

RESOURCE UTILISATION IN THE NATIONAL PARKS
OF
THE CANADIAN ARCTIC

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DECLARATION

In accordance with the University of Cambridge regulations,

I do hereby declare that:

This thesis represents my own original work and conforms to accepted standards of citation in those instances in which I have availed myself of the work of others.

This thesis is not now being submitted, nor has been submitted in the past, for any other degree, diploma, or similar qualification at any university or similar institution.

This thesis does not exceed the maximum allowable length of 20,000 words, excluding footnotes, tables, appendices and references.

P. Kim Crosbie
17th June 1992

ABSTRACT

The national parks of northern Canada provide a useful reflection of the evolving attitude towards conservation of a fragile ecosystem, in a situation complicated by a background of political, social and economic transition. This thesis examines how this transition, in particular that of land claim settlements, has affected the role and function of northern national parks. Through examining the evolution and general principles behind conservation, particularly that of protected areas, an analysis is made of the different uses and perceptions of the northern national parks. The conflicts that can arise from these different uses, primarily between native hunting and trapping, tourism and potential industrial development, is examined. Consideration is also given to the different perceptions of the role and function of northern national parks which stem from a multicultural society. In conclusion three issues which are posed in Chapter 1, namely: is there still a place and use for national parks in northern Canada; have the aims and objectives altered from those voiced initially; and with the changing political circumstances in northern Canada, what are the future prospects for national parks, are discussed. The main purpose of this thesis is to assess to what extent the national parks in the north fulfil the Canadian Parks Service objective "*to protect for all time ... this natural heritage so as to leave it unimpaired for future generations*".

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In the *Canadian Parks Service* headquarters I spoke to Dr Ian Rutherford, Director General, National Parks; Michael Porter, Director, Policy, Planning and Legislation, National Parks; Brendon O'Donnell, Assistant Senior Advisor Native Affairs, and Nikita Lopoukhine, Director of Resource Planning in the National Parks Directorate.

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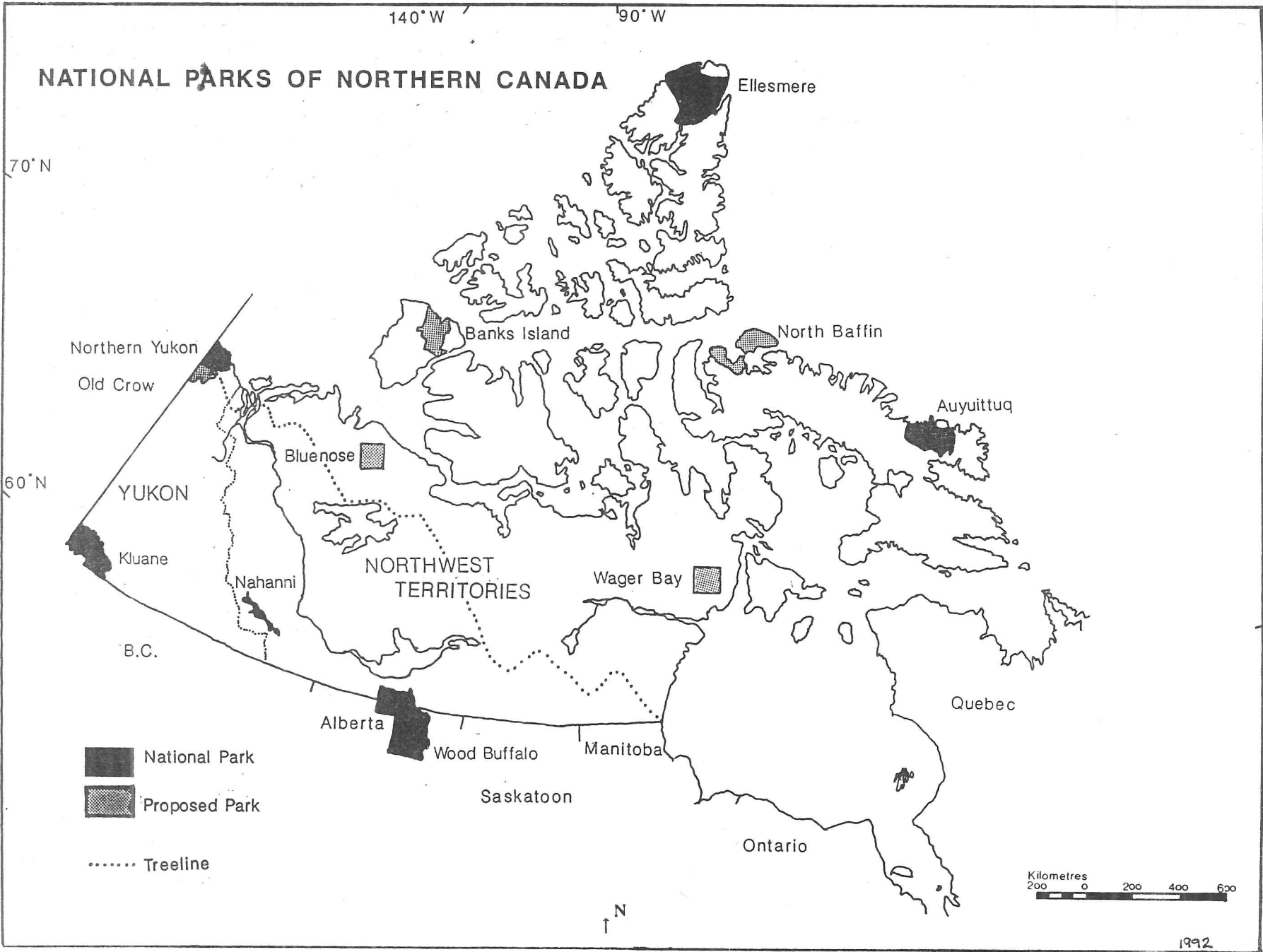
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CHAPTER ONE

*INTRODUCTION, METHODOLOGY AND BACKGROUND***1.1 Introduction**

Northern Canada is the only polar region of a continental size that has been developed by the western way of life <Sugden, 1982>. Today, concern over environmental issues and awareness of how the polar regions can affect the natural and human systems on a global scale have resulted in both international and national desire to appreciate the value of arctic wilderness. In northern Canada most of the conservation effort has been directed at the establishment of protected areas <Kovacs, 1985>. As a result, in many of these areas there has been a conflict of interests between the native population, government, industrial developers and tourism.

At the same time, Canada is in a period of transition. Following Quebec's questioning of its role in the Canadian Federation, Canadians have been reflecting on, and debating, their country's future. The focus of this debate is the constitution and the need to redefine a nineteenth century document in order to make it better suited to the challenges of the twenty-first century. The aim is to resolve some of the long standing issues including native rights <Canada Today 1992>. In northern Canada the situation is made more complex by the negotiation of native land claims, all of which result in a complex, evolving political background to resource use and conservation in northern Canada.

1.2 Aims and Objective

This thesis examines and analyses present resource use in Canadian Arctic national parks. Through a discussion of the principles concerned in environmental ethics, of the Canadian system of conservation, the park resources and users, and the resulting conflicts and criticisms, three issues are addressed:

- * Is there still a place and use for national parks in this region;
- * Have the aims and objectives altered from those voiced initially;
- * With the changing political circumstances in northern Canada, what are the future prospects for national parks?

The purpose is to assess the extent to which Canadian national parks in the north serve the objectives of the Canadian Park Service (CPS) i.e. *"To protect for all time ... this natural heritage so as to leave it unimpaired for future generations."* <CPS 1990a p1>.

1.3 Limitations and Qualifications

Canada was selected for several reasons. The Canadian attitude towards nature and the use of natural resources is one of the most informed of all the western industrial nations. The Green Plan <1990> is an example of this despite the fact that it has received some criticism. This attitude, coupled with the complex political situation in Canada, makes for a useful study area for conservation and resource uses issues. The choice was enhanced by the relative ease of access to sources of information and contacts in Canada. In this case northern Canada and Arctic Canada both refer to the area of the Yukon and

Northwest Territories north of the treeline.

National parks were selected as the field of study because they provide the highest form of protection available for natural areas. Usually national parks are large tracts of land and often they are viewed as being of national importance. This view can complicate the political background, and consequently, the conflicts and issues within the parks.

The term "park" has had varying and wide definitions, from the small landscaped enclosures of medieval Europe to the wilderness areas of the New World. The early parks of medieval Europe tended to be areas for the privileged to enjoy. Through the preservation of certain species for hunting, wilderness and wildlife were perpetuated in these parks, while outside, the extension of cultivation of arable land threatened the natural ecosystems <Lothian 1977 p 10>. Natural wilderness parks were founded on the same concept of perpetuating wilderness and wildlife, so much so that in North America the phrase "National Park" is now taken to describe *"an area set aside as a public heritage or trust, to preserve forever outstanding examples of a nation's scenery, wilderness, geology, natural phenomena or native flora and fauna"* <Lothian 1977 p 10>.

The concept of national parks as a resource in themselves is based on the contention that natural resources are cultural appraisals. These landscapes, including flora, fauna and landforms, can be seen as a resource in several different contexts. Firstly, as a resource for the future it can remain a natural landscape for scientific study, and maintain the diversity of species through

protection from excessive development. Secondly, as a tourist attraction the park provides a location from which to base adventure and ecotourism with impressive scenery and / or opportunity to view wildlife. Thirdly, they are often viewed as a source of pleasure, giving "*a warm fuzzy feeling just knowing they exist*" <MacCormick, personal communication>. Finally, in the northern Canadian context, the parks are also used for native wildlife harvesting and, as such, qualify as a resource base.

By selecting the area north of the treeline, i.e. by eliminating the sub-Arctic area of the Yukon and Northwest Territories, the number of parks was narrowed down to Auyuittuq National Park Reserve on Baffin Island, Ellesmere Park Reserve on Ellesmere Island and Northern Yukon National Park {Map 1}. Consideration was also given to the proposed parks of North Baffin, Wager Bay, Bluenose, Banks Island and Old Crow {Map 1}. However, reference is made to issues in some parks south of the treeline in the Northwest Territories and Yukon in order to illustrate potential situations in the high Arctic parks. The sub-Arctic parks, namely Kluane, Nahanni and Wood Buffalo (which straddles the Northwest Territories and Alberta border {Map 1}), are not included due to the fact that although they face, in many ways, far more pressing difficulties (for example, visitor pressure, the diseased hybrid buffalo herd in Wood Buffalo National Park, and the commercial felling of the old white spruce also in Wood Buffalo), they are not challenged by the same harsh climate and seasonality of the high Arctic parks. Located, as they are, south of the 10⁰C July isotherm they are not representative of true polar regions.

1.4 Methodology

The main method of research was by interviews conducted in Canada in March / April of 1992. Through the opportunity to discuss directly with those involved in the actual decision-making and organisation of the parks, the native input, development of tourism and mineral extraction, it was possible to examine the immediate effects of many recent decisions and changes that would otherwise not yet be available in written form. This was particularly relevant with respect to native rights and land claim settlements. It was, therefore, also possible to obtain documents which are not, as yet, generally available - for example the Final Agreement of the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) the most recent land claim settlement, which is still awaiting ratification. Due to the limited time available, and seasonal climatic constraints, little benefit would have been derived from actually visiting the parks. The amount of information available through direct field observation concerning resource uses and conflicts peculiar to the various parks was, therefore, restricted, as was the reaction of those most directly affected by the parks. Instead data and subject matter were gathered, as far as possible, through interviews in Yellowknife with members of some of the communities situated near the park, and with those officials responsible for creating and implementing policy at all levels from federal government down to park ranger.

These interviews enabled the thesis to include a Canadian perspective on the issues concerning northern national parks.

1.5 Background Information

Canada's two northern territories, the Northwest Territories and Yukon Territory, represent approximately 40 per cent of Canada's total land and freshwater surface area, and comprise almost 4 million square kilometres <Bregha 1987>. The area spans a distance of some 3000 kilometres from east to west, and from north to south.

These northern regions are dominated by a harsh climate and extreme seasonality. The temperature in Yellowknife at the end of April was -4°C with daylight for 16 hours; in Resolute it was -25°C and 20 hours of daylight. Less than three months before it had been -32°C in Yellowknife with 8 hours of daylight, while in Resolute it was -42°C and 4 hours of daylight. This extreme contrast is reflected in the vegetation and physical geography of the area. Distinctive landscapes have been created by wind, ice and snow. Permafrost, the presence of ice on land, and the long dark winters with short summers are also responsible for the simple ecosystems with low rates of biological activity. These ecosystems are generally thought to be fragile as a result <Dunbar 1960>, and large populations of animals unique to the environment, such as Barren-ground Caribou (*Rangifer tarandus granti*) and Muskox (*Ovibos moschatus*), are potentially very unstable <Pearson 1977>.

Human activity is increasingly being imposed on these ecosystems, through the exploitation of both non-renewable resources (gold, tungsten, copper, and uranium are all mined in the north, as well as the development of hydrocarbon reserves) and of renewable resources (native harvesting for a source of protein and sport

hunting) <Fenge, 1982>. Trends in use and exploitation of both renewable and non-renewable resources, for example the expansion and collapse of the fur trade, and whaling, can be discerned throughout the circumpolar regions. However, the most obvious threats to the physical environment, both in the long and short term, arise from large scale developments associated with the establishment of hydroelectric installations (e.g. James Bay 2 project in northern Quebec) and with mineral and hydrocarbon exploration and exploitation (e.g. the Beaufort Sea) <Karpowicz and Harrison 1987>. Invariably linked to industrial development there is the problem of pollution and other related impacts, for example from the transportation of both people and equipment. As a result, planning in industrial expansion is essential and must incorporate, for example, environmental impact assessments. Even so, it is still argued by many organisations, both governmental (Canadian Parks Service and Wildlife Service) and non-governmental (the Sierra Club and Western Canada Wilderness Committee) that governments should identify key areas for protection in which such activity is prohibited or strictly controlled.

1.6 Northern Conservation

In the Circumpolar North there is already a range of protected areas, diverse in size and degree of protection. For example, the National Park in Greenland (established in 1974) encompasses 70 million hectares thus making it the world's largest <Meyer 1987>; on Svalbard there are several tiny bird sanctuaries, amounting to 19 000 hectares in the aggregate <Karpowicz and Harrison, 1987>. Sixty-three protected areas, defined as sites of over 1000 hectares (or 100 hectares if an island), were identified by Karpowicz and Harrison within the Arctic Circle. These were established for nature conservation reasons and are fully protected by the highest competent authority.

The majority of these protected areas have been established only in the last 20 years or so. For example, in Svalbard no areas were delineated until 1973, despite proposals having been made as early as 1914. In the Antarctic, by comparison, a series of smaller protected areas has been identified, predominantly in the form of Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSIs), but no park has been created as such. The concept of a World Park was proposed, initially by non-government organisations, but many have dismissed the concept as meaningless since there is no precedent <e.g. Eidsvik, personal communication>.

In northern Canada Nelson <1984> suggested that the complex and changing nature of the legislation involved in conservation is one of the reasons why protected areas have taken so long to be established in the north. As industrial activity has increased, conservation has

come into conflict with this development and occasionally, with traditional lifestyles. The following chapter examines the evolution of and legislation behind the Canadian national park system, particularly the changes encompassed in land claim settlements.

CHAPTER TWO

CANADIAN NATIONAL PARKS

2.1 The Legislative and Institutional Basis

The Federal Government owns the vast majority of the land surface area of the Northwest Territories and Yukon. The territorial government owns some land, mainly that surrounding communities, and the indigenous peoples own what they have claimed in land claim settlements. The Federal government controls the use of land and water, while the territorial government exercises the authority to manage and conserve game; hence the Department of Renewable Resources is part of the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT). Rare and endangered species of mammals and birds are managed by the Canadian Wildlife Service (CWS) in certain environmentally significant areas (ESAs); otherwise they are managed by the Department for Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) <Fenge 1982>. The Canadian Parks Service is responsible for what is known as Canadian Heritage which encompasses natural ecosystems - the prairies, forests, mountains, lakes, coastlines, and tundra with their multitude of plants and wildlife and Canadian history from the first peoples, with their rich diversity of cultures, and the founding and growth of the nation <CPS 1990b>.

There are a wide variety of statutes and regulations covering conservation and management of environmentally significant areas (ESA). Table 2.1 lists five federal and three territorial statutes that may be used to conserve northern ESAs; three are for general environmental management and the remainder for specific conservation orientated reserves.

source : Fenge 1982

Table 2.1

Legislation and Reserves to Conserve Environmentally Significant Areas in the Northwest Territories.

<i>Federal Statutes</i>	<i>Reserve Types</i>	<i>Administrative Agency</i>
Canada Wildlife Act.	National Wildlife Area.	Canadian Wildlife Service-- Department of the Environment (federal).
Migratory Birds Convention Act.	Migratory Bird Sanctuaries.	Canadian Wildlife Service-- Department of the Environment (federal).
National Parks Act.	National Park, National Historic Park.	Parks Canada--Department of the Environment (federal).
Northern Inland Waters Act and Northern Inland Waters Regulations.	General Water-use Regulation, Land Withdrawal.	Northern Affairs Programme-- Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (federal).
Territorial Lands Act and Territorial Land Use Regulations.	General Land-use Regulation, Land Withdrawal.	Northern Affairs Programme-- Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (federal).
Northwest Territories Act and Reindeer Regulations.	Reindeer Grazing Reserve.	Northern Affairs Programme -- Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (federal), and Wildlife Service--Department of Renewable Resources (territorial).
<i>Territorial Statutes</i>	<i>Reserve Types</i>	<i>Administrative Agency</i>
Area Development Ordinance.	General Environmental Management.	Department of Economic Development and Tourism (territorial), and Department of Renewable Resources (territorial).
Territorial Parks Ordinance.	Natural Environment Recreation Park, Outdoor Recreation Park, Community Park, Wayside Park.	Department of Economic Development and Tourism (territorial).
Wildlife Ordinance.	General Wildlife Management, Wildlife Preserve, Wildlife Sanctuary.	Wildlife Service--Department of Renewable Resources (territorial).

The National Parks Act of Canada is just one of these statutes that is still evolving. In 1990 the Canadian Parks Service published the new proposed policy which is designed to incorporate National Landmarks, National Marine Parks and Canadian Heritage Rivers. There is some debate over whether the National Park legislation is adequate for establishing Marine Parks <Gamble, personal communication>. For example the Lancaster Sound Marine Park proposal was initially backed by the native population since the land based renewable resources in the area were virtually non-existent. They thought this change in status would protect the Sound for subsistence fishing and marine mammal harvesting. However, when it was discovered that giving the region Marine Park status under the National Park Act it would be unable to prohibit the Sound being used as a transportation route the natives withdrew their support, without which the proposal floundered <Gamble, personal communication>.

Table 2.2 outlines the land uses that are prohibited in the various conservation reserves. It should be noted that the statutes, as summarised in table 2.2 give to the Ministers responsible, flexible powers in allowing subsistence harvesting <Fenge 1982>. It should also be noted that although the national park legislation prohibits mineral and hydrocarbon development in the parks, the transportation of these resources through the park is allowed by permit <Fenge 1982>.

Characteristics of Environmental Conservation Reserves that can be Designated in the Northwest Territories

Reserve	Legislation	Agency	Number of Reserves in the NWT	Area of Reserves in the NWT km ²	Percentage of NWT Surface Area	Land-uses - V = Permitted, X = Prohibited, ? = Unclear								
						Renewable Resources					Non-Renewable Resources			
						Sport Hunting	Sport Fishing	Subsistence Hunting	Subsistence Fishing	Logging	Agriculture	Oil and Gas Exploration	Mineral Exploration	Hydrocarbon Transportation
National Park	National Parks Act	Parks Canada (DOE)	3	35,688	1.05%	X	V	V	V	X	X	X	X	V
National Historic Park	National Parks Act	Parks Canada (DOE)	0	0	0%	X	V	V	V	X	X	X	X	V
National Wildlife Area	Canada Wildlife Act	Canadian Wildlife Service (DOE)	0	0	0%	X	X	?	?	X	X	X	X	X
Migratory Bird Sanctuary	Migratory Birds Convention Act	Canadian Wildlife Service (DOE)	16	109,699	3.24%	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V
Land Withdrawal	Territorial Lands Act and Land Use Regulations	Northern Affairs (DINA) Programme	Varies due to their temporary nature	Varies	Varies	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V
Land Withdrawal	Northern Inland Waters Act	Northern Affairs (DINA) Programme	0	0	0%	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V
Wildlife Sanctuary	N.W.T. Wildlife Ordinance	Wildlife Service GNWT	4	66,435.5	1.96%	X	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V
Wildlife Preserve	N.W.T. Wildlife Ordinance	Wildlife Service GNWT	3	12,319	0.36%	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V
Reindeer Grazing Reserve	N.W.T. Act and Reindeer Regulations	Wildlife Service GNWT	1	36,030	1.06%	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V
Natural Environment Recreation Park	N.W.T. Parks Ordinance	Dept of Economic Development GNWT	0	0	0%	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V
Outdoor Recreation Park	N.W.T. Parks Ordinance	Dept of Economic Development GNWT	0	0	0%	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V
			Total → 27	Total → 260,271.5	Total → 7.7%									

Table 2.2

source : Fenge 1982

2.2 The Canadian National Park System.

To protect for all time representative natural areas of Canadian significance in a system of national parks, and to encourage public understanding, appreciation and enjoyment of this natural heritage so as to leave it unimpaired for future generations.

Canadian Parks Service Objective for National Parks
<CPS 1990a, p.1>

This principle which underlies the Canadian National Park system has evolved over the past hundred years. In 1885 the transcontinental railway linking eastern Canada with the Pacific Coast was completed. That year witnessed the early settlement of the prairies, the suppression of an armed rebellion by certain Indians and Metis of the Northwest Territories, and the reservation for public use of hot springs in the Rocky Mountains near Banff railway station <Lothian 1977>. Following a submission to the Privy Council in London, an area of circa 10 miles around the hot springs was set aside for future park use:

"His excellency by and with the advice of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada has been pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, that whereas near the station of Banff on the Canadian Pacific Railway, in the Provisional District of Alberta, Northwest Territories, there have been discovered several hot mineral springs which promise to be of great sanitary advantage to the public, and in order that proper control of the lands surrounding these springs may be vested in the crown, the said lands in the territory including said springs and in their immediate neighbourhood, be reserved from sale or settlement or squatting..."

<Quoted in Lothian 1977, p.5>

On the 22nd. April, 1887 a bill was introduced in the House of Commons at Westminster to establish Banff as a national park expanding it to circa 405 square kilometres. The bill was read for the third time on May 6th and the Act, since known as the the Rocky Mountains Park Act, received royal assent on June 23, 1887. With this Act in place it became a straightforward task for the Department for the Interior to develop

further the park concept. This concept was outlined in the Rocky Mountains Park Act as follows:

"The said tract of land is hereby reserved and set apart as a public park and pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of Canada, subject to the provisions of this Act and of the regulations hereinafter mentioned and shall be known as the Rocky Mountains Park of Canada."

<Quoted in Lothian 1977, Pg 6>

On the site at the junction of the Bow and Spray River the Banff Springs Hotel was built, with adjoining bath houses and tubs filled with water from the hot springs.

By 1911 five further national parks were established in the Rocky and Selkirk Mountains. Meanwhile, in the east, other parks were being established on federal land. Between 1930 and 1970 five national parks were established in Atlantic Canada, bringing the total number to nineteen in 1970. They were established with no preconceived system behind their creation, but rather as a collection of special places set aside for a variety of reasons as tourist resorts, or regional recreation areas, to preserve habitats for wildlife, or to stimulate flagging economies <CPS 1990a>.

In the early 1970's Parks Canada divided Canada into thirty-nine natural regions {Map 2}. The underlying principle was to demarcate and protect a representative sample of each of Canada's landscapes and natural phenomena, with divisions being based on natural physiography and vegetation. Each region was to have a national park which would embody the specific characteristics of that particular environment. This approach has provided the basic framework for park policy, as well as providing a goal for completion. Parks Canada wrote:

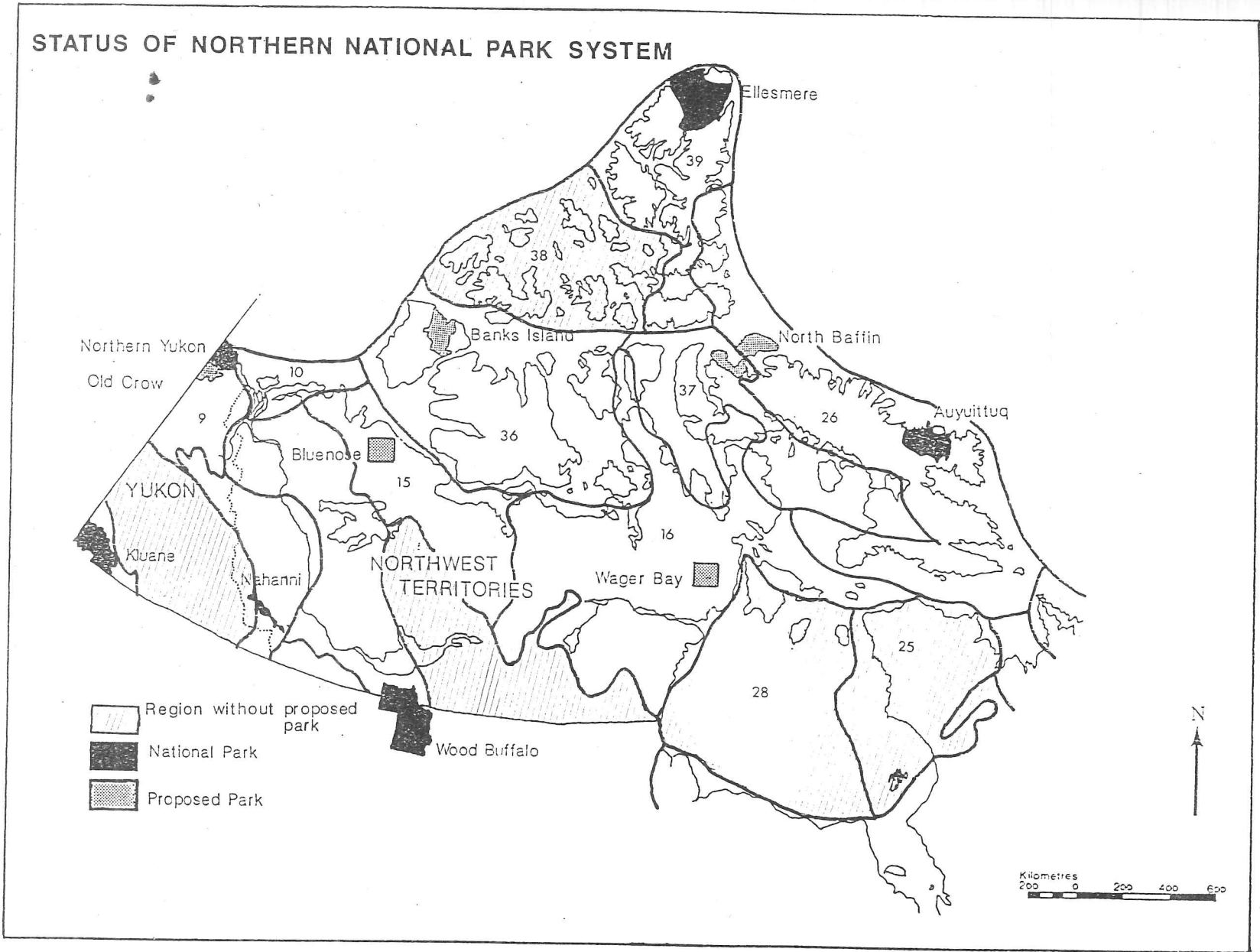
2.3 The Status of National Parks in the Canadian North.

The allotted natural regions north of the treeline include {Map 3}:

9. Northern Yukon region;
10. Mackenzie Delta;
15. Tundra Hills;
16. Central Tundra region;
25. Ungava Plain;
26. Northern Davis region;
28. Southampton plain;
36. Western Arctic lowlands;
37. Eastern Arctic lowlands;
38. Western High Arctic Glacier region; and
39. Eastern High Arctic Glacier regions.

Of these only three are presently represented: Northern Davis Region, Eastern High Arctic Glacier Region, and Northern Yukon Region, a brief outline of which is given below:

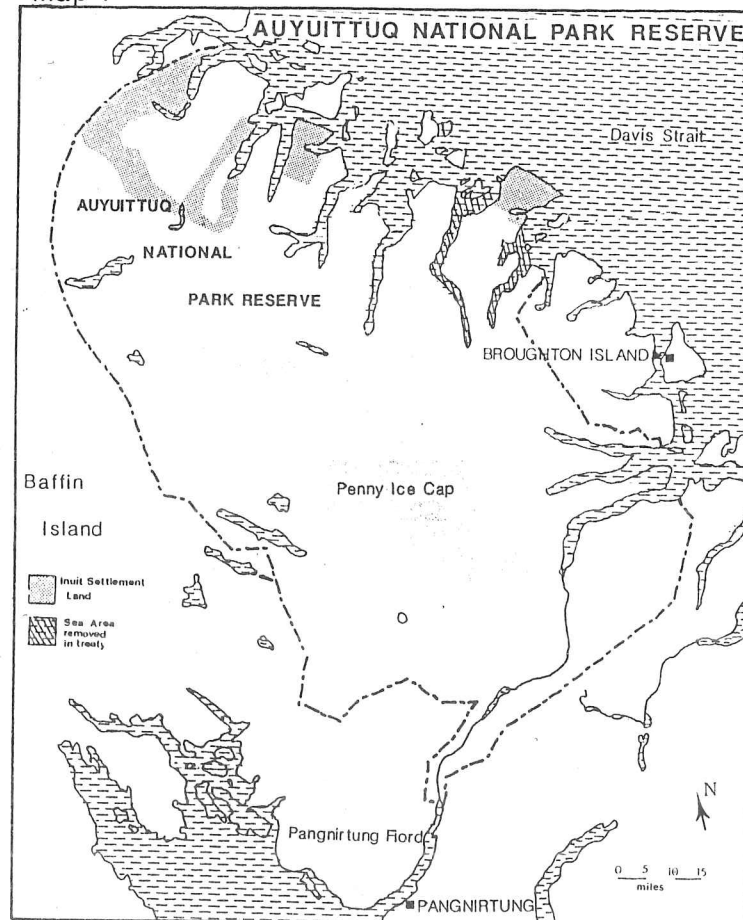
STATUS OF NORTHERN NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM



Map 3

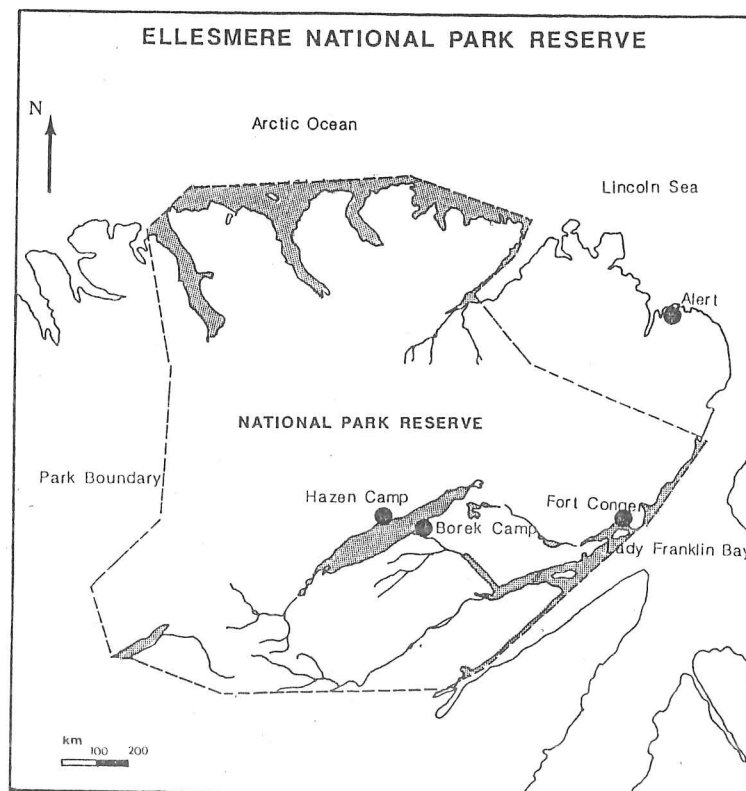
AUYUITTUQ NATIONAL PARK RESERVE {Map 4} was first established in 1972 as Baffin Island National Park. In 1974 it was renamed Auyuittuq (*the land that never melts*) to represent the Canadian Shield's northern extremes and the Northern Davis natural region. It is located almost entirely within the Arctic Circle on the northern shore of the Cumberland Peninsula of Baffin Island, and covers an area of 19,600 sq km. The park is dominated by rugged mountains and includes the Penny Ice Cap, active glaciers and spectacular fjords. The only access to the park is by boat through private outfitters, snowmobile or cross country skiing, usually through a fiord to the Pangnirtung Pass. The total number of visitors to the park numbered 410 in 1988 - 1989 <CPS 1990c, p 170>.

Map 4



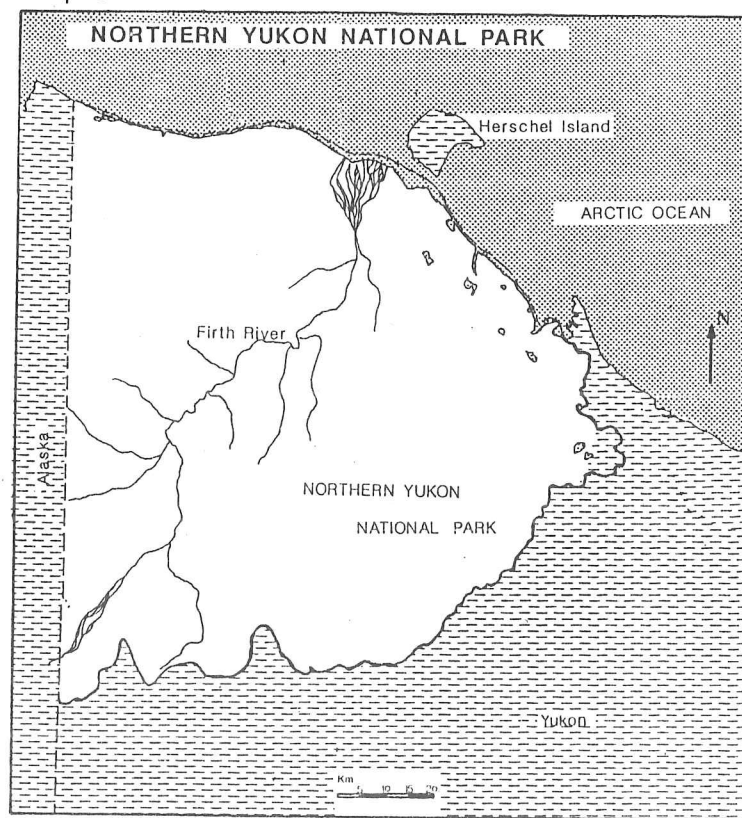
ELLESMERE ISLAND NATIONAL PARK RESERVE {Map 5} was established in 1988, following a Federal - Territorial enabling agreement in 1986, with the purpose of representing the Eastern High Arctic natural region and a portion of the Northern Arctic marine region. It is located on the northern area of the Arctic Archipelago, separated from Greenland by the Robeson Channel and covers an area of 37,775 sq km. Described by the CPS <1990c> as remote and fragile, it is composed of the most northerly lands in North America with high mountains, glaciers, fjords, deeply cut plateaux and the largest freshwater lake containing Arctic Char completely north of the Arctic Circle. Access is limited to chartered aircraft from Resolute Bay. It is, accordingly very expensive and has resulted in a low number of visitors: 105 in 1988 - 1989 <CPS 1990c>.

Map 5



NORTHERN YUKON NATIONAL PARK was established in 1984 through the Inuvialuit Land Claim Agreement to represent the Northern Yukon natural Region and the Meckenzie Delta natural region. It covers some 10,168 sq km in the Northwest Yukon, and comprises a unique non-glaciated landscape, including the Firth River, which provides one of the most challenging white water rafting experiences in the north. The Porcupine caribou herd migrates through the park, which is also the home of both grizzly and polar bears, moose, muskox, Dall's sheep, Gyrfalcon and Arctic Char. The park borders Alaska and the Arctic Nature and Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) which is repeatedly under threat for hydrocarbon development. The western edge of the park is on the international border with Alaska and, as such, international political concerns impinge on its planning and management.

Map 6



There are five further proposed parks: North Baffin, Wager Bay, Bluenose, Banks Island and Old Crow.

Two of the national parks were initially categorised as park reserves. This was a result of federal government land claims policy; while on the one hand it has pursued a northern national park initiative, on the other it has been negotiating modern treaties with northern aboriginal peoples <Fenge, personal communication>. Throughout these negotiations, the federal government has firmly maintained the position that it, and it alone, must hold title to land in national parks. For this reason national parks in the north cannot be established until the outstanding aboriginal title to the land in question is surrendered to the Crown. Hence Ellesmere and Auyuittuq remain national park reserves, not national parks, and no new national parks have been established in the north outside of land claim agreements. The fact that these sites have been initially defined as "reserves" meant that they, and all future national parks in the north, may be established only following the settlement of comprehensive land claims.

2.4.2 *The Gwich'in Tribal Council Land Claim Agreement 1991*

Chapter 15 of the Gwich'in Land Claim Agreement deals with the generic process of establishing a national park through the land claim settlement. Paradoxically, there are no national parks in the settlement area or any plans for such, as the natural region in which the land claim is located is already represented by the North Yukon National Park. The claim ensures, however, that should a park be established it would be permitted only following a Gwich'in Impact and Benefit Plan being prepared by the Government and the Gwich'in tribal council. The Impact and Benefit Plan would include provisions for: a park management committee; continued use of Gwich'in camps, cabins and traditional travel routes; economic and employment opportunities; mitigation of potential negative impacts of park establishment on affected communities, etc. Clause 15.5.2 reads "*National parks shall be managed in a manner which provides for wildlife harvesting by the Gwich'in, consistent with the protection of wildlife habitat, the maintenance of viable wildlife populations, and the natural evolution of ecosystems...*". However clause 15.5.3 states "*except for the harvesting of fur bearers, the harvesting of wildlife within national parks by the Gwich'in shall be limited to the personal use of participants or for trade to other participants for their personal use...*" and clause 15.7.2 incorporates the "*right of first refusal for economic and commercial activities*". <Gwich'in / DIAND 1991 Chapter 15>. The depth of detail in the provisions for national parks in the agreement, despite the fact that it is unlikely that a national park be established in this area,

illustrates the high profile and importance of national parks in land claim negotiations. The Gwich'in agreement provides a useful precedent for the provision of parks within future land claim agreements.

2.4.3 The Tungavut Federation of Nunavut (TFN) Agreement (Agreement between the Inuit of Nunavut Settlement Area and Her Majesty in Right of Canada)

This agreement, recently accepted by 54 per cent of the population in a plebiscite held throughout northern Canada <Hellyer, personal communication>, and to be ratified later this year, takes aboriginal rights even further.

The TFN, a federation of Inuit organisations and regional councils, represents some 15,000 Inuit of the Nunavut Territory. It encompasses a huge area consisting of most of the lands and waters east of the Beaufort Sea, and north of the treeline, extending into the High Arctic Islands, and includes the Kitikmeot, Keewatin and Baffin regions covering approximately 2,849 million square kilometres <TFN 1987>. This area incorporates wholly the natural regions of Northern Davis Region, Eastern Arctic Lowlands, and Eastern High Arctic Glacier Regions as delineated by the CPS.

The Inuit of Nunavut formulated their land claim policy in 1970 with the aim of dividing the Northwest Territories into two and creating a new territory called Nunavut in the east. They also defined a process to determine which land should be owned by the Inuit and which by Government. The strategy also proposed the formation of institutions, upon which government and Inuit would be equally represented, and to decide how, when, to what purpose, and by whom, land and natural resources in Nunavut would be developed. Part of the debate revolved

around whether, and to what extent, national parks could serve the Inuit land ownership, land use, environmental conservation, and economic development goals. In 1979, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), then in charge of the Nunavut claim, prepared a report that illustrated the ambivalence that the Inuit felt towards national parks <Fenge, personal communication>:

"Inuit are interested in protecting the wildlife and habitat upon which their hunting way of life depends and accepted that National Parks legislation can provide this kind of protection. However, they foresee a conflict between the recreational use to which parks are put, once established, and the continuing of Inuit use and occupancy. It is felt that this conflict could only be resolved if Inuit use is assigned precedence over recreational use... Where Inuit have expressed interest in national parks, this has invariably arisen from a perceived local threat to wildlife resources, not from application of park planning methodology." <ITC 1979>

By the 1980s, however, the Inuit land claim negotiators had concluded that national parks could be useful tools for local and regional economic development as well as environmental conservation if:

- 1) they were strategically located to protect wildlife and wildlife habitat important to the Inuit hunting economy;
- 2) they did not impede hunting, fishing and trapping; and
- 3) they could be managed cooperatively by Inuit and government to serve local as well as national objectives

<Fenge, personal communication>.

Throughout the following ten years of land claim negotiations, the Inuit designed their land claim agreement to provide themselves with a significant degree of control over as much land as possible within their claim areas. Of course, owning land outright was the most certain, and therefore preferred, means of exercising that control, but the Inuit envisaged that the Crown would continue to hold the major proportion of

the land. The TFN stressed the need for the Inuit to attain rights to manage cooperatively all land and natural resources throughout the settlement area <Fenge, personal communication>.

In the 1990 Nunavut Agreement-in-principle, article 8, was concerned with parks and national park establishment. Although two park reserves were already established in the claim area, the agreement provided the opportunity for the reserves to become parks "proper" and for the establishment of new parks. Article 8.2.6 reads:

"The Final Agreement shall provide for the establishment, within a reasonable time period, of at least three National Parks in the Nunavut Settlement Area. Except as otherwise agreed to by ... the Government of Canada, the Final Agreement shall provide that Inuit Settlement Lands, as identified through the Inuit Settlement Lands identification process shall not be included as part of such parks." <TFN / DIAND 1990 Pg 109>

The government negotiators were able to confirm that the intention was to fulfil the national park system plan in the future, but they were not specific about timing. There were several reasons for the government's stand: firstly, land claim agreements are constitutionally protected and, therefore, any time commitments are legally binding <Trognitz, personal communication>; secondly, national parks are public conservation areas on federal land and the government felt that it should retain the authority to decide whether, where and when to establish them, arguing that land claim agreements determine who owns and manages land, not what it is used for <Fenge, personal communication>; thirdly, there was the financial issue, because, although there is a commitment to finish the park system in northern Canada, as yet there is insufficient funding to enable the establishment of any further parks while maintaining those already established

<Rutherford, personal communication>; fourthly, by promising to establish more parks they would have been bypassing some of the initial public consultations which are standard in park establishment <Gamble, personal communication>; and finally there is a requirement that before any park is established a Mineral and Energy Resource Assessment (MERA) must be carried out. For the two proposed parks of Wager Bay and Bluenose, these have not yet been carried out <Fenge, personal communication>. In consequence, by the time the final agreement was reached there were only the three national parks to be established, although a clause was included referring to the *desirability* of completing the system:

"It is desirable to establish National Parks in National Parks Natural regions 39, 38, 37, 28, 26, 25, 17, 16, and 15. The Canadian Parks Service shall work with affected communities, and the territorial Government of Canada in the Nunavut Settlement Area to complete representation of those National Park Natural regions, recognizing that only National Park Natural Regions 39, 37, and 26 lie exclusively within the Nunavut Settlement Area." <TFN / DIAND 1992 Pg 52>.

Natural Region 39, 37 and 26 are the regions represented by Ellesmere park reserve, North Baffin proposed park and Auyuittuq park reserve respectively. Several issues were raised in the provision for their establishment, some general and some specific, concerning boundaries, park management and Inuit involvement.

Ellesmere was the easiest instance in which to reach accord because it was situated north of land which the Inuit had documented as having been used and occupied within "living memory" <Fenge, personal communication>. Nevertheless, at one point during the establishment of Ellesmere park reserve, the Inuit of the eastern arctic removed their

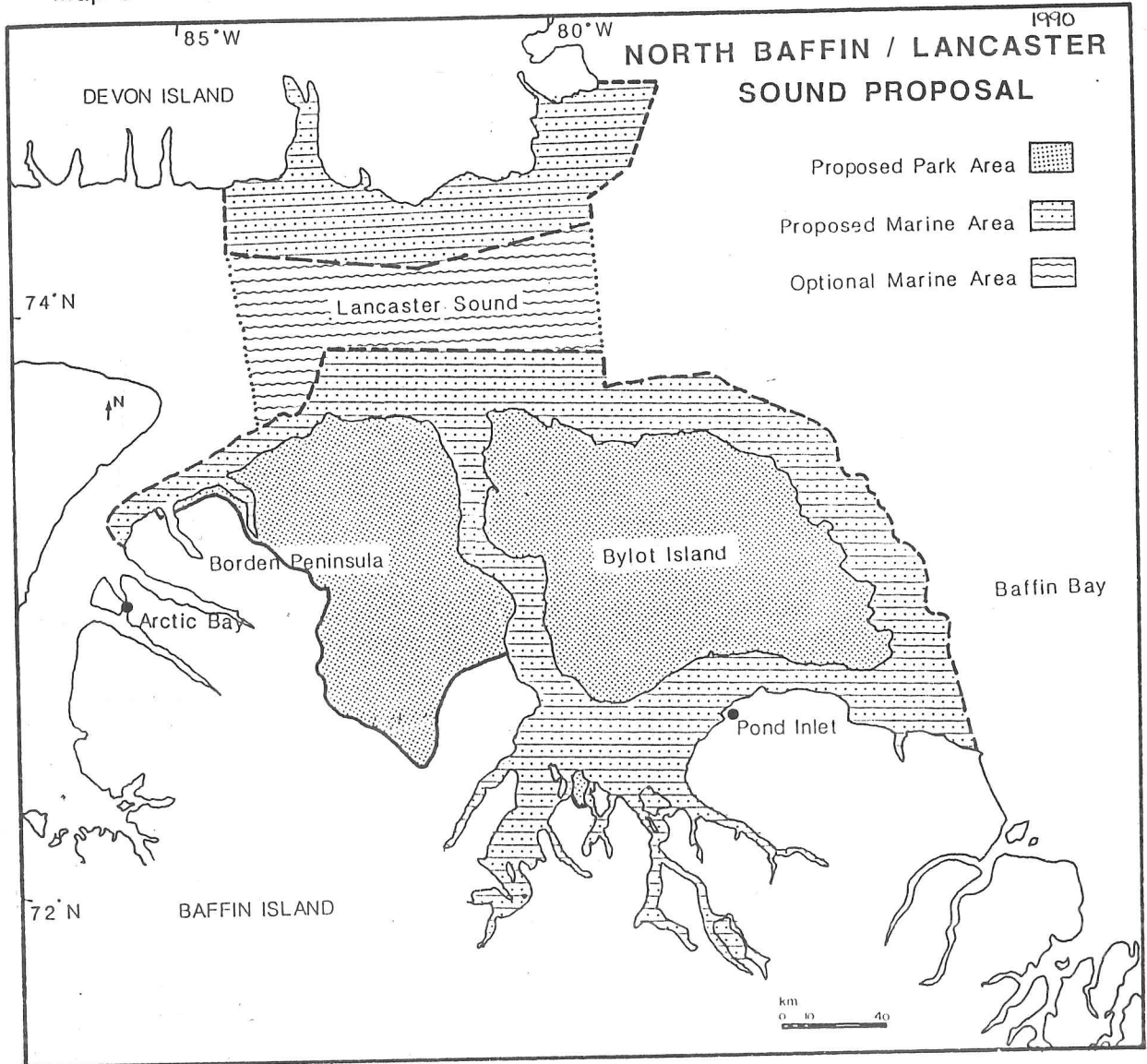
support for the park in protest against bureaucratic interference with their land claims negotiations <Fenge, personal communication>. In the final agreement, however, it was stated that the status of the area would change from Park Reserve to National Park one year after the conclusion of the IIBA (Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreements). The latter agreement ensures Inuit training and involvement in the running and organisation of the National Parks {Appendix 1}.

Auyuittuq caused more of a debate. There are two communities on either side of the Park: Pangnirtung and Broughton Island {Map 4}. The residents of Pangnirtung have benefited from the establishment of the park as their community is the main entrance for visitors. Since there is very little hunting in the Pangnirtung Fjord area, the tourists and hikers do not come into conflict with the local population. On the Broughton side it is different. As few visitors actually visit that side of the park and there are only two native wardens as opposed to the four in Pangnirtung, there is little economic benefit to Broughton Island from the park. Further, the park reserve boundary includes traditional polar bear denning and hunting grounds, as well as the fjords for fishing and sea mammal hunting, and on one peninsula there is an ancient Inuit burial site. The constraints imposed by park planning and management were, therefore, seen by the Broughton Island Community in a negative light. A compromise had to be sought between the Inuit of Broughton Island and the government concerning the land ownership needs of the Inuit, and the land and ocean area needed by the Crown, if the national park was to be viable. Eventually agreement was reached on the condition that approximately 12 per cent of the park, including some

ocean area and circa 500 square kilometres of land in total from the park reserve, would become Inuit land on the Broughton side. Again the Park reserve will become a legally defined national park one year after the conclusion of the local IIBA.

North Baffin raised a further set of issues as this park is in the proposal stage. In the early 1980's CPS proposed that North Baffin and Bylot island should become a national park {Map 8}. At the time of the land ownership negotiations, however, the land had not been delineated on North Baffin, and Bylot Island was already a Migratory Bird Island. It is an area used extensively by the Inuit of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay for hunting, trapping and guiding sport hunters, and there were also, within certain zones of the national park, several cultural and archaeological sites of importance. During the negotiations a compromise was reached and the boundaries altered to allow for Inuit ownership of approximately 100 square kilometres of land in the vicinity of Button Inlet and on Bylot Island. Notwithstanding, the question of boundaries was brought up again by DIAND and MERA concerning the southern portion of the Mala river watershed as a site for potential mineral development with a proposal to reduce the area within the park boundary by 2000 square kilometres. However, at a public meeting held in Pond Inlet on January 24, 1991, the Inuit made it clear that should this boundary question be raised, then it would precipitate renegotiation of land ownership for the entire region. The Inuit were supportive of the park plan because they were not interested in mineral development in the area <McNamee 1991>.

Map 8



2.5 Discussion

The main issues which are liable to be raised each time a national park is proposed in the north are the provisions in the land claim agreement pertinent for that location and the impact on the local communities. In the western portion of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Territory this is made increasingly difficult as the collapse of the Dene / Metis agreement has resulted in the establishment of five smaller claims. Thus in the west the Canadian Parks Service is dealing with seven land claims, Inuvialuit, Council of Yukon Indians, Gwich'in, Sahtu, North Slave, Deh Cho and South Slave, while in the east there is only the one, Nunavut.

The importance of the land claim agreements in park establishment is a reflection of what has been described as "*the renaissance of Canada's native people*" <Page 1986, Pg 59>. Most of the communities of the Northwest Territories are small, isolated and predominantly native (with the exceptions of Yellowknife, Whitehorse, and Inuvik). In these communities the impact of the expansion of both industrial and environmental development is much greater than in the south. The isolation of these scattered communities was their means of social stability and cultural survival. However, the spatial diffusion of technology, and specifically communications, has resulted in a destabilisation of the equilibrium previously maintained in these northern communities. This is reflected in the statistics of alcoholism, crime and welfare <Page 1982, p 210>.

Ensuring political standing is vital to the Inuit and Indians of the Canadian north. There has been a great deal written about the romanticism of the aboriginal lifestyle but living off the land is arduous and at times precarious. The Inuit do not wish to return to conditions prior to southern contact. Social change has gone too far. However, through new forms of political standing they wish to retain their distinctive "hinterland" culture <Page 1982, p 255>. Through provisions for national parks they are able to retain traditional lifestyles while integrating with southern cultures.

To fully understand the complexities behind the resource use issues and conflicts in these northern parks it is important to first consider the evolution and general principles behind land use and conservation of natural resources. The following chapter examines the background to national parks.

CHAPTER THREE

ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION

3.1 Introduction

*Has God, thy fool! work'd solely for thy good,
Thy joy, thy pastime, thy attire, thy food*

*Know, Nature's children all divide her care;
The fur that warms a monarch, warm'd a bear.*

Alexander Pope.

This verse, written by Pope in the eighteenth century, illustrates how long some, at least, have been concerned with the environment and man's use of it. Albert Schweitzer remarked that "*we owe kindness even to an insect when we can afford to show it just because we ought to do something to make up for the cruelties, necessary as well as unnecessary, which we have inflicted upon almost the whole of animate creation*" <quoted in Krutch 1973>.

3.2 Land Use and Conservation

Land is the basic natural resource <Mather 1989 p 1> and it is through the use of land that the human population has derived most of its food and shelter. The connection between the two, people and land, is inseparable, portrayed for example in Hebrew where the word for man is *adam* and for land *adama*. There is however a fundamental difference between the two most enduring concepts of how the relationship between humans and land is perceived; that of stewardship or domain. In Genesis 1:26 God is said to create man to have "*dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the*

earth ... (1:28) *Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it*" <Old Testament of the Authorised Bible>. However Passmore <1980> argues that at the same time the Old Testament insists that the world was a good place before man was created, and that the earth exists to glorify God rather than to serve man. This argument can be interpreted in two ways; either man is the steward, tending and using nature but in such a way as not to modify it; or it can be construed in a more radical way, that of modifying and transforming nature to meet his needs <Passmore 1980 Pg 27>. Jacoby <1971> describes the transition of communal control of land ownership to individual private property rights as being in a cycle. The recent growth in community concern over how land is used has resulted in an increasing influence on the forms of land use by local and central government implying a swing back to a position in-between that of communal and individual ownership. This model, though crude and oversimplified, since it reduces the issue to one of land ownership, does serve as an illustration of the changing attitudes to land and nature.

The dictionary defines *conserve* as *to keep from harm, decay or loss, to keep entire*. This simple definition provides a baseline for conservation in general, but the conservation of land is rather more complex. The definition would imply "saving": Mather <1989> raises the question is this to save *for*, or to save *from*. In other words is the motive ethical, following John Muir's professions that the land had an intrinsic value which should be conserved for that reason alone, or is it driven by pragmatic reasons i.e. to conserve for later use and thus avoid waste. Mather expresses the view that a division can be made between nature conservation, which is *saving from* and resource

conservation, which would be *saving for*.

Conservation is related to the relationship between man and his environment and the balance between the two. The roots of conservation lie in both philosophy and religion which provide the basic values for using land in a wise manner. This is reflected in the Inuit attitude to land, viewing the interrelationship between themselves and nature as inextricably linked.

3.3 Evolution of Present Conservation Strategies

G.P. Marsh published, in 1864, the first work to detail man's impact on nature. He wrote *"nature has left it within the power of man irreparably to derange the combinations of inorganic matter and of organic life, which through the night of aeons she had been proportioning and balancing, to prepare the earth for his habitation, when in the fullness of time, his creator shall call him forth to enter into its possession"* <Marsh 1864 p 35>. *"The ravages committed by man subvert the relations and destroy the balance which nature had established between her organic and her inorganic creations; and she avenges herself upon the intruder, by letting loose upon her defaced provinces destructive energies hitherto kept in check by organic forces destined to be his best auxiliaries, but which he has unwisely dispersed and driven from the field of action"* <Marsh 1864 p 43>. Prompted by his writings it became increasingly obvious that the environment was being exhausted by man's use of it. In 1908 President Theodore Roosevelt, guided by a close associate Gifford Pinchot, head of the US Forest Service, called a meeting of the governors of the states to discuss the conservation of

natural resources. For Pinchot the first principle of conservation was the use of natural resources for the benefit of people now living; the second was to avoid waste, and the third was that resources should be developed for the benefit of the community as a whole, not for individuals. The declaration prepared by the US Conference of Governors stated:

We agree that the land should be so used that erosion and soil wash shall cease; and that there should be reclamation of arid and semi-arid regions by means of irrigation, and of swamp and overflowed regions by means of drainage; that the waters should be so conserved and used as to promote navigation, to enable the arid regions to be reclaimed by irrigation, and to develop power in the interests of the people; that the forests which regulate our rivers, support our industries, and promote fertility and productiveness of the soil should be preserved and perpetuated; that the minerals found so abundantly beneath the surface should be so used as to prolong their utility; that the beauty, healthfulness, and habitability of our country should be preserved and increased; that sources of national wealth exist for the benefit of the people, and that monopoly thereof should not be tolerated."

<Quoted in Passmore 1980, Pg 73>

During the period of the two World Wars the conservation movement went into a decline. There was concern during the Depression of the thirties in the USA over the problem of soil erosion, such as the Dust Bowl so evocatively described in Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*. The extent of damage caused by soil erosion dramatically illustrated how the misuse of land had aggravated the Depression.

• However in the sixties and seventies there was a resurgence of the conservation movement in both the USA and Europe. This resurgence was prompted by a series of events: the unprecedented population growth worldwide after World War II which in turn caused increasing pressure on

natural resources; the satellite images of earth which categorically put in perspective the world's finitude; and a reaction against the materialism of the post war urban industrialised society. The cumulative effects of these factors resulted in an increasing interest in conservation throughout the developed world.

Today, legislation and measures are being passed in most countries regulating land and resource use at a time when the effects of these uses on the environment are perceived more clearly than ever before <Mather 1989 p186>. For example Edith Brown-Weiss <1989> wrote *Our Rights and Obligations to Future Generations for the Environment* as a basis for international Environmental Law. She outlined three principles of what she called intergenerational equity: Conservation of Options; Conservation of Quality; and Conservation of Access. "*The purpose of human society must be to realise and protect the welfare and well-being of every generation*" <Brown Weiss, 1989 Pg451>. Without doubt the numerous conservation bodies have raised the level of concern but the practical and political issues prove too complex for simplistic solutions in specific situations

3.4 The Rationale for Protected Areas

The world's first National Park, Yellowstone, was established by Congress in 1872, <e.g. Nicholson 1970> "as a pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people" <Encyclopaedia Britannica 1768, 1953 p 514>. Tales from early explorers in the west of North America prompted further expeditions of this mysterious land of geysers and other phenomena. During an expedition in 1870 the explorers, initially contemplating claiming the land for themselves, were persuaded by one of their number to make this mysterious land a park. The idea, closely associated with the writings of John Muir, who had made long solitary journeys by canoe and on foot through the wilderness areas of the U.S.A. and Canada, was to have conservation and recreation as the primary objectives <Mather 1989 p 204>. Preservation was not a pressing issue as the economic potential for development was low in the 1870s and the location and isolation of Yellowstone was sufficient to inhibit the number of visitors. The land itself was under federal ownership and virtually untouched by human activity, particularly that of white people <Mather 1989 p 204>. Since then there has been an evolution in the ideas behind conservation and the growing awareness that *preservation* as opposed to *conservation* is impossible in the context of nature which is a dynamic entity.

The aims and objectives of national parks have had to change in response to the challenges of time and improvements in technology. This is reflected in the different aims and objectives behind the establishment of national parks in Canada, for example Banff and Jasper established in 1885 for economic reasons, and Northern Yukon for

conservation and protection of the Porcupine Caribou herd migration area. The Commission for National Parks and Protected Areas (CNPPA) framework lists eleven main objectives (table 3.1) for primary conservation in protected areas, based on the objectives for the World Conservation Strategy (WCS) <IUCN 1990>.

Table 3.1

PRIMARY CONSERVATION OBJECTIVES FOR PROTECTED AREAS

-
- * Maintain Essential Ecological Processes and Life Support Systems
 - * Preserve Genetic and Biological Diversity
 - * Protect Aesthetic Values and Natural Ecosystems
 - * Conserve Watersheds and their Production
 - * Maintain Air Quality
 - * Protect Habitat of Representative as well as Rare and Endangered Species
 - * Provide Opportunities for Ecotourism and Recreation
 - * Provide Opportunities for Research, Education and Monitoring
 - * Contribute to Sustainable Use and Ecodevelopment
 - * Protect Natural and Cultural Heritage
 - * Retain Future Options
-

source : IUCN 1990

Some of these objectives are subject to externalities, for example the maintenance of air quality, and the conservation of whole watersheds, but they do provide a basic set of goals to attain.

The Brundtland Report argues, however, that parks and equivalent reserves "can actually underpin development in many cases by protecting watersheds and thus, soil and water regimes needed for agriculture" <Brundtland in IUCN 1990, p 8>. Further, the United Nations set out principles of conservation in the *World Charter for Nature* "special protection shall be given to unique areas, to representative samples of all different types of ecosystems and to the habitats of rare or endangered species... Natural resources can be managed in a variety of ways to support humans and maintain the human habitat; through the analysis of objectives for conservation, several categories of management for conservation areas can be defined" <UN in IUCN 1990, p 8>. Many of the above quotations link both nature and resource conservation together, re-emphasising the distinction of *saving for* and *saving from*.

One of the problems facing international organisations in their attempts to form a common standard is the confusion which can arise through the lack of universally-accepted terminology and different perceptions of what the various objectives may mean. Parks, ideally, would be regarded as models for a more effective overall regional planning. However if they are to be regarded as the natural baseline against which all other forms of resource utilisation can be measured, the difference between resource conservation and nature conservation, though inextricably linked, must be defined to avoid confusion.

The CNPPA focuses on a series of categories of protected areas (table 3.2), and favours natural systems rather than the built heritage. In some areas however the two are difficult to separate, in particular,

ancient "built" areas which are not only thousands of years old, but are also closely integrated with nature. Conservation thinking has evolved to a degree that the objectives can accommodate the needs of aboriginal / native peoples and their lifestyles, such as the Dene and Inuit of northern Canada.

Table 3.2

<i>CATEGORIES OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO CNPPA</i>	
I	Scientific Reserves
II	National Parks
III	Natural Monuments
IV	Nature Conservation Reserves
V	Protected Landscapes

source : IUCN 1990

A national park is defined by the CNPPA as " a relatively large outstanding natural area managed by a nationally-recognised authority to protect the ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems for this and future generations and to eliminate any exploitation or intensive occupation of the area and to provide a foundation for spiritual, scientific, educational and tourism opportunities" <IUCN 1990, p 15>. National Parks contribute to a sustainable society through maintaining diversity, ecological processes, taking into account social and economic considerations, as well as ecological integrity, and providing spiritual, intellectual, social, and economic opportunities through tourism. The question is whether all these objectives are compatible.

3.5 National Parks - advantages and limitations

When Marsh set out his policy on national parks in *The Earth as Modified by Human Action* he wrote "It is desirable that some large and easily accessible region of American soil should remain, as far as possible, in its primitive condition, at once a museum for the instruction of the student, a garden for recreation of the lover of nature, and an asylum where indigenous tree ... plant ... beast, may dwell and perpetuate their kind" <Marsh 1874, pg 327>. Then, the state of communications and transport were such as to limit the number of visitors. Today many of these ideals are in conflict, and with increasing awareness of the complexities and holistic nature of the ecosystem, the role and use of National Parks are being debated. There is acknowledgement that the establishment of Reserves is important in satisfying scientific, economic, educational, cultural and recreational needs and in representing baselines, but there can be a clash of interests between these needs and users.

The conflict between "wilderness-lover" and the typical vacationist is primarily due to a difference in perception. Wilderness is no longer perceived as a place of danger as in medieval times, but is now regarded in a similar light to the concept of romanticism of the eighteenth and nineteenth century which identified god and nature as indissoluble. Then, leisure and the enjoyment of nature became very fashionable and this attitude has continued into the twentieth century. However there is a vast range in the users of national parks from the wilderness adventure visitors to those recreationists who wish simply pleasant surroundings for their activities, but with "basic" services such as "the existence of picnic tables, wells, toilets, washrooms and the like"

<Lowenthal 1971, p 52>. When the decision to put roads through National Parks in North America was made it was described by Means, <1971> as "*one of the great statesman-like acts of American history*". However, many others would regard this as a travesty as "*a wilderness opened up to all comers is rapidly converted into a tamed and as often as not a degraded landscape*" <Passmore 1980, p 104>. The more purist view of recreation in wilderness National Parks is "*that [which] can be entered only by a few of the most physically fit*" <Hardin quoted in Passmore 1980>. The difference between the crowded campsite and the solitary walker is obvious, but throughout the world there are national parks which cater for either or even both. In Canada the difference is immense between the combined mountain National Parks of Banff, Jasper, Kootenay and Yoho with an actual city situated within the parks boundary, as well as huge ski complexes, holiday hotels, campsites and over 13 million visitors in the 1991 fiscal year <CPS 1992> and that of Auyuittuq, Ellesmere, and Northern Yukon, with few, if any, set campsites, a few gravel trails and footbridges, and a total number of 1680 visitors in the same year. All have "wilderness" areas, refreshing to many to wander through, but the level of wildness in the wilderness is very different. Though this is partly due to their location, it is also partly a reflection of the period when they were founded, and the attitude to wilderness which prevailed at the time.

Other areas of contention regarding the virtues and limitations lie between the conservationists / preservationists and the tourist industry on the one hand and between conservationists and mining on the other. Here the arguments between the different parties rest on ethical and

economic grounds. Ethically, where a species or wilderness area is seriously threatened, the argument should go towards conservation; this at least retains the option for the future. However it has been said that even these arguments contain economic objectives. Fraser Darling, <1969>, wrote "*I am not greatly moved when I hear supporters of the national park and nature reserve movement argue that living things have educational value, that the beauties of nature give pleasure to humanity, that they are of scientific value ... and that we cannot afford to lose them [because] the essential attitude is not far in advance of that of a timber merchant*" <Quoted in Passmore p 110> which Passmore qualifies as still determining nature by deciding what should or should not survive. This argument, though valid in the sense that it does show conservation in a way not often considered, ignores the fact that human beings are an integral part of nature.

3.6 Present International Conservation Strategies

In 1980 the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) with the advice and cooperation of the United Nations' Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), and in collaboration with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), prepared the World Conservation Strategy (WCS). The aim of the WCS is "to help advance the achievement of sustainable development through the conservation of living resources" <IUCN 1980 p IV> and to achieve three main objectives:

- a) Maintain essential ecological processes and life-support systems
- b) Preserve genetic diversity
- c) Ensure the sustainable utilization of species and ecosystems

<IUCN 1980 Pg VI>

The strategy provides guidelines for the international community's conservation programmes. It is aimed at government policymakers, conservationists and development practitioners, and at defining conservation objectives and making recommendations. The strategy emphasises the compatibility of conservation with the growing demand for "people-centred" development that "achieves a wider distribution of benefits to whole populations" <IUCN 1980, 20.6> The Strategy was complemented in 1990 by the *Framework for the Classification of Terrestrial and Marine Protected Areas : Objectives, Criteria and Categories for Protected Areas*. The report was prepared by the Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas (CNPPA), chaired by Harold Eidsvik. The Commission was set up to advise the IUCN on protected area selection, planning and management, with the aim of "demonstrating the value of protected areas within wider strategies for the conservation and sustainable use of the

Earth's natural resources" <IUCN 1990, p 2>.

The framework provides an important measure for looking at National Parks and the conditions merit examination. The objective for protected areas is "to fulfil private, local, national and international responsibilities in marine and terrestrial protection; and to recognize, protect and present, both directly and indirectly, places which are significant examples of the world's heritage in ways that encourage public understanding, appreciation, enjoyment and use of this heritage in a sustainable manner" <IUCN 1990, p 5>. The argument put forward in the introduction that protected areas receive extraordinary treatment does not mean that other areas should not be managed. "There is a need for sensitive management of all resources. With a growing global population, there is nothing to squander" <IUCN 1990, p 5>. There has been some questioning of the value of protected areas when they become merely "islands of extinction" <Nikiforuk 1990, p 30> Canada's 35 national parks are described as standing "as besieged islands in seas of unbridled development" <Nikiforuk 1990, p 31>. The CNPPA, aware of the importance of this, do emphasis integration.

"Parks and Equivalent reserves occupy some 3% of the earth's surface and, if we are to achieve sustainable development, conservation measures must extend beyond the borders of existing parks, wilderness areas and equivalent reserves. The integration of parks into broader regional planning systems is thus an essential ingredient of the park management framework. To achieve this, more effective management of existing protected areas is essential."

<IUCN 1990, Pg8>

3.7 Discussion

In the past two centuries there has been a swing in the way in which wilderness is perceived. It has moved from being a symbol of danger and fear to one of refreshment, cleansing and peace. This change in attitude, combined with the increasingly obvious effects of man's negative impact on his environment, resulted in the growth of a movement to conserve and protect threatened wildernesses. The National Park movement which stemmed from this has evolved over the past century, but has also, with the development of conservationist thinking and improved scientific knowledge of the planet's ecosystem, had to adapt and modify its role in environmental and resource conservation.

With this development of conservationist thinking and, in turn, the evolution of National Park roles which sometimes results in a rather hazy and confusing picture, and, in reaction to the often highly emotionally charged "green" movement, the role of protected areas has been criticised. The following chapters will look at how Canada perceives its northern national parks, the conflicts which are specific to these parks and the wider issues of conservation and preservation in areas perceived as wilderness in southern minds, but considered homelands by northern native peoples.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESOURCE USE ISSUES IN CANADIAN ARCTIC NATIONAL PARKS

4.1 The Resources and their Users

National parks and protected areas tend to conjure up images of untouched wilderness areas, full of rare and endangered species. Although this is how some perceive the national parks and park reserves in the Canadian Arctic, these areas are, and have been for thousands of years, a home for many people. The latter, in turn, have developed and adapted to their environment in order to make use of the natural resources available to them. The intensity of use which native people have made of the land over the past centuries is in sharp contrast to the perception of the southerners. What one culture sees as millions of acres of vast wilderness, the other views as a homeland filled with wildlife that has been wisely used by their ancestors for thousands of years <McLachlan 1987>. Similarly, what one culture views as a resource to be set aside for exploitation of oil, gold, wildlife, or natural beauty the other culture sees holistically as a part of the environment to be understood and depended upon for physical and spiritual sustenance <MacLachlan 1987>.

4.2 Resource Management Planning

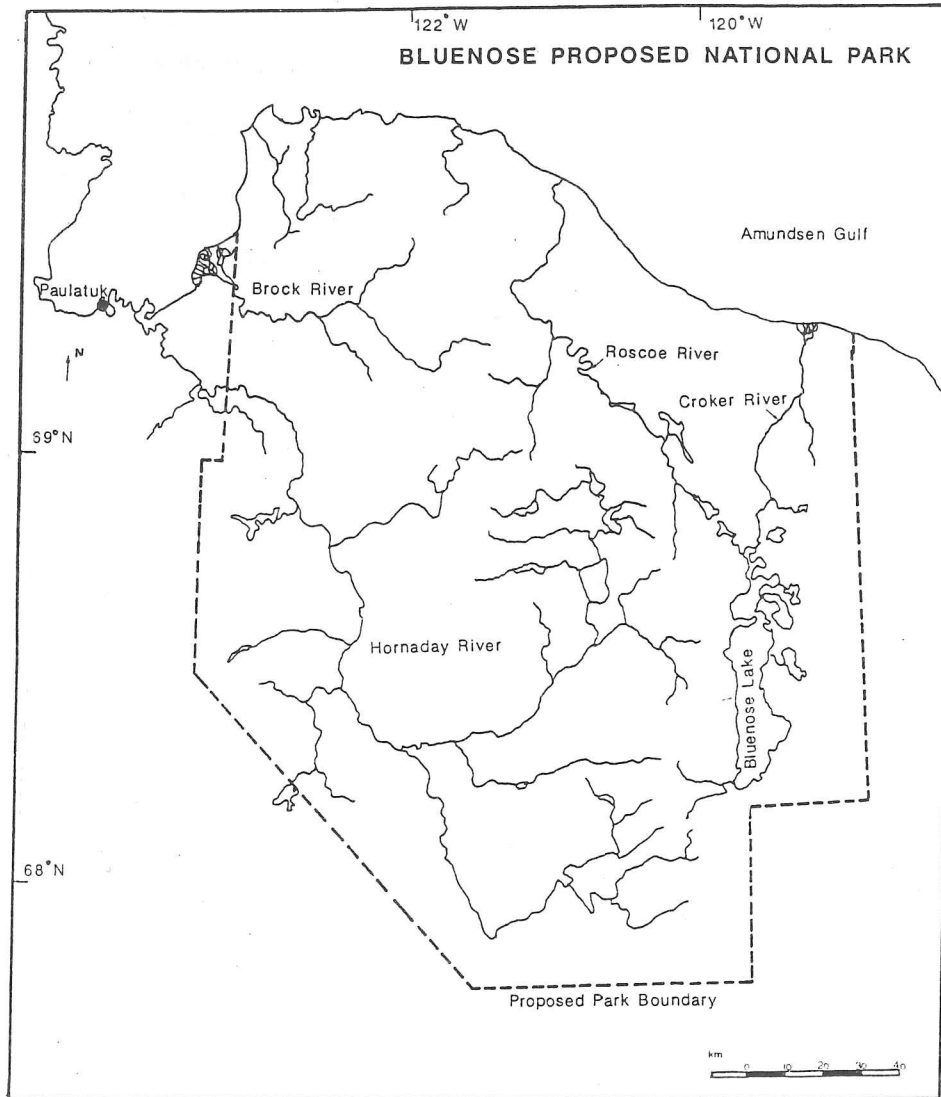
Table 4.1 shows the natural resource management process and planning process for National Parks. In the context of national parks, natural resource management may be defined as those activities directed towards the maintenance and modification of the biotic and abiotic resources of the park in order to use them sustainably and / or to preserve them <CPS 1980>. In 1980 Parks Canada produced a guidelines manual on resource management. It outlined nine main objectives for the process, basically to ensure a foundation, focus and consistency in resource management in national parks which is common throughout the programme. Table 4.1 shows the different components; however, it is the integration of all the components that is important. If an adjustment is made to one factor then the rest must be similarly adjusted to ensure an equilibrium. This calls for good communications and co-ordination throughout the system, *"the diagram shows that both processes function in a parallel fashion but are also inextricably linked through information flow and decision making"* <CPS 1980, p 3>. In natural resource management the most valuable commodity is information: information on the resource base, on the inventory of the resources available, approximate numbers, renewal and so on. This is the basis on which planning must proceed.

4.3 Resource Planning and Park Establishment

Each park, prior to establishment, has a resource assessment which is designed partly to facilitate delineation of the boundary but also to provide an inventory of the resources within the park area as a basis for the future management plan. For example, each park has a mineral and energy resource assessment (MERA), and a report is subsequently submitted. For North Baffin the report "Mineral and Hydrocarbon Potential of proposed North Baffin National Park Area of Interest" was completed in 1986 <EMRC 1986>. This study gave an evaluation of the area with respect to its potential resources but without consideration of the possible economic viability of any such predicted resources. It concluded that there was a possibility of lead-zinc in the Borden Peninsula {Map 8} with a possible extension towards the south east. Coal-bearing rocks could be found on Southwest Bylot Island and along the west shore of Eclipse Sound {Map 8} and also, there were large, rich concentrations of iron deposit at Mary River {Map 8}, however, there were little or no hydrocarbon deposits <EMRC 1986>.

In contrast, in the Bluenose Lake area (Map 9), the community requested that a park be established in order to protect the Bluenose caribou calving ground (Harvey 1989). Initially Bathurst Inlet was proposed to represent this region (Number 15 - Tundra Hills). However, it was abandoned due to conflict with non-renewable resource development. There followed a series of alternative proposals but each area proved problematic due to either Inuit land selection (Horton River Area), or community land use (Coppermine) and the mineral potential at Bathurst. One further area was tentatively suggested in a study done by Dr William Barr, University of Saskatoon in 1984, "*running southwest - northeast, to embrace the upper Hornaday basin, Bluenose lake and part of the Melville Hills, and a section of the Amundsen Gulf coast on either side of the Coker River.*" (Quoted in Harvey 1989, p 3). Nothing was done about the suggestion until the Inuvialuit community, in the Paulatuk Community Conservation Plan, expressed an interest in establishing a park in the area. CPS examined the area and found it to be "*a good representation of natural region 15*".

The rationale for this "good representation" is primarily because the area includes a great diversity of natural features. This includes the geology, physical geography and landforms and climatic variations. Unfortunately the vegetation was not as diverse as would be desirable but the area does include the caribou calving grounds and muskoxen grazing areas.



A factor that is increasingly considered is that described as **ecological integrity** i.e the concept that parks should include complete ecological units. In the suggested area this was defined as incorporating complete watersheds. Where these do not occur then the absence of certain features and areas must be reassessed in terms of the ecological integrity of the whole area <Harvey 1989>. Secondly, the area should include both coastal and inland environments as the coast represents an intrinsic component of the natural landscape affecting both the flora and fauna of the region <Barr 1984, in Harvey 1989>. And thirdly, the area should thus incorporate a variety of habitats for the wildlife of the area.

4.4 The Indigenous Users

The indigenous people of Canada's Arctic have developed a lifestyle to ensure survival in one of the harshest climates in the world where there are severe constraints on human habitation. Traditionally climate was very important and to offset the cold of very long winters, shelter, in the form of clothing and housing had to be devised. However, limitations in available plant matter for both food and shelter meant that the indigenous people had to rely instead on animal sources obtained through hunting and fishing.

The coastal Arctic people, Inuit, relied primarily on sea mammals, while the inland people, predominantly Dene and Metis Indians, were sustained by hunting wild caribou, fish and waterfowl. Population levels were low in the coastal and tundra areas. For example, the Netsilik Inuit (west Hudson Bay) in 1923 numbered 260 in an area of 480 x 160 km <Abrahamsson, 1987>, and the population density was limited by the carrying capacity of the land. Recently, many of the traditional methods have been abandoned as the influence of an industrial society has had effect. There has been a transition period within the communities during which a generation grew up caught between the traditional methods of the elders and the influences from the south. Increasingly, new techniques are being used to improve efficiency and promote integration with the rest of the northern hemisphere. Despite this evolution "country food" i.e. food acquired through hunting and trapping, retains an important place in both the diet and culture of the Inuit and Indian peoples.

"They camped at the place he dreamed about and one of his sons killed the fat moose he was told of in one of his dreams. His son came back from the hunt and they went out to get the moose. The other family went with them then ... The son asked his father, "Aba [father], how did you come to dream that I would get that fat moose? You dream right."

Jumbie, Prophet River.
<Brody, 1987, p 70>

"Whatever kind of food I wanted, if I wanted caribou I'd go up the mountains; if I wanted coloured fox I went up the mountains; in the Delta I get mink, muskrat; but I never make a big trapper. I just get enough for my own use for the coming year. Next year the animals are going to be there anyway, thats my bank."

Bertram Pokiak, Tuktoyaktut,
<Brody, 1987 p 78>

The Inuit hunters and trappers know the behaviour and character of each animal in detail, such as their life-cycle, breeding and foraging habits. The attitude towards hunting reflects this awareness as hunters only take what they need. However, the belief is also held that animals will not survive unless hunted. "*People have an obligation... ..to hunt animals to ensure that their species will thrive... respect is a system of wildlife management that includes harvesting*" <Brody 1987, p 77>.

The continuance of traditional lifestyles is partly intended to maintain cultural identity but is also dictated by need. Life in the more remote communities is not easy. Food at the local Bay or Co-op store is expensive even for those Inuit who have employment that pays cash. For example in Grise Fiord (map 1), assuming that the supply ship arrives each summer, the average cost of groceries is 175 per cent more than in Yellowknife; for eggs and dairy products it is 285 per cent and for vegetables 190 per cent <MacLachlan 1987>. As a result, people have to supplement their food supply by living off the land. Another argument for maintaining Inuit wildlife exploitation is the lack of alternative

economic opportunities. Non-renewable resource development offers little alternative employment for indigenous people. It is mainly seasonal, and the majority of those employed are non-Inuit.

Trapping, certain kinds of fishing, and other forms of subsistence resource harvesting have been prohibited in national parks by legislation. However, the Canadian Parks Service states in its new National Parks policy document, which is at present still under discussion, that "*in some national parks, traditional activities by aboriginal peoples will continue as a result of rights defined by land claims and treaties, or by specific agreements negotiated with the aboriginal peoples during the process of park establishment*" <CPS 1990, p 28>. Recently there has been a series of land claim agreements in the Northwest and Yukon Territories, for example the Inuvialuit in 1984, Gwich'in in 1991 (following the collapse of the Dene / Metis agreement), and Nunavut in 1992¹. In each of these agreements national parks, and proposed national parks have played a major role <Fenge, personal communication>. This is largely due to the recent belief that national parks could be viewed as possible means for local economic development by northern communities <Wray 1989>.

¹ At present in Agreement-in-principle form, this is to be ratified by plebiscite in June/July 1992

4.5 Park Management and Inuit Involvement

Public involvement in the running of a northern national park is regarded as vital to ensure efficient conservation of the park and good relations with the local communities. One of the problems with the Broughton Island community's attitude towards Auyuittuq prior to the TFN agreement was due to the legacy of bad relations and neglect by the Canadian Parks Service <Gamble, personal communication>. As a result the people of Broughton Island were unclear as to what they could, and could not, do. In the new park policy proposal there is increasing emphasis on public involvement in both park and wildlife management:

"The CPS will work cooperatively with public, private and non-profit groups or individuals where mutual interest in heritage protection and presentation exists.

More specifically, CPS will promote the involvement of others in fostering public understanding, enjoyment and protection of parks..."

<CPS 1990 Pg 21>

"Appropriate public participation at the national, regional and local levels is an essential part of the development of management plans"

<CPS 1990 Pg 31>

One of the main ways of achieving community involvement is through public meetings. For example, in September 1991 CPS published the Public Input Summary for the Northern Yukon National Park (NYNP). This report stemmed from the meetings held by the CPS public participation team for the NYNP Management Plan in Whitehorse, Old Crow, (Yukon) and Yellowknife, Inuvik, Aklavik, (NWT). It provides an example of the concerns and input from the locals on such topics as:

Wildlife management:

"you should know how much wildlife is in there now so that in the future if a lot of visitors start coming in, we will know how much impact it will have on the wildlife resources there. You really need to have a database." *Aklavik* <CPS 1991 Pg 3>;

Traditional use:

"a sensitive issue is the definition of rights between Inuvialuit and other park users. Needs to be made very clear." *Inuvik* <CPS 1991 Pg 4>

"You mentioned skidoos - restrictions on non-natives. There are more natives getting into tourism. How about Inuvialuit leading tourists into the park on skidoos?" *Aklavik* <CPS 1991 Pg 3>;

Poaching from the American side of the park:

"The enforcement of poaching should be recommended because they are the ones who are going to cause trouble for us." *Old Crow* <CPS 1991 Pg 4>;

and other resource use:

"Has the Canadian Parks Service been at all active in combating the whole 10-02 development issue [oil drilling lands located in the neighbouring Arctic National Wildlife Refuge] because it potentially does impact on the park as far as caribou goes. It really is an international park whether it is an official one or not." *Inuvik* <CPS 1991 Pg 4>.

These are only some of the comments and issues raised, but they illustrate local concerns on park resource use and management. Northern Yukon National Park differs from the other Arctic parks since it has an international border, it is on the migration path of the Porcupine caribou herd, and it is located near the treeline and relatively large settlements. As such, it raises some specific issues in resource management.

There are also, however, general points of wider application throughout the Arctic communities. A genuine willingness prevails regarding cooperation in wildlife management; for example, the reduction in polar bear quotas in Broughton Island from 45 to 15, and Clyde River

from 22 to 10, was agreed to by the communities despite the fact that they had been hard hit by the sealskin boycott. This agreement occurred because both the communities and the scientists identified the depletion of the polar bear population as a problem. The Inuit were aware that they have more to lose than anyone else and but they also had sufficient confidence in the NWT Department of Renewable Resources to collaborate with them in managing the polar bear harvest <Notzke, 1992>. This example illustrates how successful a joint management regime can be when the community, the government and the scientists work together. Here, there was independent collaborative evidence from both the hunters and the scientists, which built up trust between the two and which was cemented by many meetings and contact between the Wildlife Officer and the Hunting and Trapping Association (HTA) <Notzke 1992>.

The definition of subsistence in traditional hunting rights has led to some debate and the picture is complicated by changing attitudes towards conservation and the local use of natural resources <Handley 1992>. In 1979 the Parks Canada policy referred to guarantees to native people with respect to subsistence resource uses and to joint management regimes.

The draft guide produced by the Canadian Parks Service in 1989 states that "*commercial harvesting of wildlife by natives in national park reserves or national parks, where legislated, pertains essentially to furbearers*". Sport hunting of polar bears is not allowed in national parks; one of the reasons that 500 sq km was taken out of Auyuituq in the transfer from Park reserve to National Park was because of the economic opportunities available to the locals in polar bear hunting for

sport. The issue was raised as to whether this compromised the principle of a national park. Michael Porter <personal communication> argued however that this was not the case: firstly, because the quota tagging system is still in place² and therefore no more bears are being harvested; Secondly, the land that was being taken out of demarcation was not a prime visitor area and was already represented in other areas of the park.

The TFN Final Agreement Article 8 confirmed the establishment of Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreements (IIBA) {Appendix 1}. The IIBA's are designed to ensure that the Inuit are provided with social, economic and cultural benefits from the parks and that parks could not be established as such until IIBA's were in place.

The IIBAS's also have an input into the zoning of the national park. Article 8.2.12 of the TFN final agreement states "*Subject to Provisions of an IIBA in relation to a National Park, each National Park in the Nunavut Settlement Area shall contain a predominant proportion of Zone 1 - Special Preservation and Zone 11 - Wilderness*" <TFN / DIAND 1992, p 60>. Special Preservation is defined as specific areas with features which deserve special preservation because they contain or support unique, rare or endangered features, or the best examples of natural features; Wilderness means extensive areas which are good representations of each of the natural history themes of that particular park and

²Each community receives an annual quota of tags for polar bears. Sport hunters must pay \$10 (locals \$5) for the tag, \$500 trophy fee, and the local outfitter c. \$10,000. Polar Bears must be hunted using dog teams <DRR 1991>.

which will be maintained in a wilderness state <TFN / DIAND 1992, p 59>. However, the categorisation of such regions as wilderness is, in itself, a southern perception. The United States 1964 Wilderness Act defines wilderness as follows:

"In contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate the landscape [wilderness] is hereby recognised as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain."

<Quoted in Kinnaird and Wall, 1987, Pg 1>

However, one man's wilderness may be another man's homeland.

Parks Canada had already endorsed the principle of joint management of national parks established through land claim settlements, and the Inuvialuit Final Agreement provides an example of this. The definition of joint-management, however, causes a conflict of opinion since the Inuit assume this means "power-sharing" <Fenge, personal communication>. Such was the force of the conflict that Parks Canada discussed the meaning of the term at a Committee meeting in 1982 and gave this interpretation:

"When the Parks Canada policy spoke of joint management regimes, native people believed that they were to be given significant involvement in day-to-day operations... The park superintendent can delegate some of the responsibility to other people but, in fact, the joint management regime is mostly consultation" <CPS 1982>

Today, Parks Canada have re-worded this to co-management, with boards comprising equal numbers of Inuit and government representatives. The committee is to advise on all matters related to park management and a management plan is to be developed within five years of the establishment of the park based on its recommendations <TFN / DIAND 1990>.

4.6 Inuit Economic Opportunities

The IIBA's are also important for the Inuit in terms of the economic potential of the park. For example, Inuit contractors bidding for park related business would be given preferential treatment, and when park related business opportunities became available, Inuit organisations would be given the right of first refusal. In the present negotiations for Banks Island, which is located in the Inuvialuit land claim agreement area, the negotiators are exploring legislation to cover the possibility that should any outfitter come to the park authority with a commercial scheme for the park, the idea would have to be opened up to Inuit outfitters first. Further, it is only if the Inuit do not wish to carry out the scheme that the original outfitter will be allowed to proceed and to get clearance from the Canadian Parks Service. The estimated time period for this process is 3 months <Seale, personal communication>. However, it is uncertain, as yet, whether this would be acceptable to the American Court of Human Rights, and, on practical grounds, it is unlikely that any outfitter would approach the authorities with an idea under such circumstances but would rather change the location of the activity <Dunn, personal communication>.

4.7 Tourism

Tourism in the Canadian Arctic is a recent development, prompted by the rise of ecotourism. Prior to the 1960's only a few individuals ventured into the north as there were limited air links and a few long haul alternatives, while organised tourism was almost non-existent. The 1960's, however, saw the completion of the Mackenzie Highway System to the Great Slave Lake area and the influx of motoring tourists and campers. Large fishing lodges were built on Great Slave Lake and Great Bear Lake to bring tourists in to fish for trophy size lake trout. These tourists, and the few individuals travelling by air, brought the total number of pleasure visitors to the NWT in 1969 to 12,500 <DEDT 1983>. In the 1970's the number of motorhome and lodge visitors increased modestly while a considerable growth was seen in the number of air travellers as the airlines improved their services with faster aircraft and increased frequencies. These developments meant that by the 1980's the NWT had a moderate sized but valuable tourism industry of about 25,000 a year, but business travel had grown even larger with business people numbering several times that of pleasure travellers <DEDT 1983>. Despite this increase, the geographical distribution of the traffic remained concentrated in the Mackenzie Valley and Delta. Today the majority of tourism is focussed on the larger communities, or non-community lodge based tourism, and, there are many smaller communities that are untouched by tourism.

The 1983 Department for Economic Development and Tourism strategy for community based development <DEDT 1983> had as its goal *"To assist communities and their residents across the N.W.T. in achieving their tourism revenue and employment objectives in a manner compatible with*

their lifestyles and aspirations". The argument was advanced that through tourism the NWT residents could achieve a better quality of life as it was contributing to the conservation of significant elements of the cultural and natural environments. The strategy was to emphasise the need for the community to prepare themselves, its residents and business men in order to take a more active part in the tourism industry. For the tourists the aim was to provide a more enlightening and satisfying experience <DEDT 1983>.

With the advent of the northern National Parks this is changing, albeit in a very localised and small scale manner. In Pangnirtung, despite the fact that historically it is an area that has been visited since the whaling period, it was not until the park was established that a visitor centre was built within the community. The centre is intended as a place for both visitors and locals to meet, as an information centre for those wishing to visit the park and as a place to arrange local transport to the park. Four native wardens are employed both annually and seasonally, and trips are organised and run by local guides outside of the park to either hunt seal or fish for killing and eating or for photographic purposes <Bennett, personal communication>.

With the organised trips to the North West passage, be they successful in passing through the passage or not, some ship-based tourism has come to this region. These tourists are unlikely to use the national park except for brief half-day visits from the ship near sites of particular historical or natural interest. These trips, moreover, bring little economic benefit to the neighbouring communities <Seale, personal communication>.

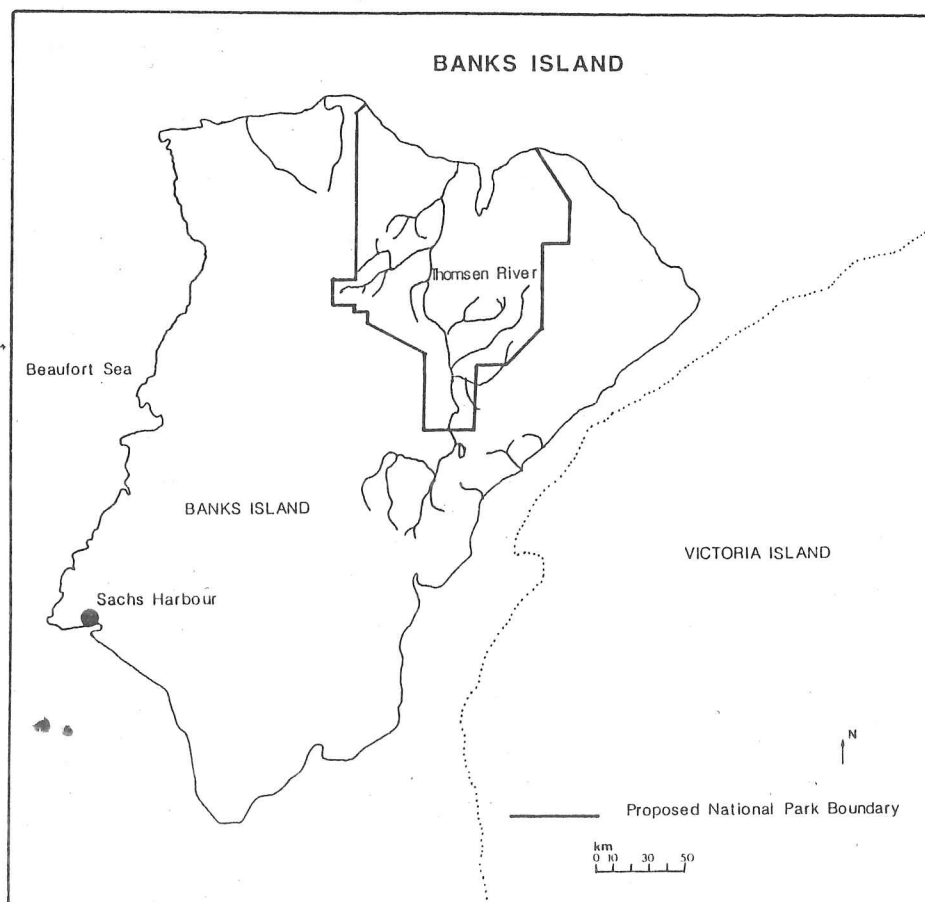
Where an area has been designated a national park it will inevitably attract visitors, some genuinely desirous of seeing the resource, others because they feel that they should because it has been designated and others because entrepreneurs have decided that a profit can be made by bringing them to see it. There can be no doubt that there has been a honeypot effect occurring in the national parks of Arctic Canada, where, with the exception of Auyuittuq, the number of visitors to Northern Yukon and Ellesmere increased significantly between 1988 and 1990 (Table 4.2). Auyuittuq did not have an increase because in 1988-89 the park was used by military cadets for training purposes. This was prohibited the following year due to the impact they had on the relatively fragile environment.

Many of the parks in southern Canada were established for economic reasons - e.g. Banff and Jasper - while in the north they were intended to prevent or inhibit development. Nevertheless, tourism is important to these northern parks and communities. There has, due to tourism, been a resurgence of interest in traditional skills and cultural identity. Young members of the community are relearning old techniques; dog sledging, living off the land, fishing methods, and carving in order to encourage tourists to visit the area and thereby benefit the community.

Visitor activities in northern national parks tend to be strictly wilderness adventure activities and / or wildlife and ornithological visits. In Bluenose National Park the main visitor attractions would include hiking and camping, with wildlife observation and photography, and kayaking or canoeing on the lake and coastal areas. Focal points for

visitors would be the specific landscape features such as la Ronciere Falls, Brock River Canyon etc <Harvey 1989>.

Banks Island {Map 10} would have the attraction of the Thomsen river for naturalists, while promoting also a unique Arctic experience for visitors of all ages by kayaking / canoeing down the river <CPS 1988>. As Banks Island has one of the largest Muskox populations in the world (c. 35,000) this provides another attraction <Seale, personal communication>. There is the potential here for developing an Arctic Wilderness Adventure package which would include various outdoor activities and a visit / stay-over phase at Sachs Harbour Community which would be the primary access route for the park <CPS 1988>.



Map 10

Auyuittuq and Ellesmere both inspire the adventure wilderness visitor, although the wildlife is more limited in the main areas involved. Despite this, it is important to keep in proportion the number of visitors by comparison with the southern Canadian National Parks (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 NATIONAL PARKS: PERSON-VISITS*

REGION	NATIONAL PARK	NUMBER OF PERSON-VISITS		
		1988-89	1989-90	PERCENT CHANGE
ATLANTIC	CAPE BRETON HIGHLANDS	570000	570000	0
	PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	810000	810000	0
	FUNDY	220000	230000	5
	TERRA NOVA	180000	170000	-6
	KEJIMIKUJIK	170000	170000	0
	KOUCHIBOUGUAC	120000	180000	50
	GROS MORNE	89000	98000	10
	REGIONAL TOTAL	2160000	2230000	3
QUEBEC	FORILLOW	200000	210000	5
	LA MAURICIE	260000	280000	8
	MINGAN ARCHIPELAGO RESERVE	23000	25000	9
	REGIONAL TOTAL	480000	520000	7
ONTARIO	ST. LAWRENCE ISLANDS	74000	85000	15
	POINT PELEE	540000	460000	-15
	GEORGIAN BAY ISLANDS	62000	49000	-21
	PUKASKWA	18000	15000	-17
	BRUCE PENINSULA	3500	3500	0
	REGIONAL TOTAL	690000	610000	-12
PRAIRIE & NORTHERN	WOOD BUFFALO	6000	6600	10
	PRINCE ALBERT	170000	190000	12
	RIDING MOUNTAIN	390000	390000	0
	KLUANE	80000	69000	-14
	NAHANNI	1300	1300	0
	AUYUITTUQ	410	350	-15
	NORTHERN YUKON	84	99	18
	ELLESMERE ISLAND	110	230	109
REGIONAL TOTAL	650000	660000	1	

* ROUNDED FOR PRESENTATION

4.8 Land Use Conflicts

The conflicts which arise in the resource use of northern Canadian national parks is partly, again, founded on the contention that natural resources are cultural appraisals. In Canada, and in particular Northern Canada, society is multicultural, guided by many varying, and often conflicting, perceptions. Many of the conflicts discussed below are problems applicable to other national parks, many are, however, peculiar to northern Canada.

Both Banks Island and North Baffin proposed national parks would be established on existing protected areas. On Banks Island the proposed Park area includes the Banks Island Bird Sanctuary No.2, a moulting area for some 25,000 Lesser Snow Geese and Brant Swans <CWS 1986>. North Baffin includes the Bylot Island sanctuary, a habitat for 45,000 Snow Geese, 320,000 Thick-billed Murres and 46,000 Black-legged Kittiwakes <CWS 1986>. Though in becoming national parks they are under the highest legal protection available in Canada, some would argue that will destroy an area through the honeypot effect.

In Bluenose National Park, for example, the inclusion of a large proportion of the coastline near Paulatuk is proposed, with a possible conflict of interests with local users. Further, commercial fishing, for example for char, would not be permitted in the park. This would include the Brock, Roscoe, and Croker Rivers, and most of the Hornaday river but not that section at Paulatuk. Subsistence fishing would not be affected. To complicate the issue the park crosses the Inuvialuit and Nunavut boundary and therefore cooperation is needed from both communities. Finally, the Department for National Defence is planning to establish

two radar stations within the boundary of the established park.

In a letter written to the Mayor of Paulatuk, Mr Garrett Ruben, Mr Tom Hooper the General Manager for the NWT Chamber of Mines, outlines the potential for mineral development within the Bluenose Park area (Appendix 2). The point is made that little is known of the rocks under the Bluenose Lake area but that they are of the same age, and have similar characteristics, to the rocks on the east coast of Great Bear Lake, as well as to some rocks in Ontario that have been mined in the past. Mr Hooper therefore argues that there is a high probability that the rocks under Bluenose will therefore be equally rich in minerals. He also indicates that the MERA (Mineral and Energy Resource Appraisal), which has already been completed within the proposed park area, only looks at the surface rocks, mining companies look at subsurface rocks prior to exploitation. Moreover, there are constant improvements being made in mineral evaluation techniques. For this reason, the MERA conclusions, which can decide to preserve an area for all time, are based on knowledge that is available today with no provision for future improvements on information which could prove the original findings incorrect.

With tourist use of the park there are also conflicts. There is the issue of what is an appropriate form of tourism. For example the problem of air access: the southern perception of air access into the parks was that no aircraft could land in the park without the superintendent's permission, but in the north these are vast areas to which air access is not only necessary but irreplaceable. Four stages can be identified in

air access: firstly, air travel to the park boundary only; secondly, flight-seeing over the major landscapes; thirdly, direct access to major landscape features; and fourthly, heli-hiking / skiing. Apart from the first form, each of these are areas of potential conflict with the wilderness experience purists, in particular the latter two stages. The problems arise where hikers / backpackers / canoeists etc. who have to set out to participate in a wilderness experience have small planes flying at low levels over the wilderness area and then on reaching their goal having trekked for days, be it Victoria Falls in Nahanni National Park, or Glaciers in Auyuittuq, find the area crowded by tourists who have just flown in for a half-day sight seeing trip. The solution lies in finding a balance between all types of visitors and park users, without compromising on safety. Specific air routes is one solution but pilots argue that should flying conditions be poor they do not wish to be tied by specified routes and landing sites. In the northern national parks the situation now is that the first three stages of air access are allowed, but heli-skiing and heli-hiking type activities are prohibited <Seale, personal communication>. There are, of course, regulations against harassing wildlife, but the issue is really that of a conflict between different wilderness users. In the northern National Parks and Reserves, there is no access for private vehicles; instead, access is limited to either local boats or air transport, there is, therefore, a considerable potential for future conflict within these parks regarding air access <Seale, personal communication>.

On Banks island a conflict is arising out of the use of the muskox. The locals would like to maintain the option of harvesting the muskox: with the establishment of the national park only subsistence harvesting

of muskox will be allowed <Seale, personal communication>. However, the indigenous population's perception of subsistence does not necessarily coincide with the idea of Parks Canada. Banks Island is of particular interest as harvesting here is on the point of commercial take-off. The population has reached over 35,000 on the island, while the maximum number of muskox harvested a year is just over a 1000.

How the resources are used and managed within a park does cause criticism and conflict between park users. There are also those, not necessarily in conflict with how the park resources are used, who criticise the whole concept of national parks in the north.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION : THE FUTURE FOR NORTHERN NATIONAL PARKS

5.1 Northern National Parks; A Critical Appraisal

The concept of national parks as the "pleasuring ground for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people" <CPS 1990a>, placed conservation and recreation as the primary objectives. They were *"dedicated to the people of Canada for their benefit, education and enjoyment and ... maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations"* <CPS 1990a>, and created to prevent development for all time.

Three issues arise from this and the idea of maintaining the biophysical diversity of Canada. Firstly, there is increasing awareness of the role of the ecosystem in conservation, but no national park incorporates a complete ecosystem. Not even Wood Buffalo National Park encompasses a complete ecosystem and it was, until the establishment of the Greenland National Park, the biggest in the world. Many externalities affect the ecology of national parks: pollution through the air, rivers and marine systems are all potential threats to protected areas. Added to this there is now an improved knowledge of the habitats and lifecycles of various animals and, as the NWT Dept of Renewable Resources is increasingly finding, many species previously thought to be sedentary are proving to be migratory. For example, on-going studies in tracking collared lynx show them migrating hundreds of miles from Nahanni down towards Wood Buffalo National Park <Handley, personal communication>. Caribou, polar bear, grizzly bear and many of

the Arctic birds are migratory and to them the boundaries of national parks are invisible and meaningless. The "ecological integrity" factor <Chapter 4> does go some way towards ecological unity, and the principle of complete ecological units could just about be achieved with Arctic flora. But with Arctic fauna, however, particularly since most species tend to be migratory and have varied foraging habits, it is unlikely that any park could ever encompass a complete ecological unit.

Northern Yukon National Park is a particularly pertinent example of this. Established in 1984, it is, in theory, representative of the North Slope ecosystem. The North Slope from Alaska to the Northwest Territories shares similar climatic, physical and biological characteristics <Hazell, personal communication>. However, the international boundary which divides ownership of this particular bioregion into Canadian and American territory inhibits the management of the area as a single entity. Ideally this should not prevent the United States, the Canadian Federal and Territorial governments, and the Gwich'in and Inuvialuit from co-operating in the management of the region <Hazell, personal communication>. In theory, there is a joint international management board for the Porcupine Caribou herd of Northern Yukon and Alaska's Arctic Nature and Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). Initially, however, the two members from the USA were not elected until the trial period was almost over. A further threat is that ANWR is under continued pressure to have areas stripped of protection status for the development of oil and gas resources, pressure that most recently was supported by President Bush. Until ANWR is formally designated as a wilderness under the U.S. federal law the threat of leasing the land for

oil and gas development will continue <Hazell, personal communication>.

Secondly, there is the issue of the aim of the parks being for the benefit, education and enjoyment of all Canadians. Canada is a multicultural society and, as a result, different groups have different needs and perceptions. In northern national parks native harvesting of renewable resources is allowed. This would appear to conflict with the international categories and management objectives of protected areas where national parks are defined as "relatively large areas not materially altered by human activity where extractive resource activities are not allowed". In the Canadian Provinces the situation is different; the dependence on game animals does not begin to match that of the north, but the protection of native rights is anything but a non-issue <Notzke, 1992>. An exception to this point is Banff National Park which unlike any other park has a town and vast tourist facilities.

Another area of conflicting controls in the harvesting of wildlife lies in the provisions excluding sport hunting but allowing sport fishing. Sport fishing is less intrusive than hunting, and the aesthetics of fishing tend to be less offensive, but it would appear to be a contradiction that any form of wildlife harvesting is allowed while another form is so strictly prohibited <MacCormick, personal communication>. If the north is so different in values from that of the rest of Canada the issue is really a question of who defines, why and what the role and function of a national park in the north is. This is not just a Canadian problem - there are vast differences in the purpose of national parks both nationally and internationally.

Thirdly, there is the issue resulting from the conflicts and misunderstandings which arise from the difference between the southern and northern perceptions of conservation. The setting aside of land for conservation, such as national parks and wildlife reserves, and centralised planning policies are very alien to Inuit and Indian thinking <Fenge, personal communication>. The initial principal goals of those who advocated parks in the north were founded on the fear of the consequences of widespread, large scale industrial development in the North. In some regions it became a national cause to thwart or modify industrial plans for extracting oil and gas in the Arctic, for example the region surrounding Northern Yukon National Park. The preservationist argument that underlies the setting aside of national parks, wildlife reserves and other conservation areas is, in itself, foreign to northern peoples who regard themselves and their activities as an integral part of the environment that sustains them. This makes it very difficult for them to perceive the values that many southerners accept in the setting aside of land. It is also often argued that, since the north has such high rates of unemployment, births, deaths, alcohol and substance abuse, the region is in need of an economic boost and not the idealistic preservation advocated by some <Nutter, personal communication>.

The indigenous people also hear many sources, including both the Department for Mines and Energy <Hooper 1989>, and the Canadian Wildlife Service <McCormick, personal communication>, who suggest that alternative means of conservation might be better suited to the north, with conservation measures that are not completely exclusive of development. For example McCormick argues that the parks have been regarded negatively in the north as they are seen as very militaristic

in their organisation, being standardised across the country and tending to ignore mobile populations such as migratory birds and mammals, and, until recently, avoiding interaction with the local communities. McCormick maintains that, despite the fact that this perception is changing, there remains a legacy of bad feeling. The TFN have written into the legislation various procedures regarding Inuit involvement both generally and specifically. The Canadian Wildlife Service is by definition concerned only with wildlife, but it does not regard sport hunting as being detrimental so long as it stays within the set quotas and controls <McCormack, personal communication>.

Politically the issue of land claim agreements has resulted in increasing flexibility in land use and conservation as locals are included in the management and planning of the parks. However, the administrative side of this is cumbersome, particularly in the west, where consensus must be reached between seven different indigenous groups, since parks straddle the already vague, and sometimes controversial, land claim settlement area borders. In the east there is only the Nunavut claim to deal with, as yet. The fact that each indigenous group is represented on the management boards raises problems with harvest allocation, wildlife management, and other basic administrative details such as language, which places demands on the government departments to ensure that everything is translated into the different languages of the different groups. <Gamble, personal communication>.

One of the concerns of the management boards is poaching. In Auyuittuq and Ellesmere this is not a significant issue since neither of

the parks incorporate particularly good hunting grounds <Woolley and MacLeod, personal communication>. It has been eased in Auyuittuq since the area of that could potentially have caused problems has been removed from the park following the TFN Settlement. In Northern Yukon National Park there is an external threat from international poaching of migratory herds, such as caribou <CPS 1990c> and this is coupled with the fear of the extension of bear poaching (Black bears have been being poached from the southern national parks for their gallbladders which are exported to the Far East <Lopoukhine, personal communication>).

5.2 Benefits of Northern National Parks

Northern national parks and park reserves provide economic, political and social opportunities for the northerners in several ways, as well as providing a method of conservation for areas in the north.

Economically, national parks and park reserves provide tourism opportunities for local populations. In order to help them develop these opportunities Arctic College has a Tourism Management course <Aklakavik, personal communication> and the ITC now has an Economic Development Department, whose specialists travel to the communities to hold workshops for Inuit outfitters on basic bookkeeping, advertising, and business improvement <Haqpi, personal communication>. Thus local industries, such as stone carving, and small business outfitters, such as Simone Aklakavik <Personal communication> who runs adventure breaks for small groups living off the land, near Pangnirtung, can be developed.

Politically, the national parks have provided the local populations with an alternative means of retaining land in a state that enables them to maintain traditional practices including hunting and trapping for food. By being involved in the management boards of the parks and wildlife they are becoming increasingly responsible for the running of the land on which their way of life depends.

Socially, the parks have helped to integrate the indigenous people of the North with the rest of Canada. Greater understanding has evolved through the interaction resulting from tourism and the visitor centres and outfitters, and through a scheme, still in its infancy, of holding camps for both scientists and native elders within the park boundary to improve the communication of knowledge between them, about wildlife, vegetation, and climate <Seale, personal communication>.

5.3 Conclusion

Northern national parks are part of a network of national parks and similar reserves that have been developed throughout Canada and the rest of the world since the establishment of Yellowstone. They represent only one of many interconnected protected areas, but, as such, they play an important role. Nature protection, scientific use, and recreation have been important reasons for the establishment of these parks; today the relationship between these is not always an easy one. There is conflict between these uses and within them; different forms of leisure and recreation conflict, and in the Arctic parks this is of particular interest because they are all minority activities. Native use of the northern national parks is of special concern for two major reasons: firstly, the role of indigenous people in the politics, organisation, running and establishment of parks has given them increasing control over the parks; secondly, because it was in the north that traditional activities were first allowed to continue in the parks, i.e. harvesting of wildlife, which initially compromised the parks policy. The policy has adapted to the change in thinking behind the role of national parks.

The three questions posed initially were: is there still a place and use for national parks in Arctic Canada; have their aims and objectives altered from those initially; and with the changing political circumstances in northern Canada what are the prospects for national parks?

Firstly, from the importance placed in national parks in land claim negotiations it would seem apparent that they are viewed, certainly by the indigenous peoples, as having a place and use in Arctic Canada. They provide for the locals an extra area of land which is conserved and can also be used for traditional purposes in addition of the circa 20 per cent of land they can seek in the land claim settlements. They are important as representative examples of their particular region, as they are intended to be, but in area, when compared to the rest of the surrounding country, they are minor. In the south many of the national parks have been described as islands of extinction, surrounded by development <Nikiforuk 1990>. The north is, of course very different but the environment is much more susceptible to human impact.

Secondly, although the initial official aims and objectives of Parks Canada remain, their society is multicultural and, as such, different groups perceive the park in different ways. The Inuit view them either as a potential source of income and/or as a means of increasing the amount of land in a land claim that they can use for their lifestyle; others view them as being established as one way to conserve this unique landscape, while some regard them as a play area for the more adventurous. Each group has different aims and objectives, each has to varying extent some input into the running of the park. It is Parks Canada's job to achieve a sustainable balance between all these demands and the park's ecology - on limited funding. Inevitably, as a result of this, the aims and objectives have had to evolve and adapt to these new pressures and improved knowledge of the ecology of the region. Despite this the basic aims of maintaining and preserving an example of the biodiversity of Canada for the benefit, enjoyment and education of ALL

Canadians, remain.

Thirdly, the future of national parks: although each park is huge in area, in the aggregate they are a minor part of the total country. National parks are only one component in the complete picture of conservation in Canada, each component having its pros and cons. However national parks are in themselves more of a resource than the other conservation objectives as one of its aims is to positively encourage visitors to come and share in the parks resources and, in the north, to continue to allow the indigenous peoples of the region to use the resources in the traditional manner not only for cultural and political reasons but also to conserve another part of the ecosystem, human use. National parks will undoubtedly continue to play an important role in the political, economic and social make-up of the north in the face of constitutional instability - there are not that many alternatives. However, they will also remain important for ethical reasons, the world as a whole is facing new challenges - of which global warming is only one. The most recent estimates have shown an average rise of 1.5°C - in the arctic it may be more drastic : $6 - 8^{\circ}\text{C}$ over the next forty years. Although when faced with temperatures of -40°C this may appear a pleasant thought, the potential consequences are significant when considering damages to permafrost, vegetation and wildlife. In the past, climatic change has caused major changes to the Inuit lifestyle; in the future, will the national parks be in the right place?

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1



65



That area described in S.C. 1988, c. 48, Schedule III.

SCHEDULE 8-3
(Section 8.4.4.)

MATTERS APPROPRIATE FOR INUIT IMPACT AND BENEFITS AGREEMENTS
IN RELATION TO PARKS

1. Inuit training at all levels.
2. Preferential hiring of Inuit.
3. Employment rotation reflecting Inuit needs and preferences.
4. Scholarships.
5. Labour Relations.
6. Business opportunities for Inuit in relation to all parks services and facilities including:
 - (a) provision of seed capital;
 - (b) provision of expert advice;
 - (c) tourist packages and promotion.
7. Housing, accommodation and recreation for Inuit working in the park services and at park facilities including their dependents.
8. Language of work in park services and at park facilities.
9. Inuit access to park services and park facilities.
10. Routes and locations of access to the Park.
11. Important environmental concerns, particularly disruption of wildlife, including measures for protection and conservation.
12. Outpost camps.
13. Insofar as use of the Park affects Inuit, such matters as:
 - (a) land use activities permitted in the Park;
 - (b) zones and other matters requiring special protection, limitations or restrictions on use;
 - (c) types, forms and modes of technology and transportation permitted;
 - (d) protection and management of archaeological sites and sites of religious or cultural significance.
14. Information flow and interpretation including liaison between Inuit and the appropriate park agency regarding park management and Inuit participation and concern.
15. Relationship to prior and subsequent IIBAs.
16. Arbitration and amendment provisions.
17. Implementation and enforceability.
18. Any other matters the Parties consider to be relevant to the needs of the Park and Inuit.

APPENDIX 2



File 950-

JAN 21 1991

December 13, 1990

Our File: 85-03-09

Mr. Garrett Ruben, Mayor
 Hamlet of Paulatuk
 General Delivery
 Paulatuk, N.W.T. XOE 1N0

Dear Mr. Ruben,

Re: The Proposed Bluenose Lake National Park

I recently became aware that Paulatuk has asked Parks Canada to establish a National Park in the Bluenose Lake area. This gives me great concern, because I feel that creating National Parks is not necessarily the best way to protect land and wildlife at this time. As you are aware, I am sure, fewer young people in the North are making a living from the land. More and more, they are looking for full time jobs. In the future, our children's children will depend even more on wage employment. With more and more children being born every year, developing jobs for them will become a great challenge for us all. By creating National Parks we could actually be removing future jobs from our children and our grandchildren. In the rest of this letter, I will explain our concerns to you about National Parks, and how they may actually damage our future.

Before going any further, it is important that I tell you who I am and what my job is. I work as the mining industry's representative. It is my job to help northern residents, politicians and the Government understand the needs and the benefits of our mining industry. We want to see our industry grow and provide more benefits to Northerners. Some people might tell you that because I work for the mining industry, I do not speak for the North. However, I was also born and raised in the Northwest Territories, and I believe that it has a good future ahead of it. A future where northerners will get more benefits from development, and a future where development does not damage the land or the wildlife. If I did not believe that mining was good for Northerners, I could not work at this job.

Let me now explain my feelings on National Parks.

Box 2818, Yellowknife, N.W.T. X1A 2R1 Phone (403) 873-5261 Facsimile (403) 920-2145

WHAT IS THE NORTH TODAY?

Even though the North has seen a lot of growth in the last 25 years, the Northwest Territories is still a child that is locked after by the southern government. The N.W.T. economy produces far, far less money than the amount it spends. As a result, the N.W.T. Government must ask for huge amounts of money from the Federal Government to give us our relatively good standard of living. They, in turn, get their money largely from taxes collected from southern Canadians.

This is not a good position for Northerners. We cannot continue to expect southerners to pay our way. If we want to control our future, we will have to start earning our own way. To do this, our businesses and industries must grow, and must train and employ more Northerners. In this way, we will be able to provide our Northern government with its own tax revenues that will pay for our government services.

This will not be easy. The North has some of the worst handicaps in all of Canada: our unemployment is the highest; our education is the lowest; we have the highest birth rate; we have the highest rate of alcohol and substance abuse; and we have the highest suicide rate. Clearly, it will be a tough job.

WHAT IS THE BEST FUTURE DEVELOPMENT IN THE NORTH?

The development of non-renewable resources (mining, oil & gas), holds the greatest potential to provide the jobs, training, and revenues we need in the North. With a total value of mineral production in the N.W.T. in 1989 of \$965 million, mining provides by far the greatest amount of "Northern" money to the government.

If you look at the size of the N.W.T. and at its land, you will see that it is very similar to other mineral rich areas of Canada. It has the mountain chains like BC, the interior plains like Alberta and Saskatchewan, and the Precambrian Shield like Ontario and Quebec. When we see the benefits that mining, oil & gas development from these rocks provide the provinces, we get an idea of some of the North's potential.

IS IT EASY TO FIND MINERALS IN THE NORTH?

In all of Canada, the least amount of government and industry mapping has been done in the N.W.T. Therefore, of all Canadians, we know the least about our rocks and their mining potential. Every summer a little bit more geological mapping is done, and we learn a bit more. However, it will take many, many years for us to know as much about our rocks as some of the richer mining provinces such as B.C. or Ontario know today.

WILL MINING & EXPLORATION BE GOOD FOR NORTHERNERS?

The mining industry can, and does provide many benefits to the North:

- **Jobs:** The mining industry today employs about 2,000 workers. Over half of these live in the North, and over 10% of these are native. This is a great improvement over 20 years ago, and is due to hiring agreements such as that made between the Dogrib Tribal

Council and Colomac Mine. We are trying to increase the numbers of native and northern workers by asking the government to supply more mining training and education. As a result, Arctic College will be offering Mill Operator, Pre-Employment Mining, and Prospector Training Programs for Northerners in 1991.

- Standard of Living: The mining industry in the North is by far the biggest source of northern income that the Government uses to pay for social services, utilities, housing, transportation, and other valuable services that we all use and accept in our everyday lives.

DOESN'T MINING & EXPLORATION HAVE AN IMPACT ON THE ENVIRONMENT?

All activities, from driving snowmobiles and outboards, to building communities, constructing roads, and operating mines, have an impact on the environment. The trick for all of us is to make sure that the impact of our activities stays small, and if there is any damage, that it is minimal and can be easily repaired. We must make sure that our children and our children's children can meet their own needs from a healthy environment.

The methods of mining and exploring that are used today have little impact on the environment and its wildlife. Many people are surprised at this because they hear stories from the old days. In those times, neither the government or the mines understood that mining activity could damage the environment. But as science improved and we realized that damage was occurring, governments passed regulations, and mines improved their operations. Over the years, regulations have got stricter and better. Today in the North, mines like Polaris and Lupin are among the most carefully regulated and environmentally friendly mines in Canada.

Some people think that mining has a large impact on the environment because they think it uses up so much land. This is not true: all the mines in the N.W.T. would fit within the community boundaries of Yellowknife! Even the highway system in the North takes up more land than mining.

Mine workers also have little impact on the land and wildlife around the mine. Communities are no longer built at mine sites as they were 20 years ago. Instead, the workers fly in to work and out to their home communities for time off. They have very little time for recreation while they are at the mine. As well, no hunting is allowed at fly-in mine sites.

With the improvements that have been made in mining methods and in regulations, mining can now be done in a way that does virtually no damage to the environment or the wildlife. Mines in the North occupy a very small area, about the size of Paulatuk, and produce millions of dollars and hundreds of jobs, without affecting the wildlife or environment surrounding them.

ARE THE ROCKS OF THE BLUENOSE LAKE AREA GOOD FOR MINING?

The proposed Bluenose Lake Park boundaries contain some 3 million hectares. The geology is different than the surrounding areas, and because of this the Bluenose Lake area is higher than the surrounding land. Geologists call this area the Brock Inlier.

we know very, very little about the rocks underlying the Bluenose Lake area because very little exploration or mapping has been done. However, the rocks in the Brock Inlier are of the same age (PreCambrian) and have similar characteristics to the rocks on the east coast of Great Bear Lake, as well as some rocks in Ontario that have been mined in the past. Because of the similarity to these rocks, we must assume that the rocks of the Brock Inlier have the same high mineral potential.

In the Bluenose Lake area, the Government is doing what is called a Mineral and Energy Resource Appraisal (MERA) because a National Park has been proposed. As part of the MERA, the Government maps the rocks that it can see on the surface within the proposed area. Using the science that is known at this time, the Government then decides whether or not the rocks have any mineral potential.

There are problems with MERA's because they only look at the surface rocks. Mining companies must do a lot of exploration below the surface before they can decide if the rocks are rich enough to be mined. As well, MERA studies base their decision on mineral potential on the knowledge we have today. However, more and more is being learned every year about geology and mineral potential. Where yesterday we thought there would never be mines, today companies have found them. So we can never say an area will never contain a mine. Thus, MERA studies will not tell us for sure that mines can never be developed in an area.

ARE THERE AREAS OF LAND THAT SHOULD BE PROTECTED?

YES.

The mining industry fully agrees that land and its wildlife should be protected from damage by development. Some areas should be protected from development only at certain times of the year, for example, bird nesting grounds and caribou calving grounds. Other areas such as burial sites and cultural sites should be protected year round.

The mining industry understands your concerns about protecting the Bluenose Caribou Herd calving grounds. Areas like this must be preserved so that the caribou herds do not suffer.

The question is, what is the best way to protect these areas without at the same time stopping possible future development from helping our residents?

HOW CAN WE PROTECT THESE AREAS?

Many methods have been developed to protect land and wildlife. Some of these used in the N.W.T. are National Parks, Wildlife Sanctuaries, the Caribou Protection Measures, National Wildlife Areas, Migratory Bird Sanctuaries, and Territorial Parks, to name only a few. Other methods can also be developed.

ARE THERE PROBLEMS WITH PROTECTION METHODS?

Some of the methods used to protect land and wildlife, like National Parks, were created in the south to protect the land in areas of high development. Others methods, like the Caribou

Protection Measures, are methods developed for our special northern conditions. Let's look at three methods in more detail to see the advantages or disadvantages of each.

National Parks

National Parks were created over a hundred years ago. They are "dedicated to the people of Canada for their benefit, education and enjoyment" and shall be "maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." The bad thing about National Parks is that when they are created, the land within them is protected from development for all time. That means forever and ever. No one will ever be allowed to carry out commercial activities such as mining, logging, or fishing; towns will never be allowed; business activity will be tightly controlled and regulated; and traditional harvesting rights may be restricted. If mineral deposits are discovered on National Park land, they will never be allowed to be mined, but instead will become tourist attractions which provide virtually no benefit to Northerners.

The Caribou Protection Measures

The Keewatin is the home for two very large caribou herds, the Beverly and Kaminuriak herds. The government has established the Caribou Protection Measures, regulations that ensure the caribou, and their calving grounds, post calving areas, water crossings and migration routes are protected. These regulations have protected the caribou calving grounds and travel routes in the Keewatin for several years.

Exploration companies respect the caribou herds' activities, and they stop their work when the caribou move through their exploration areas.

National Wildlife Areas

There is only one National Wildlife Area in the N.W.T. and that is at Polar Bear Pass in the high Arctic. National Wildlife Areas are established for the purpose of wildlife conservation, research, and public education. They may be used to protect all species of wildlife, including endangered species. However, a variety of activities can be allowed including regulated hunting of any species, trapping, fishing, economic and industrial activities and tourism provided that they do not threaten wildlife or their habitat. Permits are issued in consultation with the nearest communities.

As you can see, there is a great difference between the three methods of protecting wildlife. Creating a National Park is one way to protect land and wildlife, but it is not necessarily the best way.

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, the following are the facts as we see them:
 - The North has some of the worst social conditions in all of Canada; our unemployment is the highest; our

education is the lowest; we have the highest birth rate; we have the highest rate of alcohol and substance abuse; and we have the highest suicide rate. Development of resources can provide Northerners with training and jobs that will ease many of these problems.

- More and more, Northerners are telling us that the mining industry will be able to provide them, their children and their grandchildren with jobs and benefits that will improve their lives.

- Northerners know the very least about the rocks of their land, compared to other Canadians. It will take many, many years until we can safely say that any land will not host mineral deposits.

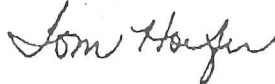
- Although the mining industry already provides many benefits to the North, the potential is still very high for new mines to be discovered and for Northerners to receive increased benefits from this industry.

- National Parks will never, ever allow mining within them. However, National Wildlife Areas, and Caribou Protection Measures allow for Northerners to benefit from mining development and at the same time protect the wildlife.

For these reasons, we feel that all Northern residents should be very concerned about looking up our northern land in National Parks. If the people of Paulatuk are determined that mining and exploration should not interfere with caribou calving, then I encourage them to apply to have either Caribou Protection Measures, or a National Wildlife Area established in the Bluenose Lakes area. National Parks are an expensive luxury that we Northerners cannot afford at this time.

If I can provide you with any more information about the mining industry, please do not hesitate to call me in Yellowknife.

Yours truly,



Tom Hoefler
General Manager

cc.: Hon. Nellie Cournoyea, MLA, Nunakput; Minister, Energy,
Mines & Petroleum Resources
Paulatuk Hunters and Trappers Association
Alex Aviugana, Chairman, Mackenzie Delta/Beaufort Sea
Land Use Planning Commission
Bobby Lyall, Chairman, Nunavut Land Use Planning
Commission
Bob Kadlun, Vice President, Tungavik Federation of
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