn and James Meehan (eds), *Beyond the Market and the State: New Directions in Community Development* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987).

L'habitant et l'environnement (XVIIe-XIXe siècles) : l'apport de l'histoire régionale

Résumé

Le texte suivant se veut une réflexion sur l'impact des facteurs environnementaux sur la colonisation des campagnes québécoises avant la période d'industrialisation. En restreignant son champ d'investigation à une région bien définie, l'auteur analyse les principales étapes du processus d'adaptation de l'habitant à son environnement. L'observation des stratégies d'utilisation du milieu élaborées par les pionniers établis en bordure du fleuve Saint-Laurent et transmises aux générations suivantes révèle une régression des modes de vie et de la conscience écologique à mesure que le peuplement progresse à l'intérieur des terres et que le potentiel du milieu s'amenuise. L'auteur dégage la portée sociale du phénomène.

Abstract

The following is a study of the impact of environmental factors on the colonization of rural Quebec during the pre-industrial period. Limiting his field of investigation to a clearly defined region, the author analyzes the major phases of the habitants' process of adaptation to their environment. Examination of the strategies developed by the pioneers who settled along the St. Lawrence for exploiting their environment, which were transmitted to future generations, reveals that as settlement progressed inland, and the potential of the environment decreased, lifestyles and ecological awareness regressed. The author discusses the social impact of this phenomenon.

Introduction

Les études historiques sur le Québec ont de tout temps fait une large place à l'impact des facteurs environnementaux. La présence d'une nature vierge, donc riche en ressources de toutes sortes, abondamment décrite par les premiers voyageurs qui ont visité la Nouvelle-France, est présentée comme un facteur qui a favorisé la colonisation. À l'opposé, la rigueur du climat est considérée comme un facteur répulsif. Les manuels scolaires s'attardent abondamment à ce problème en présentant les méfaits du scorbut sur les premiers hivernants. La victoire sur l'hiver apparaît dès lors comme un symbole de la conquête du pays par les colons européens. Elle devient un puissant facteur d'identité, en particulier pour les Québécois qui ont été les premiers à affronter le problème. C'est dans cette optique que la phrase de Vigneault — « Mon pays, c'est l'hiver » — prend tout son sens.

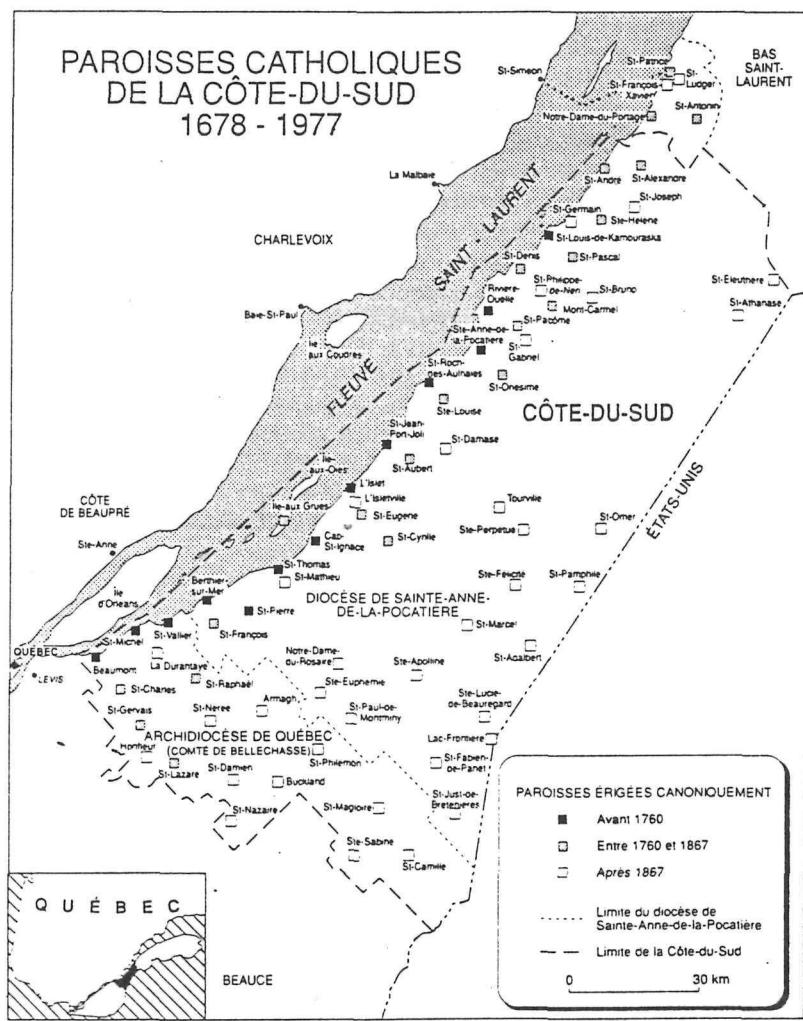
L'environnement, au même titre que la langue, la religion, la famille, contribue à renforcer l'image de cohésion de la société québécoise. Or, le territoire québécois recèle des entités distinctes qui apparaissent dès lors qu'on observe la société, non plus à l'échelle « nationale », mais à celle de la région. Facteur unificateur, l'environnement devient facteur de différenciation. L'anthropologue Marc-Adélard Tremblay a bien posé le problème dans son ouvrage sur l'identité québécoise. De fait, ce sont les anthropologues et les ethnologues qui ont poussé le plus loin l'étude des rapports entre l'homme et son environnement à partir du concept de région culturelle, c'est-à-dire un territoire possédant un mode de vie relativement homogène qui se distingue de ceux qui existent dans les régions voisines ou éloignées. « Il synthétise l'adaptation écologique d'une population dans un espace particulier, celle-ci s'étant réalisée progressivement dans des étapes plus ou moins diversifiées¹. » C'est ce processus d'adaptation² qu'il nous importe de reconstituer dans ses étapes marquantes.

La région que nous étudierons est située sur la rive sud du fleuve Saint-Laurent à l'est de la ville de Québec. Elle est moins caractérisée que d'autres régions de la province comme la Gaspésie, le Lac-Saint-Jean ou la Beauce parce qu'elle subit davantage l'attraction de Québec. Mais, avant l'avènement des moyens de transport et de communication modernes, la Côte-du-Sud constituait une entité distincte avec son mode de vie particulier façonné par les descendants des premiers colons européens qui s'y établirent dans le dernier quart du XVII^e siècle.

Stratégies d'utilisation du milieu

L'identité régionale se façonne autour d'une stratégie d'utilisation de l'environnement. Comme son nom l'indique, la Côte-du-Sud est fille du fleuve. Nulle part ailleurs, sauf peut-être dans la zone maritime du golfe ou dans

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le secteur de Charlevoix, le Saint-Laurent n'est mêlé aussi intimement à la vie des habitants.

On associe habituellement l'établissement des colons en bordure du fleuve, au XVII^e siècle et durant une bonne partie du XVIII^e siècle, au désir d'avoir un accès à la principale voie de communication, du moins jusqu'à l'aménagement des routes qui débute dans notre région en 1713. Mais l'occupation du littoral obéit également à d'autres impératifs. Pour les premiers agriculteurs, les terres situées en bordure du fleuve possèdent le plus haut potentiel écologique³. Les sols, qui sont recouverts d'une végétation plutôt maigre (sapins, épinettes, frênes, aulnes), livrent à la culture, après le défrichement, des terroirs d'une grande fertilité. Dans la partie occidentale de la région, les sols sont moins bien adaptés aux grandes cultures et supportent une végétation composée de feuillus très tôt utilisés comme bois de chauffage. Dans sa partie centrale, les sols sont rapidement mis en culture, mais ici se pose le problème de l'érosion qui force les colons à reculer leurs bâtiments de la rive au XVIII^e siècle. Plus à l'est, les sols littoraux dépassent à peine le niveau de la mer et forment parfois de véritables marécages. Ils sont cependant bien adaptés à la culture de l'avoine qui connaît un développement précoce à cet endroit.

Les colons introduisent des plantes européennes qui s'acclimatent assez vite aux conditions prévalant dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent⁴. Le maïs, plante empruntée aux Amérindiens, est récolté surtout dans les régions méridionales de la colonie. Dans certaines seigneuries de la Côte-du-Sud, les habitants s'adonnent à la culture des arbres fruitiers. On peut penser que les premiers colons en viennent à développer cette spécialité en s'inspirant de la flore indigène. En effet, les coteaux sablonneux de la rive sud étaient recouverts de pommiers et de pruniers sauvages⁵.

C'est dans la zone intercotidale que les riverains trouvent cependant leur plus grand avantage. En effet, ils ont accès à une prairie naturelle, le foin de grève qui, sans être très nutritif, constitue un aliment à bon marché pour les bestiaux. Par contre, les animaux qui paissent sur les grèves privent probablement les oiseaux migrateurs d'une partie des ressources alimentaires qui, auparavant, leur étaient réservées exclusivement. Bien que le régime de paissance collective importé d'Europe⁶ fasse en sorte que les animaux domestiques et les oiseaux migrateurs ne se trouvent jamais en même temps sur les grèves, il n'en demeure pas moins que la compétition désavantage les volatiles et en particulier la grande oie blanche. On peut ainsi expliquer la faiblesse relative de la population d'oies à l'époque si on la compare aux autres espèces, et en particulier l'outarde (bernache du Canada) qui semble avoir été la proie favorite des chasseurs avant le XX^e siècle. Or, le régime alimentaire de l'outarde est beaucoup plus varié que celui de l'oie⁷.

Dans le secteur de Kamouraska, plus précisément dans la seigneurie de la Grande Anse, les habitants utilisent vraisemblablement les étangs formés par les eaux marécageuses du littoral à des fins d'élevage de volatiles domestiques. Dans ce cas, la compétition fait place à la substitution de la faune domestique à la faune sauvage dans un écosystème en grande partie préservé intégralement. Le potentiel du milieu est détourné par l'homme pour servir ses besoins. Tout au plus les habitants se contentent-ils de drainer la devanture de certaines terres pour accroître les superficies cultivées et surtout hâter les semences au printemps.

L'utilisation des ressources aquatiques constitue un autre avantage indéniable des riverains. L'anguille, cette véritable manne, fournit un complément à l'alimentation particulièrement prisé en raison des nombreux jours de jeûne qui jalonnent l'année liturgique. D'autres espèces comme le saumon, l'aloise, le hareng sont aussi capturées par les habitants. Quant au béluga, maintenant en voie d'extinction, il fait l'objet, dès le début du XVIII^e siècle, d'une pêche assez importante dans le secteur de Rivière-Ouelle⁸. Les barques d'huile de marsouin, qui sert notamment de combustible pour l'éclairage, prennent alors la direction de la France. L'entreprise se poursuit durant tout le XVIII^e siècle et le XIX^e siècle avec des succès très mitigés. Les techniques de pêche donnent lieu à de véritables carnages, comparables au massacre des bébés phoques, mais jusqu'au XX^e siècle, le troupeau ne semble pas menacé. Retenons cependant que le béluga n'a jamais eu trop bonne réputation auprès des riverains qui le comparaient au porc à cause de la similitude de leurs cris.

Certes, les habitants de la Côte-du-Sud ont dû détruire la forêt pour pouvoir cultiver la terre. Mais les sols de la région avaient une « vocation agricole ». En effet, il ne semble pas que la zone des basses terres ait été habitée par une faune particulièrement riche. Les seules espèces dont on retrouve la trace dans les archives sont le lièvre et la perdrix parce que les seigneurs imposaient des restrictions à leur chasse⁹. Cette pauvreté relative de la faune régionale pourrait expliquer pourquoi on ne retrouve pas beaucoup de vestiges d'une présence amérindienne dans la région. Les témoignages de la période de contact tendraient à démontrer que les Amérindiens, des Montagnais du nord du fleuve, venaient chasser à l'extrémité orientale de la région où la végétation présente un caractère plus boréal¹⁰.

Les premiers colons de la Côte-du-Sud ont défini un mode de vie fondé sur une utilisation judicieuse des ressources de l'environnement. Pour l'essentiel, il diffère très peu de celui de l'ensemble des pionniers. Il n'en présente pas moins certains caractères spécifiques : importance de la chasse et de la pêche riveraines, utilisation des grèves comme prairie, adoption de la culture de l'avoine sur certains sols. Ces deux derniers facteurs favorisent le développement de l'élevage, notamment dans le secteur de Kamouraska qui, à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, a la réputation de produire le meilleur beurre et les meilleurs chevaux du

district de Québec¹¹. Dans cette partie de la région, le cheval rivalise très tôt avec le bœuf comme animal de trait, pour finalement lui être substitué au XIX^e siècle.

La transmission des usages

La stratégie d'utilisation de l'environnement définie par les premiers colons est transmise aux générations subséquentes qui doivent vivre dans des conditions légèrement différentes. L'absence de façade sur le fleuve prive les fils des pionniers de ressources considérables. Seule la fertilité supérieure des terres dans la plupart des seigneuries de la région compense en partie la perte des avantages liés à l'accès au Saint-Laurent. Mais des tensions se manifestent entre les riverains et les habitants de l'intérieur des terres.

Dans l'état actuel de la recherche, cette question n'en est encore qu'au stade d'hypothèse de travail. En effet, les historiens et géographes sensibles à la problématique régionale ne sont pas à l'abri de la tentation réductionniste qui anime trop souvent les historiens de la nation. La recherche d'un mode de vie caractéristique qui ferait partie de la définition même de l'entité étudiée risque d'amener le chercheur à être beaucoup plus sensible aux similitudes qu'aux différences, aux facteurs de cohésion qu'aux rapports sociaux. Néanmoins, les travaux de recherche menés sur différentes régions du Québec indiquent qu'il existe des écarts de fortune très importants entre les habitants d'une même région.

Les travaux de Christian Dessureault sur la société rurale du Bas-Canada, dans la seigneurie de Saint-Hyacinthe, révèlent une différenciation sociale très marquée selon la localisation des paroisses. Paradoxalement, c'est dans les zones de peuplement récent qu'on retrouve la plus forte proportion de petites propriétés et donc d'habitants plus pauvres. Le morcellement n'affecte pas les zones de colonisation ancienne. L'auteur croit que la pression démographique, la rareté des terres et l'accroissement des charges seigneuriales ont influé sur l'évolution de la structure foncière dans les nouveaux terroirs¹². D'autres recherches confirment le rôle de la qualité des sols comme facteur explicatif des disparités à l'intérieur d'une même région. Ainsi, Allan Greer montre dans sa thèse sur les paroisses du Haut-Richelieu que les habitants de Sorel, où les terroirs sont plutôt pauvres, ont recours à des sources de revenu complémentaires pour subvenir à leurs besoins¹³. La Compagnie du Nord-Ouest y recrute des voyageurs pour mener les convois de fourrures.

Sur la Côte-du-Sud, on observe un appauvrissement de la population à mesure qu'on s'éloigne du fleuve pour pénétrer à l'intérieur des terres. Le problème prend des proportions dramatiques au XIX^e siècle quand les conditions climatiques (refroidissement général du climat qui réduit la durée de la saison

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de végétation) et les fléaux naturels (en particulier la mouche à blé) s'associent à l'épuisement des sols pour provoquer une succession de mauvaises récoltes qui sont durement ressenties dans la région.

L'appauvrissement des colons établis à l'intérieur des terres se mesure selon des paramètres économiques. Au recensement de 1831, dans la paroisse de Saint-Vallier, les habitants du premier rang possèdent des terres beaucoup plus vastes que les autres. L'écart est d'autant plus grand que les concessions de l'intérieur sont habitées très souvent par plus d'une famille, ce qui est exceptionnel au bord du fleuve. Ces données traduisent les tensions qui doivent s'exercer au sein de la société locale : stratégies visant à préserver les patrimoines familiaux, émigration forcée des enfants en surnombre, endettement qui peut déboucher sur la marginalité, voire la délinquance.

Tableau 1 *Structure agraire de la paroisse de Saint-Vallier en 1831*

	<i>1^{er} rang</i>	<i>2^e-6^e rangs</i>
Nombre de familles	43	248
Arpents occupés (total)	5 588	17 082
Arpents occupés (moyenne)	130,0	68,9
Arpents cultivés (total)	4 991	7 697
Arpents cultivés (moyenne)	116,1	31,0

Source : Recensement de 1831, Saint-Vallier (Bobine 1031, f. 111-19).

La seigneurie de Saint-Gervais, qui enjambe les contreforts des Appalaches, accueille à la fin du Régime français des familles acadiennes chassées de leurs terres. Le premier curé résident entre en fonction en 1780¹⁴. C'est là que se pose pour la première fois dans l'histoire de la Côte-du-Sud le problème de l'adaptation à un milieu plutôt pauvre. L'arpenteur général Bouchette rapporte en 1815 :

Il n'y a encore d'établissements que dans une très-petite partie de cette seigneurie, et la culture y est très-insignifiante, par ce que l'irrégularité et la nature montagneuse de sa surface s'opposent aux efforts de l'industrie, quoique le sol lui-même ne soit pas mauvais. [...] Le petit nombre d'habitans de cette seigneurie gagnent leur vie avec peine; une de leurs principales occupations durant le printemps est de manufacturer du sucre d'éable, dont

ils trouvent le moyen d'envoyer une quantité considérable au marché¹⁵.

Les habitants de Saint-Gervais ont mauvaise réputation. La paroisse abrite en effet un nombre important de mendians qui parcourent la campagne pour obtenir de quoi subvenir à leurs besoins. Un article paru dans *Le Canadien* en 1807 mentionne à leur propos :

Les mendians qui prennent le nom de Pauvres de St-Gervais devraient prendre le titre de Paresseux de St-Gervais. Ces mendians sont robustes, capables de travailler, paresseux, etc. Pour n'avoir pas la peine de travailler la terre, ils logent sur quelques emplacements. Ceux d'entre eux qui ont des terres les vendent et en prennent dans les endroits les plus reculés; ils ont soin de se mettre tous dans la même concession pour vivre ensemble et s'éloigner de ceux qui vivent honnêtement de leur travail et qui pourraient leur faire des reproches.¹⁶

Ce jugement est évidemment teinté de préjugés. Le témoignage de Bouchette fournit une explication plus juste de la pauvreté des colons de l'endroit.

Dans le comté de Kamouraska, le territoire qui allait donner naissance à la paroisse de Saint-Pacôme possède lui aussi son contingent de « quêteux » qui, à chaque automne, viennent quémander leur pitance lorsque le seigneur de Rivière-Ouelle fait boucherie¹⁷. On les retrouve notamment dans le rang « Liche-Pain », dont le nom traduit à lui seul la mauvaise fortune de ses habitants. La société établie les regarde évidemment avec un profond mépris¹⁸. Ils sont taxés de paresse, une remarque particulièrement affligeante dans une société qui érige le travail au niveau des vertus capitales. Seul le développement de l'industrie forestière permettra à un certain nombre de ces individus d'accéder à un niveau de vie acceptable.

Ce ne sont là que quelques exemples. On retrouvait de semblables foyers de marginalité un peu partout dans les profondeurs des seigneuries¹⁹. Il faudrait multiplier les études de cas pour en tirer une conclusion générale. Néanmoins, certains comportements sont révélateurs. À compter de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle, les habitants établis en bordure du fleuve cherchent à protéger les avantages dont ils jouissent contre la convoitise de ceux qui résident à l'intérieur des terres²⁰. Ces derniers veulent se prévaloir eux aussi du privilège de faire pacager leurs animaux sur les grèves. Le foin est une denrée rare et le pacage des bestiaux requiert la construction de longues clôtures entre les propriétés, une tâche fastidieuse et onéreuse. À la suite de représentations auprès de la Chambre d'assemblée au début du XIX^e siècle, les riverains se verront confirmer la possession exclusive de la partie de la grève bordant leur propriété²¹. La possibilité de chasser les oiseaux migrateurs au printemps et à

l'automne est un autre avantage qui fait l'envie des résidents des rangs de l'intérieur. Encore là, les riverains chercheront à protéger leur privilège en adoptant tôt au début du XIX^e siècle une réglementation destinée à limiter l'accès aux zones de chasse, c'est-à-dire les grèves²².

En fait, les habitants des concessions de l'intérieur cherchent seulement à reproduire les usages établis par les premiers occupants du territoire. Habituerés à composer avec une nature généreuse, les colons du début du XIX^e siècle se trouvent complètement démunis. Relégués dans les profondeurs des seigneuries, ils sont exclus de la société régionale dominée par les résidents des vieilles paroisses. La marginalité des terres détermine la marginalité des hommes.

La rupture de l'équilibre

On observe une modification fondamentale du comportement de l'habitant face à son environnement quand la colonisation atteint les limites de l'oekoumène. La reproduction des usages à laquelle aspirent les colons des rangs intermédiaires se transforme alors en un véritable pillage des ressources disponibles. Cette déprédition, causée par la surpopulation des campagnes, se traduit de diverses façons selon les écosystèmes.

L'érablière du piedmont est le premier écosystème touché. Le défrichement des terres du rebord du plateau entraîne des conséquences négatives pour la faune. On a attribué la disparition de la tourte à la chasse impitoyable dont elle a été victime. Mais dans notre région, le recul de l'espèce coïncide avec l'occupation par les colons de la ceinture d'érablières du piedmont, où elle nichait et trouvait sa nourriture²³. Il semble donc que ce soit davantage la destruction de son habitat que la chasse qui explique sa disparition de la Côte-du-Sud. C'est du moins une hypothèse qui mériterait d'être examinée sérieusement.

L'occupation des terres du plateau appalachien refoule vers des régions moins accessibles plusieurs espèces animales, dont le caribou des bois. Par contre, des espèces comme le cerf de Virginie profitent des éclaircies créées par les défricheurs. Les arbustes dont ils consomment les feuilles prolifèrent dans les bûchers. De nombreux témoignages viennent confirmer que les chevreuils abondent dans la région à la fin du XIX^e siècle alors qu'ils n'étaient jamais mentionnés dans les textes auparavant. Le gibier constitue une nourriture d'appoint pour le colon. Son abundance en fait cependant un ennemi des cultivateurs qui sont souvent obligés de les chasser de leurs champs²⁴.

Sur la Côte-du-Sud comme ailleurs dans la province, l'exploitation forestière, qui précède l'occupation permanente de l'arrière-pays, modifie sensiblement le couvert végétal. Les réserves de pin, essence peu importante dans la région, sont vite épuisées. D'autres conifères (sapin, épinette, cèdre) sont ensuite recherchés par les entrepreneurs, dont le plus connu est William Price qui

possède des limites à bois importantes sur la Côte-du-Sud au XIX^e siècle. Le couvert forestier s'appauprit, les essences résineuses faisant place à une forêt de repousse composée de bouleaux et de trembles. Price abandonne ses intérêts dans la région au début du XX^e siècle et les entrepreneurs locaux doivent se tourner vers le Maine pour trouver la matière ligneuse nécessaire à leurs opérations.

Sensibles au discours des élites traditionnelles qui vantent les mérites de la vie de colon, les résidents des paroisses du littoral sont nombreux à prendre des lots dans les cantons de l'arrière-pays, après 1850. Dans cette forêt appauvrie, ils essaient de tirer profit des ressources disponibles. À certains endroits, c'est le sucre d'érable qui leur fournit quelque revenu d'appoint. Ailleurs, c'est le bois de chauffage ou encore les perches de cèdre qui servent à la confection des clôtures. Mais les sols minces de cette région montagneuse perdent rapidement leur fertilité naturelle, réduisant les familles à l'indigence. Les colons déçus partent pour les États-Unis, l'Ouest canadien et les villes industrielles. Ceux qui restent connaissent une existence médiocre en combinant culture de la terre et travail saisonnier dans les chantiers.

L'histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Onésime, située à une dizaine de kilomètres du fleuve, constitue un bon exemple des difficultés rencontrées par les colons qui acceptent de s'établir dans les « townships ». Pendant longtemps, les habitants se sont cantonnés dans les limites de Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pocatière. En 1821, le curé de l'endroit écrit que les « cultivateurs surnuméraires » (c'est-à-dire en surnombre) des vieilles paroisses n'osent pas prendre des terres dans les « townships » parce qu'ils sont persuadés que cette zone n'est pas destinée aux Canadiens (entendre par là les Canadiens français)²⁵. En réalité, certains colons s'y sont aventurés dès avant 1815, mais ils ont abandonné leurs lots pour des raisons inconnues mais qu'on devine facilement.

Le peuplement de Saint-Onésime débute véritablement vers 1830 et la paroisse est érigée canoniquement en 1858²⁶. La population atteint un sommet en 1868 avec 905 habitants. En 1877, le curé recense 130 familles, dont seulement 80 cultivent la terre. Les autres ne possèdent ni terre, ni chevaux. Entre 1880 et 1882, une trentaine de familles et une centaine de jeunes gens quittent la paroisse pour les États-Unis²⁷. En trois ans, la population connaît une chute de 30%. Ce n'est qu'en 1933 qu'elle retrouvera le niveau de 1880. Pour justifier le comportement de ses paroissiens, le curé écrit à son évêque en 1882 : « Il est bien vrai que les terres sont dures à défricher, mais il faut dire sans crainte de se tromper que le Canadien aime à voyager pour la raison que la vie à l'étranger lui est agréable, qu'il est plus libre... »²⁸ En fait, c'est plutôt la misère qui force les colons à s'expatrier.

À Saint-Bruno, une paroisse située encore plus loin à l'intérieur des terres, une ancienne résidente raconte²⁹ que les premiers colons, qui se sont d'abord établis

le long des rivières, ont dû manger du pain de seigle gelé, de la galette détrempée à l'eau et au soda avec de la mélasse noire et de la soupe à base de mauvaise herbe. Elle précise : « Après avoir ramassé assez de souches la seconde génération a pu semer des pois, du blé et du lin mais plusieurs se sont découragés et ils ont quitté leurs lots pour d'autres paroisses et les États-Unis.³⁰ » Ces zones encore fortement boisées et isolées constituent un milieu carrément hostile. Ainsi, les colons doivent protéger les moutons contre les ours qui s'attaquent aux troupeaux dans les champs et jusque dans les étables. La solidarité y semble aussi plus grande. De nombreuses tâches, certaines plus pénibles comme l'arrachage des souches et d'autres plus joyeuses comme le broyage du lin, sont effectuées par corvées.

Zone à vocation pastorale, l'arrière-pays de la Côte-du-Sud adopte néanmoins le système de culture pratiqué dans la plaine du Saint-Laurent et basé sur la production des céréales. En réalité, on observe un certain ajustement aux conditions climatiques; la culture du seigle et de l'orge, vers l'est, et celle du sarrasin, vers l'ouest, sont destinées à pallier les mauvaises récoltes de blé. Mais le poids de la tradition devient un obstacle à l'adaptation à l'environnement qui avait été jusqu'alors le principe de base de l'agriculture régionale. Vers la fin du XIX^e siècle, les colons de l'arrière-pays se convertissent à la production du foin et à l'élevage laitier, mais ils obéissent alors moins à des considérations de nature écologique qu'à des arguments économiques. D'ailleurs, ils ne font qu'emboîter le pas aux cultivateurs du littoral.

La zone des basses terres subit elle aussi les contrecoups de la pression démographique. C'est en effet dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle que l'on entreprend de transformer en terre arable les derniers écosystèmes qui avaient été préservés jusque là, c'est-à-dire les terres marécageuses et les tourbières du littoral. Comme nous l'avons vu, les marais littoraux étaient utilisés depuis longtemps par les habitants de la région comme site d'élevage des volatiles (volailles, oies, canards, dindons) et, surtout, comme prairie pour les bestiaux. Quant aux tourbières, on sait que les habitants ont essayé d'agrandir leurs champs à leurs dépens et que certains utilisaient la tourbe comme litière ou comme engrais (sous la forme de cendre)³¹. Cependant, les travaux entrepris à la fin du XIX^e siècle visent à éliminer ces écosystèmes par l'endiguement des terres basses du littoral³² et par l'assèchement des tourbières³³. Seuls les marais seront attaqués par la construction sur les propriétés du collège Sainte-Anne d'aboiteaux qui seront prolongés par la suite sur les terres voisines.

Cette attaque contre les écosystèmes, lancée par les élites traditionnelles, semble traduire un changement d'attitude qu'on perçoit aussi chez les habitants. En effet, ceux-ci avaient une confiance aveugle dans les capacités de la nature à se régénérer par elle-même. Vers la fin du XIX^e siècle, l'idéologie du progrès pénètre les couches supérieures de la paysannerie québécoise. Les plus dynamiques parmi les cultivateurs adoptent le système de culture préconisé par

les agronomes et se convertissent à l'industrie laitière. L'agriculture avec jachère cède le pas à une production plus intensive et qui le deviendra encore plus avec l'usage des engrais et la mécanisation de plus en plus poussée. La petite vache de race canadienne qui marquait l'aboutissement d'un long processus d'adaptation à l'environnement disparaît peu à peu de la région pour être remplacée par des races plus productives, et notamment la race Ayrshire. Les produits du terroir (arbres fruitiers, volailles, beurre domestique) tendent aussi à disparaître sous des arguments de coût de production et de mise en marché.

À la fin du XIX^e siècle, l'agriculture tend à s'affranchir des contraintes (climatiques, biogéographiques, technologiques) qui avaient conditionné son développement. Le produit agricole est de moins en moins un don de la nature, le fruit du labeur, et de plus en plus une marchandise qu'il faut produire au meilleur coût et vendre avec profit pour se procurer les engrais et l'équipement exigés par les nouvelles conditions de la production.

Conclusion

Notre enquête rejoint les conclusions du sociologue Gérard Bouchard sur la dynamique culturelle des régions de peuplement³⁴. En effet, on note une régression dans les niveaux et les genres de vie des habitants au fur et à mesure qu'on pénètre à l'intérieur des terres³⁵. Élaboré au contact d'une nature particulièrement généreuse, le mode de vie des pionniers a été reproduit par les générations successives qui ont dû vivre dans un environnement de plus en plus différent du milieu initial à mesure qu'on pénétrait à l'intérieur des terres. On peut suivre à travers l'histoire les décalages que l'occupation des nouveaux fronts pionniers a provoqués. Les colons ont fini par trouver des nouvelles formes d'adaptation. L'occupation des marges de l'oekoumène, c'est-à-dire le piedmont et plus tard le plateau appalachien, a abouti à la mise en place d'un genre de vie (agro-forestier) totalement différent de celui qui l'avait engendré, mais plus conforme au potentiel du milieu que celui que les promoteurs de la colonisation de l'arrière-pays avaient en tête.

Notes

1. Marc-Adélard Tremblay, *L'identité québécoise en péril*, Sainte-Foy, Les Éditions Saint-Yves, 1983, p. 83.
2. Elizabeth Robson, « Utilisation du concept d'adaptation en anthropologie culturelle », *Information sur les sciences sociales*, 17 : 2 (1978), p. 279-335.
3. Jacques Saint-Pierre, « L'aménagement de l'espace rural en Nouvelle-France : Les sei-

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l'apport de l'histoire régionale*

- gneuries de la Côte-du-Sud », *Peuplement colonisateur aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Cahiers du Célat, n° 8 (novembre 1987), p. 56-63.
4. Jacques Rousseau, « Pierre Boucher, Naturaliste et Géographe », *Histoire véritable et naturelle des moeurs et productions du pays de la Nouvelle-France vulgairement dite le Canada 1664*, Société historique de Boucherville, 1964, p. 373-91.
 5. Le père jésuite Paul Lejeune écrit qu'il y avait des pommiers et des pruniers sauvages dans les îles de l'archipel de Montmagny. *Relations des Jésuites [...] (1633)*, Montréal, Éditions du Jour, 1972, p. 5. La présence de pommiers sauvages est également attestée sur le littoral, plus exactement sur les coteaux de Beaumont. Archives nationales du Québec à Québec (ANQ-Q), Procès-verbaux des grands voyers, vol. 2, f. 55v.
 6. Les animaux sont libres de paître à leur guise sur les terres avant les semences et après les récoltes.
 7. Jacques Rousseau, « Pour une esquisse biogéographique du Saint-Laurent », *Cahiers de géographie de Québec*, 11 (septembre 1967), p. 200.
 8. Alain Laberge, « État, entrepreneurs, habitants et monopole : le « privilège » de la pêche au marsouin dans le Bas Saint-Laurent 1700-1730 », *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 37 : 4 (mars 1984), p. 543-55.
 9. Saint-Pierre, « L'aménagement de l'espace rural en Nouvelle-France », p. 93.
 10. Ibid., p. 68-71
 11. Joseph Bouchette, *Description topographique de la province du Bas-Canada*, Londres, W. Faden, 1815 (Éditions Elysée, 1978), p. 549, et John Lambert, *Travels through Lower Canada and the United States of North America in the years 1806, 1807 and 1808 [...]*, vol. 1, Londres, T. Gillet, 1810, p. 129.
 12. Christian Dessureault, « Crise ou modernisation ? La société maskoutaine durant le premier tiers du XIX^e siècle », *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 42 : 3 (hiver 1989), p. 374-7.
 13. Allan Greer, *Peasant, Lord and Merchant. Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes 1740-1840*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1985, p. 177-8.
 14. Diane Saint-Pierre et Yves Hébert, *Archives paroissiales de la Côte-du-Sud. Inventaire sommaire*, Québec, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture et Groupe de recherche sur l'histoire de la Côte-du-Sud, 1990, p. 67.
 15. Bouchette, *Description topographique de la province du Bas-Canada*, p. 529.
 16. Cité dans *Des Cadiens aux Gervasiens*, s.l., 1979, p. 595-6.
 17. ANQ-Q, Mémoires de l'abbé Alphonse Casgrain, 1913, p. 16.
 18. Ibid., p. 268. L'auteur parle en termes peu élogieux de ces individus à qui son père, alors seigneur de Rivière-Ouelle, offrait du travail : « Des fainéants quoi, aussi étaient-ils toujours pauvres, pauvres gens ! pauvres malheureux. »
 19. Lucille Guibert, *Pauvre ou vagabond. Le quêteux et la société québécoise*, Cahiers du Célat, n° 9 (novembre 1987), p. 49.
 20. En 1746, un groupe d'habitants du premier rang de la seigneurie des Aulnaies présente une requête à l'intendant visant à empêcher les résidents du lieu d'envoyer leurs bestiaux sur les grèves avant que la récolte du foin ne soit faite. ANQ-Q, Procès-verbaux des grands voyers, vol. 3, f. 227.
 21. *Status du Bas-Canada*, 15 Guil. IV, 1836, chap. 55.
 22. Paul-Louis Martin, *Histoire de la chasse au Québec*, Montréal, Éditions du Boréal Express, 1980, p. 55. Le texte reproduit par Martin concerne la paroisse de Cap-Saint-Ignace. On retrouve un autre accord du même type pour la paroisse voisine de Saint-Thomas-de-la-Pointe-à-la-Caille dans la collection Azarie Couillard-Després. ANQ-Q, APG 52-1178, 23 octobre 1803.
 23. Charles-Eusèbe Dionne, *Les oiseaux de la province de Québec*, Québec, Dussaut et Proulx, 1906, p. 183.

24. Eugène Rouillard, *La colonisation dans les comtés de Dorchester, Bellechasse, Montmagny, L'Islet, Kamouraska, Québec*, ministère de la Colonisation et des Mines, 1901, p. 34.
25. Lettre de Charles-François Painchaud à la Chambre d'assemblée, 26 février 1821, in Guy Frégault et Marcel Trudel, *Histoire du Canada par les textes*, t. 1, Montréal, Fides, 1963, p. 181.
26. Geo. S. Beaulieu, *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Onésime*, 1884, 28 p., Archives de la Société historique de la Côte-du-Sud, La Pocatière (ASHCS), boîte 22, document 162.
27. Rapport des curés, Archives du diocèse de Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pocatière (ADSAP), Saint-Onésime.
28. Rapport de la petite mission de Saint-Onésime pour l'année 1882, ADSAP, Saint-Onésime, f. 104.
29. Madame Germain Dumont, Inventaire historique de St-Bruno-de-Kamouraska, c.1950, ASHCS, boîte 22, document 74.
30. Ibid., p. 4. Voir aussi Jos-Phydime Michaud, *Kamouraska, de mémoire [. . .]*, Paris, François Maspero, 1981, p. 152-3.
31. ANQ-Q, Mémoires de l'abbé Alphonse Casgrain, 1913, p. 271-2.
32. Marcel Létourneau, *Les battures de la rive sud et les aboiteaux*, Mémoire (agriculture), Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, 1959, p. 8-9. ASHCS, boîte 16, document 154.
33. Paul-Henri Hudon, *Rivière-Ouelle de la Bouteillerie 3 siècles de vie*, Comité du Tricentenaire, 1972, p. 416-8. Une compagnie est créée en 1882 pour assécher la tourbière dans le but de la cultiver et d'exploiter la tourbe. Après un premier essai infructueux, le projet de drainage est repris en 1928. La Crise vient cependant en compromettre la réalisation.
34. Gérard Bouchard, « Sur la dynamique culturelle des régions de peuplement », *Canadian Historical Review*, 68 : 4 (1986), p. 473-90.
35. C'est aussi ce qu'observait le sociologue Léon Gérin à la fin du XIX^e siècle dans le comté de Maskinongé. Léon Gérin, *L'habitant de Saint-Justin*, Montréal, Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1968, p. 215.

Ecological Sensibility in Recent Canadian Children's Novels

Abstract

Canadian children's books have had a tradition of including the natural environment as a strong component. A number of recent novels continue this tradition, while some also include a new critical awareness of environmental problems. This paper compares two environmental issue novels, Secret in the Stlalakum Wild by Christie Harris (1972) and Spirit in the Rainforest by Eric Wilson (1984), with two outdoor survival novels, Hunter in the Dark by Monica Hughes (1981) and Jasmin by Jan Truss (1982), asking what kind of ecological understanding the novels express, and questioning whether or not the environmental issue novel is the most appropriate vehicle for communicating a deeper ecological sensibility.

Résumé

L'environnement naturel a toujours été un élément très présent dans la littérature canadienne pour enfants. Plusieurs romans publiés récemment perpétuent cette tradition, tandis que d'autres incorporent également une nouvelle conscience critique des problèmes environnementaux. L'auteure compare deux romans « écologistes »—Secret in the Stlalakum Wild, de Christie Harris (1972) et Spirit in the Rainforest, de Eric Wilson (1984)—à deux romans d'aventure et de survie dans la nature—Hunter in the Dark, de Monica Hughes (1981) et Jasmin, de Jan Truss (1982)—en s'interrogeant sur le type de compréhension écologique qui est exprimée par ces romans, et en cherchant à déterminer si le roman « à thèse » écologiste est le médium le plus approprié pour favoriser une sensibilité plus profonde aux questions environnementales.

To see ourselves clearly we must recognize ourselves as embedded in both a social context and in nature. Our attempts to see ourselves as separate from the rest of nature have led us to objectify and exploit nature, and to disregard both our biological and psychological dependence on nature. In the past two decades, several Canadian children's books have appeared which address environmental issues. My concern is whether these novels reflect a deepened ecological sensibility (including a revised understanding of who we are, and who we are in relation to the rest of nature), or whether they merely reflect a superficial concern for the environment as a current and popular issue.

What do I mean by ecological sensibility? Ecological sensibility involves an awareness that in nature all things are connected and interdependent, and that humans are a part of the interconnected whole, rather than set apart from or over the rest. In an ecological sensibility, survival is important, but not the only priority. What is also important is personal growth through empathy and solidarity with the rest of nature (human and nonhuman) (Deval, 1988, p. 42).

From the start, nature has figured prominently in Canadian books for children. What is considered the first Canadian children's book, *Canadian Crusoes: A Tale of the Rice Lake Plains*, written by Catherine Parr Traill for an audience of British children and published in 1852, is about the survival of three children in the Ontario wilderness. In this story, the three young protagonists, lost in the wilderness near their home, must use ingenuity and courage to procure food, shelter, and clothing, and to survive the dangers posed by wild animals, weather, and unfriendly Indians. Many of the books which followed provided similar situations of adventure and survival. In these books, nature figured mainly as a backdrop and impetus for action. At its worst, nature could be an angry foe or even felon; at its best, nature could be beautiful and awe inspiring.

The tradition of the outdoor survival story is still evident in the books being produced today. What is different in the new survival stories is that the characters' inner struggles are often equal to or even more important than their physical struggle to survive. In these novels, nature can become a place where inner healing takes place, and where the psychological outcome of actions becomes more important than the outcome of physical survival (the physical survival is often less in question).

Some of the more recent survival stories include Monica Hughes' *Hunter in the Dark* (1981), Jan Truss' *Jasmin* (1982), Marilyn Halvorson's *Nobody Said It Would Be Easy* (1987), and James Houston's *White Out* (1989).

In addition to the traditional survival story, a new type of novel has been appearing which explicitly addresses environmental concerns. Novels such as Christie Harris' *Secret in the Stlalakum Wild* (1972), Barbara Smucker's *White Mist* (1985), J. Robert Janes' *Danger on the River* (1982), and Eric Wilson's

Spirit in the Rainforest (1984) do not fall into the category of survival story, yet the natural environment and a concern for nature is central to their stories.

Interestingly, the survival story and the newer environmental issue story seem to have remained separate with little overlap. In the survival story, the central plot traditionally results from the dangers and survival requirements met by the characters in the wilderness. In the environmental issue story, the central plot may involve solving a mystery, stopping a crime, or even time travel. In the survival story, there is an immediate threat to personal survival, while in the environmental issue story the threat may be to something external such as a forest or river. While an ecological sensibility may be expressed explicitly in the environmental issue novel, it may only be expressed implicitly in the survival story. In other words, while values and concerns about the natural world are, for the most part, up front and part of the story itself in the issue novels, in the survival novels, values and concerns about the natural world are not always directly mentioned, but may be implied in how the character acts toward and thinks about his or her surroundings.

In order to look more closely at these two types of novels to see what merits and problems they hold for communicating ecological sensibility, I would like to compare two environmental issue novels, *Spirit in the Rainforest* by Eric Wilson and *Secret in the Stlalakum Wild* by Christie Harris; and two survival novels, *Hunter in the Dark* by Monica Hughes and *Jasmin* by Jan Truss.

Although environmental concern is explicit in the environmental issue novels, its centrality to the story may vary depending on the type of novel. In *Spirit in the Rainforest*, for example, the mystery and its solving is primary, and the threat to Nearby Island's forest, while it provides some links in the mystery, is mostly a backdrop to the action. Environmental information is given as part of the background detail of the location, just as historical information is given as part of the background colour for a mystery set in old Quebec. In *Secret in the Stlalakum Wild*, a fantasy influenced by Native mythology, nature is not merely the setting but plays a vital role — at least in its influence on the main character who experiences nature as alive and conscious. The difference between these two novels is conveyed in the two opening paragraphs. The mystery, *Spirit in the Rainforest* begins:

They buried Tom Austen just before midnight.

For an hour workers had dug while a crowd watched silently. The only sounds were night creatures calling in the nearby forest, and the engines arriving in the cove. (p. 1)

The first line is designed to catch the reader's attention immediately. Tom, the main character, has joined local activists in a protest against logging. The emphasis here is on action and excitement. In fact, Tom admits that he joined

the protest “mostly for the adventure” (p. 20), though he later realized how beautiful the forest is.

Secret in the Stlalakum Wild begins:

The wolf still howls, long and lone, in our continent’s northwest.
The coast is still lonely. And the wild westerlies sweep in with the
scream of sea birds.

Mazes of islands confuse the way into the dark, heavily timbered mountains that drop down to the ocean. Then thick underbrush further slows the intruder. Muskegs trap the unwary like quicksands. And deep mosses muffle the shouts of the alien who has lost his way. (p. 3)

In this opening the emphasis is on creating a sense of place and mood. The forest itself is introduced as an actor, or at the very least, a presence. It is a presence that remains in the reader’s mind long after the story is finished.

Spirit in the Rainforest includes more facts on environmental problems. Information is given on the age of old growth trees, the problems of clear-cut logging, the legalities of protesting on someone else’s land, as well as information on other environmental issues such as whaling. In many instances, the book reads like a classroom lesson. For example:

“There’s a terrible waste in logging,” Nikki answered. “They take the valuable trees and leave the rest to rot. The companies claim it would cost too much to transport them to market, but that’s just an excuse for poor forest management. It make me furious.”

“What can we do?” Tom said.

“Get everyone in your class at school to write to the government asking for stronger regulation of forest companies.”
(pp. 65-6)

Mention is made of the variety of life found in the rainforest, and connections are also made between different environmental issues, and between personal actions and bigger problems. When one character drops a gum wrapper in the ocean and claims it will sink, another character points out that

“there’s a principle involved. Other people with the same attitude own tankers that are cleaned at sea. They dump oil into the ocean and think nothing of it.” (p. 67)

However, in other areas connections are not made. For example, characters eat lunch at a McDonald’s restaurant without a second thought, and elsewhere they

admire the mahogany interior of a ship with no thought to it having been logged from South American rainforests. There is a sense that, while the environmental concern of the novel may be sincere, it is the result of reaction to current issues, rather than a personal ecological sensibility.

Secret in the Stlalakum Wild presents fewer facts. Some background information is given on native beliefs and on the findings from polygraph research on plants. However, these details are not just given for the reader's information, they are relevant to the characters' *felt* experience. For example, one character explains that polygraph tests have shown that plants react to danger, both to themselves and to others:

“It must be some kind of vibrations. Some natural law of communications that nobody’s thought of yet. Living cells — in you, in the plant, in the dog — must send out signals; and the signals can go hundreds of miles, leaping over everything, flashing through anything. It’s a whole new thing.” (p. 21)

What's important here, is not so much the accuracy of the information given (I don't know in what light the polygraph-plant research is looked on today), but what the information has to say in this story. In this story, it suggests a whole new way of looking at the world—a way of seeing everything in nature as alive, conscious, and connected in more than just a biological way. At first the main character, Morann, thinks of it mainly as “a whole new worry” (p. 21). When she goes into the forest, she is afraid that the wilderness has rejected her and might even harm her. But by the end of the novel, she becomes more conscious of how she, as a human, might harm the wilderness. When she eventually recognizes that the beauty in nature is a treasure more valuable than gold, she also finds that she no longer feels rejected by the wilderness:

She was not going to be rich. Not going to be important. She was going to be something better. She was going to be worthy of the beauty the world had built up. And for no reason that she knew, she turned a cartwheel.

“What’s with you?” Neil asked her.

“The whole world’s with me.” Morann spread her arms wide. She could feel it *with* her. The whole lovely natural world of the great Stlalakum wild. (pp. 183-4)

In *Secret in the Stlalakum Wild* the main character does not just *observe* the beauty and wonder of nature, she *learns* from her experience of nature, and grows both in her relationship to the natural world and in her personal character. However, while there is a *feeling* in this story that everything in nature is connected, there is little explicitly stated awareness of connection between environmental problems. The destruction of nature is said to be influenced by greed, and the

sign of the sea-serpent (a supernatural creature who is alien to the Stlalakum Wild and who puts greed in people's minds) is seen both at the sight of an oil spill at sea, and in the rope of Morann's own sleeping bag on the morning she thinks she will find the gold. This type of summary seems superficial. Similarly, the resolution of the novel seems overly simplified. Although Morann's change of consciousness may be viewed as the main resolution of the novel, everything seems to be made right through the saving of one small wilderness area. *Spirit in the Rainforest*, in contrast, ends with the idea that "the fight" isn't over:

"After all, there are fifteen more places on this coast where the rainforest is threatened. . . . We're going to need help for a very long time." (p. 143)

What this suggests is that both novels have different problems. While *Spirit in the Rainforest* conveys more environmental knowledge than does *Secret in the Stlalakum Wild*, it is leaner in the area of felt ecological sensibility, and of character growth in relationship with the non-human. *Secret in the Stlalakum Wild* expresses a deeper ecological sensibility in terms of felt experience and perception of nature, but is somewhat limited in its awareness of biological interconnections and of interconnections between issues. Both use the beauty of nature as their main argument for saving nature. However, in *Spirit in the Rainforest* this is an interpretation of beauty based on the observation of tourists, and is therefore limited to superficial appearance. This type of argument can exclude nature that is not considered beautiful, and can become invalid when ideas about what constitutes "beauty" change. In *Secret in the Stlalakum Wild*, however, while the notion that nature is valuable because it is beautiful is still present, Morann, because she does not just observe nature, but has a relationship with it, discovers something more than superficial beauty. She discovers the "wisdom of the wild," and in the process earns a kind of "spirit power," which, for her, is a personal power to make the right choices. It is the character's ability to learn and grow in response to interaction with nature that makes this novel, despite its flaws, more than just an issue novel.

The survival story, while it does not deal explicitly with environmental issues, conveys a certain attitude to nature through the character's direct experience of nature. The recent survival stories differ from those of the past in that their emphasis is no longer so much on the characters' physical survival in nature, but on their psychological growth in nature. In Monica Hughes' *Hunter in the Dark*, for example, sixteen-year-old Mike is dying of cancer. When he runs away to the Alberta wilderness in order to "bag" the "trophy" deer he's always dreamed of, he is also running from death. His pursuit of the deer brings him into confrontation with life itself. Through identifying with the deer in his gun sight he is able to come to terms with the presence of death in his own life. At the moment he decides not to kill the deer he himself stops running from death:

The road he was on wasn't an either-or road, he had discovered. He wasn't going towards life or death. That wasn't what it was all about, he'd got it wrong all this time. It was on *through* life toward death, which had to be there at the end, or else life itself would become as flat as bread without yeast, as tasteless as a wiener without mustard. (p. 130)

In a traditional survival story, the outcome of this experience might have physically meant life or death to the character. In this story the outcome also means either life or death, but in a psychological rather than physical sense. Mike does not need to kill the deer to survive physically (he has brought plenty of store-bought food with him), but in terms of his inner struggle, this experience has lead him to confront and overcome his fear and rejection of death.

While it is satisfying that Mike does not kill the deer, the story conveys no sense that there might have been something morally amiss in Mike's hunting of the deer for a "trophy." In fact, throughout the novel the deer is constantly referred to as an object which Mike desires to own — as either an "it" or as "his trophy head." The intention of this story is not to convey something about nature, but to use nature to bring about a change in the character. Although the main part of the story takes place in the wilderness, the attitudes and values it conveys about nature are incidental to the story itself. When Mike decides not to kill the deer, it is not because he has had a change of heart about hunting or about the deer itself, it is merely an act symbolic of his inner choice. However, this in itself is implicitly conveying something about nature to the reader.

Although Mike's experience of being alone in the wilderness was essential for his inner healing, one gets the sense that he is still an individual apart from nature. In other words, the nature experience is a means for Mike to get to know himself, but nature itself is not incorporated into that self-knowledge. He will return to the city with an abstract knowledge of life and death, but he will leave nature behind in the wilderness (in "the bush" as he calls it). The novel is about the strength of the human spirit, and about *reaction* to conflicts provided by nature, rather than *interaction* with nature. One might finish this novel with some new insight into life and death in general, but with no new response to the nonhuman "other."

Jasmin, by Jan Truss, has all the familiar elements of a traditional survival story (a lone protagonist using courage and ingenuity to survive in the wilderness), but in contrast to *Hunter in the Dark*, the feeling conveyed about nature and the character's relationship to the wilderness is quite different.

Jasmin also runs away into the wilderness, but for her the wilderness is not so much a separate and far away place. Mike must borrow a truck and drive for

several hours away from his city home to get to the wilderness. Whereas Jasmin simply walks. Her “wilderness” is in many ways an extension of home, and many elements of the wilderness are familiar to Jasmin. Mike packs in all the necessities for survival (camping equipment, cooking utensils, steaks, coffee, an emergency kit, etc.), while Jasmin simply brings a sack of potatoes, a quilt, her warm coat and nightgown. Mike sets up his camp with all that he has brought with him, while Jasmin adjusts herself to what she finds already there (she makes her home in an abandoned coyote den, and supplements her potato diet with what she finds growing around her). Mike is not dependent on the nature around him for survival, whereas Jasmin is. Mike’s awareness of his surroundings is oriented around the pursuit of the trophy deer, while Jasmin must be aware of her surroundings in order to find food and shelter. As a result, Jasmin develops a more intimate relationship with her surroundings and the creatures, besides herself, who live there. She makes friends with the little coyote that sits outside her den, and demonstrates that she has internalized a sense of the other animals she has encountered when her fingers begin to form them out of clay.

Being alone in nature enables Jasmin to discover the existence of her own talents and abilities, which helps to bring about a personal transformation. The wilderness is not just the catalyst or backdrop for personal growth, it is the inspiration. The two people who rescue Jasmin at the end of the book, affirm Jasmin’s newly discovered interests, helping her to recognize their validity. Thus, when Jasmin returns to her parents’ home there is a sense that she does not leave the wilderness behind, but brings it with her as part of her newly realized self.

While *Jasmin* has a more romantic tone than *Hunter in the Dark*, it also has an awareness of ecological cycles such as life and death, and deals with death in nature in a non-judgemental way. The “wilderness miracle” of a doe and a spotted fawn stepping delicately down to the river is broken by the shock of a cougar’s sudden attack. Jasmin is at first sickened by the killing of the doe, but later when she is no longer able to ignore her own hunger she realizes that perhaps she can “understand the feeling to kill” (p. 120), and that perhaps she too will kill.

Thus *Jasmin*, while never explicitly discussing environmental problems or ecological interconnections in nature, conveys through the character’s experience of nature and deepening understanding of what it means to survive in nature, a deeper ecological sensibility than even the novels which explicitly profess environmental concern.

The danger in any issue story is that the issue may take precedence over the story and the characterization. This danger is particularly relevant to environmental issue stories, because there is so much factual information needed

to set up the issues. In *Spirit in the Rainforest*, for example, there is no character growth and almost no depiction of psychological responses. The concern for nature is conveyed directly through the action and dialogue, and sometimes takes on the air of an aside or a lecture. In a novel such as *Jasmin*, in contrast, the value of nature emerges from the story itself, and thus is something both the main character and the reader have gradually digested through the experience of the story, rather than been presented with as a lesson on top of the story. *Secret in the Stlalakum Wild*, while it is less realistic than *Jasmin* and contains some didacticism, works in a similar way. In both *Secret in the Stlalakum Wild* and *Jasmin*, the main character grows as a direct result of her experience in nature, and nature itself is part of that personal growth, not just a backdrop or catalyst for its happening.

If children's novels are to play any role in re-imagining ourselves back into nature, they must convey more than information about environmental problems. They need to be rooted in an ecological sensibility which conceives of people as part of and interdependent with the rest of nature (and in more than a strictly biological way), and the knowledge or feelings they convey must evolve from the story and characterization. First and foremost, the writer must write, not because she/he has something to say, but because she/he has a story that asks to be told. A book which is sincere and *felt* by the reader will not pass away with the passing popularity of any issues it deals with.

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Legislating Nature: The National Parks Act of 1930

Abstract

This paper examines the changing attitudes toward national parks articulated in the discussions leading up to the passage of the National Parks Act in 1930. Legislation passed in 1911 had linked national parks to forest reserves and in both conservation units it permitted the exploitation of natural resources. Wilderness was not generally perceived to be a valuable commodity at this time. Subsequently, however, greater emphasis was placed on the notion of wilderness, leading to the acceptance of the principle of inviolability in defining national parks. While this did not completely prevent use inconsistent with the preservation of wilderness, the principle of inviolability did allow the parks service to better resist pressures to exploit the natural resources of national parks.

Résumé

Cet article analyse l'évolution des attitudes à l'égard des parcs nationaux, telles qu'elles se manifestent dans les débats qui ont mené à l'adoption, en 1930, de la Loi sur les parcs nationaux. Les textes de loi adoptés en 1911 associaient les parcs nationaux aux réserves forestières, et ils autorisaient, dans ces deux unités de conservation, l'exploitation des ressources naturelles. À cette époque, la nature sauvage n'était généralement pas perçue comme une ressource pouvant avoir une valeur quelconque. Plus tard, cependant, cette notion de caractère sauvage de la nature a revêtu une importance croissante, qui a fini par mener à l'inclusion du principe d'inviolabilité dans la définition des parcs nationaux. Bien que cette mesure n'ait pas complètement empêché les utilisations incompatibles avec la préservation de la nature sauvage, le principe d'inviolabilité a néanmoins permis au Service des parcs de mieux

résister aux pressions en faveur de l'exploitation des ressources naturelles dans les parcs nationaux.

Introduction

Ideas of national parks, what they are or what they are supposed to be, are far from consistent and invoke conflicting images: from the golf course at Jasper to the West Coast Trail at Pacific Rim, from the Banff-Jasper Highway (where most people experience national parks) to the back country of Glacier National Park, national parks are at once nature preserves with all the implications of pristine wilderness, and highly developed recreational areas. There are a number of reasons for this multiplicity of views. National parks are perceived as big places attempting to serve a number of constituencies — from the motorist to the back country camper, from the Canadian Wildlife Federation to the Canadian Tourist Association. National parks are planned to accommodate these various uses and specific areas within each park are set aside for different uses. Another reason for the conflicting images they convey is that national parks have evolved over a period of years, with different objectives being emphasized at different times. Before the First World War, for example, the town of Banff might have epitomized the ideal of a Canadian national park; but by the 1930s a hiking trail back of Lake Louise or a view of Jasper's Maligne Lake might have conformed better to the public's ideal of a national park.

Attention has been given to the early period of the evolution of national parks, particularly by A.R. Byrne and Robert Craig Brown. These studies have demonstrated that the preservation of wilderness was not a primary object of the first park administrators; in fact they argue that wilderness was not even there to preserve. As Byrne pointed out in his study of Banff: "the landscape of the park had already been to a large extent 'spoiled.' And because of this, much of the early work of the park administration was concerned with 'improvements'.¹" Craig Brown has summed up the early attitude to national parks by observing: "the reservation in its "wilderness" was *not* a park as that term was understood in the 1880s. With the construction of roads and bridges, the establishment of a townsite and the provision of tourist facilities from baths to special hotels, the reservation would *become* a park."² In this early period, national parks were tied closely to larger concepts of resource development such as forest reserves, and resource exploitation was not seen to be in conflict with national park development. Indeed, the 1911 legislation which provided the legal mandate for parks — the Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act — encouraged industries such as logging and mining in the mountain parks. While this era has been comparatively well studied, the question of how we got from

then to now, when concepts such as wilderness and ecosystem protection are more in vogue, has not received much attention.

The National Parks Act of 1930 is a key document for exploring the transition in attitude toward national parks. This legislation provided the first official definition of national parks as nature preserves and was a radical departure from the 1911 legislation which had defined them as being developed from timber reserves. Equally important are the events leading up to the passage of this act during the 1920s. Together they illustrate the dramatic changes in attitude toward national parks that occurred during the second and third decades of this century. At the same time, they demonstrate the conflicting aims of use and preservation inherent in the idea of national parks.

The 1911 Act and the Formation of the National Park Branch

Even before the 1930 legislation, national parks had a history of conflicting purpose, although the emphasis was on resource development. Canada's first national park was created by order-in-council in 1885 and received legislative sanction through the Rocky Mountain Parks Act in 1887. Primarily concerned with controlling the hot springs at Banff as a public spa, the act also reserved a few square miles of surrounding scenery as public land, although a certain degree of private development was tolerated, especially by the CPR. Contiguous areas were added over the following decades so that by the turn of the century there was a string of park reserves throughout the Rocky and Selkirk Mountains, served mostly by the CPR line. In the first decade of the new century, Jasper was established to the west of Edmonton, and Elk Island to the east. Although protection was a concern in this early period, it was largely intended to conserve a precious resource, as game and unspoiled scenery were what many people came to see.

In 1911, this group of parks, along with a parallel system of forest reserves, was rationalized by passage of the Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act. Under this legislation the areas of Banff and Jasper were considerably reduced and new park development was restricted to land held in existing forest reserves. Parks were seen as serviced recreation areas. While they were not incompatible with resource extraction, they were organized according to common principles of conservation. Thus both forest reserves and parks conformed to what Craig Brown has termed the doctrine of usefulness. Accordingly, national parks were not in opposition to resource exploitation. Scenery was considered to be like trees, water and minerals — one more resource to be utilized for the larger benefit of the nation. The only restriction governing the exploitation of these resources was that exploitation was to be planned and controlled so that the resources could be available in perpetuity. This is the old idea of sustainable development that was a guiding principle of the conservation movement at the

turn of the century. In lumping parks with forest reserves, the 1911 act linked them together in a common purpose of planned resource protection. Together parks and forest reserves protected the important watershed of the Rocky Mountains. But this policy also meant that parks were fundamentally resource reserves, allowing for the controlled exploitation of a range of resources, such as minerals, timber and water as well as scenery.

Shortly after the passage of this act, a Parks Branch was established to oversee the national parks system. From 1911 until 1936, the Parks Branch was headed by the Commissioner of Dominion Parks, James B. Harkin. Harkin was a dynamic and imaginative civil servant who sought to expand the role of his bureau and the national parks. He and his branch took a disparate group of parks in the mountains and helped develop them into major resources for tourism, recreation, and conservation. They extended the national park system eastward, establishing major parks in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and the Maritimes. At the same time, Harkin and his branch presided over a major reorientation of parks already in the system as they were transformed from railway resorts into destinations for motorized tourists. Throughout Harkin's tenure, the Branch carried out a massive program of highway construction with ancillary services such as campsites and cottage development.

At the same time, the Branch expanded its mandate until it soon became the principal government agency engaged in conservation theory and practice. Following enactment of the Migratory Birds Convention Act and the Northwest Game Act in 1917, the Branch was given responsibility for wildlife protection on federal land. Subsequently, parks, such as the vast Wood Buffalo National Park created in 1922, were created primarily for the conservation of wildlife.

Through this period of expansion, the Branch struggled to define just what a national park was or should be, a process culminating in the 1930 legislation that established the character of national parks for many years after. A number of conflicting issues had to be resolved. On the one hand, Harkin aggressively sold parks for their usefulness to the nation. "Nothing attracts tourists like national parks," Harkin wrote in his annual report for 1913-14. Moreover he added, "... the most important service which the parks render is in the matter of helping to make Canadian people physically fit, mentally efficient, and morally elevated."³ On the other hand, the Branch recognized the national parks' mission of preserving unspoiled examples of Canadian landscapes. "In future years," Harkin wrote in 1915, "the parks should be the natural history schools of Canada, and the parks will probably be the only places where the native fauna and flora will be found in a natural state."⁴ Reconciling these two aims of national parks — use and preservation — was and continues to be a problem for national park policy. But the immediate aim of Harkin and his

branch was to establish national parks as a distinct resource, separate from the forest reserves to which they had been joined through the 1911 legislation.

The Principle of Inviolability

The necessity to have national parks tied to forest reserves was soon dropped by amendments to the 1911 act. The recognition that natural resources of national parks would be treated separately from those in forest reserves was slower in coming. This became an important issue for the Parks Branch in the 1920s and was referred to as the principle of inviolability.

Typically, this principle of inviolability was fought over at Banff, the archetypical national park. During the first decades of its history, commercial exploitation was viewed as a good thing. Although superintendent Howard Douglas advocated the extension of the park boundaries for the preservation of both scenery and game, he countenanced mining developments, such as those at Canmore and Exshaw, within the parks. These activities continued even after the establishment of the Branch, and as late as 1912, hydroelectric dams were built at Lake Minnewanka and Kananaskis Falls with little resistance from parks officials.⁵

Following the war, the Branch adopted a much tougher stance against commercial intrusion into Banff. At this time, it approved of and even led the way in developing the townsite as a more attractive and convenient tourist centre and inaugurated a massive highway building program. However, it was absolutely opposed to commercial ventures unrelated to tourism and especially to development over which it had little control. This attitude brought it into direct conflict with local Alberta business interests, represented by Calgary lawyer and Member of Parliament R.B. Bennett, and the Irrigation Branch of the Department of the Interior.

Two issues in particular, a claim by the Irrigation Branch in 1920 for jurisdiction over water rights in national parks and an application by Calgary Power and Light in 1923 for rights to build a hydroelectric dam on the Spray Lakes, solidified the position of the Parks Branch and made the passage of legislation specifically aimed at protecting natural resources in parks an urgent concern. The position of the Irrigation Branch had some force in the department. It was consistent with earlier policy aimed at conserving the resources of the Rocky Mountain watershed for the future development of Alberta. Moreover, it was backed by William Pearce, the former departmental surveyor who had been instrumental in defining the original park. Pearce was now employed by the CPR and was personally involved in a scheme to develop southern Alberta drylands using water from the Rocky Mountains Park.⁶ Both Pearce and the Irrigation Branch argued that tapping the park's lakes and rivers in this way

would not detract from its usefulness as a recreational area, for, after all, it would still be accessible for public enjoyment. The position of Calgary Power and Light was similar to that of the Irrigation Branch, arguing that its development would not detract from the usefulness of the park. Moreover, the company was able to cite precedent, pointing to significant developments it had already built within the park boundaries. These arguments, coupled with the fact that Bennett was on the board of directors, made the company's position particularly strong. To virtually ensure its triumph, the provincial government insisted that it be able to derive revenue from hydroelectric resources in the Rockies.

In the face of this onslaught, Harkin was uncompromising. "It needs no argument to convince anyone," he wrote Deputy Minister Cory in May 1920, "that water in the form of falls, rapids, lakes and streams is an absolute essential to scenic beauty. The parks without their scenic waters would be of comparatively little use for the purpose for which they were set aside."⁷ In defending the exclusive right of his Branch to manage all national park resources, Harkin brought forth an important principle that had hitherto lain dormant in discussions over national parks: their inviolability as wilderness preserves. Now, facing a challenge from a rival branch, Harkin made inviolability a fundamental ideal of national parks and presented his branch as the only legitimate trustee. One of the first instances of Harkin's use of the principle of inviolability thus occurred in his annual report for 1920-21 in which he defended his position regarding the granting of water rights in national parks.

The stand taken by the Parks Branch with regard to such applications is that the parks are the property of all the people of Canada and that consequently they should not be developed for the benefit of any one section of the country or of private interests; second, that such development constitutes an invasion of the fundamental principles upon which parks have been established, namely, the conservation of certain areas of primitive landscape with all their original conditions of plant and animal life and other natural features intact.⁸

This rationale allowed Harkin to successfully resist the claims of the Irrigation Branch. It had however less success with regard to Calgary Power and Light's claims to the Spray Lakes and merely forced the Minister to delay rendering a decision: this, despite the emergence of groups like the Alpine Club of Canada and the National Parks Association that lobbied for the preservation of wilderness. With the issue heating up in this way, the necessity of enshrining the principle of inviolability in new legislation became a major priority for the Branch during the 1920s.

The Parks Bill and the Transfer of Resources Act

All this activity in expanding the system and applying new ideas influenced the passage of the 1930 legislation and raised the issue of rewriting the legislation to give separate definition to the national parks program. However, although the need for separate legislation was recognized soon after the establishment of the Parks Branch, passage of the bill was delayed pending the settlement of the transfer of jurisdiction of natural resources to the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. This was not accomplished until 1930 and it is not a mere coincidence that the National Parks Act was passed this same year, since the national parks alienated important resources from the provinces. In fact the question of control of the national parks' natural resources was a thorny issue protracting the negotiations through the 1920s.

Although new legislation was first proposed in 1919 and a draft bill prepared in 1920, it was not until 1923 that another bill was prepared which stated the preservation of wilderness as the principal mission of national parks. The 1923 bill proposed two levels of defense against the sort of threat posed by the Calgary Power and Light application. It entrenched the principle of inviolability and it stipulated that the integrity of national parks could not be altered except by an act of parliament. As the briefing note to the Minister explained:

The main principle behind parks is their preservation in their natural state for the public in perpetuity. The clause under consideration reasserts this principle and makes it impossible for any invasion of parks land without it being perfectly clear to Parliament that such invasion is to take place.⁹

This clause had the added benefit of shielding the Minister from outside pressure. Since land rights in national parks could not be alienated as they had before by order-in-council, it would be fruitless to lobby the Minister. It also meant that the Minister would no longer have to mediate between the claims of rival branches. This clause formed a central portion of the legislation that was finally passed in 1930.

The newly drafted bill, although tabled in parliament in 1923, was not debated, and one wonders whether the Minister was even aware of its implications. It was not until the following year, for instance, that Stewart raised concerns about the extensive powers that the new legislation would give to the Parks Branch. While agreeing with the principle of inviolability to a certain extent, he felt that it should only apply to a very limited area. "He seemed to think that absolute sanctity might be alright with respect to areas extending approximately twenty-five (25) miles from a centre like Banff," Harkin told Deputy Minister Cory after a meeting with Stewart, "but that any areas beyond that should be open to commercial exploitation."¹⁰ Harkin's response was to propose a re-

duction in the size of the parks rather than compromise on the principle of inviolability.¹¹ Principle rather than size had now become his priority. Meanwhile, the negotiations between Ottawa and Edmonton over the transfer of natural resources to the province of Alberta were becoming more intense and the whole subject of federal parks in the Rockies became a central issue of discussion. The position of the Alberta government, led by Premier Brownlee, was that the mountain parks were rich in natural resources which were the birthright of Albertans. While Premier Brownlee did not ask that the parks be turned over to the province, he argued that mineral and water rights should be administered by the province, while the rest of the land rights could be left under federal control. Although the federal negotiator, O.M. Biggar, seemed sympathetic to the Alberta position, Harkin once again raised the principle of inviolability.¹² A related issue was the question of the townsites. Banff especially had grown into a sizeable town and the province argued that it should be governed solely under provincial law. However, Harkin insisted that federal regulations had to apply where necessary to ensure that development in the town was compatible with its position in a national park.¹³ Harkin was not receptive to the proposal that the townsite be excluded from the park, as he wished to maintain control over its main tourist centre. On a number of points then, Harkin forced the government to take a much tougher stand with the province than it might have done if it had been left unhindered by Harkin's principles.

With neither side showing much willingness to compromise, the situation had become stalemated by 1927. Finally, Brownlee suggested that so long as the parks did not contain substantial resources, he would agree to put aside his claims.¹⁴ Stewart then dispatched R.W. Cautley, a department senior surveyor who, accompanied by a provincial official, L.C. Charlesworth, resurveyed the boundaries of Banff and Jasper. Following Stewart's instructions, Cautley excluded from the parks areas with obvious resources such as the Spray Lakes and the towns of Exshaw and Canmore.¹⁵ He did extend the western boundaries to the height of land, however, and so the resurveyed parks were not drastically reduced in size. The Cautley report became an important document in the ensuing agreement with the province, as did the National Parks Act which defined the boundaries of the existing parks. In a way, this was a sizeable victory for the Parks Branch because, although it removed important resources from Banff, it recognized the extension of the principle of inviolability over a considerably larger area than the Minister had initially envisaged.

A National Park Standard

Unfortunately, the principle of inviolability was undermined by the failure of the parks administration to distinguish between its competing missions of tourism, recreation and conservation. In the establishment of new parks and the

development of old ones, the administration brought conflicting ideas to bear. At the one extreme, was the approach that national parks were recreational areas, serving the needs of urban people. This attitude toward national parks, which encouraged greater emphasis on development and recreation than on preservation of wilderness, was epitomized in a statement written by Harkin's assistant to the Assistant Deputy Minister in 1922. This statement implied that almost any land would do for a national park as long as it was owned by the Crown and reasonably close to a centre of population.¹⁶ It was later proposed to distinguish recreational areas from scenic national parks and the Minister defined them as: "reservations of Crown lands which are adapted for public use and enjoyment for summer resort and recreational purposes but which do not possess scenery of sufficient importance to justify their creation as national parks."¹⁷

But this approach to parks as recreation areas was being overshadowed in the 1920s by the view that national parks served to preserve outstanding areas of natural landscape. "According to the standards which we have adopted with respect to national parks," Harkin wrote Deputy Minister Cory regarding new parks in 1925, "park areas must be outstanding in their scenic and recreational values. In addition our inclination has been towards large areas preferably in wilderness condition because one of the purposes of a national park is to preserve bits of original Canada for all time."¹⁸ Two years later Harkin said: "Areas deemed suitable for a National Park must possess scenic beauty and recreational qualities of a character so outstanding and unusual as to be properly classified National rather than merely local."¹⁹ National parks were not created, Harkin argued elsewhere, they were recognized and preserved.²⁰

The acceptance of the idea of a national park standard, the notion that an area had to possess intrinsic merit in order to be recognized as a national park, had a number of implications for the program. In imposing an aesthetic criterion, the standard implied that national parks could not be created just anywhere where land was undeveloped, since they had to be "so outstandingly superior in quality and beauty to average examples of their several types as to demand their preservation intact and in their entirety for the enjoyment, education, and inspiration of all the people for all time."²¹ It followed, then, that national parks could not be justified as regional recreation areas, serving the needs of metropolitan areas across the country. This was the assumption among those promoting national park ideals in the United States, where it was feared that local lobbying would place so many parks in the system as to exceed the capacity of the program to protect the truly deserving areas as national parks. And this became Harkin's view, as well, as he advised his Deputy Minister in 1930: "The primary purpose of National Parks is not recreation as it is understood by the advocates of regionally distributed National Parks, but rather that they are the outdoor museums of the finest in primitive conditions."²² In fact, national parks did serve as regional recreation areas and places like Riding

Mountain and Prince Albert National Parks were deliberately developed for that purpose during the 1930s. But Harkin's statement represents a substantial shift in attitude about the national park ideal from the time before the war when they were considered primarily as developed recreational areas.

Another implication of the national park standard was "that the area of each park must be a logical unit, embracing all territory required for effective administration and for rounding out the life zones of its flora and fauna."²³ This meant that national parks had to be large enough to conserve a recognizable geographical area. This area was later defined as a minimum of 200 square miles.²⁴ A related corollary was that the national park system should include a variety of geographical areas. One of the priorities of the Parks Branch therefore became the acquisition of a seaside park, and Harkin was prepared to turn down proposals for new mountain parks until this end had been achieved.²⁵

Despite the emphasis on a national standard, new park planning still favoured allocating national parks on a provincial basis. In a letter to a New Brunswick correspondent in 1927, Harkin said, "one of my ambitions, unrealized as yet, has been the creation of one National Park in each of our Provinces."²⁶ This objective was given added force when stated by the Minister, Charles Stewart, in parliament in 1930.²⁷ But the desire to have one park in each of the provinces only modified, but did not contradict, the application of a national standard. It stipulated that new parks "have a standard of scenic beauty equal to the best within the province."²⁸

While acceptance of a national park standard reinforced the mission of protection, the objective of recreation was never sublimated. Viewing national parks both as wilderness preserves and developed recreation areas posed a dilemma as it does today. One solution to this problem was to define different kinds of parks, which is what early versions of the new National Parks Act attempted. In the bill prepared in 1923, for example, there were four categories of national park: scenic, game sanctuaries, recreational areas and historic parks. The principle of inviolability would have only been applied to scenic parks, the other categories being subject to much looser planning restrictions. Since recreational areas did not include nationally significant landscape, they could be established at convenient locales, regardless of other criteria. A number of areas were proposed in this category, although only Vidal's Point in Saskatchewan was formally proclaimed a recreational area. But since it lacked national significance, it was difficult to justify this category of park remaining under federal control. The recreational area became a topic of discussion during the negotiations preceding passage of the transfer of natural resources to the western provinces. As a result, the recreational area category was dropped from the 1930 bill and the act formally transferred Vidal's Point to the province.

The game sanctuary category also failed because it was an obvious provincial responsibility, yet there was good reason for creating a separate category of park for game sanctuaries in the new legislation. Harkin had never liked calling Wood Buffalo a national park, for instance, and did so only because it was the only way to reserve the area as a federal game sanctuary. Calling game reserves like Wood Buffalo, Buffalo and Elk Island national parks detracted from the rigid standards established for scenic national parks. The designation also implied recreation which, in the case of Wood Buffalo at least, was definitely not encouraged. It was better to define them as a distinct type of park where their objectives would be more readily understood. The new category would also have included bird sanctuaries created under the Migratory Bird Convention Act. However this category, promoted through the 1920s, was dropped from the final version of the bill. The smaller bird sanctuaries were transferred to the provinces, as was Menissawok antelope reserve in Saskatchewan. The rest, if they were to continue in the federal system, had to be content with the designation of national park.

The Success and Failure of the 1930 Legislation

While the enshrinement of the principle of inviolability was the major achievement of the 1930 legislation, its inability to rationalize the various strands of the Parks Branch program was its biggest failure. By focusing on just one kind of park, with Banff as its model, the act left a number of properties in legislative limbo. It was difficult, for example, to explain a new acquisition like Prince Edward Island National Park in terms of the Banff prototype for it was seen as being largely a resort with no wilderness to protect.²⁹ Similarly, the increasing conflict between townsite development and wilderness protection was not delimited by the act. A greater omission was the act's failure to define game sanctuaries. As the act formed the centrepiece of the national parks' program, it left the wildlife service on the periphery. The marginality helps explain the eventual splitting of the Wildlife Service to form a separate branch in 1947.

Even the principal achievement of the act, enshrining the principle of inviolability, was undermined by subsequent events. In 1940, the war provided an excuse for serious breach of the principle of inviolability when Calgary Light and Power was granted permission for a major expansion of the Lake Minnewanka power development. The level of the lake was raised, which had a major impact on the surrounding landscape. Still, this development did not constitute a breach of the National Parks Act since it necessitated passage of a separate act of Parliament.

The principle of inviolability did not protect natural resources from other kinds of development. Something that was not foreseen by the Parks Branch in the

1920s was the threat to park values posed by recreational development. While the incompatibility of mining and lumbering in national parks was well understood, almost all infrastructural development for tourism was seen as benefiting parks. Shortly after the passage of the 1930 legislation, for example, the Parks Branch embarked on a program to establish major golf courses in its larger parks. Also, the scale of recreational developments in the postwar years, particularly in the realms of highways and downhill skiing facilities, introduced changes to the landscape not foreseen in the 1930 legislation and brought huge conflicts to park planning and development. Nonetheless, the 1930 legislation represents a significant change in attitude toward wilderness preservation from that articulated in earlier national parks legislation and policies.

Notes

1. A.R. Byrne, "Man and Landscape Change in the Banff National Park Area before 1911," *Studies in Land Use History and Landscape Change* (Calgary: University of Calgary, National Parks Series no. 1, 1968), 137.
2. Robert Craig Brown, "The Doctrine of Usefulness: natural resource and national park policy in Canada, 1887-1914," in J.G. Nelson (ed.), *Canadian Parks in Perspective* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1970), 50.
3. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, 1913-14*, "Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks," 4.
4. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, 1914-15*, "Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks," 6.
5. Leslie Bella, *Parks for Profit* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1987), 50.
6. Ibid., 51.
7. National Archives of Canada (NAC0, RG 84, vol. 1955, U1, vol. 2, pt. 1, Harkin to Cory, 11 May 1920).
8. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, 1920-21*, 14.
9. NAC, RG 84, vol. 1955, U1, vol. 3, pt. 4, Harkin to Gibson, 7 March 1923.
10. NAC, RG 84, vol. 1955, U1, vol. 3, pt. 1, Harkin to Cory, 7 May 1924.
11. Ibid.
12. NAC, RG 84, vol. 2071, U127-1, Harkin to Gibson, 2 March 1926.
13. NAC, RG 84, vol. 2071, U127-1, W.W. Cory to Harkin, 8 January 1925; Harkin to Cory, 12 February 1925; O.M. Biggar, "Report re natural resources question," 24 February 1925.
14. NAC, RG 84, vol. 1956, U1, vol. 4, pt. 2, J.E. Brownlee to W.L. Mackenzie King, 2 March 1927; RG 84, vol. 2071, U127-1, W.L. Mackenzie King to J.E. Brownlee, 29 December 1928.
15. NAC, RG 84, vol. 1956, U1, vol. 4, pt. 1, Gibson to Harkin, 30 January 1929; RG 84, vol. 1961, U2, vol. 3, Cautley to Harkin, 3 October 1929.
16. NAC, RG 84, vol. 1961, U2, vol. 2, pt. 2, Williamson to Gibson, 20 July 1922.
17. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, 1921-22*, 101.
18. NAC, RG 84, vol. 983, CBH 2, vol. 1, Harkin to Cory, 11 February 1925.
19. NAC, RG 84, vol. 483, F2, vol. 1, Harkin to Hon. Charles D. Richards, 13 June 1927.
20. Cited in William Waiser, *Saskatchewan's Playground* (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1989).
21. "National Park Standards," *Parks and Recreation* (August 1929), Cited in NAC, RG 84, vol. 1959, "Briefing Notes for National Park Act, 1930."
22. NAC, RG 84, vol. 1961, U2, vol. 3, Harkin to Gibson, 25 February 1930.
23. "National Park Standards," *Parks and Recreations*, (August 1929), 292-4.

24. Ibid., Harkin to James D. McKenna, 31 October 1927.
25. NAC, RG 84, vol. 1979, U2-19, vol. 1, pt. 1, Harkin to H.H. Rowett, 19 August 1931. NAC, RG 84, vol. 1777, PEI-2, vol. 1, pt. 2, Harkin to Gibson, 14 May 1930.
26. NAC, RG 84, vol. 483, F2, vol. 1, Harkin to McKenna, 31 October 1927.
27. Canada, *House of Commons, Debates*, 26 May 1930, 2549.
28. NAC, RG 84, vol. 1955, U1, vol. 3, pt. 4, Harkin to Gibson, 7 March 1923.
29. "It will be impossible to apply the same National Park Standards to the proposed park in P.E.I. since its characteristics are almost totally different from any of the National Parks so far established in Canada." NAC, RG 84, vol. 1777, PEI-2, vol. 1, pt. 2, Williamson, Memorandum to file, 23 March 1936.

Ecology, Nature, and Canadian National Park Policy: Wolves, Elk, and Bison as a Case Study

Abstract

The transition of Canadian national parks from scenic playground to repositories of wilderness and intact ecosystems was an early indication of a fundamental shift in Canadian ideas about nature in the twentieth century, one that Canadians are still working out, and an early example of science affecting nature policy and ideas about nature. Between 1920 and 1950 park administrators began to see wildlife not as scenery but as an essential part of the visitor's experience and animals not as individual species but as parts of a system. Park officers changed policy, began public education programs, and developed research programs. The basis for this new view was the science of ecology, largely as communicated through debates in the United States. Beginning in the mid-1920s arguments over predator control and park wildlife policies there gave Canadian officials an example and scientific studies in United States parks in the 1930s provided justification for a program of protecting all species. These foundations, laid in the interwar period, have been the basis on which Canadians have built programs of environmental protection in the last generation.

Résumé

Le fait que les parcs nationaux du Canada soient passés du statut de terrains de jeu «panoramiques» à celui de réserves de terres sauvages et d'écosystèmes intacts a été l'une des premières indications signalant un changement fondamental, au XX^e siècle, dans l'idéologie canadienne de la nature, changement que les Canadiens n'ont pas encore complètement assimilé. Cette transition a également été l'un des premiers exemples de l'influence de la science sur les idées et les politiques visant la nature. Entre 1920 et 1950, les

administrateurs de parcs ont commencé à voir au-delà de la dimension « paysage » de la nature sauvage, pour la considérer comme un élément essentiel de l'expérience vécue par les visiteurs, et ils ont cessé de voir les animaux comme autant d'espèces individuelles, pour les considérer comme faisant partie intégrante d'un système. Les gestionnaires de parcs ont modifié les politiques, instauré des programmes de sensibilisation du public et développé des programmes de recherche. Cette nouvelle vision s'appuyait sur la science de l'écologie, communiquée en grande partie par le truchement des débats publics qui se déroulaient aux États-Unis. À partir du milieu des années 1920, les débats entourant le contrôle des prédateurs et les politiques en matière de faune dans les parcs nationaux américains ont servi d'exemple aux responsables canadiens; puis, au cours des années 1930, les études scientifiques réalisées dans les parcs américains ont montré le bien-fondé d'un programme général de protection de la faune. Ce sont ces fondements, posés durant l'entre-deux-guerres, qui ont servi de base aux programmes canadiens de protection de l'environnement élaborés au cours de la dernière génération.

The transition of Canadian national parks from scenic playgrounds to repositories of wilderness and intact ecosystems was an early indication of a fundamental shift in Canadian ideas about nature in the twentieth century, one that Canadians are still working out. Nature has been vital to Canadian identity and the Canadian economy, but as a storehouse and a place for aesthetic experience. It is now becoming a system, one whose preservation is vital for human life and culture. The basis for this new view has been the science of ecology. The changes in park policy show science affecting ideas and action. Between 1920 and 1950, park administrators began to view wildlife in a new way. It had been an adjunct to the scenery; it became an essential part of the visitor's experience and of the system that was the park. The administrators changed policy and established research programs to guide it. They began to educate people to this new way of thinking. Changes in the parks were the forerunner of changes in society at large, a precursor of a more general environmental consciousness that now affects nature and natural resources policies throughout the country.

Canada established national parks in the late nineteenth century as places for scenery and relaxation. They featured forests and snow-capped peaks, vistas that visitors could appreciate from the porch of a rustic lodge or while soaking in a hot mineral spring. Wildlife was a distinctly secondary consideration. When park officials did think of animals, they thought in terms of scenery. Their ideal was a large ruminant, majestic, graceful, with horns or antlers, posing in a family group in the middle distance against the backdrop of mountain peaks. A few other animals provided amusement: bears begged at the

roadside, squirrels and birds came to be fed by the guests.¹ To encourage these “nice” animals, superintendents tried, with more or with less energy, to wipe out the wolves, coyotes, mountain lions, lynxes, and other “vermin.” Game protectors carried rifles, set traps, and used poison — with a disregard for side-effects that would now be considered almost criminal. In 1912 John Brown, in charge at Waterton Lakes National Park, seemed quite surprised that Superintendent of Parks Howard Douglas would question his use of poison. The baits, he admitted, were killing some birds, but only magpies and whisky jacks (Canada or Gray Jays) “which are very destructive to young grouse and will eat the eggs of those or any other birds.” There was, he went on, no danger to other animals; he had been using poison for forty years and had found no destruction of useful wildlife except some dogs.²

In this, as in other matters, Canadian park policy was influenced by, and paralleled that of, the United States. The two countries shared a common (Anglo) culture; North America was, biologically speaking, a single province, and the United States had large parks and a larger population. Canadian administrators could, therefore, draw on a host of good and bad examples and get advice just across the border. With regard to wildlife they certainly did; in the early 1920s the Dominion Park Service was buying poison from the United States Bureau of Biological Survey and getting advice on ridding its parks of wolves — a policy already completed in the United States.³ The shift to predator protection also occurred in parallel. J.B. Harkin, Commissioner of Dominion Parks, believed his country led the way. In 1934 he declared that “The policy respecting predatory animals in the Canadian National Parks which has been in effect since 1928 has apparently since been adopted for the United States National Parks.... This is apparently a case of two administrations having independently reached similar conclusions.” Perhaps, but it seems unlikely. The policy “in effect since 1928” was not a clear-cut declaration, and Harkin’s timing and even his rhetoric suggest that in both countries scientific ideas about predators and problems with exploding populations of grazing animals brought a shift in policy that stretched over the interwar years and was not complete until after World War II.⁴

The impetus for change came from field biologists in the American West, particularly a group at the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology at the University of California, Berkeley, where Joseph Grinnell had been building a museum for the region since 1908. Grinnell and his friends had seen their region change from wilderness to farms, pastures, and cities, and watched the destruction of flora and fauna. Grinnell, the main force behind the movement, had been concerned for years, but only in 1924 did he move to open public debate. Then he backed a group of his friends and associates who protested the poisoning policies of the U.S. Bureau of Biological Survey in a session at the annual meeting of the American Society of Mammalogists. They argued that the Survey’s excessive use of poison was destroying wildlife populations throughout

the West; two Survey biologists defended their agency. The argument, which continued to 1931, provided the impetus for official action.⁵

Four months after the *Journal of Mammalogy* printed the papers from that session, Harkin began arguing for predator preservation in terms that echoed the dissidents.

Predatory animals are of great scientific, educational, recreational and economic value to society. It is now generally recognized that they should be preserved. . . . [I]t is considered most desirable to maintain public sanctuaries or parks for their preservation in favourable isolated areas. . . . Scientists of note state it is worth years of effort to secure just such areas where all controls were absolutely prohibited. . . . Other scientists are pointing out that much of the antipathy [toward these animals] is not backed up by evidence obtained from a study of food habits.⁶

He sent park superintendents a paper in which one of the protestors, C.C. Adams, called for the preservation of wildlife, particularly native wildlife, in the national parks. In 1928, when the U.S. Park Service stopped allowing wardens to keep the pelts of animals killed in the park and required written justification for the killing of animals other than wolves, coyotes, and cougars, Harkin followed suit, only adding wolverines to the list.⁷

He spoke in terms that were coming to be used south of the border and cited park problems from the United States. Wildlife conditions, he wrote to the superintendent at Wood Buffalo National Park, should "remain as nearly as possible in a natural condition," for it was this that gave the parks "their chief charm and attraction." The excess elk in Jackson Hole, Wyoming and starving deer in the Kaibab National Forest in Arizona, where "predatory animals were systematically destroyed" and the surplus animals were unable to migrate, showed that there was "a special need for a policy of preserving the balance of nature, exercising only the control necessary to maintain that balance against such human interference as may unavoidably occur."⁸ The Kaibab was the most famous case of a protected herd exploding out of control.⁹ In the early 1900s, the area was declared a national forest and a campaign of predator extermination begun. By 1919, observers were reporting that the animals were too numerous and were eating up the forest. While the National Park Service, the Forest Service, and the state of Arizona bickered about what to do, nature took a hand. In the winter of 1924-25 disease and starvation decimated the herd. In the spring their carcasses littered the forest and that summer scientists reported finding animals whose ribs could be counted through the skin. Reports and memos on the Kaibab fill Dominion Park Service files. There were other cases, and Canadian authorities were well aware of them. On a file copy of Vernon

Bailey's 1929 report on the irruptions among Pennsylvania deer is the note: "Mr. Harkin — very important."¹⁰

Harkin hardly needed reminding. In 1923, officials in Wainwright National Park, established to hold Canada's plains buffalo herd, had been forced to slaughter 250 animals to relieve the pressure on the range. They made plans to ship others to the new Wood Buffalo Park, then had to deal with the protests of naturalists concerned about spreading tuberculosis to the new area (one hundred ninety-nine of the group slaughtered in 1923 had the disease).¹¹ The government ultimately shipped over 6,000 plains buffalo to the southern part of Wood Buffalo Park, probably bringing in tuberculosis and brucellosis and certainly swamping the subspecies of wood buffalo. Only an isolated (and until 1960 undiscovered) herd of some 200 pure-bred woods buffalo preserved that genetic heritage.¹² Other parks had problems too. In 1930, the acting Superintendent at Waterton Lakes warned that efforts to restore the mountain sheep should be examined closely. "It must be borne in mind," he said, "that there is a limit to the number of sheep that can, with safety, be accommodated within a park." Once that is reached the animals will deteriorate from lack of food and become subject to diseases. "So really there is no good in trying to obtain large numbers."¹³

Tourists, however, wanted "large numbers," and the clash of interests created problems. The annual migration of the Yellowstone elk, maintained as a tourist attraction, to their winter feeding grounds outside the park brought complaints from the stockmen about the animals eating up the range and from nature-lovers outraged at the "shooting gallery" where the animals passed over the park boundary. Speaking from accumulated experience in Canadian park management — and with some exasperation — Harrison Lewis summed up the situation in 1947. It was "impossible," he said, "to train elk and deer to sally forth from National Parks in just the right numbers and at just the right times to suit the sportsmen and yet do no damage to agricultural and ranching interests."¹⁴

Harkin has spoken of a "policy" adopted in 1928 but it was, like similar actions south of the border, something less than law. The public had little use for predators or appreciation of the need for "natural conditions." As an editorial in the Edmonton *Bulletin* in 1935 put it, "there is a pretty general notion that the parks are intended for people, the animals being preserved there only to provide interest for visitors. And in the capacity of entertainers the flesh-eaters have certain clearly defined limitations."¹⁵ Even in the Park Service, Harkin's ideas only slowly took hold. In 1934, game protectors in Wood Buffalo National Park were still poisoning wolves with strychnine, and the next year the staff at Banff, concerned that too little was being done to hold down predators, warned that sheep, deer, and goats in the park "would be faced with extinction in the course of a few years."¹⁶ Eleven years later A.W.F. Banfield reported that park policy toward predators "is not clearly understood by the majority of members of the

Parks staff. . . . It was found that in the majority of parks, carnivores . . . were looked upon with disfavour by the staff and every opportunity was seized to shoot them on sight.”¹⁷

Popular prejudice against “the flesh-eaters” and the idea of the parks as “sanctuaries” made it difficult for Harkin to set a new direction, but it was also the case that neither the policy nor the basis of it was clear. Harkin, in a 1929 letter, explained his agency’s wildlife policy by saying that animals were “given absolute protection with the further exception that war is waged on predatory animals to a reasonable extent in order that the safety of the remainder may be made more secure. . . . [W]hile it is not the desire that predators be abundant they are not being exterminated, which would upset the balance of nature.”¹⁸ There was a confusing mixture of protection and a “natural balance,” but Harkin had no certain model. The scientists themselves were not calling for absolute protection, and had as little idea as the administrators about the actual impact of predation on prey populations.

Only in the 1930s would ecological research provide intellectual underpinnings for predator policy and justify “absolute protection.” The Wildlife Division of the United States Park Service was the major actor here. Founded in 1933 by George Wright, a former student of Joseph Grinnell, it acted as wildlife’s advocate within the agency. Its most important contribution was the work done by Adolph Murie on coyote-elk relationships in Yellowstone (1937-39) and wolf and Dall sheep in Mt. McKinley National Park (1939-41).¹⁹ The latter was the first ecological field study of a large predator and its prey and would become required reading among Canadian wildlife managers. Even before Murie’s studies appeared, Canadian officials were using the language of ecology and incorporating its ideas in policy discussions. A long memo of 1940, “Predatory Animals in the National Parks,” declared that a “significant development of modern scientific thought has been the ecological approach. . . . The individual must be looked upon as part of the whole, and subordinate to the larger social system.” It spoke of the pyramid of numbers, the balance of nature, the carrying capacity of land, and the insecurity of a surplus population — terms that were becoming the common currency of wildlife management and animal ecology.²⁰ Predator elimination had been practised to protect wildlife; that had “reflected the scientific opinion of the day.” Now it was known that predators “were of essential value and deserved equal rights with all other animals.”²¹

The new science entailed a new role for the parks. They were now to be research stations and baselines from which to measure change in the rest of the country. In 1926, Harkin said that “it is thought to be important . . . to preserve parts of Canada in their original conditions” so that scientists could “study the inter-relationships of one species upon another. Although this is not particularly important at present because much of Canada outside the National Parks is still wilderness, it will become increasingly important as the wilderness outside the

parks is affected by the operations of man.”²² By 1940, biologist C.H.D. Clarke, reporting on “Sanctuaries of the Northwest Territories,” said that “the enormous expansion of the aircraft industry now in progress [makes it] easy to see that the days of inaccessibility of the Thelon Game Sanctuary are numbered.” The area, he warned, “may have to play host to tourists.”²³ Three years later, in response to a piece in the *Calgary Herald*, “Are the Parks for Animals or Humans,” the Dominion Park Service said that the parks, besides serving people, provided places “to conduct fundamental biological studies on the primitive fauna and flora” which were “becoming impossible” elsewhere due to “changes wrought by man.”²⁴

To conduct those studies authorities began planning for federal wildlife research—to be done in Canada by Canadians. Into the interwar period Canada had been dependent upon outsiders to do even basic biological surveys of its territory, and virtually all Canadian wildlife scientists had been educated in the United States. In 1939, Harrison Lewis proposed a reorganization of the Division of Wildlife Protection into a “Biological Survey of Canada” with a section devoted to scientific studies of animals and their relationship to the environment.²⁵ The war put these plans on hold, but in 1944 the Park Service compared its plans with the organization of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (administrative successor to the Bureau of Biological Survey) and concluded that “the very large mass of wildlife management projects that it is proposed to develop in Canada as a part of the post-war reconstruction. . . .” would justify the appointment of specialists along the lines followed in the United States.²⁶ During the war, the Park Service employed Ian McTaggart Cowan to look at wildlife conditions in the parks, and in 1946 sent A.W.F. Banfield on a tour of the parks. The next year wildlife work was split off into a new agency, the Canadian Wildlife Service, which began recruiting scientists from around the world to carry out wildlife management projects. Cowan went on to establish, at the University of British Columbia, the first Canadian training program in wildlife science.

The role of the parks has continued to change, and ecology had come to affect Canadian policies in areas as diverse as Northern development, wilderness preservation, industrial policy, and international agreements. The transformation of park wildlife policy was an early step in one of the most important shifts in our ideas in the twentieth century. That it came in the interwar years, as part of scientific discussion and through the influence of scientists on public policy, is part of the early history of modern environmental sensibility. Those years were a crucial connection between the early work of preservation and conservation at the turn of the century and the environmental movement of the 1960s. Understanding what happened then is crucial for any discussion of modern environmentalism in Canada or the United States.

Notes

1. On Canadian policy, see W.F. Lothian, *A History of Canada's National Parks* (Ottawa: Minister of the Environment and predecessor agencies, 1977-87, four volumes), particularly Volume One, and Janet Foster, *Working for Wildlife: The Beginning of Preservation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978).
2. Douglas to Brown, 3 July 1912, reply of 9 July, Brown to Douglas, 28 December 1912, Box 35, U300; Diary, Warden, Waterton Park, March 1921, and instructions from the Survey on poisoning, sent to the parks in late 1924, Box 43, W300. Most of the material on general policy is in Boxes 33-9, U300, Universal, Game Protection-General. All material in RG 84, Records of Parks Canada, Public Archives Canada, cited hereinafter as RG 84, Public Archives Canada.
3. Box 162, W266, RG 84, Public Archives Canada.
4. Harkin to Wize, 23 March 1934, Box 37, U300, RG 84, Public Archives Canada. Horace M. Albright, "The National Park Service's Policy on Predatory Mammals," *Journal of Mammalogy*, 12 (May 1931), 185-6. On Canada-United States ties, see Harrison F. Lewis, "Lively, A History of the Canadian Wildlife Service," typescript, no date, Records of the Canadian Wildlife Service, RG 109, Public Archives Canada (hereinafter RG 109), and 1939 memo by Lewis and C.H.D. Clarke on proposed Biological Survey of Canada, Box 38, U300, RG 84, Public Archives Canada.
5. Thomas R. Dunlap, "Wildlife, Science and the National Parks, 1920-1940," *Pacific Historical Review* (May 1990), 187-202.
6. Harkin to Cory, 20 May 1925, Box 35, RG 84, Public Archives Canada. See for comparison the papers printed in the February 1925 issue of the *Journal of Mammalogy*: Lee R. Dice, "Scientific Value of Predatory Mammals"; E.A. Goldman, "The Predatory Mammal Problem and the Balance of Nature"; Joseph Dixon, "Food Predilections of Predatory Mammals"; and C.C. Adams, "The Conservation of Predatory Mammals." Goldman was the only Survey biologist of this group.
7. Box 37, U300, RG 84, Public Archives Canada.
8. Harkin to Superintendent of Wood Buffalo National Park, 12 January 1925, Box 35, U300; Announcement of 3 October 1928, Harkin to Superintendents, Box 36, U300.
9. Aldo Leopold, Lyle K. Sowls, and David L. Spencer, "A Survey of Over-Populated Deer Ranges in the United States," *Journal of Wildlife Management*, 11 (April 1947), 162-77.
10. Thomas R. Dunlap, "'That Kaibab Myth,'" *Journal of Forest History*, 32 (April 1988), 60-8. Box 36, U300, RG 84, also Boxes 36-9, U300, RG 84, Public Archives Canada.
11. In 1924 Maxwell Graham, chief of the Wildlife Division, N.W.T. Branch, Department of the Interior, wrote an article for the *Canadian Field Naturalist* proposing annual shipments of buffalo from Wainwright to the new Wood Buffalo Park. That brought protests, and when Hoyes Lloyd, editor of the magazine as well as Superintendent of Wildlife Protection, and his assistant, Harrison Lewis, in charge of Migratory Waterfowl Protection for Canada, sent one of the letters to the Minister of the Interior, they were "notified that we could either resign our respective positions with the Field Naturalists club and its magazine or be expelled from the Department of the Interior." Lewis, "Lively," 113, 109-14.
12. Lewis, "Lively," 114, and Box 50, BU2, RG 84, Public Archives Canada. This is still an issue, though now with regard to domestic cattle in the area. See Federal Environmental Assessment Review Office, *Northern Diseased Bison*, Report of the Environmental Assessment Panel, August 1990 (Ottawa: Minister of Supplies and Services, 1990).
13. Knight, Acting Superintendent, Waterton Lakes, to Harkin, 6 March 1930, Box 162, W240, RG 84, Public Archives Canada.
14. Lewis to Smart, 24 February 1947, Box 39, U300, RG 84, Public Archives Canada.
15. Edmonton *Bulletin*, 27 December 1935, Box 37, U300, RG 84, Public Archives Canada.

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16. Memos, 1934-39, and letter, Supervisor, Algonquin, to Williamson, Controller, Dominion Parks, 31 January 1939, vol. 3., Box 157, U266, RG 84. Memo, 29 May 1935, Box 157, B261, RG 84, Public Archives Canada.
17. A.W.F. Banfield, "Report on Wildlife Conditions in the Mountain National Parks, 1946," in Box 39, U300, RG 84, Public Archives Canada.
18. Harkin to Miss W.B. Conger, Newcomb College, New Orleans, Louisiana, 24 September 1929. Box 36, U300, RG 84, Public Archives Canada.
19. Adolph Murie, *Ecology of the Coyote in the Yellowstone*, Fauna Series Number Four, National Park Service (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940); Murie, *The Wolves of Mt. McKinley*, Fauna Series Number Five, National Park Service, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944).
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The British Columbia Greens: The Ecology of an Improbable Politics

Abstract

The British Columbia Green Party was founded in 1983 by some environmentalists, disenchanted with events at the 1982 Annual Convention of the New Democratic Party of British Columbia. Their attempts to get a resolution dealing with logging issues debated were rebuffed. The Green Party quickly grew to a membership of about 1800 and currently (1990) has about 700 members.

The British Columbia Greens follow a trend which developed in Canada and other liberal democracies since the late 1960s. Popular sector movements have grown in size and number, reflecting general dissatisfaction with state responses to emerging social and environmental issues. However, such organizations do not, despite the claim of some to the contrary, escape significant state influences.

The paper examines the relation of the state to three identifiable divisions within the Party. There are those who take electoral politics seriously, other members who see participation in elections as a strategic means for raising public consciousness about environmental issues and those, committed to building a social movement, who argue against participation in electoral politics. In the case of all three groups, different positions and perspectives have been heavily influenced by state policies and practices including, the Election Act of the Province of British Columbia, the Canada Elections Act, restrictive provisions of the charitable organizations provisions of the federal Income Tax Act, and the hegemonic leadership of the liberal Canadian state. The latter leaves many party members with a rationale for their political behaviour which is not as radical as they would have others believe. This is especially true for those greens who relate to "deepecology" as the philosophical basis of their practice.

Résumé

Le Parti vert de la Colombie-Britannique a été fondé en 1983 par des environnementalistes déçus des événements survenus lors du congrès annuel de 1982 du Nouveau Parti démocratique de la C.-B. Ils avaient tenté en vain d'obtenir une résolution au sujet des questions d'exploitation forestière déjà débattues. Le Parti vert rassembla bientôt 1800 membres et il en compte aujourd'hui environ 700.

Les verts de la Colombie-Britannique s'inscrivent dans une tendance qui s'est développée au Canada et dans d'autres démocraties libérales depuis la fin des années 1960. Cette tendance — la multiplication et la croissance de mouvements populaires — est une conséquence de l'insatisfaction générale à l'égard des mesures prises par les gouvernements pour résoudre les nouvelles questions environnementales et sociales. Il reste que de telles organisations n'échappent pas — même si certaines prétendent le contraire — à l'influence considérable de l'État.

Cet article examine la relation qui existe entre l'État et trois factions identifiables au sein du Parti vert. Il y a d'abord ceux qui prennent la politique électorale au sérieux, puis d'autres pour qui la participation au processus électoral est un moyen stratégique permettant de sensibiliser la population aux questions environnementales et, enfin, ceux dont l'objectif est de bâtir un mouvement social et qui ne veulent pas participer à la politique électorale. Dans les trois cas, les positions et les perspectives différentes ont été influencées par les politiques et les pratiques de l'État, y compris la loi électorale de la province de la Colombie-Britannique, la Loi électorale du Canada, les clauses restrictives des dispositions visant les organismes de charité de la Loi (fédérale) de l'impôt sur le revenu et le leadership prépondérant de l'État libéral canadien. Ce dernier accule d'ailleurs de nombreux membres du parti à un comportement politique dont la justification n'est pas aussi radicale qu'ils aimeraient le faire croire. Cela est particulièrement vrai des verts qui invoquent l'« écologie profonde » comme fondement philosophique de leur pratique.

The young intellectual is unhappy because the “middle way” is for the middle-aged, not for him; it is without passion and is deadening. Ideology, which by its nature is an all-or-none affair, and temperamentally the thing he wants, is intellectually devitalized, and few issues can be formulated any more, intellectually, in ideological terms.¹

In discussing the British Columbia Green Party, I want to make use of the above statement — which I regard as one of the most important in the sociological

literature of the past thirty years — because I believe it to be, at the same time, profoundly true and patently false. Its truth lies in its social construction. Since the Second World War, Canadian liberalism has been characterized by a concern for technical rationality; the managerial exigencies of production, consumption and efficiency are all that are seen to remain to ordering public life.² The institutions by which we have been socialized have created an apparent “truth.” For most Canadians, ideology is dead. Politics has been reduced to matters of individual rights and behaviours and questions about who can best *manage* the Canadian polity.

However, in 1960 when Bell proclaimed the death of ideology, the most important issues facing modern civilization were growing beneath his feet. These were expressed almost thirty years ago in Rachael Carson’s historic work, *Silent Spring*,³ which focused attention on a growing environmental crisis.

Despite this long history of environmental concern, debates over how human communities should be organized in response to the global environmental crisis are recent. By some accounts, the hour is late. Many environmentalists and scholars question whether existing social institutions are capable of dealing with these problems. The global environmental crisis is precipitating a critical re-examination of ideological traditions. Contrary to Bell’s claim, ideology is far from dead. At the same time, the demise of the German Greens in the 1990 German elections and the defeat of environmental propositions in the 1990 California state elections, provide impetus for examining the assumptions which underlie similar Canadian expressions of environmental concern.

Ideology is about power; its nature, distribution and use in ordering human affairs.⁴ For the past twenty years, in the Western liberal tradition, addressing environmental issues has been seen as a matter of management and of technology transfer within a system dominated by market economies. The questions raised are technical ones. How should environmental impact assessment procedures accommodate Native people? Should risk assessment replace absolute health criteria in approving herbicides, pesticides and other chemicals? What are the best systems for recycling waste? Since the passage in the United States of the Environmental Protection Act (1970), North Americans have been trying to manage their way out of an expanding crisis using a “techno-managerial fix.” The United Nations report, *Our Common Future*,⁵ is a recent example of such an approach.

The seriousness of the problems faced by Western civilization and the globe it has colonized raises questions of a more fundamental nature. Who — if anyone — owns the environment? Who benefits from its use? Who controls that use? What forms of social, political and economic organization will best ensure our survival on the planet? These are ideological questions. They focus our

attention on questions about power. They are hard to formulate and even more difficult to address when, as a culture, our consciousness has been socially constructed, not around ideological enquiry, but around micro-level concerns for technique.

In this paper I examine the British Columbia Green Party and factors influencing its organizing efforts.⁶ In addition to structural constraints, the behaviour of the Party is a function of the socialization, the experience and the culture of its members. This is a culture which, for party members, as is true for most Canadians, has been characterized by managerial and technical concerns. The struggle to rediscover and to articulate ideology, necessary to dealing with the questions of concern to the Party, in the presence of a society which has attempted to relegate such deliberations to the scrap bin of intellectual history is, therefore, a considerable one.

The Green Party of British Columbia

The Green Party of British Columbia is part of a movement which, starting with the New Zealand Values Party in the early 1970s, has increasingly come to redefine politics in terms of questions about the environmental limits to economic growth, the relationship of human beings to the rest of nature and the social, political and economic forms necessary to sustain life on the planet. These are ideological questions. Since the 1970s, green parties have proliferated in the Western world (Table 1). The B.C. Greens were the first green party in North America.

The green movement contains individuals and organizations with serious doubts about "techno-managerial fixes" to dealing with the globe's environmental problems. In other words, unlike some environmental groups, most greens would argue that radical change is necessary to save the planet. Greens advocate, to varying degrees, structural changes in how we organize production, consumption and ourselves. However, as noted below, advocating structural change is not the same thing as having a coherent analysis of existing structures and relationships to power.

The B.C. Greens were founded in 1983 by Paul George,⁷ Adrienne Carr and others. George was committed to the idea of an alternative political party. Others involved were more committed to the idea of developing a social movement. George and Carr were reacting to events at the 1982 annual provincial convention of the British Columbia New Democratic Party. George and others attempted to get an emergency resolution on the floor for debate. The resolution dealt with logging issues in the province. According to George, the resolution was Number 6 on a list of emergency resolutions to be debated. However, by the morning of debate, the resolution had been dropped to

Table 1 Left-libertarian parties in Western democracies: best electoral performance, 1980-87

Countries with significant left-libertarian parties
(support greater than 4% of the vote in at least one election in the 1980s)

Austria	The Greens	4.6%	(1986)
Belgium	Agalev (Flanders) and Ecolo (Wallonia)	7.1%	(1987)
Denmark	Socialist People's Party	14.5%	(1987)
Iceland	Women's Party	5.0%	(1983)
Luxembourg	The Green Alternative	5.2%	(1984)
The Netherlands	Green Progressive Accord	5.7%	(1982)
Norway	Socialist People's Party	5.4%	(1985)
Sweden	Left Communist Party Centre Party	5.4% 12.4%	(1985) (1987)
Switzerland	The Greens Progressive Organization	4.8% 3.5%	(1987) (1987)
West Germany	The Greens	8.3%	(1987)

Countries without significant left-libertarian parties
(support up to 4% of the vote in all national elections in the 1980s)
Parties or proto-parties exits

Canada	Green Party of Canada	—	(no contest in national election)
Finland	Greens	4.0%	(1987; 1983: 1.4%)
France	Ecologists	3.9%	(1981 presidential election, 1st round)
	Greens	1.2%	(1986 parliamentary election)
Ireland	Comhaontas Glas/Green	—	(no contest in national election)
Italy	Radical Party Green lists	2.5% 2.9%	(1987) (1987)
Japan	Green Party	—	(declared only)
New Zealand	Values Party	0.2%	(1984; 1975: 5%)
Spain	Green Party	—	(declared only)
United Kingdom	Ecology/Green Party	1.1%	(in districts contested in 1983)
United States	Citizens's Party New World Alliance	0.1% —	(1984 presidential election) (no contest in national election)

Source: Herbert Kitschelt, *The Logic of Party Formation: Ecological Politics in Belgium and West Germany* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989), 11.

Number 11. George claims that the labour unions — especially the influence of the I.W.A. — were responsible. The New Democratic Party wished to avoid dealing with a divisive issue.⁸

In disgust, George and others left the Party. The Green Party was founded a few months later. The NDP was seen to be undemocratic, characterized by “back-room” politics and unwilling to take environmental issues seriously. This experience underscores and helps explain another characteristic of green politics. Greens are disenchanted with the traditional politics of the left and of the political right.

Soon after the founding, the membership in the B.C. Greens had risen to about 1800. Memberships were sold for two dollars; canvassers were allowed to keep one dollar for their efforts. Interest in the Party was maintained by the election of Green Party candidates to the German Bundestag in March of 1983. However, in the B.C. provincial election of May 1983, the Party ran only four candidates who received between 1 and 1.5% of the popular vote in their ridings. Memberships were impossible to service for one dollar. Membership had declined to about 200 by 1986. It has since risen to about 700. A national party was formed in November of 1983.⁹

Leadership is an issue in green party politics. Some members challenge the hierarchical nature of conventional politics. Others argue that to save the planet, it is necessary to participate in politics as defined by legislation and within the existing culture. These debates reflect the “movement” versus “party” tensions within the B.C. Greens.

Green Politics and the State

In Canada, since the late 1960s, the growth of popular sector movements has been spectacular. These movements include the women’s movement, the Indian movement, anti-poverty coalitions, the environmental movement, the gay/lesbian rights movement, the peace movement and non-governmental organizations concerned with international development. In addition, new organizations have developed within progressive elements of older movements, including the labour and co-operative movements. Cunningham et al report that a 1987 *Connexions Directory of Canadian Organizations for Social Justice* lists 1335 organizations which are “not content to leave the major decisions of society in the hands of others.”¹⁰

Historically, those in opposition to the state have been inclined to see it as exercising control from “out there”; meaning, operating *on* organizations, rather than from within them.¹¹ The state is thus seen as a structure which does

things to popular sector organizations. Loney provides a good example of this perspective in his discussion of the role of Canadian government funding in controlling the youth movements of the early 1970s.¹²

The growth of popular sector movements in Canada and other liberal democratic states requires closer examination. As Ng, Walker and Muller argue, while the state can often accommodate the changes demanded by some movements as extensions of democratic rights, the activities of other groups are not only necessary because of the failings of liberal democracy, they cannot be accommodated by the liberal state.¹³

Heald provides a definition of the state, sympathetic to Ng's observations.

In general, I am trying to understand the state not so much as an institution or set of institutions but as a set of relations set up by, in and through those institutions. Thus, we can speak of state formation as a set of relations that are always being formed and reformed in various contexts. These relations may be between persons or things, but what is central is that they are experienced, potentially in different ways by different people.¹⁴

However, the state not only establishes social relations directly through legal texts, for example, it does so subtly through the creation of a social culture which gives rise to particular social relations.¹⁵ Social culture is what members carry with them into organizational activities. This gives rise to particular social relations within groups. Some members assent to abiding by the rules and norms established by the state, others resist participation in this culture.

While some authors argue for replacing the concept of the state as a structure which operates on organizations with the idea of the state as a set of social relations, this "either/or" way of framing discussions about the nature of the state seems, in itself, to be a product of the way we have been socialized to conduct academic debate. While at the level of larger assumptions, the "either/or" distinction seems logical, at a more micro-level it seems more enlightening to conduct the discussion in terms of "both/and." I am suggesting that the state is best seen as a structure operating on social movements, as a set of activities which shapes a particular social culture and, more directly, as a set of social relations — all of which condition the activities of its members.

Within this perspective, state regulation of popular sector activities takes a number of forms: (1) civil law, (2) tax law and provisions affecting tax status in particular, (3) government funding, (4) socialization and cultural means, and (5) the threat of capital withdrawal. While the threat of capital withdrawal originates with private sector interests, the state often communicates the threat to justify its policies. The effect is to manage those who, if their economic well-

being were not seen to be threatened, might be radicalized. This ploy has little impact on B.C. Greens, who are committed to voluntary simplicity and are least concerned about declining standards of living.

In the case of the B.C. Greens, forms (1), (2) and (4) are most relevant. In what follows I use the example of the law and taxation measures to illustrate the state acting as a structure affecting the capacity of the Party to organize. I use the Party's adoption of "deep ecology" as an example of the state impacting an organization through the culture it mandates and the social relations it subsequently creates and to which citizens assent.

Green Politics, Taxation and the Law

The choice of a party as a vehicle for organizing around environmental concerns — broadly conceived — has particular implications for B.C. Greens. While being a registered party has some financial and strategic advantages, this fact also serves to highlight major philosophical debates within the green movement in general and the B.C. Greens in particular.

B.C. Greens, like their counterparts elsewhere, are largely sceptical of liberal democracy. They are advocates of participatory democracy, non-hierarchical organizational forms, consensus and the radical decentralization of decision making. The Party endorses the concept of bioregionalism.¹⁶ This is not to say that all party members are equally committed to these objectives. In fact, they are the source of considerable infighting. For example, while the provincial organization and most regional branches operate on the basis of consensus decision making, the Okanagan chapter of the Party uses the Robert's Rules of Order. Within the Party, there appear to be three positions on participation in elections associated with three groups. These are greens committed to a party, greens committed to a social movement and greens as a community practising their principles through the living of exemplary lives. These three divisions are not mutually exclusive, but identify the primary focus within each group.

The B.C. Greens as a Political Party

Some greens believe that the objective of the Party should be to become the party in power. They maintain that current governments and opposition parties lack the will to make changes necessary to protecting the environment. They believe that once in power, greens will simply exercise this political will. This group appears to have the least understanding of the state, politics and the nature of power in Canadian society. Proponents of this approach also tend to indulge in "psychologism" — to explain the environmental crisis in individualistic terms. People, in general, are seen to be the source of environmental problems. They are basically greedy and have the wrong attitudes and values.

This group derives many of its ideas from the philosophical perspective of “deep ecology.” The Party, in its policy documents, contrasts this with “shallow” ecology. This pejorative use of language is divisive in-and-of-itself. “Party greens” are less committed to consensus decision making, in some cases are sceptical about decentralized power and control and are less supportive of causes such as self-determination for Indian nations. All greens advocate electoral reform and proportional representation. While being anti-growth, party greens often endorse small-scale private enterprise and market forces in pricing as a means of making consumer behaviour environmentally responsive. At present, this group is influential in the management of the finances of the B.C. branch of the federal party.

Section 3.4 of the Party’s policy manual outlines the social values of the Party and states:

Feminism is an important concept for Greens. It aims at developing wholistic [sic] personalities and a balance between the male and female principle: and at creating a non-sexist, non-violent and egalitarian society.

Those who take electoral politics seriously wish to see the term “feminist” replaced by “gender.” They argue that the term “feminist” interferes with getting elected, that the term is too threatening, is seen as being “anti-male” and that its use is a case of reverse sexism. Whether or not the argument that such terminology interferes with getting elected is merely a euphemism for patriarchal values which many party members would find unacceptable is a matter of debate. Nevertheless, being a political party for some members is more than a strategy for social organizing around the environment. Party politics are taken seriously.

B.C. Greens as a Strategic Political Movement

A second group within the B.C. Greens is committed to using electoral politics primarily as a means for popular sector organizing. They fear that taking the electoral process seriously will lead to co-optation. They argue that the goal of the Party should be public education aimed at creating a movement.

This group is caught in a contradictory position. Behaving as a political party —even as a means—is to lend credibility to a social form and institution which they wish to challenge. Greens of this persuasion are aware that without grassroots change, being the party in power would accomplish nothing. They argue that even in power, greens could not bring about the necessary changes without being backed by an electorate which had an altered consciousness and values. Hence the emphasis on the greens as a movement rather than a party.

Movement greens within the Party are constrained by the tax advantages of being a party under the Canada Elections Act and the Elections Act of the Province of British Columbia, in combination with the restrictions which would be placed on their activities were they to operate as an organization under the charitable organizations provisions of the federal Income Tax Act.

As the membership of the provincial and federal parties overlap and as funds can flow between both party levels, the implications of federal regulation are relevant to understanding the dynamics of the Green Party of British Columbia. Movement greens within the Party are also constrained in their practice by provisions of the Canada Elections Act which insist that federal parties in Canada have a federal leader.¹⁷ The concept runs contrary to the commitment of movement greens to decentralization and to the sharing of power within the Party. The result is to consent to engage in a form of organizational practice contrary to the structural alternatives that are being promoted. The current (1990) federal leader is a "movement" green who merely fulfils the role in order to permit a federal party to exist. The Elections Act of British Columbia does not require a party leader, and the Greens, consistent with their philosophy, have speakers from various regions elected to represent the Party in the province.

Federally, the Party loses its tax status if it fails to run a minimum of fifty candidates in federal elections. This would affect party finances as many people would be less inclined to donate to the Party under such circumstances. The alternative route of seeking charitable tax status as a movement under the Income Tax Act is constraining in different ways. Under the provisions of the Act, educational activities are eligible for charitable tax status, while advocacy and lobbying are not.¹⁸

The insistence that a minimum of fifty candidates run in federal elections undermines the objectives of both party and movement greens. As a relatively young social movement, it is not easy for it to find good candidates. Consequently, candidates who are not necessarily committed to, or experienced with, party policy run in elections. Their positions have generated conflict within the Party and further undermine public perception of green goals and values. However, as many Green Party policies are contradictory, this is not entirely surprising. For example, it is possible for some candidates to support free enterprise and for others to endorse collective, co-operative and community control of productive processes without contradicting party policy. This is a major policy area that B.C. Greens have not managed to resolve.

The framework of a political party not only makes funds available to the Greens, but also contributes to the debate between those who wish to build a movement, and those who wish to get elected. There is nothing in the election acts or in the income tax acts, federally or provincially, which prohibits a

political party from spending money on activities other than an election campaign. At the Party's July 1988 Annual General Meeting, four roles were identified for the B.C. Party; (1) electoral, (2) educational, (3) support for alternative lifestyles, and (4) the development of alternative social institutions. While it was agreed that funds were to be equally distributed among these purposes, doing so has been problematic. In B.C., the federal funds are largely controlled by those who wish to see funds used primarily for electoral purposes. Many within the provincial branch of the Party, committed to the Greens as a movement at the regional level, would like to see funds used for the other three purposes which are endorsed by even those supporting a federal party. The rationale used by some party greens that to do so would be a violation of the acts is without substance.

Greens as a Movement for Alternative Living

A third, and the smallest group within the Green Party of British Columbia argues against any participation in elections. This group is cynical of any conventional form of politics and is interested in building a social movement. Many of these greens, in both rural and urban settings, are intent on demonstrating alternative lifestyles through practising voluntary simplicity. In the absence of reliance on the favoured tax status afforded by the federal and provincial elections acts and given the restrictions placed on charitable societies and organizations under the federal Income Tax Act, alternative means would have to be found to finance a movement which did not chose to be a political party or to be satisfied with treating electoral politics as a means for getting across the green message.

Structural constraints created by the state affect radical liberal movements such as the B.C. Greens in particular ways. Historically, conditions of employment radicalized the working classes against the state and ruling classes. The current environmental crisis has the potential to play a parallel role in radicalizing the middle classes which have otherwise benefitted from state-mandated capitalism. However, the rules generated by Canadian liberal democratic practice limit this potential in a manner parallel to what has historically been true for the labour movement.

The green project is an urgent one. In the absence of organizational forms and privileges, such as those won from the state by the union movement over a long period of struggle, B.C. Greens are restricted in the frameworks they can use for organization. Greens consent to existing state structures which hold out the promise of making popular sector organizing possible, while simultaneously undermining such efforts.

Socialization and Cultural Means of Control

As is true for any social movement, the consciousness B.C. Green Party members bring to their organizational efforts also limits their practice. In understanding some of the constraints on the kind of radical liberal organizing represented by the Green Party, the state is best seen as a set of social relations. These are relations which condition party members prior to their experience with the party and movement. The ideas of many greens are not as radical a departure from the ideas and frameworks to which they are opposed as they would like to believe.

It is important to see the influence of the ideas of party members as more than "socialization" or "social attitudes and values." These are nebulous terms which fail to remind us that these ideas originate, historically, with people having the power and resources to shape the social conscience of Canadians. Social ideas are those acquired through relationships which, in the case of Canadian liberal democracy, have been increasingly mandated by the state — a state with a particular structure and agenda. Theorists argue that the culture of modern capitalism produces hegemonic relations; the social conditions of assent and co-operation generated through the creation of a culture with norms, language and ways of constructing social reality that fit with its goals and expectations.¹⁹

Particularly since the Second World War, this hegemonic discourse has had two main targets. It has been directed at socially constructing women in ways which fit with the exigencies of a male-dominated market economy — in terms of production, reproduction and consumption. The women's movement is the expression of resistance to these constructions. Secondly, discourse has focused on Western cultures as a whole. The effort has been to create a culture with a high level of faith in science and technology — a belief in the "techno-managerial fix" to which I earlier referred. The green movement as an element of the environmental movement is the most significant expression of resistance to this construction. Indian and Native movements, the women's movement and this faction within the environmental movement are potentially the most important modern expressions of resistance to the state.

Considerable research has been conducted on the class characteristics of environmentalists. In all such research, environmentalists have been found to be overwhelmingly middle class, white and to have better than average levels of education.²⁰ There is no reason to believe that members of the B.C. Greens are less than representative of the North American middle classes. However, this does not imply that B.C. Greens have social attitudes and values identical to their class counterparts — only that they have been subject to the same social and cultural influences.

Whereas the labour movement has addressed primarily the external or structural controls placed on working class people, these new social movements are also concerned with internal controls; with overcoming the social constructions which constrain personal choice and which lead to certain damaging behaviours. This focus has created further debate within the B.C. Greens as some wish to meet in a setting of "group therapy" to explore issues of personal growth. Others regard this as a "flaky" waste of time.

Culturally, we live in a highly individualistic society; one where those promoting co-operative social relations have always been in opposition to a state organized around individual achievement, competition and a market of individual consumers. Individual rights are a central, if not *the* central characteristic of liberal democratic societies — as is the tendency to replace the search for ideological clarity with a concern for "techno-managerial" fixes in dealing with public issues. Both of these characteristics of liberal democracies are reflected in Green Party policies. They are especially evident in the presence of deep ecology as a theme within the Party.

Deep Ecology and the End of Ideology

Debates between so-called "deep ecologists" and social ecologists have overwhelmed much of the literature dealing with environmental philosophy in recent years.²¹ Deep ecology is something to which many B.C. Greens refer in discussing the roots of the environmental crisis, while other B.C. Greens identify with social ecology as a philosophical basis for their concern. It is not uncommon for those who identify with deep ecology to blame environmental problems on human attitudes and values — on human nature. For some greens, human beings are "...cruel, but not necessarily so."²² When pressed, they often claim that their ideas derive from deep ecology.

As Bookchin suggests,²³ deep ecology is a philosophy which points to individual human nature as the culprit in explaining environmental problems. The solution for deep ecologists lies in people changing their attitudes and values and acquiring a biocentric rather than having an anthropocentric view of the world.

Deep ecologists have little to say about social structures. Even the analyses of the origins of the perspectives they find so problematic are apolitical. Deep ecologists, in exploring the origins of the quirk of human nature which they identify as the problem, become ahistorical biologists and anthropologists given to a style of discourse planted in playing with philosophical concepts uprooted from socially constructed human experience. This easily lends itself to the conclusion that there is something deep-seated and essentially biological about human behaviour. In the presence of ecological crisis, deep ecology contains the seeds of Malthusian eco-fascism.

The formulation of deep ecology, which has been strongest in the United States, reflects a culture, judging from the narrowness of its politics, remarkably successful at muting ideological debate. Deep ecology reflects the apolitical disposition of a generation raised in the midst of a push to acquire technical mastery over all aspects of human life. While deep ecologists challenge these attempts at a philosophical level, they employ the very logic they criticize — albeit in a different form.

The mechanistic application of so-called natural laws to society impoverishes social critique. Deep ecology articles are frequently rife with glib comparisons between humanity and “grey fuzz,” lemmings, algae and other species, followed by simplistic, almost Aesopian comments on complex issues specific to human society. One example is an article, “On Horns and Nukes” (*Earth First!*, September 1986), in which the author, George Wuerthner, blithely compares the current nuclear-arms race to the rivalry and “dominance hierarchy” of bighorn rams based on “horn size.”²⁴

The application of ahistorical and technical (biological) training to social problems has, historically, given rise to approaches to social issues which are more reactionary than radical. Stripped of the capacity to debate social problems and questions of moral philosophy as truly *social* matters, we are increasingly confronted with a society with members having considerable technical and little social knowledge. Applying it to problems like the destruction of the environment leads to simplistic and absurd forms of discourse.

While liberals rely on technical rationality to solve modern problems in an attempt to avoid ideological debate, deep ecologists rely on a philosophical fix which also avoids ideological concerns. Deep ecology, like a commitment to liberal, technical rationalism, appears to be apolitical, while it in fact reproduces status quo relations to power and authority.

Even in a world given to biocentrism, people still have to work, eat, love and play. Questions about power, its use and abuse will not disappear through the inculcation of a concept like biocentrism. In fact, the power to refuse aid to Third World countries suffering the environmental effects of overpopulation and resource depletion, as some deep ecologists advocate, would be a very human-centred act based on a flawed concept of self-interest.²⁵

Therefore, it can be argued that while appearing to be a radical alternative, deep ecology, as a philosophical base for the development of ecological politics as practised by parties like the B.C. Greens, reflects more of the state-mandated social culture of contemporary society than is at first apparent. At the same

time, the attention given by deep ecologists to respecting other life forms as *part of*, rather than *apart from* our Being, is a necessary — but insufficient — component of an effective ecological politics. The biologism and spiritualism of deep ecology can be seen as a logical progression for members of a culture oriented to technical thinking but disenchanted with mainstream use of technical knowledge.

Conclusion

The organizational and ideational problems faced by the B.C. Green Party are better understood by recognizing the state as a structure, a force shaping social culture, and as a set of social relations. This culture, mandated by the state and acting upon party members is evident in the ideas of some Party members, as revealed by a critical examination of the content of deep ecology. State imposed structures like the elections acts and the limitations of alternatives like the charitable organizations provisions of the Income Tax Act also affect the alignment of ideas within the Party and limit attempts at organizing for social change.

It appears that in dealing with both the relationship of the Party to electoral politics — as means or as end — and deep ecology versus social ecology as a conceptual basis for informing the development of policies and strategies, the Party needs to address the nature of power in contemporary society. There are some hopeful signs that this is happening, although pursuing these considerations appears to be producing a split in the B.C. Party.

An examination of the Party's *Adopted Policies* leads one to conclude that B.C. Greens have developed many technical — that is, managerial and engineered — solutions to environmental issues. Secondly, ideological clarity is important to dealing with social and economic policies, both of which are barely treated in the Party's document, *Adopted Policy of the Green Party Political Association of British Columbia*. Consequently, this gives some credibility to the claim that the Greens are a one-issue party. It has been in the interests of the state to downplay the importance of ideological debate in Canadian society and to replace it with concerns for technical rationality and managerialism. Re-opening such a debate is essential to the development of strategy and alternative social and economic policies.

The development of a “Left Green Network” among North American greens is promising in this regard. The initial call for the formation of the network suggests a definite ideological and philosophical orientation which integrates structural concerns as well as those for individual growth and development.

The existing world system is based on an economic structure with a “grow-or-die” imperative that threatens to destroy life as we know it. Buttressed by militaristic nation-states organized to protect ruling elites, the present system — in both its capitalist and bureaucratic manifestations — is increasingly irrational. This irrationality is demonstrated not only by the continued and increasing oppression and dehumanization of people and their communities around the world, but by the vast destruction of the biosphere. . . . Nor are we opposed to a “spirituality” that means mutual care, respect, and a sense of community to nurture the human spirit and sustain us for political struggle. We want to foster an ecological sensibility that rests on a healthy naturalism . . . not a supernaturalism that promotes the separation of humanity from nature and that ultimately justifies domination and hierarchy.²⁶

Not surprisingly, this call was opposed by some Canadian greens. This opposition invokes traditional liberal notions that ideology is divisive and that in the interests of social harmony, non-sectarian (or as some would say, objective) debate should characterize modern political life.

Canadian green socialists need to create a network which will encourage non-sectarian debate on organizational and theoretical ideas. Basically, everything is up for discussion.²⁷

Labelling oneself as a “green socialist” and then calling for “non-sectarian debate” is illustrative of the extent to which ideological confusion characterizes many of those in the green movement. While wishing to avoid dogma is an admirable objective, in the interests of social harmony, to be open to “everything” is to undermine the philosophical clarity essential to creating an effective movement. This problem has plagued B.C. Greens.

However, the establishment of a Left Green Network is perhaps indicative of the maturation of a political and social movement of critical importance to planetary survival. For the Green Party of British Columbia — the first attempt in North America to organize a green party — a failure to seek ideological clarity will likely leave the Party paralysed by unexamined relations to the state and practising an improbable form of politics.

Notes

1. Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960), 375.
2. This I take to be the theme of George Grant's *Technology and Empire*, which, among other things, is a critique of modern liberalism. Grant argues that liberals have no respect for history

and place their faith on bettering the human condition in technology. "...the belief that human excellence is promoted by the homogenizing and universalizing power of technology is the dominant doctrine of modern liberalism, and...that doctrine must undermine all particularisms and... English-speaking Canada as a particular is wide open to that doctrine" (*Technology and Empire* (Toronto: House of Anansi, 1969), 69).

3. Rachael Carson, *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1962).
4. I recognize that cramming a definition of ideology into one short sentence is presumptuous. However, it seems that power is the concept central to all descriptive or normative statements about political arrangements. See William Christian and Colin Campbell, *Political Parties and Ideologies in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1983), 1-22.
5. The World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).
6. To do this, I have drawn on information from a variety of sources. In researching this paper I conducted lengthy interviews with twelve key people in the Party. The paper also draws upon my observations at a number of party events and a review of policy documents, newsletters and other party publications.
7. In the early 1980s, Paul George also founded what is arguably British Columbia's most successful environmental group, the Western Canada Wilderness Committee. For the past several years, it has lead the fight to preserve the Carmanah Valley on the west coast of Vancouver Island from logging.
8. The NDP is still confronted with the same problem. However, environmental issues are now raised from within the Party by a green caucus. At the March 1990 Party Convention, it put forth a resolution calling for a moratorium on logging in the Carmanah Valley. The result was a compromise resolution which, in effect, calls for regional planning processes to protect the resource base in each region of the province (D. White, "Environmental view routed at provincial convention", *NDP Green Caucus*, 1:2 (1980), 2).
9. The founding conference in Ottawa, November 4-6, was characterized by all the organizational and philosophical problems which continue to affect the green movement and party organizing in the country. See Jim Harding, "The Founding of the Canadian Greens," unpublished paper available from 1909 Toronto Street, Regina, Saskatchewan S4P 1M9. Also see David McRobert, "Green Politics in Canada," *Probe Post* (Autumn 1985), 10-15, and Vaughan Lyon, "The Reluctant Party: Ideology Versus Organization in Canada's Green Movement," *Alternatives*, 13:1 (1985), 3-8.
10. Frank Cunningham et al., *Social Movements, Social Change* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1988), 16.
11. In her study of a state-funded employment agency for immigrant women, Ng concludes that understanding the state as merely a body which is over and above community groups and movements is inadequate. The state also constitutes a set of social relations. See Roxana Ng, *The Politics of Community Services* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1988), 89.
12. Martin Loney, "A political economy of citizen participation," in Leo Panitch (ed.), *The Canadian State: Political economy and political power* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 446-72.
13. Roxana Ng, Gillian Walker, and Jacob Muller, "Community Class Struggles and State Formation", in Roxana Ng, Gillian Walker, and Jacob Muller (eds), *Community Organization and the Canadian State* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1990), 315.
14. Susan Heald, "Making Democracy Practicable: Voluntarism and Job Creation", in Ng et al. (eds), *Community Organization and the Canadian State*, 150.
15. By "state" I do not simply mean "government." The state includes all other institutions and organizations through which the state exercises control — including the church, military, social service agencies, etc. I do not mean to imply that the state is the sole factor in the creation of social culture. Canadian society is also dominated by "the culture of capitalism."

To the extent that private sector and other interests are regulated or not regulated by the state, it is clear that the state plays a central role in the creation of culture. For an interesting discussion of these considerations in the case of the Canadian communications industry see Ted Magder, "A Political Economy of Communications," in Wallace Clement and Glen Williams (eds), *The New Canadian Political Economy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1989), 278-96.

16. The *Adopted Policy of the Green Party Political Association of British Columbia* defines a bioregion as: "A life region — a geographical area whose rough boundaries are set by nature (not humankind), distinguishable from other areas by characteristics of flora, fauna, water, climate, rocks, soils, land forms and human settlements" (September 30, 1989, p. iv). The curious phrase "not humankind" presupposes that there is some naturally occurring boundary which human beings will not have to interpret. This desire to remove human choice from human affairs — in the belief that there is something called "natural law" — can also be found in the theme of deep ecology (discussed later in the text). I regard this as an example of Sartrean "bad faith"; the desire of people, faced with the anguish of having to choose or of having to humanly construct the world, to escape the responsibility and the anguish which accompanies choice by leaving the decision to some other authority — God, or in this case, nature.
17. Canada Elections Act, 1984, s. 13(1)(c).
18. Revenue Canada defines political activities as "those designed to persuade government to adopt a particular point of view or to sway public opinion on matters of public policy" (Revenue Canada, *Guide to the Charity Information Return*, (Ottawa, 1989), 11).
19. I believe the clearest definition of hegemony, consistent with Gramsci's use of the term, is:

... the supremacy of a social group or class [manifested by] intellectual and moral leadership.... Social control, in other words, takes two basic forms: besides influencing behaviour and choice externally, through rewards and punishments, it also affects them internally, by moulding personal convictions into a replica of prevailing norms. (J. Femina, *Gramsci's Political Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 24).

20. See F.H. Buttel, "The Environmental Movement: Consensus, Conflict and Change," *The Journal of Environmental Education*, 7 (1975), 53-63; W. Tucker, "Environmentalism and the Leisure Class," *Harper's Magazine*, (December 1977), 49-56 and 73-80; R. Andrews, "Class Politics or Democratic Reform: Environmentalism and American Political Institutions," *Natural Resources Journal*, 20 (1980), 221-41; F. Tester, "Losing Ground: A Neo-Existential Critique of New Zealand Environmentalism," unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand, 229-57.
21. I cannot begin to summarize the extent and nature of the debate between deep ecologists and social ecologists in this paper. The reader is referred to a book by George Bradford, *How Deep is Deep Ecology* (Ojai, Calif.: Times Change Press, 1989). Bradford is clearly critical of deep ecology. In developing his critique — which I believe is the best of many — he makes reference to most of the major works on both sides of the debate.
22. *Adopted Policy of the Green Party Political Association of British Columbia*, September 30, 1989, 3.
23. Murray Bookchin, "Deep Ecology vs Social Ecology," speech to the National Gathering of U.S. Greens, Amherst, Mass., 1987, cited in: J. Porritt and D. Winner, *The Coming of the Greens* (London: Fontana Books, 1987), 236.
24. Bradford, *How Deep is Deep Ecology*, 51.
25. See William J. Catton Jr, *Overshoot: The Ecological Basis for Revolutionary Change* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980). Catton argues that famine, disease and scarcity are natural phenomenon and that interfering with nature by offering aid to those suffering these tragedies is our undoing.

26. "Call for a Left Green Network," *Green Multilogue*, 3:6 (Nov./Dec. 1988), 19-20.
27. "A Preliminary Response to the 'Call for a Left Green Network,'" letter from David Orton, Pictou County, Nova Scotia in *Green Multilogue*, 3:6 (Nov./Dec. 1988), 21-2.

Environmental Education and Environmental Advocacy: The Need for a Proper Distinction*

Abstract

Documents such as A Framework for Discussion on the Environment, part of the Government of Canada's "Green Plan," posit a need for more education to address threats to the quality of life caused by environmental degradation. This seems to be in keeping with widespread beliefs that education is often the key to the resolution of our problems. However, education's correct role in this process is not uncontentious. Often it is not made sufficiently clear what authors mean by education, what such education might look like, or if a distinction is being made between education and the advocacy of a particular environmental viewpoint. This paper thus examines problems of clarity in goal statements for the field of environmental education.

Résumé

Des documents tels que L'environnement à l'heure de la concertation, qui fait partie du Plan vert du Canada, posent en principe qu'il faut accroître les efforts d'éducation pour contrer la dégradation de l'environnement et ses répercussions sur notre qualité de vie. Cela paraît correspondre à l'idée répandue selon laquelle l'éducation est souvent la clé qui nous permet de résoudre nos

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problèmes. Cependant, le rôle approprié qui revient à l'éducation dans ce processus n'est pas sans poser certaines difficultés. Il est fréquent que les auteurs n'expliquent pas assez clairement ce qu'ils entendent par éducation, la forme exacte que devraient prendre ces initiatives d'éducation, ou même s'ils font une distinction entre l'éducation et la promotion d'un point de vue environnemental particulier. Cet article examine donc les problèmes liés à l'ambiguïté dans la formulation des objectifs en matière d'éducation aux questions environnementales.

In 1990, concern for the environment is a significant part of the public agenda in Canada. Earth day activities immediately come to mind as expressions of this concern, and I believe that we can expect increased interest in environmental education to follow. Indeed, the Government of Canada has launched a consultative process as part of their Green Plan. In their document, *A Framework for Discussion on the Environment*, our politicians have recognized the importance of education as follows: "A third requirement for good decision making is better environmental education, helping to translate environmental awareness into action" (Canada, 1990, p. 9).

A crucial question to ask ourselves is: What constitutes better environmental education? I believe that a significant challenge for environmental educators in the 1990s will be to address this question. I also believe that finding an answer will require a serious re-examination of goals. If we, as educators, are to have an impact, we must be sure that what we do is logically coherent and educationally sound.

In 1969, Bill Stapp wrote about problems of environmental planning, pesticides, community blight, air and water pollution, traffic congestion, and other environmental concerns. He also proposed a new approach designed to reach citizens who were increasingly being asked to make decisions which would affect environmental quality, and he called this new approach "environmental education." Environmental education quickly became a rallying symbol, or slogan, capturing the ideas and attitudes of a growing educational movement and drawing attention to the need for a citizenry which could think clearly and critically about environmental issues. While slogans are often useful, they can in time, be taken as literal doctrines or arguments (Scheffler, 1960). It is now important to evaluate environmental education, and goal statements attributed to it, as literal assertions.

Taken at face value, the term environmental education must first be concerned with education and second with content about the environment. Environmental educators must acknowledge that this field of study is justified by the degree

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to which it supports the broader concept of education. I will argue that our failure to pursue environmental education within a clearly articulated framework for education has weakened its conceptual basis, and that it may frustrate efforts to make environmental education more pervasive. I believe that these problems are exacerbated by a failure to be clear about the different roles that we may choose to play in society. While it may be important for citizens to promote changes in attitudes and behaviours, this must not be confused with our work as educators. We must, I will argue, be sure that we are educating rather than advocating a particular environmental view.

Education is concerned with the acquisition of worthwhile knowledge and understanding (Peters, 1966; Barrow and Woods, 1982; Chambers, 1983). In stressing understanding, I wish to make it clear that an accumulation of disjointed facts is not enough. The educated person must also be able to perceive relationships between these bits of information and the conceptual schemes which allow us to organize this knowledge — they must have some understanding of the “reason why” of things. The educated person will not just perform certain operations in a certain way, but will have some understanding of the principles governing such actions. It is this sort of understanding that will enable students to think clearly and critically about the world they live in, their environment, and the issues which surround human relationships within that environment.

It is important to recognize, however, that a crucial distinction exists between education and training. Training is concerned with the acquisition of skills and abilities, and frequently has instrumental connotations. For example, we speak of “training as a plumber,” “training as a secretary,” or “training as an engineer.” In contrast, we speak of a person being more or less well educated, indicating a broader and less determinate understanding which transcends immediate instrumental values. Educational activities should broaden students’ outlook, create new possibilities for understanding, and enable critical enquiry and the use of reason. Training, on the other hand, tends to be a much more narrowly defined enterprise, closely associated with the acquisition of discrete skill. Such skills are perfected through repetition and practice and minimally involved with understanding. Perhaps my point can be illustrated another way. Consider the difference between sex training and sex education and how many students might gleefully prefer training.

With this distinction in mind, let us consider the question: Do the espoused goals for environmental education enable students to think clearly and critically about their environment? A common expression of environmental education’s ultimate goal is that it should seek to produce “environmentally affirmative citizenship” (Hungerford and Volk, 1984). It is not difficult to imagine a well-educated person who is committed to a particular environmental viewpoint or involved in mediating environmental conflicts. However, it is inconceivable

that the production of such citizens should be a necessary or sufficient outcome of environmental education. As we have seen, we do not apply the term education to the achievement of some particular end. We normally use the term training for the development of such specific behaviours. Thus we may train a person as an activist, advocate, or as an environmentally affirmative citizen. If we push this point further we will recognize that the term "environmentally affirmative" has evaluative connotations. We are implored to provide an education which results in environmentally affirmative rather than environmentally negative students. What is judged to be affirmative will of course be hotly contested. Further, the thrust of this ultimate goal for environmental education is now clearly seen to encourage the modification of individual behaviour in a prescribed direction. Education, however, transcends immediate instrumental values such as the advocacy of a particular sort of behaviour.

A second frequently held goal for environmental education is that we should aid citizens in becoming "environmentally knowledgeable, skilled, dedicated, and willing to work toward the achieving and/or maintaining a dynamic equilibrium between quality of life and quality of environment" (Harvey, 1977). Again we must raise questions about the nature of such a goal. First, the concept of skill is closely tied up with notions of training and perfection through practice, and minimally involved with understanding, and again the goal of modifying behaviour is purely instrumental in nature. Second, the object of these intentions is unclear: What is a dynamic equilibrium between quality of life and quality of environment? How does this provide guidance for environmental educators? In the first place, all dynamic systems will move towards a state of equilibrium. This is not something that we must strive to bring about — it happens naturally.

If, for example, a British Columbia orchardist were to reclaim some wetland adjacent to his property to grow additional trees there would undoubtedly be a disruption of the natural environment and loss of habitat. However, in time, an equilibrium of sorts would be re-established, albeit less rich than before. Meanwhile, the farmer would earn more disposable income which he or she may consider to improve quality of life. We can assume, however, that the waterfowl looking for a place to breed would have a less favourable view. Though this example is illustrative of a dynamic equilibrium, it shows that this concept is of little use in judging what ought to be done. What we appear to have here is an attempt to reduce complex reasoning to a concept derived from the sciences, and this is of little aid in making moral judgements.

Also suspect are goal statements which speak of "training in environmental problem solving skills to enable citizen participation in environmental issue remediation" (Ramsey, Hungerford and Tomera, 1981). While I doubt very much that it is possible to reduce the ability to solve problems to a set of skills in the first place, we are again talking about training and not about education.

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Beyond this, however, we should consider the likelihood of students actually solving infinitely complex environmental problems. Perhaps we do not assign sufficient concern to our vast areas of ignorance concerning the complexities inherent in phenomena commonly regarded as environmental problems (Kennedy, 1983). Furthermore, to urge action which is unattainable and futile is to do a disservice to persons, as well as to serious thought about these problems. Surely it is not "overt environmental behaviour" (Ramsey, Hungerford and Tomera, 1981) that we wish to foster in the name of education. I would like to think that, in many instances, a thoughtful rational student would decline to act if the arguments presented were unclear, or if insufficient information was available to make an informed decision.

Our goal should not be to produce environmentally affirmative citizenship, or environmentally active individuals, or simply to develop problem solving skills. Neither should it be to encourage independent overt environmental behaviour or to achieve overt citizenship action. Our task is clearly to educate. This is inextricably linked to acquisition of knowledge and understanding, commitment to understanding the reason why of things, and care about the use of reason. Specific overt action cannot necessarily be expected of the educated person. He or she may not feel adequately informed, may perceive irresolvable conflicts, or identify greater priorities elsewhere. Even less can we expect overt action to follow a prescribed course, or to take a predetermined direction. While educational achievement should enable individuals to act intelligently, people will not act intelligently if they have been trained, brainwashed, conditioned, indoctrinated, cajoled, coerced, or bribed to behave in a certain way.

What then should be the future direction of environmental education? Rather than attempting to achieve a behavioral response, we should give more weight to questions such as: What constitutes knowledge and understanding? And, what environmental content would be most worthwhile? I believe that Bill Stapp was right in 1969 when he drew our attention to the need to think clearly and critically about environmental issues. It seems to me that serious thought about what this means, and the implications for teaching, have been superseded by a subtle quest to advocate particular values and to modify behaviour accordingly.

I believe that we must now redirect more of our attention to epistemological responsibilities. What different ways of thinking, or forms of knowledge and understanding, are required by our students to think clearly about environmental problems? At the very least we must ensure that they can distinguish between empirical and philosophical questions, a point lost in much environmental education literature. Australian philosopher John Passmore (1974) puts it succinctly: "Ecological problems are not problems of ecology." By this he means that a problem in ecology is a scientific problem arising out of the fact that scientists do not understand a particular phenomenon: there is a gap in their

knowledge. However, they can employ their various techniques in an attempt to solve this puzzle. On the other hand, an ecological problem is a type of social problem. It is deemed as such, not because of a gap in knowledge, or our failure to understand a phenomenon, but because the environmental problem describes a phenomenon we do not like and have judged morally or socially unacceptable. Environmental problems are, by their very nature, different from problems of science. While science will inform our thinking about an issue, this mode of inquiry can only tell us what is, or project what might be, the case. It is moral reasoning that will enable us to decide what we ought to do. There must, therefore, be distinct opportunities in environmental education for students to learn to think scientifically and philosophically.

Thinking clearly about environmental issues also requires the ability to bring into play a breadth of modes of inquiry and understanding. Students' ability to think clearly about a situation will not be contingent upon their mastery of superficial skills, but rather upon their ability to think scientifically, philosophically, morally, historically, and aesthetically. More attention must be given to thinking about how this can be effectively achieved. This does not preclude engaging students in thinking about particular environmental issues — an approach in fact that will likely be important. In the name of education, however, this must not be done as a means to modify behaviour or with the naive promise of solving problems.

As educators, we must recognize that thinking is not a simple skill (McPeck, 1981; Barrow, 1987), but is inextricably linked to content. As we frequently observe, those who are best at thinking clearly about an issue are those who have the most information. Content must, therefore, be selected both for its ability to enable students to think scientifically, morally, historically, aesthetically, and so on, as well as for its utility in enabling students to thoughtfully consider issues of great importance to them. I believe that more attention needs to be given to arguing for the inclusion of environmental content into all fields of inquiry.

Thinking clearly and carefully does not mean paralysis. We must allow students to think about things that are important to them. They must be able to participate in issue investigation, and permitted to act, if they wish, on the best available evidence and argument. However, if they choose to pursue these actions they must be encouraged to do so intelligently and with some humility. They will not be environmentally affirmative citizens, guardians of a dynamic equilibrium between quality of life and quality of environment, and they will not be solving complex environmental problems. They will simply be participating as intelligent individuals in the constant re-examination and recasting of society.

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What this means to us, as concerned citizens and as educators, is that we must make clear and proper distinctions among our various roles in society. As citizens, we must continue to advocate changes in social behaviour towards the environment. Our quality of life, indeed our very survival, depends on it. As educators, we must be sure that we are in fact educating. If our arguments made as citizens are sound, our students may accept them. If they are unacceptable, our students will have the ability to evaluate them as such, and the freedom to reject them. Environmental education will stand a greater chance of becoming more pervasive when it begins to stand on a more conceptually solid footing. This will require educators to make clear distinctions between education and training and between environmental education and environmental advocacy.

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