CANADIAN THESES

THÈSES CANADIENNES

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

PLA 7999

FACTORS IN PLANNING FOR NATIONAL PARKS ON NORTHERN NATIVE LANDS

RAYMOND CHIPENIUK

ISBN 0-315-33272-7

UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

Résumé

Factors in Planning for National Parks on Northern Native Lands attempts to show how selected factors affect the planning process for the establishment and management of national parks on lands traditionally occupied by northern native peoples, with a view to improvement of that process. In pursuit of this task, the thesis first identifies what the set of relevant factors is, offering a rationale for the selection procedure, describing each factor in summary fashion, and indicating why the selected factors matter. Next the argument provides evidence that the factors do indeed operate in northern park planning, by explaining how conscious recognition of them beneficially alters the planning process or, conversely, how failure to recognize them damages the planning process. Finally, the thesis draws some general and particular conclusions about how the northern park planning process might be improved, both from the perspective of Parks Canada and from that of northern native peoples, if it were adjusted to take into account those factors which it has not so far adequately taken into account.

Acknowledgements

In the doing of this thesis I have had help of many kinds and from many different persons. My sources of information are mostly acknowledged on pages 17 and 18. To those who for good reason remain anonymous, I am no less grateful. But there are individuals who deserve special thanks for special services.

Three professors of the University of Ottawa served as advisers on the design of my project, encouraging the growth of my germ of an idea while training it into a form in the academic tradition. Dr. Carolyn Andrew, a political scientist, Dr. Michel Phipps, a biologist, and Dr. Léon Ploegaerts, a planner and architect, all took the time and trouble to read several drafts of my work-in-progress and to comment constructively on it. They always had my interests at heart.

Two persons brought "outside" points of view to a dissertation which, concerned with a subject-matter so much in the real world of human affairs, would have suffered anemia without them. They were Dr. Tom Alcoze, Director of the Native Studies Institute at the University of Sudbury, himself an Amerindian and a biologist, who travelled to Ottawa especially to provide me and others with an absolutely necessary First Nations perspective on what I was doing; and Mr. Tom Kovacs, a leading planner and theorist in Parks Canada, who sat on my oral defence committee and offered important corrections of fact and tone.

Nobody gave me more of his time or his sympathy than my supervisor, Dr. Jack Wright, who is not just a distinguished planner, recreologist, and expert on parks but a human being sensitive to all the matters a thesis on the native role in national parks calls for sensitivity to. In the course of many meetings and telephone calls Dr. Wright carefully guided me through a jungle of unsuspected pitfalls and bureaucratic hazards to the successful completion of my degree. In the end he was not just a mentor but a friend.

Finally, I am under a deep obligation to my wife, Sonia Sawchuk, a professional with career aspirations of her own, for putting up with a long period of disruption in our lives, for doing more than her share of household tasks during that time, and for tolerating my endless banging away at the typewriter. It all depended on her.

The problems arising from Treaties 8 and 11 were not resolved by 1939, nor have they been to date. Basic differences still separate the thinking of the two parties and always will unless the Indians are induced to substitute other values for their traditional ones. As long as they remain faithful to their culture, there is little common ground with Government for settlement of the basic issues at stake in the Treaty dispute. Priorities for one do not coincide with the priorities for the other. But these two widely divergent world views must find some manner of compromise and coexistence to insure protection for the traditional rights of Indian people.

— René Fumoleau, As Long As This Land Shall Last: A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, 1870-1939

...We should not, perhaps, search fruitlessly for common grounds for negotiation. We will have to try to find ways of accommodating quite different sets of values and societal approaches within the same sets of resource constraints and administrative possibilities.

— E.F. Roots, "The Northern Dilemma"

Table of Contents

(Continued)

(Continued)

List of Figures

1. Introduction

1.1 Purpose of the study

When the first Canadian national park was created in 1885, native people simply did not enter into the thinking of Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald and his cabinet. Treaties had recently been signed with the Indian tribes of the southern Rocky Mountains, the federal government had a use for the land in question, and that was all there was to it.

At first the uses of Canadian national parks were not those familiar to the 1980s. Parks were meant to promote the mental and physical health of the well-to-do public, then to serve as scenic resorts, recreation areas, and tourist attractions.[1] Only gradually did preservation of fauna and flora become an end in itself,[2] rather than a happy unintended consequence of other policies, as hunting and trapping were phased out, then haying, predator control, and even fire suppression. By the 1970s Parks Canada had developed the notion of a park system based on the representation of "natural regions" in this

---

[1] J.I. Nichol, "The National Parks Movement in Canada", in J.G. Nelson, ed., Canadian Parks in Perspective (Montreal: Harvest House Ltd., 1970), pp. 22-25.

[2] P. Dionne, "L'Evolution de Concept de Parc", in J.G. Nelson, R.D. Needham, S.H. Nelson, and R.C. Scace, eds., The Canadian National Parks: Today and Tomorrow; Conference II: Ten Years Later (Waterloo, Ontario: Faculty of Enviornmental Studies, University of Waterloo, 1979), p. 66.

country. Canadians had come to think of their national parks as sanctuaries not only for their own tired spirits but for the indigenous wild plants and animals within them. Each park was to be a kind of Eden, preserving one example of the regional landscape-ecosystem complex as it was before the industrial fall from grace. Like Eden, it was off limits to the human beings indigenous to it and their original cultures.

Native activities in the parks were not regarded as being "natural". But as Loren Eiseley has asked,[3] how natural is natural? That deep cleft between man and nature which has marked so much of Western philosophical and religious thinking for the past two or three thousand years closed a little during the decade of the 1970s, as a period of resource shortages and pollution atrocities impressed the popular mind with a sense of human interdependence with nature.[4] Ecology became a science well known to the man on the street, and ecology kept finding connections between humankind and natural systems, not disjunctions. When finally ecologists issued a test by which it could be decided whether, on this humanized planet, an ecosystem was natural or not, it was in such broad-minded terms as these:

> Definitions of naturalness are. . .tending towards the view that natural ecosystems are likely to have been modified

---

[3]Loren Eiseley, The Firmament of Time (New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1969), p. 151ff.

[4]Hugh Montefiore, ed., Man and Nature (London: William Collins Sons & Co Ltd, 1975).

> slightly by man just as they might also be modified by other mammals. The difficulty is in defining what is meant by 'slightly modified.' Two factors of the man-environment interaction seem essential in attempting such a definition. First, the size of the human population must be limited by the environment in which it lives: this implies no import of food, building materials, etc. Second, products of the ecosystem are used locally: this implies no export of biological material. Thus, a natural ecosystem can be defined as one in which men may be present, but if they are, then they are totally dependent upon, and limited by, their environment.[5]

Plainly, by this definition the presence of human beings in Canadian ecosystems before the advent of Jacques Cartier or the Basques was natural. What is more, Canadian ecosystems lacking a certain quite precisely specifiable human presence are today somewhat unnatural, in that those ecosystems evolved over the last 4,000 to 12,000 years with human beings in them. The human beings, of course, were Amerindian and Inuit people, or their predecessors.

Native Canadians got a foot inside the national park door in February 1972, when the then Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs made the commitment that "The creation of parks will not be permitted to affect in any way the traditional use of wildlife and fish resources by native people of the north,"[6] and that native people living near the parks would receive every possible economic advantage from them.[7]

---

[5] C. Margules and M.B. Usher, "Criteria Used in Assessing Wildlife Conservation Potential: A Review", Biological Conservation 21 (1981), p. 91.

[6] Charles N.D. Hotzel, The Source of Native Claims in Canada (Ottawa: Minister of the Environment, 1983), p. 65.

[7] Robert F. Keith and Janet B. Wright, eds., Northern Transitions, Vol. I: Northern Resource and Land Use Policy Study (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1978), p. 178.

Across the country at this time natives had become a political force such as they had never been before. They were having the validity of their aboriginal rights recognized in landmark court decisions,[8] and they were organized and politically conscious. International public opinion had swung decisively in their favour.[9] Nowhere were they in a stronger position than in the Northwest Territories and Yukon, where the federal government had neglected ever to come to serious terms with their ownership of the land.

It is true that Indians had retained a right to hunt, fish, and trap in Wood Buffalo National Park, established in the 1920s, and would inevitably have obtained such rights in Pukaskwa National Park, by treaty, when it was established in Ontario.[10] Wood Buffalo, however, has always been regarded by the federal government as a special case, since it was erected chiefly to preserve the endangered bison of the country, not because of an assemblage of parkworthy features. Pukaskwa, for its part, was imposed on lands covered by the Robinson Huron Treaty, which apparently was a treaty unlike other Canada-Indian treaties.

---

[8] Hotzel, Source of Native Claims, p. 3.

[9] The frequently quoted Recommendation 5 of the 12th General Assembly of the IUCN meeting in Kinshasa, Zaire in September 1975, as an indicator, was to the effect that the creation of national parks should not displace indigenous peoples from their traditional lands; see Nancy C. Weeks, National Parks and Native Peoples: A Study of the Experience of Selected Other Jurisdictions with a View to Cooperation in Northern Canada (unpublished paper prepared for Parks Canada, 1981), p. 22f., etc.

[10] Hotzel, Source of Native Claims, p. 41.

So when an amendment was made to the National Park Act in 1974, setting aside one parcel of land in the Yukon, and two in the Northwest Territories as "national park reserves", something of historical importance had happened. Not only would the boundaries of Kluane, Nahanni, and Auyuittuq National Park Reserves be subject to revision by the land claims process, but by right and by way of precedent for the future the exercise of "traditional hunting, fishing and trapping activities" would remain with the native peoples of the Northwest Territories and Yukon in perpetuity. If only in the North, native people at long last had a place in the Canadian national parks.

Ever since 1974, though, there has been confusion about what that place is. Parks Canada has held changing views on the subject. Initially its only overt concern seems to have been that no extinguishment of species occur in the parks.[11] A certain amount of enthusiasm was shown for "joint management regimes" and close involvement of native organizations in the planning of parks. Indeed, the expression "joint management regime" was written into the 1979 version of the Parks Canada policy statement. Then a pull-back began: "The term has given rise to expectations for a degree of native control of park management which Parks Canada may not have intended and cannot fulfill under prevailing attitudes and circumstances."[12] By September

---

[11] Hotzel, Source of Native Claims, p. 65.

[12] Parks Canada, Joint Management Regimes: A Proposed Management Guideline for Native People's Participation in Planning and Management of Northern Parks (Ottawa: National Parks System Division, Parks Canada, 1982), p. 2.

1982 the head of the Northern New Parks Proposals Section was writing that "'native people's participation in planning and management' is considered to more accurately reflect intentions than does the term 'Joint Management Regimes';" and the meaning of this statement was that native people would share decision-making roles in matters related to resource harvesting and would have only advisory roles in general park management.[13] The 1982 publication Parks Canada Policy does not say, as the 1978 draft policy document did, that planning and management strategies for each national wilderness park would be developed jointly by representatives of the local (and for the most part native-majority) communities and Parks Canada.

Current Parks Canada staff attitudes towards native involvement in planning and management of northern parks are summarized in a discursive document authored by Frances Rennie, Senior Planner, Northern Park Proposals, with the title Mechanism for Native Involvement in Park Planning and Management, the major points of which are these:

> Native involvement in park planning and management will be formalized in northern national parks through either the land claims settlement process or the park establishment process.
>
> The agreement on native involvement, specific to the needs and conditions of the national park, will be developed according to the following principles. A formalized group will provide its recommendations to the park Superintendent or, if deemed essential by the native organization, to the Minister. Membership criteria for the group will be determined at the time an agreement is reached. The group will primarily be

---

[13] Parks Canada, Joint Management Regimes, p. 4.

> involved in the planning and management of wildlife resource use activities and conservation of wildlife resources within the park. The group may contribute to other aspects of park planning and management as determined in the agreement.
>
> The management of the national park will continue to be directed by the National Parks Act, and the park superintendent will be responsible for application and enforcement of the Act.
>
> In fulfilling their responsibilities, the advisory group will consider the principles of resource protection as outlined in the management guideline, "Renewable Resource Harvesting in New National Parks: Protection and Conservation Requirements". The principles outlined are to ensure that resource harvesting is carried out in a manner least disruptive of park values with particular attention to habitat preservation and sustainable harvests, that rare, threatened or endangered species are protected, and that no ecosystem manipulation, such as predator control or habitat alteration, would occur.
>
> Decisions on participation in the hunt, location and timing of wildlife harvesting will be the responsibility of the native group. . . .
>
> As part of any agreement reached between Parks Canada and native people on the establishment of a national park in northern Yukon, there will be specific provisions for employment and economic opportunities.
>
> Among these are included first opportunity for qualified individuals to compete for employment including management and administration positions, preferences with respect to business opportunities, and provision of training. Training programs will be provided with the intent of qualifying interested individuals for employment and economic opportunities. Parks Canada is also supportive of the idea of Government establishing a renewable resource management technical course in Yukon.

In a personal interview on 1984 January 17 Ms Rennie also emphasized the importance of public safety while native hunting is conducted within national parks.

Two "management guidelines" serve as policy statements in this area. The one just mentioned in the Rennie quotation, Management Guideline 4.4.2, Renewable Resource Harvesting in New National Parks: Protection and Conservation Requirements, dated June 1981, relates to

all new national parks, not just those in the North. Its interest to native people is encapsulated in its undertaking that "Resource Management Plans will be prepared in consultation with user groups for each resource harvesting activity to ensure that viable populations are maintained and that conflicts between resource harvesting and other park activities are minimized."

The second guideline, Draft Parks Canada Management Guideline; Native Peoples' Participation in Northern Park Planning and Management, has gone through at least four drafts -- a fact which is indicative of considerable uncertainty. It is the draft of May 1982 which has endured and which underpins the "Mechanism" referred to above. Of all its specific guidelines, the most open-minded is #3:

> Local people, as well as the representatives of the appropriate government bodies and native organizations will be involved throughout the negotiation process for new northern national parks in the development of an agreement on native peoples' participation specifically suited to the park under consideration.

As far as can be determined from subsequent park establishment, the one qualification to this broad policy position is that "only local people that have been hunting in the proposed park area within recent times will be allowed to carry out traditional resource harvesting activities for domestic purposes only."[14] Less firmly, Parks Canada expresses a preference not to have any permanent outpost camps in

---

[14]Parks Canada, Information for the Pond Inlet Development Review Committee concerning Possible Establishment of a National Park Reserve in the Bylot Island-Eclipse Sound Area (Ottawa: Parks Canada, no date).

the park; "Parks Canada would want to ensure that there would be no pollution such as sewage and garbage from the camps flowing into the park rivers and that the camps would not allow garbage or discarded machinery to accumulate."[15]

Whatever the outcome of the current hesitations Parks Canada demonstrates concerning native involvement in northern park planning and management, what one branch representative at a 1978 national parks conference said remains true: "To establish a mutual understanding between Parks Canada and the native people of the North- is "Parks Canada's most sensitive and pivotal concern within its New Frontier."[16]

Standing opposite Parks Canada, as it were, with their own views on the desirable shape of native participation in park planning and management, are several kinds of entity with legitimate interests of their own. These are, first, the native organizations, such as the Dene Nation and Métis Association of the Northwest Territories, involved in land claims negotiations over the treed portion of the Northwest Territories (usually in conjunction, so that when this thesis refers to the "Dene Nation", both organizations are meant, unless otherwise specified); the Inuit Tapirisat, or ITC, negotiating for

---

[15] Parks Canada, Information for the Pond Inlet Committee.

[16] R. Malis, "Our New Frontier", in Nelson et al., eds., Canadian National Parks, p. 88.

the eastern Arctic; the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement, or COPE, negotiating for the western Arctic; and the Council of Yukon Indians, or CYI, negotiating for the Yukon. Although the positions of these various bodies differ in detail, generally speaking they are all cautiously in favour of new national parks in the north -- after land claims have been settled, or aboriginal rights entrenched -- because they see them as a means of extending the land base on which traditional subsistence activities may continue to take place into the indefinite future, and because they see them as affording the possibility of providing some small but significant employment and business opportunities for native people. The Inuit Tapirisat document National Park Provisions of an Agreement-in-Principle (Rankin Inlet, N.W.T.: Inuit Tapirisat, 1983), for example, states very plainly that "The parties agree to the general desirability of establishing National Parks in Nunavut" (5.3.1). Quite uniformly, also, the national native organizations want new park creation to be tied to land use planning across the whole extent of the two northern Canadian territories; and planning in which native people are thoroughly involved. But the impression conveyed by officials of these organizations in interviews is that national parks do not loom large in their vision of the future of the two northern territories.

Representing a third category of opinions are the governments, or government departments other than Parks Canada-Environment Canada. As for the federal government departments which might attempt to have input into Parks Canada policy in the North, such as Indian and

Northern Affairs, they can reasonably be expected to make that input before the policy becomes publicly known. In other words, for practical purposes Parks Canada policy initiatives represent composite federal government policy. The territorial governments, on the other hand, have a very real measure of independence from the federal government, based on their responsiveness to a distinct electorate and the prospect of not-too-distant provincehood.

Much thought has gone into the position of the Government of the Northwest Territories on national park matters. In extreme summary, that position is that national parks are not wanted unless they improve the social, economic, and cultural life of residents of the Northwest Territories, a majority of whom are natives. Broadly, the Government of the Northwest Territories wants parks to be tourist attractions rather than wilderness sanctuaries, and it wants development rather than preservation. Although some of these aims may be in conflict with some of the goals of the native organizations, the territorial government's expressed desire is to support whatever local communities, predominantly native or otherwise, want.[17]

Mining companies, individually and collectively, are without question the single most weighty private-sector influence on land use decisions in the North, including those bearing on national parks. It is not clear, and would be very hard to find out, how the mining industry would strive to condition native involvement in parks, except that

---

[17]Personal interview with Peter Neugebauer, Tourism and Parks Planner, Tourism and Parks, Economic Development and Tourism, Government of the Northwest Territories, 1984 April 24

one may state with confidence that it would oppose any native advocacy of large parks or indeed of park establishment at all. John Theberge authoritatively intimates that the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, which still rules the Canadian North almost like a fiefdom, is a captive of, or an agent for, the northern mining industry.[18]

The fifth and final major category of influence on northern national parks policy is that of public interest organizations. Of these the most prominent are the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, based in Ottawa but strongly committed to supporting the interest of native peoples; the Canadian Nature Federation and Canadian Wildlife Federation, which see a mild community of interest between their memberships and those of northern native organizations, although they admit not to have considered the matter very deeply;[19] and the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada, which is reacting so slowly to northern parks issues as to be ineffectual. In the Yukon the Yukon Conservation Society is busy and forceful in parks debates, but in the Northwest Territories Ecology North, with about 35 members and no strong views on anything, is a minor to negligible force. Local special-interest groups such as the Yellowknife Fish and Game Club are not taken seriously by any of the other actors.

---

[18] John B. Theberge, "Kluane National Park", in Everett B. Peterson and Janet B. Wright, eds., Northern Transitions: Volume I: Northern Resource and Land Use Policy Study (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1978), pp. 153-189.

[19] Personal interview with Gregg Sheehy, Conservation Director, Canadian Nature Federation, Ottawa, 1984 February 14.

In short, the broad principles of native involvement in planning and managing new national parks in the North are being rather extensively debated, or at least contended over. But as nearly as can be determined from interviews, a search of the literature, and news reports, no one has analysed the overall northern park-planning situation from the perspective of native involvement in it. Nobody, to put it another way, has examined the question of what must be taken into account when a local native community develops its response to a particular park proposal; or when national Indian or Inuit organizations develop parks policy; or when Parks Canada contemplates the role of native people, native peoples, and native cultures in the national parks system. Moreover, it is reasonable to believe the northern national park planning process may be open to significant improvement as a result of such systematic study, given that technical land use planning is an outgrowth of Euro-Canadian culture rather than of native cultures (which implies that the people northern national parks have the greatest impact on stand at a disadvantage when dealing with Parks Canada initiatives), and given the unique place of the First Nations in Canada, only now being recognized by the federal government.

Such, then, is the purpose of this dissertation: to show how selected factors affect the planning process for the establishment and managing of new national parks on lands traditionally occupied by northern native peoples, with a view to improvement of that process. To accomplish this task, the thesis must first have some principled (if not scientifically rigorous) way of identifying the relevant factors. Secondly, it must describe each factor in just enough detail to give

an adequate idea of what it is and why it matters. Next, it must show the factors at work, doing so by explaining how conscious recognition of them beneficially alters the planning process or, conversely, how failure to recognize them damages the planning process. Finally, it must demonstrate how the northern park planning process might be improved, both from the perspective of the federal government and from the perspective of northern native people, if it were adjusted to take into account those factors which it has not so far adequately taken into account.

1.4 Methodology

A feature of research on northern subject-matters in recent years has been that it must subserve northern ends.[20] Indeed, a "Scientific Research Licence" must be obtained before studies may be prosecuted in the Northwest Territories; and the terms of that licence state that any community which might be affected by the proposed research has to render its approval before the licence is valid. In the case of this dissertation, the author applied for and received a

---

[20] What happens when research does not clearly subserve northern ends was demonstrated by a three-year socio-economic study the federal government sponsored on the Norman Wells pipeline. Two years into the study the Wrigley Band Council resolved that Dr. R. Bone, of the University of Saskatchewan, had not consulted with the band over the study, which did not "respect the rights of communities to determine whether or not they want to be studied," and that the study was "being used as a training ground for southern academics." Indications were that for lack of Wrigley Band support the study would never be completed. (See News/North, June 8, 1984.)

licence, and Chief Felix Lockhart of the Lu Tsel K'e Dene Band, who also represents the community of Snowdrift, N.W.T. as a municipality, approved use of the attempts to establish a new national park on the East Arm of Great Slave Lake, an area within the traditional hunting grounds of the native people of Snowdrift, as a specific subject-matter and source of illustrative material for this study.

Although not to be considered in detail in the pages to follow, the East Arm park proposal is an interesting one in its own right, for several reasons. First, it affects Dene-claimed land, and the Dene have shown especial energy and creativity among native groups in searching for new kinds of political institutions governing land use in the North. Secondly, although the idea of a park on the East Arm has been around for a long time -- since at least the early 1960s -- it is now being pushed to a consummation by Parks Canada, the territorial mining companies, and the Snowdrift Chipewyan themselves. In August 1984 the federal and Northwest Territories governments agreed to a two-year review to decide once and for all whether the park should or should not be established.

Thirdly, the East Arm is geographically near to Wood Buffalo National Park: the Snowdrift community has a certain familiarity with the precedents for native involvement and native treatment in Wood Buffalo. Fourthly, Snowdrift and its hinterland lie within the territory of the Beverly-Kaminuriak Caribou Management Board, which is widely regarded as a model for native-government joint management co-operation in the North. Chief Lockhart is on the board of directors.

Finally, but perhaps most importantly, the community of Snowdrift, through Chief Lockhart, has expressed a genuine interest in and need for a study of how an East Arm park would be advantageous or disadvantageous to its own interests. While it is not exactly such a study which this dissertation project has carried out, the project was intended to come close enough to it to be of real service both to the Snowdrift Chipewyan and to other peoples among the First Nations of Canada.

These useful features of the East Arm park proposal having been stated, it should be made very clear that what is being undertaken in the pages that follow is not a case study. In the first place it is not the intent of this dissertation to make a case study. But there are other reasons for not concentrating on the East Arm entirely. One is insufficiency of documentary evidence. Another is the author's wish to generalize his findings to all the Northwest Territories and, ultimately, all the Canadian North. So while perhaps most references will be to East Arm and Dene realities, many others will be to native and park planning situations elsewhere in the North.

The actual research strategy adopted by the author was as follows. Initially the task was to acquire a detailed and up-to-date knowledge of native land use planning and national park planning in the North. The means to do so were (1) a review of the literature on parks and northern land use issues back to 1970 or earlier; (2) a review of the literature on contemporary native ways of life, especially as they incorporate traditional subsistence activities; (3) regular monitoring of News/North, the Whitehorse Star, Native News, Caribou

News, and southern newspapers; (4) a program of interviews with spokespersons for native and public-interest organizations; officials within Parks Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs, the Government of the Northwest Territories, and other arms of government; private-sector social scientists and ecologists; and others; and (5) two visits to the Northwest Territories, one to Yellowknife in April 1984 and another to Yellowknife and Snowdrift in June and July 1984.

In the program of interviews, all the following individuals gave freely of their time and expert advice, here gratefully acknowledged:

N.S. Novakowski, former Co-ordinator, Wildlife Research and Interpretation Branch, Canadian Wildlife Service, Ottawa

Lennard Sillanpaa, Legislation and Policy Secretariat, National Parks Branch, Parks Canada, Ottawa

Dave Monture, Assembly of First Nations, Ottawa

Harold Eidsvik, Senior Policy Adviser, Program Policy Group, Parks Canada, Ottawa

J.A. Carruthers, Chief, National Parks System Division, Parks Canada, Ottawa

George Davey, National Parks System Division, Parks Canada, Ottawa

Tom J. Kovacs, Head, Northern Park Proposals, Parks Canada, Ottawa

Murray McComb, Senior Planner, Northern Park Proposals, National Parks, Parks Canada, Ottawa

Frances Rennie, Senior Planner, Northern Park Proposals, National Parks, Parks Canada, Ottawa

Randy Ames, Negotiator, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, Ottawa

Robert DeLury, Negotiator, Committee for Original People's Entitlement, Ottawa

Rem Westland, Director of Policy Development, Corporate Policy, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Ottawa

Terry Fenge, Director, Policy Studies, Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, Ottawa

John McDermid, M.P., then Progressive Conservative Indian Affairs critic, Ottawa

Dan Murphy, Senior Negotiator, Dene Claim, Office of Native Claims, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Ottawa

Gregg Sheehy, Conservation Director, Canadian Nature Federation, Ottawa

Peter J. Usher, consulting geographer, Ottawa

George Miller, native anthropologist and education specialist, Assembly of First Nations, Ottawa

Joanne Barnaby, Director, Land and Resources, Dene Nation, Yellowknife

R.A. (Bob) Gamble, Public Involvement Officer, Northern Park Establishment, Parks Canada, Yellowknife

Peter Neugebauer, Tourism and Parks Planner, Tourism and Parks, Economic Development and Tourism, Government of the Northwest Territories, Yellowknife

Ian D. Robertson, Senior Planner, Northern Park Establishment, Parks Canada, Yellowknife

Harold Cook, Vice-President, Métis Association of the Northwest Territories, Yellowknife

Dan Billing, Executive Secretary, Science Advisory Board of the Northwest Territories, Yellowknife

Brad Arner, Secretary, Ecology North; biologist, Canadian Wildlife Service; Yellowknife

Felix Lockhart, Chief, Lu Tsel K'e Dene Band Council, Snowdrift

Jennifer E. Moore, Technical Services/Co-ordinator, Land Use Planning, NWT Region, Northern Affairs Program, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Yellowknife.

Logically consequent on this first phase of the work program, but in fact to some extent simultaneous with it, was the mental task of separating out what factors in the northern park planning context really seemed salient. Sometimes further reading and interviews were needed to make a judgment on a specific factor. Otherwise more information-seeking served the necessary object of confirming that nothing critical had been left out of consideration.

Last came a developing appreciation of what the identified factors meant: how they affected planning for better or worse, and how an understanding of them could be exploited to bring about improvements in the planning process. Once again this was a mental exercise, disciplined by reading and interviews. Drawing conclusions on particular factors called for rough-and-ready deduction. Drawing general conclusions waited upon Gestalt perception and the unbidden emergence of glimmering wisdom.

To a large extent, then, the plan of this dissertation is the plan of the work program which produced it.

1.3 Constraints in Point of View

Every story is told from a definable point of view, and every monograph study of a social question is conducted from a point of reference with subjective elements. Theorists have long recognized that there is no harm in a planning document having a point of view, so long as it is forthrightly identified. On the contrary, what is harmful is for a planning document to pretend it has no subjective elements, no point of view, when anything of human authorship must have them. A statement of some of the personal determinants of the thinking within this dissertation therefore follows.

First, the author of this study is Euro-Canadian, not Indian or Métis or Inuk. Much that would immediately be apparent to a native person because of the assimilated practical knowledge of a lifetime is

admittedly unobvious to the writer, or apprehended only as an abstraction. Moreover, it is freely admitted that the fact of not being a native closes doors to researchers and planners because of mistrust by some of the people they are planning for:

> It will take many years of practical experience before the white man can comprehend fully the deep differences in the values of the Indians and those of middle-class Canadians. Even a lifetime of involvement by a dedicated white man does not always guarantee sufficient understanding to enable the non-Indian, however concerned and well-meaning, to organize Indians for some form of social action. . . . Years are required before non-Indians can build a relationship of trust and confidence between themselves and the local Indian communities. There exists a suspicion toward whites in Indian communities. Regrettable or not, this distrust is a fact, and it plays a negative role when a white tries to get something started in an Indian community.[21]

Consequently the Euro-Canadian point of view herein, although sympathetic to native people, is limited by hedges of ignorance that perhaps no amount of application could penetrate.

It is sympathetic. The author feels no guilt for what Euro-Canadian society has done to native Canadian societies in the past, but he does feel an obligation to rectify what is being done in the present.

The writer personally is convinced of the justness of claims by the First Nations of Canada to national sovereignty; though he fears the expression of that sovereignty may have to be subdued by the First Nations in their own interests.

---

[21] Harold Cardinal, The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Ltd., Publisher, 1969), p. 93.

The writer personally regards the presence of native subsistence activities in national parks as right in point of human justice and needful to the integrity of park ecosystems. His opinions on how subsistence activities should be carried out differ from those of both Parks Canada and the native organizations.

The writer's commitment to the North is undeniably romantic and seasonal. Although he was raised in the boreal forest region of Canada and has accumulated years of vacation time in arctic and subarctic regions, his notional "home" is well to the south of the tree line. That is, he loves visiting the North, and would gladly live and work there for a while, but like most Euro-Canadians he would go somewhere else to die.

Similarly, the writer idealizes rural and bush life; but most of the time he lives in cities.

The writer realizes also that his point of view has an economic component. The vista from a steady, reasonably well paid job is inevitably more optimistic and solicitous of societal luxuries than the vista from a life of self-employment, under-employment, unemployment, indifference to employment, or constant insecurity. Philosophical commitment may be another matter: the writer believes, and always has believed, it is fundamentally better to make one's living from hunting, gathering, trapping, or fishing, or some combination thereof, than from wage-earning industrial employment. Nevertheless, like Herbert Gans, he admits to adhering to a basic value judgment that in the abstract "the professional upper-middle-class subculture is more desir-

able than all the rest."[22]

Lastly, a considerable ingredient in point of view is to whom the writer addresses himself. This dissertation aims itself at a readership that may potentially be drawn from either the Euro-Canadian culture or the native Canadian cultures. It does so in the conviction that if native land use planners now are few, before long they will be many, and to them a document which speaks of native people as if they were a different order of being — as if, for example, they might be a source of education for how "we" might live with nature — will seem either naive or a fount of bitterness. For native people the literature has enough of naivity and bitterness in it as it is.

1.4 Planning across national and cultural boundaries

For the most part this dissertation concerns itself with aspects of park planning as an institutional or group activity. However, planning is done by individuals, and it is not amiss at this point to touch on the peculiar situation of a planner in a professional relationship with people whose nationality and culture are different from his or her own.

When a planner does not belong to the nationality and culture of the society he or she is planning for, there are several common possibilities. The planner may belong to a colonial or centrist power

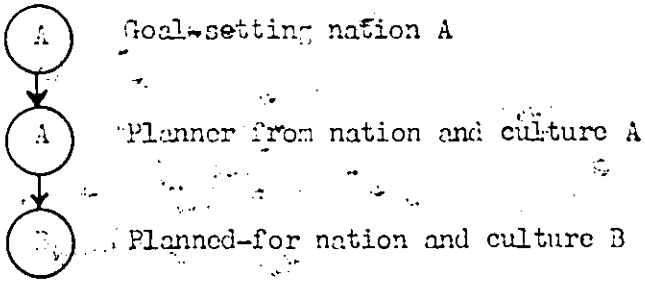
---

[22] Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans (New York: The Free Press (A Division of MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc.), 1982), p. 296.

which intends to impose its will on the society being planned for. This state of affairs might be called "planning down," since the goals of the plan are being forced upon a subordinate society by a dominant society, with the planner merely an agent for the dominant. British planning in West Africa during the 1940s was of this sort, and so was land use planning in the Canadian North in the 1950s.

Figure 1

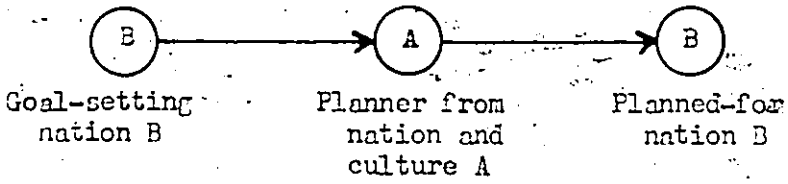
Planning Down



Alternatively, the planner may stand in a professional-client relationship with a culture and nationality not his own. In such a case his professional obligations are simple to understand, if not to carry out. He must learn in detail what the goals of his client society are, comprehend their cultural sources, and know enough about local ways of life to perceive a range of acceptable means of achieving the goals. Much planning done by United Nations agencies and planners working in bilateral foreign-aid programs such as those of the Canadian International Development Agency is of this kind, which is perhaps a matter of "planning through."

Figure 2

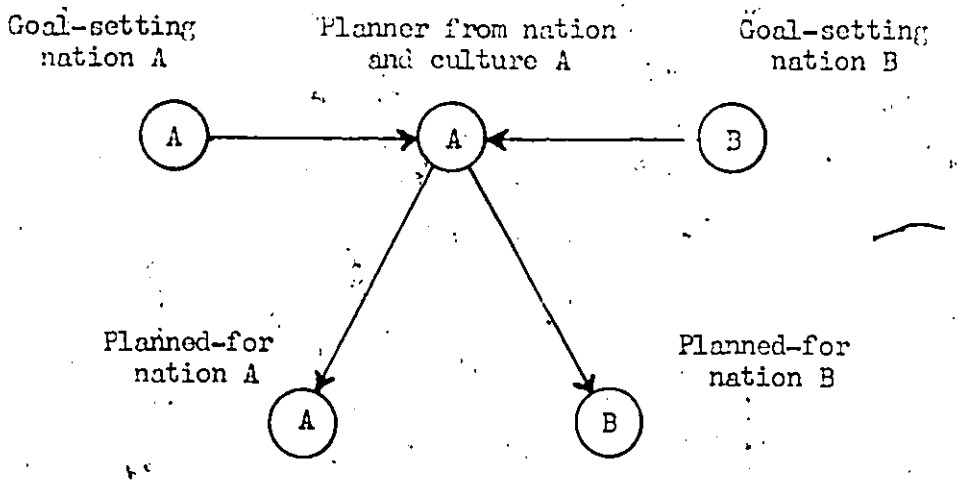
Planning Through



But planning for long-term land use in the Canadian North is now in a curiously awkward and delicate situation of yet another kind. When it goes on, it typically involves a planner who is working on behalf of a national government (or its agency, for example Parks Canada) yet who must find ways of satisfying the legitimate goals of a second, partially autonomous and sovereign nation (the Dene, or Inuit, or Yukon Indians). It is not exactly an exercise in fairness, or trouble-shooting, or fence-straddling, but almost of diplomacy; of reconciling the highly divergent goals and objectives of two national entities which are in certain respects, at least in principle, equals. To an interesting degree it is a question of "planning between."

Figure 3

Planning Between



It cannot be too much emphasized that the critical dimension here is that of nationality, not of class, race, ethnicity, language, or even culture, which are the parameters of human difference explored in such classics of planning literature as Herbert Gans's The Urban Villagers. The planner on the staff of Parks Canada may or may not detect an unlikeness between himself or herself and northern native people in any of these other respects, which intrinsically matter just as much; but what requires an effort to keep in mind is that the nationality he owes his loyalty to is different from that of one of the two goal-setting clienteles who hold him to account. He is planning for his fellow-countrymen; yet their first allegiance is to a nation different from his own.

Quite possibly no planning paradox exactly like this one has arisen before, at any rate in Canada, because it is only in the past few years that national governments have accepted that sovereign aboriginal governments may have a place within the larger polity.[23] As recently as 1973 the intent of the Canadian government was that native people should be assimilated into the rest of Canadian society. After an about-face, the view was that native people had special rights deriving from their aboriginal status. Still another about-face and the federal government admitted that the First Nations might have certain rights to self-government. Now both Ottawa and several of the provinces wish to enshrine self-government in the Constitution. There is

---

[23] Michael Asch, Home and Native Land: Aboriginal Rights and the Canadian Constitution (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1984), pp. 66 and 70.

every reason to believe this ultimate conception of the place of aboriginal nations in Confederation will be the one that prevails, because it is the conception most Canadian native people have always had of the matter themselves.

Sovereign or not, northern Canadian First Nations find themselves in a genuinely powerful position vis-à-vis national parks. They have veto power over the creation of new parks on their traditional lands, as demonstrated by ministerial statements and the history of recent park establishment initiatives, at least until the settlement of their claims.[24] They can insist that parks be called into existence, as demonstrated by the Yukon North Slope park and the Committee of Original People's Entitlement settlement. They have forced the delay of park creation and boundary definition all over the North to their own timetable. As a lobby group, they have been treated with more regard by the federal government than any other interest except the mining industry. The very nature of northern national parks as wilderness parks allegedly resulted in part from a native concern about too many tourists in the North if new parks there were managed along southern lines.[25]

---

[24] Cf. for example Minister of Environment Canada, East Arm of Great Slave Lake Park Proposal (Ottawa: August 21, 1984; a press release); and Richard Eric Bill, Attempts to Establish National Parks in Canada: A Case History in Labrador from 1969 to 1979 (Ottawa: Carlton University M.A. thesis, 1982).

[25] J.A. Carruthers, "Planning a Canadian National Park and Related Reserve System", in J.G. Nelson et al., eds., Canadian National Parks, p. 664.

Of course, "planning between" is conducted in Canada whenever federal and provincial governments have conflicting or mutual interests in land use not readily sorted out by reference to constitutional jurisdiction. What is unusual in the case of planning involving the First Nations is the magnitude of the cultural gap -- greater by far than the gap between the culture of most members of the Canadian government and public service and the culture of most members of the Quebec or Newfoundland government and civil service -- and the disparity in resources of the two parties, as well as the newness of it all. It is as if the northern land use planner had to be an anthropologist and a public advocate as well as a negotiator.

Somewhat unexpectedly, the Dene and Inuit of the Northwest Territories would prefer not self-government as such but a guaranteed pre-eminent role in the governing of all of what they foresee as the new provinces of Denendeh and Nunavut. The reasons for this attitude are complex and need not be gone into here.[26] The fact is that whether or not Denendeh and Nunavut ever come into being, planners must recognize and take into account the uniquely privileged position of Indian, Métis, and Inuit people in the social compact of Canada; and above all in the North, where the native presence on the land is so much greater. Whatever the actual status of native self-government, Canadian planners would be wise to interact with native people as if they were members of self-governing nations, today as they were in the past.

---

[26] See Asch, Home and Native Land, p. 96ff.

Having adopted an "as if" perpective, how should a planner adapt his or her role to "plan between" mainstream Canadian and aboriginal Canadian interests? In the author's view it is not by conducting a quixotic search for common ground in societal goals. Mainstream Euro-Canadian and northern aboriginal goals are too unlike each other to serve as a broad basis for agreement on land use, and they are no more certain to converge in future than to diverge. Nor is it really up to the northern land use planner to convince either of his masters that they should change their goals to come to a closer accommodation with the opposite number. The goals coming to the fore in the North are mostly far too deeply entrenched and integrated with culture for that.

Rather, if common ground is to be sought, it should be sought in those phases of the planning cycle where it is most likely to be found. In the author's opinion those are development of parks system[27] policy, public consultation, and setting of terms and conditions. All three of these will be discussed in the conclusions of this dissertation. For the time being it is necessary only to postulate that once the northern land use planner has indeed got it clear that he or she is engaged in "planning between," not "planning down" or "through" — in other words, once he has grasped the concept of First Nations sovereign-

---

[27] The expression "parks system" is barbarous and un-English. Probably it was obtained from a wish to convey the sense of "a system of parks" and the homophony of "parks system" with "park system". Because it is so entrenched in Parks Canada usage, it will be used in this thesis also, though "park system" would be much better.

ty — the usual bones of contention in park planning in the North become what they are called herein: "factors," as opposed to irreconcilable political postures, or "issues," or "problems," or "sore points," or "wild cards." It is in fact only half the task of the Euro-Canadian planner to comprehend and transmit to his departmental overseers the finer points of the cultural puzzle he or she is dealing with (and not an especially difficult task, because native leaders themselves will look after the interpretation of their people's goals and objectives, telling the planner what matters to them and what does not). The other and more novel half is to learn how to conduct himself or herself as a perspicacious envoy between mutually respectful nations, adept in seeing how one course of action may satisfy two antipathetic or at best alien national goals.

Unless the northern park planner does regard himself as mediating between the interests of sovereign entities, he will be prone to various mortal sins. One is the heretical belief that he can achieve some sort of rapprochement with an individual band which will circumvent the tedious and time-consuming process of land claims negotiations. Another is despair that park proposals for particular traditional lands will ever go anywhere, as local chiefs and band councils appear to stonewall and procrastinate. A third is condescension, if he fancies he can "help" native people beyond the extent that lies in his professional competence. A fourth is betrayal, if he allows himself to be "captured" by native ideology to the extent of willingness to sell out national park ideals. A fifth is underestimating the validity of

native views (as distinct from their weight in current northern land use planning), and therefore not according them the respect they deserve.

If the planner were a native himself, working for an Indian or Inuit organization, the same sorts of cautions, mutatis mutandis, would have to be made. The planner in the northern national park planning context must acknowledge and respect the point of view of "the other side," whatever his own cultural affiliations. On one side or the other, at this moment in history, he must perform as if he were a diplomat negotiating certain details of an important treaty. For so he is.

1.5. History of the East Arm proposal

Great Slave Lake Chipewyan experience of national parks was initiated with government moves to protect bison in the vicinity of what is now Wood Buffalo National Park. Parks and bison were an issue in negotiations leading up to the signing of Treaty 8 at Resolution in 1900, and those negotiations included Chipewyans from the East Arm.[28] From the beginning local Indians were concerned about any restriction of their aboriginal right to hunt and fish. After the creation of Wood Buffalo National Park in the early 1920s, Indian resentment towards

---

[28] René Fumoleau, As Long As This Land Shall Last: A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, 1870-1939 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973), pp. 93, 226, and 255-257.

conservation regimes increased, although the ends of government conservation efforts were appreciated. By this time, however, the East Arm Chipewyan had withdrawn from the Wood Buffalo area and ceased to have much direct experience with national parks.

In 1962-63 two National Parks Branch employees, Lloyd Brooks and Harold Eidsvik, conducted a study of national park potentials of the Yukon and Northwest Territories, and one of the areas they drew attention to as worthy of park status was the East Arm. Features they considered especially remarkable were

> . . . the immense archipelago of islands in Slave Lake, the long fault block escarpments, the many-hued lakes on islands and adjacent shorelines, the red-coloured beaches and reddish rock formations at the north end of Slave Lake, the scenic gorges of the Lockhart River . . . , the waterfalls and rapids of the Lockhart River, colourful Artillery Lake which spans the tree line extending well into open Arctic tundra, the migration routes of the caribou, the massive game fish of Slave Lake, and historic old Fort Reliance at the head of Slave Lake.[29]

Their summary report does not mention the human inhabitants of the district.

In 1963 the private consultant W.M. Baker apparently presented a report to the National Parks Branch in which the prospects for establishing a park on the East Arm were further assessed.[30] It suggested no definite set of boundaries. At this time the area was regarded as

---

[29] Lloyd Brooks and Harold Eidsvik, National Park Potentials, Northwest Territories and Yukon: Report of Field Operation and Recommendations (Ottawa: National Parks Branch, 1963), pp. 4-5.

[30] See C. Mondor, East Arm National Park Reserve, Northwest Territories: Boundary Considerations and Significance (Ottawa: National Parks Branch, 1982), p. 1ff.

being very remote.

The recommendations of a study prepared by the Planning Division of the National Parks Branch in 1969, Proposed National Park, Great Slave Lake, were much more specific. The theme of the park was to be "Edge of the Barrens". It would have two core areas adding up to about 2,849 km^2 and a total area of 11, 137 km^2.

In this document for the first time it was acknowledged that the Great Slave Lake country was inhabited: "Narratives of this [1835] expedition by both Captain Back and Lieutenant King have provided excellent accounts of the area and the native population."[31]

Details such as these were the objects of attention in a series of public meetings held on the park proposal in this same year. As a result of the meeting in Edmonton, two participants were moved to write: "A park would improve the lot of the Indian people by enabling them to sell their experience with the waters and the woods as guides to fishermen. The fishing rights of the Indian people should not be jeopardized by the inclusion of part of the East Arm within the park."[32]

Accounts of just what kind of public consultation took place in the Northwest Territories are conflicting. A hearing of some kind was held in Yellowknife on June 24.[33] It seems to have been attended

---

[31]National and Historic Parks Branch, Proposed National Park, Great Slave Lake (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1969), p. 17.

[32]P.G. Kevan and L.N. Evernden, "A National Park for the Northwest Territories — The East Arm of Great Slave Lake and Artillery Lake", Canadian Field-Naturalist, Vol. 83, No. 2 (April-June), 1969, p. 172.

[33]Peter G. Kevan, "A National Park for the Northwest Territories — Continued", Canadian Field-Naturalist, Vol. 84, No. 1 (January-March), 1970, pp. 65-66.

mainly or exclusively by experts and lobbyists, to a total of seventy people, probably none of whom were native people. However, the representative of the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada later reported that:

> The next day I was kindly permitted to fly over the proposed park area and to visit Snowdrift to attend the talks with Chief Pierre Catholique and his people with DIAND officials. The people in Snowdrift were not in favour of the proposed park, and would rather have mining interests nearby to provide work. Employment worries ranked high in the discussions, and the people were assured that the new park would provide work. Concerns were also aired about the possible loss of hunting and trapping rights as guaranteed by Treaties 8 and 11. DIAND has since incorporated these rights into the park proposal.[34]

From the point of view of the Lu Tsel K'e Dene, or in their recollection, events were markedly different:

> In July 1969, Pierre Catholique, chief of the Dene band in Lutselk'e (Snowdrift), was called to Yellowknife for a meeting with government officials. Part way through the meeting he was sent back home after being told, "What we have to discuss tomorrow doesn't involve you." Later, the chief found out that the discussion that was not supposed to concern him was about the creation of a national park in the best hunting grounds of the Lutselk'e Dene. When the chief voiced his anger loudly, Parks Canada sent a twenty-one-man delegation to Lutselk'e (Snowdrift) to present strong arguments in favor of the proposed park. Only then did the Dene learn that this park had been in the planning for ten years. The people were angry that they had not been consulted earlier but they learned a valuable lesson in negotiation. Pierre Catholique explained, "Never again will one chief sit down with many government people. From now on, if 21 government people come to a meeting, 21 Indian leaders must come and sit across the table from them. From now on, we the chiefs must talk with the government only when we are all together.[35]

---

[34] Kevan, "A National Park — Continued", pp. 65-66.

[35] The Dene Nation, Denendeh: A Dene Celebration (Yellowknife and Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1984), pp. 23-24.

As documented by John Theberge, a meeting was held in Yellowknife on June 24, and it was between parks officials and the Northwest Territories Chamber of Mines only. At it the Parks Branch laid out its proposal and showed the mining executives maps with tentative boundaries on them. In response, the miners expressed their contempt for national parks and the northern landscape, then "immediately went out and staked areas of interest to the Parks Branch."[36]

It is certain that some sort of crisis occurred in the summer of 1969. Whatever it was, so painful are the memories of outrage, humiliation, and shock that only today, in the mid-1980s, are Parks Canada and the Dene coming to a reconciliation. Jokingly or not, some Parks Canada employees allege that departmental records from summer 1969 have mysteriously disappeared from the files.

On April 10, 1970 a federal order-in-council reserved 7,407 km^2 in the vicinity of the East Arm for future national park purposes. "The hunting, trapping and fishing rights of the Snowdrift Indian Band were not affected by the land withdrawal."[37]

"In 1971, the Snowdrift Indian Band requested, and was granted, a 5 year moratorium on any park development activity in order to assess the effects of National Park development on their way of life."[38]

---

[36]Theberge, "Kluane National Park", p. 173.

[37]Mondor, "East Arm National Park Reserve", p. 7.

[38]Mondor, "East Arm National Park Reserve", p. 7.

There matters rested until 1984 August 21, when the Minister of Environment issued a press release stating that the federal and territorial governments had agreed "to initiate a two year consultation process to decide whether or not to establish a national park reserve"[39] on the East Arm. The process would involve local communities and interested groups and would end with a recommendation either to proceed with the establishment of a national park reserve or to terminate the entire exercise. Only if there were "adequate support from the directly affected communities, groups and individuals" would park formation proceed.

At time of writing, federal budget constraints have thrown the consultation program into jeopardy, despite Dene Nation willingness to participate in it, and park establishment throughout the country seems to have been indefinitely postponed. Currently the Dene Nation is in favour of parks, so long as they arise from the land claims negotiation process. As for the Lu Tsel K'e Dene, they are now looking upon the East Arm proposal more favourably, apparently because they have learned that it is park potential, and not their own present position, which is their only bulwark against mining activity on their traditional lands.[40]

---

[39]Minister of Environment Canada, East Arm of Great Slave Lake Park Proposal.

[40]Telephone conversation with Joanne Barnaby, Director, Land and Resources, Dene Nation, Yellowknife, 1984 December 10.

2. Principles of Selection of Factors

2.1 Conceptual space

Using the word "factors" in its common-sense meaning, any land-use planning enterprise in southern Canada will resolve itself into a large and open-ended set of factors, no matter whose is the planning mind which contemplates that enterprise. One subset of leading factors, packed together amorphously, will amount to a kind of conceptual space which any planner of given educational and cultural background will tend to share with other planners of such background. How these planners divide up the conceptual space personally may vary; what they divide up will probably be the same.

The factors of concern in this thesis are planning elements outside the normal conceptual space of a Euro-Canadian land use planner, or elements with an unexpected emphasis, yet needful to the planner doing business in the North. Certainly they lie outside the accustomed ways of thinking of a typical southern Canadian planner. They stand outside because in the south native land claims are comparatively minor, or were settled long ago; because northern issues are poorly covered by the southern media; because southern planners seldom meet native people, and when they do, the individuals they meet are so bi-cultural the planner may not even realize he and the person he is speaking to are genuinely different in their modes of thought.

Something is different about planning for national parks in the Northwest Territories and Yukon, and all the factors dealt with

in this thesis share in that difference. In short compass, that difference is the unique position of native people in Canada generally and in the North especially.

2.2 Discreteness

If one accepts that land use planning in the North must indeed take into account a certain realm of experience not shared with planning exercises in the South, the next question is how should one break down this "sub-realm" into discrete "factors"? To some extent, it really does not matter. The critical thing is to recognize that the realm is alien. Any factor one theorist or another may carve out of that realm will itself be semantically complex. A proposed factor of "Dene decision-making", for example, will no doubt be composed of sub-concepts of band organization, Dene Nation philosophy, aspects of land claim negotiations, pre-Contact Dene politics, Canadian federalism, territorial government, global trends to native self-expression in the 1980s, and so on -- all of which might be put together in different ways, or divided and shared with other conceivable factors, and with equal or greater justice. When one builds a prefabricated house, what is important is not so much how the components are assembled at the factory as that nothing essential is left out when the edifice is complete.

Yet the discreteness of factors does have a function, which abides in the sphere of efficient communication. As societies grapple with novel tensions in their midst, to deal with them they evolve

a vocabulary of catch-phrases and definitive statements known to everyone who cares. A vocabulary of such phrases as "aboriginal rights", "Berger report", "subsistence activities", "development", for example, serves as both a verbal and a mental short-cut. Instantly, two interlocutors have roughly the same idea of what is being talked about, in spite of the subject-matter being much more complex than, for instance, the common-sense meaning of "development".

Perhaps the right name for such elements of social-issue vocabulary is "discussion tokens", because they are most useful when employed lightly in the give and take of discussion, but to be truly meaningful they must be "cashed in" for the precise terminology of written discourse. At any rate, discussion tokens, or whatever they are called, represent an initial, pre-formed understanding of a social situation, and by so doing they discharge a real service. Moreover, their pre-formed synthesis of semantic elements exhibits some of the features of an hypothesis: it is a kind of conjecture about reality, with explanatory value, and testable against an individual's own experience of the world. As a consequence, discussion tokens which do not meet the standard of verifiability in many individuals' experience pass out of common use. Discussion tokens which are minted with too many subtleties or incongruities are soon simplified; their rough edges are rubbed off.

What is left, then, is more or less discrete concepts tied to more or less fixed names. In some cases, indeed, certain names or compound terms are so frequently encountered in the literature, in the media, and in daily speech that that fact alone reveals that they are

discussion tokens and "tested" hypotheses. Surely no elaborate argument is needed to prove that "self-government" stands for a semantic entity which is more than the sum of its parts. In other cases — and "Always ask" seems to be one of them — a single mind has so lucidly captured an aspect of human reality in prose or some other medium that its description can immediately be used as a discrete token, "coin of the realm." And finally, through simplification, concreteness, and relevance, even the uninspirational prose of a dissertation might hope to define conceptual entities with enough of their own integrity to overcome some tendency to lose or gain semantic material on the edges.

2.3 Criteria

Given a sub-realm of whatever in northern park planning is influenced by the special position of native people, and given a principled method for dividing that sub-realm up into factors, the critic is still entitled to ask, why just the factors selected? Why not more, or fewer, or different ones?

The ultimate rationale of course has to be the usual criteria of theories, namely (1) simplicity, and (2) explanatory power. To one researcher who studied the literature, followed the news, and interviewed many of the actors, these were those factors the set of which seemed to be simplest and most explanatory of what is going on in northern park planning. They are also those which, once tentatively identified, withstood validation through further personal interviews

and reading.

But they are not claimed to be the only factors, or even the sum total of the most important ones. Rather, they may be no more than an extensive, illustrative sample of the kind of factors which make cross-cultural planning refractory, with particular emphasis on Euro-Canadian planning for a new national park on lands traditionally occupied by Dene Indians. Some, anyway, are chosen on the basis of their power to show how a lack of understanding of them results in lost chances in planning, or how a wise recognition of them assists in realizing societal opportunities or in planning going ahead smoothly.

They tend to coincide, furthermore, with discussion tokens of the kind previously examined. For that reason they ought to be easier to manipulate in an argument such as this one than stranger, more elaborate, perhaps nameless concepts. If a factor is highly abstruse, or not described in the literature, or of debatable significance, it has been omitted.

The twenty-odd factors of this thesis, however, ought to be enough to provide any Canadian reader, Euro-Canadian or Dene Canadian, with a lexicon of uniquely cross-cultural features of planning for a new national park on northern native lands rather than, one might say, on provincial Crown lands near the United States boundary. They ought to be enough, also, to reveal some of the strengths and weaknesses of Canadian national park planning in the North.

2.4 Categorization

Why, then, does the argument not use conventional categories of social, economic, and ecological phenomena all the way through the enumeration of factors? Why not use an off-the-shelf taxonomy?

The main reason is that some discussion tokens are hazardous to use precisely because they have had their rough edges worn down too much. To speak of Dene "local politics", for example, rather than Dene "decision-making", is to import a southern Canadian perception of things into a context where it makes a poor fit. Dene leaders are not chosen by the same kind of processes as the leaders of European peoples are, they must answer to different expectations, their motivation to lead, if any, may no whit resemble the motivation of a southern Canadian leader. Here the conventional vocabulary item is inappropriate and misleading; a new token must be assembled from more basic building blocks.

Sometimes there simply is no conventional token. "We are the land" is perhaps an example of an idea, and a phrase, which are just plain new to Canadian society as a whole.

Where they are "bicultural", as with "territorial government", or where they were invented to describe some specifically northern reality yet Euro-Canadians understand them (if only with a little explanation), there is surely no reason not to use the discussion tokens everyone is already familiar with. All that is needed is to define with exactitude that portion of their significance which a southern or Euro-Canadian reader might not be expected to be aware of as a matter of course.

Where to draw the line between standard and non-standard taxonomies is a matter of heuristic judgment. The trouble with the familiar categories of Western social science is that they are so familiar. Because this thesis argues that failure or success in perceiving uniquely northern considerations is critical in northern park planning, the aim is to delve into the unfamiliar: sometimes to see park planning through Dene or Inuit eyes, not the eyes of the Euro-Canadian social scientist. To such an end any taxonomy might be better than the usual one of costs and benefits, social and economic impacts, proponents and interveners, and the like, so unassailable, but often so culture-bound.

2.5 Ordination

As for the order in which the factors are presented, they must have an order, because prose is sequential. But it might be better if they did not, because sequence implies ranking, and with factors may be deceptive. Which factor is more "important" in the growth of a wild plant: light, water, nitrogen, carbon dioxide, depth of soil, trace minerals, competition? To some extent the proposed park planning factors do fall into a series which corresponds to this student's impression of the degree to which they preoccupy or might preoccupy Indian and Inuit thought — or maybe it is the degree to which a Euro-Canadian planner is surprised to learn they do affect native thinking. But other students would undoubtedly dispute the ranking

that might be inferred from the order in which the factors are presented here. Possibly it is wisest to eschew any imputation of a formal ranking of importance in the order of the factors.

In fact, some mischief is at work in the placement of what is a leading motive in the Euro-Canadian ethos, "economic benefits", near the bottom of the list. It is a piece of mischief that will be purposeful if it unsettles a predisposition to think of planning as inescapably fraught with one set of values, the set Euro-Canadian planners happen to hold dear themselves.[1]

---

[1] Yet such a priorization can be defended too. An article in Native Press, September 7, 1984, remarks that "Dene thinkers . . . consider the preservation of the identity and spirit of the Dene to be more important to the people's welfare than the practicalities of economics and political compromise."

3. Factors

Factor 1 -- "These mountains are our sacred places": native goals and Euro-Canadian goals

Factor 2 -- "We are the land": Dene and Denendeh, Inuit and Nunavut

Factor 3 -- Spiritual significance of land and wildlife

Factor 4 -- "Always ask"

Factor 5 -- Self-government

Factor 6 -- Aboriginal rights and the land claims negotiations

Factor 7 -- Territorial government

Factor 8 -- Native decision-making and the "Black Box"

Factor 9 -- Park proposals as disruptive forces

Factor 10 -- Social impacts anticipated from the park itself

Factor 11 -- Restrictions and practical problems

Factor 12 -- Changes in land and wildlife within a park

Factor 13 -- Park effects on surrounding territory

Factor 14 -- Joint management

Factor 15 -- Population growth

Factor 16 -- Boundary considerations

Factor 17 -- Moral atmosphere

Factor 18 -- Control

Factor 19 -- Economic benefits

Factor 20 -- The universe of alternatives

Factor 1 — "These mountains are our sacred places": native goals and Euro-Canadian goals

From their inception a little over a century ago, national parks, or more properly the awe-inspiring natural features often preserved within their boundaries, have been regarded as the North American equivalent of the great cathedrals, temples, and shrines of the Old World. In the secular 1980s, many Euro-Canadians revere such monuments as Lake Louise and Deadmen's Valley with what are in fact religious feelings. The irony is therefore the deeper when they are told by a displaced Indian nation such as the Stoneys, who want to have some of their ancestral rights reinstated in what is now Banff National Park, that "these mountains are our sacred places."[1] When two nations hold the same ground holy, but for different reasons, they had better have a good understanding of the purposes to which that ground is consecrated.

Planning itself begins with goals, and planning for land use in the Northwest Territories has to take into account the fact that Dene and Inuit goals are not the same as Euro-Canadian goals. Constance Hunt has written that "social goals and land use goals cannot be separated in the North."[2] However, to the extent that isolation

---

[1] See Chief John Snow, These Mountains Are Our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney Indians (Toronto: Samuel Stevens, 1977).

[2] Constance D. Hunt, "Approaches to Native Land Settlements and Implications for Northern Land Use and Resource Management Policies", in Robert F. Keith and Janet B. Wright, eds., Northern Transitions: Volume II: Second National Workshop on People, Resources and the Environment North of 60° (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1978), p. 34.

of Dene goals in land use is possible, those are, institutionally:

(D1) Protecting Dene aboriginal rights[3]

(D2) Preserving the Dene way of life -- culture, language, and economy[4]

(D3) Creating a political jurisdiction in the North which serves Dene interests: "a political system that will embody Dene values, that will reflect the Dene style and form of political organization, and that will provide a just and efficient government"[5]

(D4) Protecting the natural environment according to Dene traditions: "The Charter of Founding Principles will . . . entrench the harmonious relationship of the Dene with the physical environment as the basis for environmental laws"[6]

(D5) Regaining control of land use planning and development and management of natural resources[7]

---

[3]Dene Nation, Public Government for the People of the North (Yellowknife: The Dene Nation, 1982), p. 3.

[4]Dene Nation, Public Government, p. 9.

[5]Dene Nation, Public Government, p. 3.

[6]Dene Nation, Public Government, pp. 7 and 9.

[7]Dene Nation, Public Government, p. 13.

(D6) Delegating responsibility for land use planning and management chiefly to the band or community government level.[8]

Explicit Euro-Canadian goals in national park planning and establishment, expressed through the institution of Parks Canada, are

(E1) Protection of examples of the natural and cultural heritage of Canada[9]

(E2) Encouragement of public understanding, appreciation, and enjoyment of this heritage

(E3) Provision of "benchmarks" which Canadians may use to take the measure of the rest of their country

(E4) Reinforcement of national unity

(E5) Provision of opportunities for education, recreation, and inspiration.

There are few points of contact between these two sets of goals. Pairwise, (D2) and (E1) ought to be compatible, inasmuch as the Dene want to preserve their cultural heritage and so should Parks Canada. However, it is only recently that Parks Canada has shown much interest in preserving living local cultures for their own sake and not as a means of buying agreement with a province or concord with local

---

[8]Dene Nation, Public Government, p. 13.

[9]Goals (E1)-(E5) are drawn from Parks Canada, Parks Canada Policy (Ottawa: Minister of the Environment, 1982), p. 11.

people over the establishment of a new park.[10] Goals (D4) and (E1) are similar superficially, and perhaps similar at root; but the rightful relationship of man with nature according to Dene views of the matter does not equate with protection of nature as Euro-Canadians see it. In any case, when Euro-Canadians think about man's proper place in nature, they think about it in terms of a lifetime, as economists teach them to, or perhaps a century or two.[11] The "future generations" referred to by section 4 of the National Parks Act cannot be extensive for a technological civilization in which change occurs with bewildering speed. When native Canadians consider how man and nature should coexist, they normally have in mind millenia of stability and sustainable resource use.

Except for these two cases of overlap, Parks Canada can persuade the Dene that a new national park is to their advantage only by drawing attention to objectives the two parties share, though they see them as desirable for different reasons. One example of such an objective is sequestration of large areas of land in its natural state. Parks Canada strives for large parks, among other reasons, because the larger the park the sounder its ecological integrity. For their part, some native land claims negotiators favour the idea of large parks

---

[10] Peter Crabb, "Gros Morne National Park, Newfoundland, and Parks Canada Policies", Environmental Conservation, Vol. 8, No. 4, Winter 1981, p. 326; and Tom Kovacs, "Northern National Parks and Native People: The Canadian Experience", unpublished paper submitted to the First World Conference on Cultural Parks, Mesa Verde National Park, 1984, p. 7.

[11] Lloyd Brooks and Harold Eidsvik, National Park Potentials, Northwest Territories and Yukon: Report of Field Operation and Recommendations (Ottawa: National Parks Branch, 1963), p. 14.

because such parks will represent areas where native people will retain subsistence rights above and beyond those they can expect to have in their corporation land and the public lands at large.

As individual citizens, the Dene may espouse some or all of the national park goals Canadians as a whole have defined for themselves. But it is a commonplace, and inescapable, that sub-organizations within larger organizations have goals of their own. As Peter Crabb observes, as much was true of the Province of Newfoundland during negotiations for the creation of Gros Morne National Park.[12] No prudent planner, therefore, would assume the Dene collectively, being Canadians, must see the good in national parks. They may not, now or ever.

Factor 2 - "We are the land": Dene and Denendeh, Inuit and Nunavut

"We are the land," in a phrase of Biblical simplicity, poses a riddle for Euro-Canadian understanding.[13]

The Chipewyan word "dene" (or its variants, Dogrib "done", Slavey "gotine", Beaver "deneza", and so on) means "people". But it does not mean just any people; rather, it now refers to a widespread language family; and still more specifically, to the native Indian

---

[12] Crabb, "Gros Morne", throughout.

[13] This exact phrase is attributed to Willie Joe, former vice-chairman of economic development of the Council for Yukon Indians, in the Whitehorse Star, Friday, October 26, 1984; but the same sentiment is often expressed in words that are almost identical.

people of the Mackenzie River valley. "Denendeh", a recently coined word, means "land of the people" — in a sense so subtle that few southern Canadians are likely to understand it unless it has been explained to them at length.[14]

In the first place, Denendeh (pronounced DEN-en-day) includes all the lands of the Northwest Territories which were home to speakers of Athapascan languages within the past two or three centuries if not longer. If Athapascan lands in the Yukon, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and the United States are not regarded as being part of Denendeh, it is solely because of the realities of modern geopolitics. Dene leaders in the Northwest Territories care about and feel kinship with Dene elsewhere. However, they must deal with a Euro-Canadian and Euro-American political system which has divided up the North American continent in ways not their own.

Consequently, Denendeh is the homeland of several tribal collectivities: the Chipewyan, Slavey, Dogrib, Mountain, Bearlake, Kutchin (or Loucheux), and Hareskin. Cree and Métis living in Denendeh are also regarded as Dene.[15] It would be the homeland of these groups even if not one member of them lived in it today, just as the homeland of an Italian immigrant to Canada is Italy, and would be, whatever happened to Italy. For a Chipewyan living in Yellowknife, or in

---

[14]Dene Nation, Public Government, p. 6.

[15]Dene Nation, Denendeh: A Dene Celebration (Yellowknife and Toronto: The Dene Nation and McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1984), p. 10.

Edmonton, his or her homeland is the territory occupied traditionally by his or her ancestors. In the language of the first half of this century, it is the "old country."

Having a homeland is essential for virtually every normal human being. And as the Jewish and Palestinian people have so fiercely demonstrated, the human heart needs a homeland with the mother culture persisting in it, continuing a living culture and a living language. Dene people therefore want at least some part of their traditionally occupied lands to be a place where their culture, their language, their government, and their economy can survive autonomously. After all, unlike most other Canadians, they can turn to no other territory to which these features of human existence are indigenous or have been transplanted.

Dene and Denendeh are related philosophically as well as emotionally. "The land, and all it provides for our people, has been the very spirit of the Dene way of life. From the land came our religion . . . from the land came our life . . . from the land came our powerful medicine . . . ."[16] According to the original Dene religious beliefs, the human world and the natural world interpenetrate each other to an extent unimagined in Western thought. If a Chipewyan hunter spoke disrespectfully of a caribou, he would pay for such sacrilege by poor hunting success in the future.[17] Dreams instructed

---

[16] Dene Nation, Denendeh, p. 93.

[17] Gabriel Breynat, Bishop of the Winds (New York: P.J. Kennedy Sons, 1955), p. 54.

a Beaver on what game to pursue and what wild plants not to eat.[18]

Place repeatedly entered into this concept of man and nature as a single system. The supernatural power of Dene shamans could draw game to a particular locality for the benefit of a particular band, investing place with spiritual qualities enduring for generations.[19]

Places often had, and have, intrinsic spiritual power. Rivers, for example, harboured spirits which had to be placated with small gifts before people might safely travel on them, and the spirit of each river was unique. Sometimes in addition a place would have inspirational meaning because it figured in the legends of the timeless past. Bear Rock, for instance, at the junction of the Mackenzie and Bear Rivers, has its curious shape explained in the Dene legend of Yamoria; and it matters so much to the Dene even today that it appears on the Denendeh national emblem.[20]

It is important to observe that the spiritual interrelationship was between a particular tract of land and a particular human population. Strangers to Chipewyan land might be immune to the effects of breaking some religious injunction binding Chipewyan mankind and this or that animal species, as the priest Gabriel Breynat was when he killed a caribou in a forbidden way.[21] Alternatively, different

---

[18] June Helm, volume editor, Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 6, Subarctic (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981), p. 356.

[19] Richard K. Nelson, Make Prayers to the Raven: A Koyukon View of the Northern Forest (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 204-205.

[20] Dene Nation, Public Government, p. 1.

[21] Breynat, Bishop of the Winds, p. 54.

peoples in their own homelands might have different manners of relating to the natural and supernatural inhabitants of their countries because they had different mythological origins. The Loucheux have a story of their origins which involves hares;[22] the Dogribs one involving dogs.[23]

Many individual sites in Denendeh of course have a history or meaning peculiar to the Dene people, or particular bands of them. These include graveyards or places where people have died, former village sites, places of assembly, caribou crossings, and fishing grounds. Certainly immigrant Canadians in the North also have their special places. The difference is that for the Dene every site in Denendeh has a "unique resource potential,"[24] known only to them, and in the case of certain tribes the associations go back thousands of years instead of the one or two centuries of European settlers. Several archeologists now go so far as to contend that over the millenia the distribution of caribou herds in the Canadian North actually determined tribal and band ranges.[25] For example, the people whose descendants live at Snowdrift occupied a territory defined by the movements of the Bathurst caribou herd.[26]

---

[22]Emile Petitot, The Book of Dene (Yellowknife: Department of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories, 1976), pp. 61-64.

[23]Petitot, Book of Dene, pp. 17-19.

[24]Richard Nelson, Make Prayers to the Raven, pp. 202 and 204.

[25]Bryan H.C. Gordon, Of Men & Herds in Barrenland Prehistory (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975; Helm, Handbook, pp. 80, 86, etc.

[26]Helm, Handbook, p. 285.

While it is true that Dene belief systems have been profoundly influenced by Christianity and twentieth-century secularism, the idea of Dene-Denendeh unity remains perfectly solid, for three reasons. First, the old beliefs have not died out, as Roman Catholic priests cheerfully admitted during the 1984 visit of Pope John-Paul II to Canada. Secondly, individual Dene, having grown up in Denendeh, know from observation of transient civil servants, oil workers, and businessmen that almost no one else cares about their land as they do, no one else loves it enough to regard it as a good place to live all his life, and no one else has nowhere else to call "home". Thirdly, contemporary and subsequent generations of Dene leaders are not likely to let Dene beliefs die out, as the strength of their leadership is augmented with new resources of literacy, communications networks, organizational skill, and political experience.

As a result, the Dene are obligated to maintain an interest in, and their responsibility for, all the lands they have traditionally occupied, no matter what the status of any particular tract of that land after a land claims settlement may be. To do otherwise would be for the Dene to deprive themselves of a homeland, to disrupt the natural order of things, to deny their own history, and to lose their self-reliance. In their view, the Dene alive today are the guardians of Denendeh. They received it unimpaired from their ancestors. They

must pass it along unimpaired to their descendants.[27] They may invite strangers to share the land with them; but they must have powers of oversight in what those strangers do, because of the dire practical and spiritual consequences of mistakes. As Steve Kakfwi, president of the Dene Nation, said shortly before the visit of the Pope to the Northwest Territories, "The Dene people were put in a special place to take care of a part of the world. We turned the land into our own Bible."[28]

Dene and Denendeh are not like Yeat's egg with two yolks in it. They are like the yolk and white within a single shell.

And so it is with the Inuit and Nunavut.

Factor 3 — Spiritual significance of land and wildlife

Canadian Indian and Inuit religions have changed a great deal under the influence of Christianity and secularism, obviously. Nonetheless, some aspects of those religions, and in particular of the

---

[27] Richard K. Nelson says people like the Dene may have created no great monuments, "but they have left something that may be unique -- greater and more significant as a human achievement. This legacy is the vast land itself, enduring and essentially unchanged despite having supported human life for countless centuries." Such people and their ancestors, "bound to a strict code of morality governing their behavior toward nature, have been the land's stewards and caretakers. Only because they have nurtured it so well does this great legacy of land exist today." (Make Prayers to the Raven, p. 246.)

[28] News/North, Friday, September 14, 1984 (Volume 39, issue 18).

belief systems of the Dene, persist in the 1930s. They permeated the cultural milieu of men and women who were born eighty, seventy, sixty, or even fifty years ago, and those persons are now the respected elders of their communities. The younger chiefs, councillors, land claims negotiators, and ordinary band members, after two or three decades of revolutionary change in their lives, and as they re-establish confidence in their ethnic identity, have turned to the elders for wisdom, experience, traditional lore, and spiritual guidance. What the elders tell them, again and again, and what they know intuitively to be true, is that their land and the living things upon it are sacred.

> According to Stanley Isiah of Fort Simpson, as spoken at the Fort Norman Dene National Assembly in August 1979, the symbol of the three beaver pelts on Bear Rock Mountain, the forever burning fire upriver from that mountain, are signs on the land set there as a reminder of the teachings of the legends. Stanley said that if we remember the teachings of the legends and live them, if we take the sign set on the land for us as our symbol, we will never have any trouble surviving as a nation.[29]

How are Dene land and wildlife sacred? In the first place, in the aboriginal belief system of the Dene the entire natural world was perceived as being merely the outward and visible expression of an interconnected network of spiritual forces and entities. Animals had souls, more or less powerful and irritable according to species, wild plants might have the property of being lucky or unlucky, and inanimate aspects of the environment such as weather, topography, or

---

[29] Dene Nation, Public Government, p. 1.

soil were capable of malignity or benevolence.[30] In the folk tales of the Dene spiritual causation may link players in the natural world which have no significant ecological relationship with each other, as when "The male eagle brings snow and the female makes the rain."[31]

Because of the interconnectedness of the spiritual-and-natural world, elements of the natural world might affect human luck, or fate; and human rituals might appease or win the favour of forces resident in what appears to be merely a bear, or merely a wolverine. Even wild animals themselves could act upon each other ritually.[32] The land "is . . . sensitive to human behavior, because the natural and human communities originated together in the Distant Time and have never become completely separate."[33] Land and wildlife are therefore potentially dangerous to human beings in a fashion which goes beyond what damage they can do with landslide or flood or tooth or hoof. The danger they represent evokes religious awe.

For the traditional Dene, land and wildlife are sacred also because of their antiquity and the fact that they share a common origin with humanity, interacting in Nelson's "Distant Time"[34] more intimately

---

[30] Richard Nelson, Make Prayers to the Raven, p. 21 and throughout.

[31] Petitot, Book of Dene, p. 20.

[32] Richard Nelson, Make Prayers to the Raven, p. 21.

[33] Richard Nelson, Make Prayers to the Raven, p. 33; see also pp. 76 and 103.

[34] Richard Nelson, Make Prayers to the Raven, p. 227.

than they do today. (In the beginning, according to the Dene legends, animals could speak like humans and had human emotions and motivations.) All around Dene country, and in the life of it, are reminders of a mythological past imbued with deep significance, exactly as the Middle East is scattered with monuments of Biblical and Koranic times, to defend or gain possession of which modern nations are prepared to go to war.

Lastly, contemporary Dene love and revere their land for its own sake; its beauty, complexity, and wholeness. "They perceive artistic elegance in the form of the land and living things, much the same as in our Western culture."[35] That is, they love and revere it precisely the way it is. And that which cannot be changed without being impaired, one may argue, is something sacred.

Richard Nelson has drawn up a useful summary of the spiritual beliefs of the Koyukon people of Alaska. Although he cautions against applying propositions true of the Koyukon to other native peoples, the Koyukon themselves are of the same Athapascan language and culture family as the Dene tribes — some of them indeed live in Yukon Territory, adjacent to lands claimed by the Dene Nation — and a selection of his points, independently verifiable,[36] can be made with equal validity of the traditional beliefs of the Dene people of the Mackenzie Valley:

---

[35]Richard Nelson, Make Prayers to the Raven, p. 45; see also pp. 44, 46, and 57, and Dene Nation, Denendeh, throughout.

[36]See for example James W. Vanstone, Athapascan Adaptations: Hunters and Fishermen of the Subarctic Forests (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1974).

1. All animals, some plants, and some elements of the physical environment possess spirits and spiritual power.[37]

2. Spirits of natural entities have different amounts of power.

3. The source of pre-eminent spiritual power is the earth itself.

4. Environmental events are often caused or influenced by spiritual forces; they apparently do not occur randomly but happen through design and consciousness.

5. Human behaviour toward natural entities is governed by spiritually based rules. Their basic purpose is to show respect, or avoid disrespect, for all natural entities, in accordance with a code of etiquette and morality.

6. Powerful spirits tend to be highly sensitive, vindictive, and dangerous.

7. The physical environment is spiritual, conscious, and subject to rules of respectful behaviour.

8. Offensive behaviour toward natural entities is punished by bad luck, illness, or death.

9. Applicability of rules is contingent on belief.

10. Natural entities can be propitiated.

---

[37] All ten points are derived from Richard Nelson, Make Prayers to the Raven, pp. 228-234.

Factor 4 -- "Always Ask"

According to the anthropologist Fred Myers, among the Pintupi aborigines of the Australian Western Desert "to 'own' something is to have the right to be asked for it."[38] Expressed a little more amply, the idea is that "Pintupi are very concerned that they be consulted over matters in which they have rights, and this is particularly true in matters concerning land." Indeed, it is "The first law of Aboriginal morality -- 'Always ask!'"[39]

Myers reports that permission to forage over or otherwise utilize owned land is seldom withheld by the Pintupi. So what is the significance of the asking?

> For the Pintupi, to own something is to have the right to be asked about it. The norms of kinship and general reciprocity . . . force one to grant the request, but one should be asked. Given the political economy of Pintupi social life, what do they seek to gain as "value" here, and what do they lose? What they seek is prestige, the chance to be first among equals . . ., or more properly, I think, to maintain personal autonomy. All of this is satisfied when others recognize one's rights; recognition achieved, what else is to be gained by forbidding access?[40]

Although these observations are made of a people half the world away from Canada, different from the indigenous peoples of the

---

[38] Fred R. Myers, "Always Ask: Resource Use and Land Ownership among the Pintupi Aborigines of the Australian Western Desert", in Nancy M. Williams and Eugene S. Hunn, eds., Resource Managers: North American and Australian Hunter-Gatherers (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc., 1982), p. 173.

[39] Myers, "Always Ask", p. 134.

[40] Myers, "Always Ask", p. 185.

North in language, culture, race, and history, and although they pertain to individuals rather than groups, they are nevertheless expressive of a truth about the Dene and other Canadian native peoples. In evidence thereof, there is the repeated Dene demand that they be consulted on resource developments affecting their lands. There were the almost palpable relief, excitement, and satisfaction Mr. Justice Thomas R. Berger met with when it became clear that for once the federal government really was first "asking" before going ahead with the Mackenzie Valley pipeline system. There is the resistance of native communities to intrusions into their land when permission has not been sought from them, and their assent to the same intrusive projects when permission has at least tacitly been a prerequisite -- the way the village of Wrigley first opposed, then welcomed, the northward extension of the Mackenzie Highway being a case in point.

Precisely because native people have usually had a very different conception of the ownership and uses of land from that of new Canadians, they have not normally seen themselves as being in competition with those others. They have received them warmly as individuals, and as a rule they have not opposed the opening up of mines or towns or national parks.[41] But they do have their own sense of ownership to

---

[41] See René Fumoleau, As Long As This Land Shall Last: A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, 1870-1939 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973), throughout, but especially p. 192; and Dene Nation, Denendeh, p. 62, in which Georges Erasmus is quoted as saying, "If you look at either pipelines, or sawmills, or dams, or new mines, we are not against any of those kinds of things. What we are saying is that development should be orderly, it should be planned, it should be at the pace of the local people, it should benefit local people."

be assuaged, just as a southern Canadian in his back yard or on his family farm has a sense of property which must be assuaged in its peculiar way before he will permit trespassing by neighbours wanting to trim overhanging trees or by hunters hoping to shoot ducks. The physical repercussions, although important, matter less than the psychological ones. The owner must be asked; to own land in the native Canadian sense is not so much to have legal title as to have the right to be asked; and not to be asked is not really to own: which can be a devastating intimation to a people for whom their land of occupation is as priceless and as much a part of their self-identity as other parts of this dissertation strive to show it is.

In personal conversation Chief Lockhart verifies that the need and right to be asked are fundamental elements in the Snowdrift Dene attitude towards national park negotiations. The Lu Tsel K'e expect to be consulted about land use during land claim negotiations, of course; but they want to be asked about land use on such territory as they might surrender, too. In that manner they will never cease to be "owners" of all the lands they have inherited from their forefathers. They will not blindly oppose development. But they will not fail their trust to pass those lands on to their children, either.

Factor 5 — Self-Government

It is hard for Euro-Canadians to comprehend and accept that Canadian native groups are the descendants of independent, self-

governing nations — the "First Nations", as they are called today. Over the course of one or two centuries native peoples have gradually lost their autonomy and control over their own affairs to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, to the provincial governments, and to the unrelenting advance of frontiers of many different kinds. Without, in most cases, having lost a war, and without, in their view, ever having signed a treaty surrendering their right to determine their own future, they have become wards of the Canadian state. Southern Canadians sometimes are so naive as to wonder out loud why the native people have not succeeded in integrating themselves into the larger society.

Canadian native people for the most part do not necessarily want to integrate themselves into the larger society, and they do not regard themselves as belonging, first and foremost, to the Canadian nation-state. As an ideal in the 1980s, the Dene in particular want to resume many of the responsibilities of a sovereign nation, not just in fields normally reserved to a province in Canada, but also in such typically federal jurisdictions as navigation, communications, labour and employment, and relations with other (in this case aboriginal) nations.[44]

Self-government for First Nations in the 1980s might mean a third level of government (the first and second levels being federal and provincial); or delegated authority from the federal government;

---

[44]Dene Nation, Public Government, pp. 7-9.

a relationship that now holds between the federal and territorial governments; or definition of the powers of native governments and their protection in the Canadian Constitution. It is this last option which is preferred by the Assembly of First Nations, and with the assembly the Dene Nation.

Even if the Dene people accept a settlement of their land claim which is less far-reaching than what they would like,[44] it is essential for anyone thinking about land use in the western Northwest Territories to know what their bargaining position is, because such knowledge provides insight into the ideals the Dene have in land use. As the Dene have conceived of it, the western Northwest Territories below the tree line would become a "province-like jurisdiction" called "Denendeh". ("Denendeh" here has a meaning related to, but not quite the same as, its sense as "homeland of the Dene people.") Some of the land would be owned by the Dene people outright, as "Exclusive Dene Land". The rest, excepting private property, would be owned and managed by the government of Denendeh.[45]

Upon these public lands controlled by the government of Denendeh "the aboriginal right of the Dene to hunt, fish and trap . . . will take precedence over all other use of the resource." As a rationale for such a broad condition, as well as the more familiar "exclu-

---

[44]As reported in News/North on July 27, 1984, they have retrenched their bargaining position to one in which they no longer claim title to all the 450,000 square miles of their ancestral lands; control over those lands would be asserted through joint management boards — and through parks.

[45]Dene Nation, Public Government, pp. 3, 6, and 10f.

sive" reserves, the presidents of the Dene Nation and Métis Association of the Northwest Territories state that special features of a public government in the North are required "to protect and enhance the rights of native people." More explicitly, "it is our long history as a distinct people pursuing a distinct way of life on the land," and the legitimate desire to "continue to enjoy our way of life," that justify what might otherwise be seen as a racial-linguistic-cultural bias in the quality of different classes of citizenship in Denendeh.[46]

Denendeh would not have the same division of powers as is typical of existing Canadian provinces. Most pertinently to the subject of national parks, the municipalities of Denendeh, otherwise called "community governments", would have wide responsibilities in natural resources -- and presumably geographic boundaries extensive enough to make those responsibilities meaningful. Community governments would be pre-eminent in community land use planning and development; environmental matters; management of renewable resources; and management of non-renewable resources. Because Dene are in the majority in the south-western Northwest Territories, and lengthy residence requirements will help them remain a majority of the electorate for a long time to come, most community governments would be dominated by Dene opinion; and in fact such governments would most commonly be composed of a chief and council, elected by the community assembly, exactly as is the case in most Dene-majority communities today.[47]

---

[46] Dene Nation, Public Government, pp. 3 and 5.

[47] Dene Nation, Public Government, p. 13f.

In short, the Dene intend to have an absolute say or strong voice in all land-use decisions taken in the south-west Northwest Territories. For the most part they would like to see the local communities responsible for planning and managing natural resource development. However, some arm of the Dene Nation, perhaps a corporation, would be involved in the planning and management of certain other tracts of land.

Factor 6 — Aboriginal Rights and the Land Claims Negotiations

As of mid-1985, all the Canadian North except a block of territory around the Mackenzie delta and Yukon north slope was subject to land claims. (The exceptions were covered by a settlement reached between the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement and the federal government in summer 1984.) Some of these lands have never been covered by treaties between the Canadian government and their aboriginal owners. Where treaties do exist, court opinions have established that they have been vitiated by deception, misunderstanding, and government failure to live up to their terms. (See Introduction.)

Ownership of traditionally occupied land is one kind of aboriginal right. Other aboriginal rights include the right to hunt, fish, trap, and carry on other subsistence activities; the right to language and culture; the right to some measure of self-government and self-determination; the right to practise one's own religion and customs; and the right of one aboriginal people to conduct relations with other

aboriginal peoples.[48] The list of rights is indeterminate because native people believe, and government legal documents tend to recognize, that aboriginal rights are retained in negotiated agreements unless explicitly extinguished. Native people generally want to enshrine aboriginal rights in the Canadian Constitution.

Negotiation of the Dene land claim has been proceeding for about ten years. Some landmarks in the history of the negotiation, as seen by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, are as follows:[49]

1970 — Indian Brotherhood of the N.W.T. (IBNWT) established (now known as Dene Nation)

1973 — IBNWT applies for caveat alleging interest in land. N.W.T. Supreme Court upholds right to file caveat, but federal government appeals decision and N.W.T. Appeal Court upholds appeal, stating that caveats cannot be filed against unpatented Crown lands. Decision later confirmed by Supreme Court of Canada. In meantime, federal government agrees to negotiate with IBNWT on grounds that Indian people never received compensation set out in treaties.

1974 — IBNWT and Métis Association of N.W.T. announce they will seek a single land settlement on behalf of all native people ("Dene") in Mackenzie Valley region and demand that federal government formally recognize their aboriginal title to the 1,165,000 square kilometres of the valley.

1975 — Joint general assembly of the two associations makes public "Dene Declaration" and "Dene Manifesto", reasserting their interest in the land and asking for recognition by Canada and the world of the "Dene Nation". This concept rejected by Minister of Indian Affairs in public statement September 10, 1975.

---

[48] A more exhaustive enumeration is presented in Michael Asch, Home and Native Land: Aboriginal Rights and the Canadian Constitution (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1984), p. 6.

[49] Derived from Office of Native Claims, Fact Sheets on Native Claims (Ottawa: Office of Native Claims, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1983).

1976 — IBNWT submits claim proposal to federal government in form of "Statement of Rights" and "Agreement in Principle". Proposed agreement seeks establishment (within Confederation) of "Dene Government with jurisdiction over a geographical area and over subject-matters now within the jurisdiction of ~~either the~~ Government of Canada or the Government of the N.W.T.," and including such matters as land ownership; control over non-renewable resource development; protection of hunting, fishing, and trapping rights; preservation of Dene language and culture; and compensation for "past use of Dene land by non-Dene."

1977 — Prime Minister rejects concept of separate "Dene Nation".

1981 — Negotiations begin with Dene in Yellowknife.

— Dene informed inclusion of constitutional-political development cannot be resolved in claims forum.

1982 — Memorandum of understanding on process signed.

1983 — Interim agreement on eligibility ratified at Dene assembly.

1984 — Dene narrow scope of land claimed and powers sought; new position is based on control of and benefits from land and resources and does not deal with political development, health services, or education — these latter items to be negotiated in other forums on the basis of aboriginal rights.

On the federal government side, national park interests in land claims negotiations are handled in the following way. First, there is a division between chief negotiators and senior negotiators. The chief negotiator is a kind of political officer, having access to ministers and deputy ministers whenever necessary to clarify government intentions. Office of Native Claims negotiators, on the other hand, look after the day-to-day affairs of claim negotiation. The senior negotiator for the Dene claim, for example, with his staff of a lawyer and two or three assistants, gathers information on the claim; ascertains which federal departments have an interest in the claim and seeks out public servants in them for their input; and meets with

representatives of the Dene, on average once a month, either in Ottawa or in the North.

Parks Canada is not directly a client of the senior negotiator. Rather, it makes formal input through the deputy minister for Environment Canada. Informally, it may have contacts with the negotiators. However, its sectoral interests are very definitely subordinate to larger federal government perspectives. As an instance, one negotiator gave it as his opinion that the federal government in early 1984 was quite prepared to trade concessions in wildlife for gains in dollar matters.

Nancy Weeks, in her sympathetic study comparing how native people fare in Australian, New Zealand, Scandinavian, and Alaskan national parks as against Canadian, recommends:

> That Parks Canada conduct a study of the process of land claim negotiation in conjunction with native groups to determine what role at what stage Parks Canada should play in the settlement process in order to attain maximum benefits.
>
> There are two apparent alternatives: Parks Canada can await the outcome of a negotiation process and attempt to deal with the victors . . . or Parks Canada can seek ways of becoming involved in the negotiations. . . . There is, however, a third alternative which only becomes realistic if Parks Canada . . . affirms the positive values of native involvement in northern parks as opposed to the 'toleration with reservation' attitude implied by existing policy: in this event, it would be possible for native peoples and Parks Canada to come to some understanding prior to the entry of resource exploitation interests at the opening of the negotiation process.[50]

---

[50]Nancy C. Weeks, National Parks and Native Peoples: A Study of the Experience of Selected Other Jurisdictions with a View to Cooperation in Northern Canada (Unpublished, 1981), p. 7.

Later she explains that the presence of Parks Canada would help "countervail other governmental interests in the north."[51]

Parks Canada literature, on the other hand, commonly lapses into phrasing that seems to infer traditional native subsistence activities on park lands might cease with the consummation of land claims settlement. A common wording is "pending land claims settlements- hunting, trapping, and fishing by local people of native origin can continue in the park area."[52] All indications are that the thinking behind such gerundive qualifiers is either wishful or mistaken.

Except for the Yukon north slope park called into existence by the summer 1984 Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement settlement, the outcome of land claims negotiations is not expected to be specific parks. Rather, it will be some agreement on the nature of such parks as might be established on native-become-federal lands. Details to be part of a settlement might include guarantees of subsistence rights, provisions for joint management, a reserved right to commercial hunting, economic benefits.

For the Dene, the negotiating bodies are the Dene Nation and the Métis Association of the Northwest Territories, which since 1983 have had a combined "Dene-Métis Negotiations Secretariat". The Secretariat is a working association of the two groups and requires con-

---

[51] Weeks, National Parks and Native Peoples, p. 96.

[52] Parks Canada, Nahanni National Park Reserve Newsletter, Number 3, March 1984.

tinual direction from the two executives.[53] Actual negotiation is handled by a chief negotiator and a lawyer.

From time to time large, contentious issues are taken by the Dene Nation and Métis executives to the Dene National Assembly and Métis assemblies, where a consensus is worked out as everyone speaks who wishes to speak. On an ongoing basis, the fact that chiefs are on the Dene Nation executive ensures that local community concerns are continuously taken into account. Local aspects of the land claim are documented through a long-term and massive research project conducted by the Dene Nation with funds advanced to it by the federal government on the understanding that they will be deducted from any future settlement.

Most recently, Dene thinking on the topic of negotiated extinguishment of aboriginal rights has come down to two options. The preferred option is for native groups to "put to sleep" their rights in certain areas rather than to agree to extinguish them.

> As native groups negotiated certain elements of their claim, they would agree to put those rights to sleep. If at some time in the future the agreements made with the federal government were not fulfilled, then those rights could be revived. . . . If native people could revive their rights, then the federal government would not lightly break agreements made with native people as they have done so often in the past.
>
> The second option discussed would involve extinguishment of rights in very specific areas as agreements covering those areas were reached in the negotiating process.[54]

---

[53] News/North, October 19, 1984.

[54] News/North, December 7, 1984.

In the memorandum of understanding between the Minister of Environment Canada and the Minister of Economic Development and Tourism of the Government of the Northwest Territories, the fourth item under "Terms and Conditions" is "The Parties agree that neither the signing of this Memorandum of Understanding nor the establishment of a national park reserve shall prejudice the settlement of native claims."[55]

Factor 7 — Territorial Government

Currently the Northwest Territories are not self-governing in the same sense as the ten southern provinces of Canada. A federally appointed commissioner is advised by a council -- the Legislative Assembly -- which also chooses from among its own members an "Executive Committee", or cabinet. Although the commissioner must act with the consent of the council as well as its advice, federal legislation overrides any territorial legislation in the areas of ownership and control of land and resources. Moreover, the federal Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has veto power over all legislation passed by the Legislative Assembly within one year of enactment. Most of the territorial budget is underwritten by Ottawa.[56]

---

[55]Anonymous, Memorandum of Understanding for the Establishment of a Reserve for a National Park on Ellesmere Island (no date).

[56]Special Committee on Constitutional Development, Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories, A Comparison of the Government of the Northwest Territories and the Denendeh Government Proposal (Yellowknife: Northwest Territories Information, 1982).

Persons of Dene extraction figure prominently in the territorial government; in fact, in January 1984 a former acting president of the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories was chosen as Government Leader. Dene leaders have encouraged more and more participation in the territorial government, explaining that "we do recognize territorial council as an important platform from which to fight for much needed changes to the existing system."[57]

Yet the Dene say the territorial government is not their government: "The Government of the NWT represents the interests of the non-Dene at the negotiating table;"[58] and "It is impossible for bodies such as the Territorial Council to be a part of the negotiating process, as this would imply that non-Dene in the North have a legitimate interest separate from the Federal Government. This is not the case."[59] The territorial government cannot escape being alien to the Dene, because it is an exotic institution.

For its part, the territorial government sees itself as representative of all the people within its jurisdiction, including the Dene and Inuit. Indeed, it makes special efforts to promote the particular interests of native people, as it sees them. For example, the

---

[57]Dene Nation, Denendeh, p. 38.

[58]Dene Nation, Public Government, p. 21.

[59]Dene Nation, Agreement in Principle Between the Dene Nation and Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada (Yellowknife: Dene Nation, 1976), p. 9.

Northwest Territories policy on tourism is to develop and promote tourism only "in those communities which are ready and interested in being involved in the industry, and where a tourism wage economy is judged by the community residents to be compatible and complementary to their lifestyles."[60] This principle is directed to the fact that many native individuals and communities are uncomfortable with strangers and will not sacrifice tradition for money. A rule of thumb such as "the tourism industry should not compete with hunters and trappers for scarce natural resources"[61] benefits native people almost exclusively, because very few persons except native people can satisfy the grandfather clause which gives one the right to hunt or trap in the Territories.

Concerning national parks, N.W.T. government policy is very clearly enunciated in position papers and in the terms of agreements with Parks Canada.[62] Most of the principles laid down in the papers speak equally for native and non-native residents, but some voice the concerns of native people solely. These include the strictures that establishment of national parks should not prejudice the outcome of

---

[60] Department of Economic Development and Tourism, Government of the Northwest Territories, Community Based Tourism: A Strategy for the Northwest Territories Tourism Industry (Yellowknife: Government of the Northwest Territories, 1983), p. 10.

[61] Department of Economic Development and Tourism, Community Based Tourism, p. 11.

[62] See especially Department of Economic Development and Tourism, Government of the Northwest Territories, Principles Concerning the Establishment, Development and Operation of New National Parks in the N.W.T. (Yellowknife: Government of the Northwest Territories, no date).

the land claims process or interfere with resource harvesting by residents of nearby communities and that the responsibilities of hunters' and trappers' associations should not be restricted through park establishment without prior consent.

The extent to which these principles influence actual negotiations between the Government of the Northwest Territories and the federal government (through Parks Canada) may be assessed by studying the memoranda of understanding on the establishment of a national park reserve on Ellesmere Island. On brief inspection, they seem to have been lived up to.

Factor 3 -- Native decision-making and the "black box"

Native decision-making is properly the subject-matter of the anthropologist or sociologist and the political scientist, not the planner. However, the mere fact that practitioners of two or three separate disciplines must be named is itself sufficient indication why knowledge of this subject cannot be obtained "off the shelf." For the Dene themselves, like the Inuit, have two phases to their decision-making, one that continues the customs of their centuries-old history and another that constitutes a novel institutional response to the need to deal with Euro-Canadian political bodies and processes. It is up to the planner to learn when he needs the anthropologist's understanding of tradition, when he needs the political scientist's understanding of institution, and when he needs both.

The traditional heart of all Dene decision-making is consensus.

> Extended families have been the basic unit of Dene society. Children are easily adopted between families and the sharing of food is strongly emphasized. Through a consensual process, each group recognizes a leader, usually an elder, who has the respect of all. This consensus form of government is the foundation of the Dene Nation. It ensures participation and responsibility in decision-making by everyone. Thus, the real power stays with the people rather than being delegated to one person or group.[63]

> Consensus begins with a respect for one's own rights and assuming the responsibility to achieve these rights. Therefore, the limit on the amount of responsibility and authority that can be delegated to others is very real.[64]

If the amount of responsibility and authority that can be delegated to others is strictly limited, decision-making by the Dene must involve all Dene as individuals, not just their leaders on their behalf. Involvement must be in the active form of discussion rather than the passive form of attending a debate. Active discussion implies that dealings between Dene leaders and outside bodies must be open and public;[65] perhaps even conspicuous in an exaggerated way.

Atop the consensual core of the decision-making process is a veneer of formal band or national political proceedures. These are fairly simple and for the most part have been imposed by the need of the band or the national organization to carry on business with federal or provincial governments. A "band council resolution" becomes

---

[63] Dene Nation, Denendeh, p. 11.

[64] Dene Nation, Public Government, p. 21.

[65] Dene Nation, Public Government, p. 22.

law when it has been signed by a quorum of chief and council. Major decisions must be presented to the community in an open meeting before the federal government will become a party to any agreement they entail.[66]

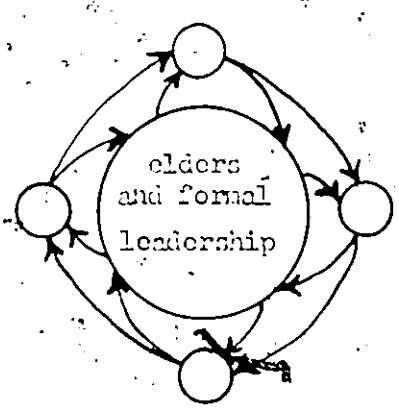
Hence Dene decision-making corresponds to two models, one for decisions on matters arising from within the community and one for decisions on matters impinging from or involving the outside world:

Figure 4

Dene Decision-Making

Level 1

(for decisions on matters arising from within the community)



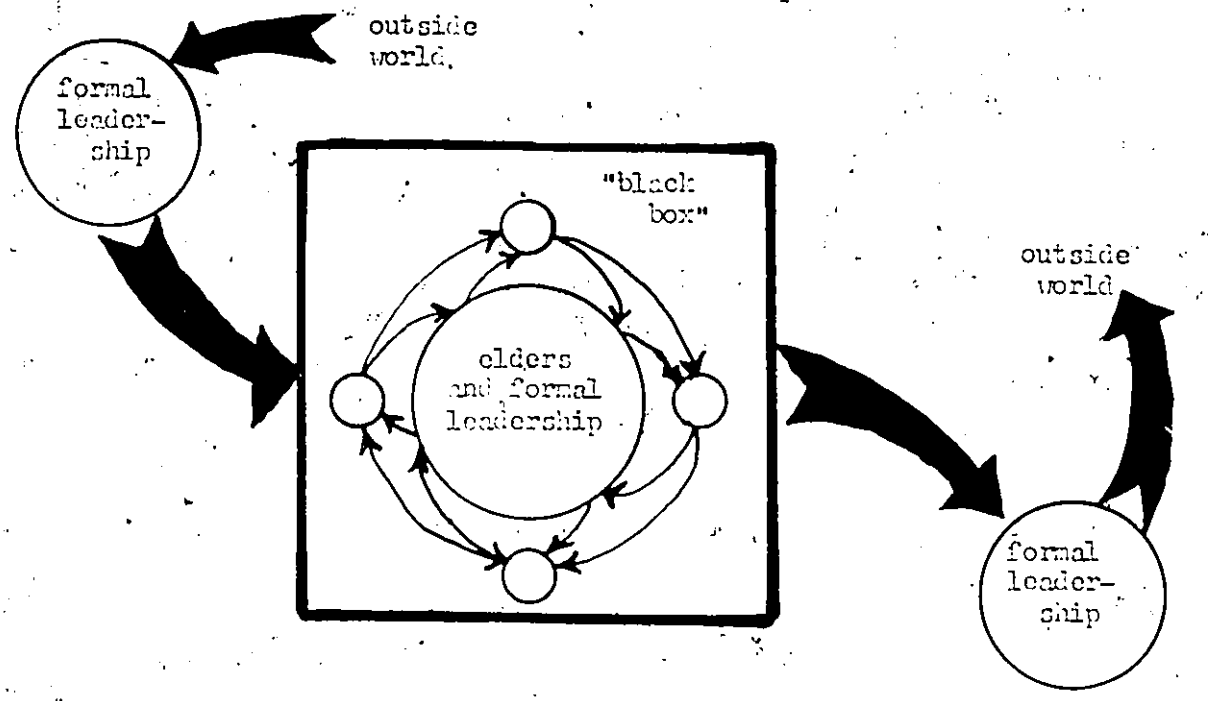
consensus

(Continued next page)

[66] Anonymous, personal correspondence, 1934 November 3

Model 4

(for decisions on matters impinging from or involving the outside world)



According to a social worker with long familiarity with several Indian bands, some of which are of Athapascan culture, each band has its own unique way of reaching consensus. What that way would be would depend on:

(1) the history of formation of the "band" (i.e., which semi-autonomous sub-groups were drawn together, cultural orientation, suitability of land) (2) matching of elected leadership with recognized leadership (3) cohesiveness of contemporary

> community members and ability of sub-groups to give and take in balancing individual group needs (4) availability and prominence of elders and spiritual leaders (5) nature of the decision (e.g., where a house should be built vs. the cost-effectiveness of building different types of houses), where more technical decisions might receive a technical treatment (6) the prominence of "secret" men's and women's societies (7) etc.[67]

The same field worker offers the following practical advice:

> The way I would approach a band for a "non-technical" decision would be to approach the formal elected or designated leadership or authority, presenting the issues first in a policy manner and secondly attempting a translation into a cultural perspective as far as I feel competent (labelling such as my own personal interpretations). In my experience a decision would never be made on the spot and to demand one would provoke a fight-flight response. Rather, I would request that the leadership consider the matter and get back to me at a later (usually unspecified) date. Then the "black box" of consensus formation takes over. Sometimes a specific decision will not even be reached, sometimes the process will take months or years. Some bands certainly use the public processes of open council meetings, general community meetings, or even referendums, but these routes are not the beginning nor the end of decision-making.[68]

Similarly, one could describe the formal workings of the national decision-making process: village discussion, delegate selection, national assemblies, referenda. But for an outside agency the best advice is still to let the "black box" of consensus formation process an initiative in its own way and in its own time, without interference or impatience.

---

[67] Anonymous, personal correspondence.

[68] Anonymous, personal correspondence.

The Dene themselves have described their mode of decision-making in the following terms:

> . . . It is the responsibility of leaders to have dialogue and debate issues, concerns, and laws with the people before formal decisions are made.
>
> It is also the responsibility of our leaders of the Dene to take positions on issues and concerns important to our people. Leaders must speak for themselves unless the people have a collective agreement on any given subject.
>
> . . . At one meeting one Dene asked, "You, the leaders, where are you going to lead us?" And one leader answered, "We won't lead you anywhere . . . . A Dene leader doesn't lead anybody anywhere. You go where you want to go."
>
> All our assemblies are similar but different. People start slowly, letting their thoughts collect, listening, trying to understand, fighting off dependency, figuring out how things got to be this way. The elders, women and men, guide and question, providing the tools for the young people to use.
>
> There is always prayer; a deeply religious blend of Christianity and Native spirituality. The drums play a big part and we are reminded that the "Creator owns the land and no one, no, not even the government, can change that."
>
> The Dene way is very democratic because we talk things out until everyone agrees and there must be patience and respect for one another to do this. Under the struggle for consensus is the principle that we are all one and the circle must not break. It is often hard for a non-Dene to understand because the meetings start so slowly. The rules of order depend on good manners and respect. No one challenges anyone. Everyone has a chance to save face.[69]

European desion-making is of course wholly different from the Dene, tending to work through wheeling and dealing, horse-trading, formal meetings and exchanges of position, formal information-gathering, formal negotiation, hierarchical subordination, and power plays. Nevertheless, it has at least been proposed that Parks Canada might

---

[69] Dene Nation, Denendeh, p. 15.

achieve consensus, as contrasted with formally bargained-out agreements, with local native people and other interests.[70]

Factor 9 -- Park proposals as disruptive forces

The mere proposition that a park might be created on the traditional lands of a native community may be disruptive for that community. Three common forms of disruption are the following.

First, the community is forced to deal with an issue thrust upon it by the outside world; and northern native political systems are not usually well adapted to deal with such intrusions:

> The kind of activitst tradition that is the basis for citizen participation in southern Canadian communities appears to be culturally foreign to northern native communities. There is a strong tradition of consensual decision-making on issues that arise within the community or which have direct effects on it; but these are decisions by the community. The tradition appears not to extend to initiatives on issues that impinge on the community but are determined by some outside decision-making authority. There is little concept of activism in the sense of advocacy of community interests before outside decision-makers. The adversary model, common to southern political and regulatory processes, is regarded as distasteful confrontation.[71]

Inevitably, given this "distaste" for confrontation -- and for

---

[70] Richard Eric Bill, Attempts to Establish National Parks in Canada: A Case History in Labrador from 1969 to 1979 (Ottawa: Carleton University M.A. thesis, 1982.

[71] A.R. Lucas, quoted in William G. MacLeod, "The Dempster Highway", in Everett B. Peterson and Janet B. Wright, eds., Northern Transitions: Volume I: Northern Resource and Land Use Policy Study (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1978), pp. 215-216.

collaboration — those members of the community who do campaign actively for or against the outside initiative are in tension with other members of the community. In small, isolated settlements an inescapable tension may grow to vast proportions of ill-feeling. Under the influence of alcohol, it may go to violence.

Secondly, a park proposal may pit young against old. Those persons who follow a traditional lifestyle can see no advantage to them in a park being established on the land they have known intimately in its natural state all their lives, but they quite correctly foresee that a park would bring changes, which intrinsically constitute a disadvantage. Since they are mostly middle-aged or older, their conservatism on the park issue reinforces previous tension between them and the younger people, who in their eyes already have an orientation away from traditional Dene or Inuit culture and towards the wage economy, southern music, southern clothing, southern drugs and alcohol, and good times in the metropolis. For their part, the younger generation reciprocate with impatience with those who stand in the way of local employment opportunities, novelty, and an opening to the great world. Apparently this bind is just the one the people of Snowdrift found themselves in for more than a decade.

Thirdly, native villages are usually composed of a small set of extended families, as examination of Northwest Territories or Yukon telephone books will readily confirm. Animosity between these families is often as intense as between the Montagues and Capulets. When band-level political power shifts back and forth from one family to another, a park proposal may be all that is needed to tip the balance, even if

its importance is not specifically exaggerated. And once it has become identified with a particular faction, it may not be considered on its own merits for years after.

In Snowdrift, the two leading families are the Lockharts and the Catholiques. As near as can be determined by an outsider through casual inquiries, the Catholiques have tended to oppose an East Arm park, the Lockharts to favour it. It was a Catholique chief who reputedly cold-shouldered the Parks Canada delegation to Snowdrift in 1969. It seems to have been a Lockhart chief who, looking as though he was being co-opted by Parks Canada when he was given a tour of southern Canadian parks by the federal agency, was thrown out of office for that reason. More recently the ascension of a young Lockhart chief has meant the Lu Tsel K'e Dene are making a cautious reappraisal of the idea of a park.

Factor 10 — Social impacts anticipated from the park itself

Conventionally, social impacts from large initiatives in the North are divided into positive and negative ones. Although such a scheme is simplistic, since many impacts can be both good and bad, it will suffice in the limited amount of space which can be devoted to social considerations in this analysis. Native people themselves generally do not trust social impact studies or statements.

The positive social implications of a national park for a nearby native community, as gleaned from a survey of the literature, are expected to be

(1) long-term maintenance of traditional lifestyles into a future when perhaps little unaltered land will remain outside park boundaries

(2) perhaps more native control over land use in park than will be possible outside

(3) some measure of adaptation of the community to the Canadian economy at large, increasing social stability and security

(4) greater social complexity and variety in local life, for a more stimulating existence

(5) "cultural enrichment" from mingling of native people and tourists[7]

(6) sense of participation in Canadian and international society

(7) pride of "ownership" of park and association with it.

The negative implications, like the positive ones, are not certain, not weighted, not exhaustive, and not listed in order of importance. They are

(1) immediate, short-term disruption of traditional way of life

(2) speeded-up pace of change

(3) influx of strangers who may provide undesirable role models for children

---

[7] Tom J. Kovacs, Northern National Parks and Native People: The Canadian Experience, unpublished paper submitted to the First World Conference on Cultural Parks, Mesa Verde National Park, 1984.

(4) tourists may occasion invidious comparisons for young people who would otherwise be satisfied with the traditional way of life

(5) unpleasant secondary effects from direct economic effects: more money may mean more drinking, more conspicuous consumption, less self-reliance

(6) less self-identity for the settlement as park activities intrude into the established way of life

(7) less sense of community as some individuals come to relate more with strangers and strange institutions

(8) sense of loss as even park land is altered from the "Dene image" or "Inuit image" of it

(9) loss of sense of continuity in time and place altogether

(10) invasion of privacy as tourists snap cameras and unceasingly ask prying questions

(11) some feeling of loss of full control over one's own community

(12) increased out-migration (partly as a consequence of Parks Canada training programs and promotional opportunities)

(13) possible social exploitation of local people by park visitors

(14) exposure to attitudes and comments of park visitors, which may lead to changes in self-image (countered by Parks Canada orienta-

-tion programs to ensure visitor "sensitivity"[73])

(15) possible decline in municipal services (housing, store goods, scheduled air flights, water, power, communication systems) as a result of additional "outside" users

(16) for park employees, separation from family (ameliorated by willingness of Parks Canada to offer flexible work schedules, free telephone calls home, and special orientation and training, as well as orientation for spouses)[74]

(17) for park employees, loss of ability to participate in traditional group subsistence pursuits (though Parks Canada will provide free country food, special leave for hunting, etc.)

(18) for park employees, loss of social support (though Parks Canada will arrange for regular contact with native community leaders).

Factor 11 — Restrictions and practical problems

Naturally enough, both native people and Parks Canada will view the problems and restrictions they have experienced with existing parks and park reserves as guides to the future. Consequently it is important to form some idea of what those problems and restrictions are.

---

[73]Parks Canada, Social and Economic Action Plan: An Examination of the Potential Impacts and Socio-economic Strategy for the Establishment of a National Park Reserve on Northern Ellesmere (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1983), p. 5.

[74]On points (16)-(18), see Parks Canada, Social and Economic Action Plan, pp. 5, 9, 63, 67, 72, and 73.

Admittedly, what is a problem for the local Dene or Inuit may be a deliberate course of action on the part of Ottawa or the park superintendent, and vice versa. Similarly, what Dene or Inuit hunters and trappers see as restrictions may be regarded by the park staff as complete lack of interference. As usual, the student of park planning must keep points of view firmly in mind here.

For the local Dene, Wood Buffalo National Park is illegitimate because it embodies a non-negotiated incursion into land use in their ancestral territory. For this reason alone they resent any attempt to control or even monitor their subsistence activities within the park. However, at the level of day-to-day affairs, the superintendent of the park reports that in his experience "From the point of view of the users, there are innumerable small concerns but . . . nothing of a serious nature."[75] In the more recently created Nahanni National Park Reserve, native users ". . . are sometimes annoyed by the presence of wardens patrolling on parts of their traplines within the Park, even though there are no restrictions on their activity."[76]

Parks Canada does not want to have permanent native settlements within national parks, while native people sometimes do. In the case

---

[75] Personal letter from K.M. East, Superintendent, Wood Buffalo National Park, 1984 November 22; since letters to chiefs of Dene bands resident near northern national parks went unanswered, it has been necessary to go to the unsatisfactory expedient of letting park superintendents express the native point of view, as they perceive it.

[76] Personal letter from Peter Lamb, Superintendent, Nahanni National Park Reserve, 1984 November 21

of Garden Creek settlement, on the western edge of Wood Buffalo National Park, park managers are negotiating to remove the community, saying "The park was never intended to accommodate a community . . . and the community cannot easily function within the park."[77]

According to park managers, native subsistence activities in national parks do not present major difficulties, although in Nahanni,

> There are several existing and potential problems from the Park's point of view,
>
> — Natives have taken white persons along on hunting trips on occasion, and may have shared game with them coming from the Park.
>
> — The National Parks Act designates "people of native origin of the Yukon and Northwest Territories" as eligibile to exercise "traditional" hunting, fishing and trapping activities. Obviously there are thousands of persons legally eligible to carry out such activities.
>
> — Native hunting of sensitive or rare species has occurred on occasions.
>
> — Hunting activities proximal to popular visitor use areas may become a concern from an aesthetic and safety point of view.
>
> — Natives employed by the Park are sometimes sent to remote locations for extended periods to work on special projects. Their harvesting activities, carried out during off-hours, can deplete local wildlife or fish populations not normally subject to any such use.[78]

As nearly as can be determined, native users and park managers agree on what the restrictions on subsistence activities are, though they naturally differ on how much they matter. In Wood Buffalo eligibility to hunt and trap is restricted to descendants of native people

---

[77] News/North, Friday, June 1, 1984.

[78] Lamb, personal letter.

who hunted or trapped in the area in the early 1940s, when the park was established, and whose parents were eligible. About 700 persons are currently in this category.[79]

Secondly in Wood Buffalo, there is a quota on the number of permits allowing eligible persons to hunt and trap. Put in place in 1978, the quota is set at 370. It has never been reached. The number of permits issued in 1984 was about 300.[80]

Thirdly, most of the park is divided for trapping purposes into "group areas" where "a prospective trapper must be accepted by the group." The registered trapping areas of the remainder "change hands only on the recommendation of the relevant Trappers Association."[81]

In Nahanni, the management view of restrictions on subsistence activities seems to be full of uncertainties:

> There are no restrictions placed on native users beyond those imposed by the National Parks Act and other federal legislation. "Traditional hunting, fishing and trapping activities" by natives of the Yukon and Northwest Territories are allowed, but there is no definition of what constitutes these activities. Powerboats and high-power rifles are normally accepted within this traditional use, but harvesting with the aid of other forms of technology may not be acceptable.[82]

---

[79] East, personal letter.

[80] East, personal letter; and Socio-Economic Division, Prairie Region, Parks Canada, Wood Buffalo National Park: Socio-Economic Statement on the Recommended Management Plan (Winnipeg: Parks Canada, 1983), p. 21.

[81] East, personal letter.

[82] Lamb, personal letter.

In the Ellesmereland memorandum of understanding, the federal and territorial governments agree that territorial regulations governing fish and wildlife harvesting adjacent to the park reserve will be taken as the basis for setting up parallel regulations "so long as they are consistent with Cabinet approved national park policies."[83] The local hunters' and trappers' association will determine who can participate in the harvest of renewable resources in the park. Resource harvesting must be "based on the principles of ensuring continuation of viable populations and protection of habitat", especially where resources are threatened. In instances of overfishing, quotas will come into force, with preferences to native users.[84]

In advising the Pond Inlet Inuit about a possible national park in the Bylot Island area, Parks Canada asserts that regulations affecting resource harvesting would be determined in consultation with the local native people before the reserve is formally established as a park. Furthermore, "some areas may be set aside within the Park where resource harvesting would not be permitted either to ensure the safety of visitors or the protection of resources." Concerning outpost camps, Parks Canada would want to ensure that there would be no pollution such as sewage and garbage from the camps flowing into the park rivers and that the camps would not allow garbage or discarded machinery

---

[83] Anonymous, Memorandum of Understanding for a National Park on Ellesmere Island, item 6 under "Terms and Conditions".

[84] Anonymous, Memorandum of Understanding for a National Park on Ellesmere Island, p. 23.

to accumulate."[85]

In some northern national parks, but not all, native employees are not permitted to pursue traditional subsistence activities within the park even during their off-hours. They are not allowed to bring firearms into the park.[86]

Although some native negotiating groups would like to have the right to conduct commercial hunting in parks, Parks Canada is opposed to the idea. Yet Parks Canada is receptive to the notion of commercial fishing.

In sum, two generalizations come to mind. First, Parks Canada has a fairly liberal, open-minded, but nervous and arbitrary policy on native activities in northern national parks. Secondly, that policy receives very different expression from one park to another.

In Alaska, where native people and long-term residents have the sort of national park subsistence rights that seem to be evolving in northern Canada, the understanding of park authorities is that restrictions will increase in future. One superintendent states that "the consumptive uses of plant and animal products for the livelihood of local rural residents may continue," but it is "as long as the eco-

---

[85] Parks Canada, Information for the Pond Inlet Development Review Committee Concerning Possible Establishment of a National Park Reserve in the Bylot Island-Eclipse Sound Area (Ottawa: Parks Canda, no date); the right of native hunters and trappers to use camps and caches within northern national parks was entrenched in the COPE land settlement of July 25, 1984, establishing a new national park in the northern Yukon; in Alaska the use of cabins, camps, and other temporary structures for subsistence purposes is by permit.

[86] Parks Canda, Social and Economic Action Plan, pp. 63 and 72.

systems continue in a natural and healthy state." More explicitly, he says "Further restrictions will be necessary when local rural resident populations grow."[87]

Factor 12 -- Changes in land and wildlife within a park

The status of "parkdom" or "parkhood", when imposed on a territory, produces changes in both land and wildlife. How northern native people would perceive those changes and what changes indeed would occur are or ought to be large factors in park planning.

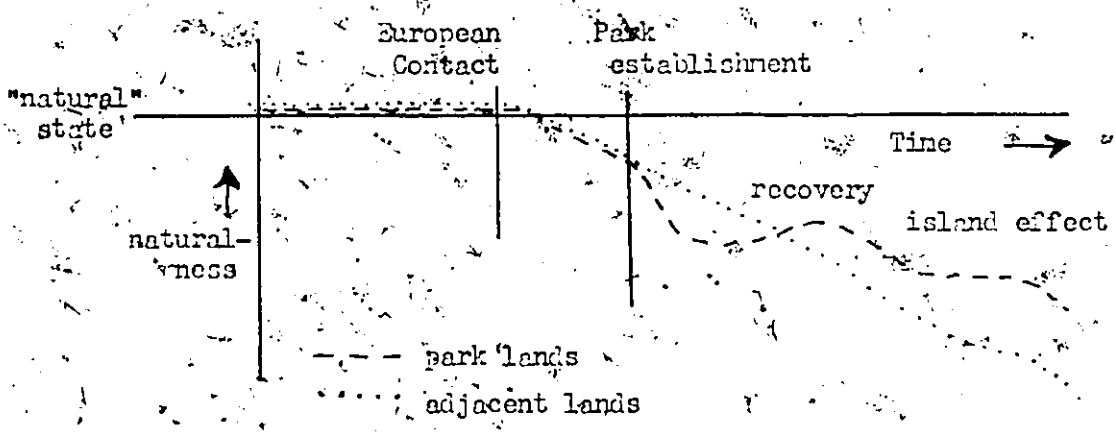
To begin with landscape, the evidence from existing northern national park reserves is that infrastructure such as roads, trails, utilities, and buildings is slow to develop and never extensive by southern Canadian standards. However, in the short term, as a result of development of visitor services, park status results in a northern landscape having more cultural features than adjacent Crown land, while in the long term, as a result of protection, it can be expected to result in a landscape with fewer cultural features than adjacent countryside has. This time sequence can be represented schematically in the following diagram:

---

[87] C. Mack Shaver, Traditional National Park Values and Living Cultural Parks Seemingly Conflicting Management Demands Coexisting in Alaska's New National Parklands; paper presented to First World Conference on Cultural Parks, Mesa Verde National Park, 1984, pp. 14-15.

Figure 5

"Islanding" of a Park



The "island effect" bracketed on the diagram refers to a principle discovered by biologists within the last couple of decades.[83] Whenever a tally is made of the number of species of wild plants and animals on an island, it proves to be less than the sum of species which occupy equivalent areas on the adjacent mainland. The explanation for this phenomenon is that extinction rates on the island are the same or greater, while replacement rates across a water barrier are slower. Island equilibrium is reached at a level below that typical of mainland.

Functionally, whenever a community of plants and animals is isolated, by whatever mechanism, it is a biogeographical island. Oases are islands, as are lakes, mountain tops, meadows, woodlots, groves of trees in the tundra — and most national parks. What con-

---

[83] See Robert L. Burgess and David M. Sharpe, Forest Island Dynamics in Man-Dominated Landscapes (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1981).

verts a park into an island is the alteration of exterior habitat from a natural to an unnatural state and the comparative preservation of the "naturalness" of park interior habitat.

For the unfortunate fact is that preservation of habitat within a park is not sufficient to guarantee the survival of all the species arked upon it. Events outside human control — harsh winters, wet springs, floods, forest fires, disease — will cause local extinctions. If recruitment is not possible from the country surrounding the park, an extinguished species cannot reoccupy its vacant niche. It has been found with the woodland caribou of national parks in southern British Columbia, for example, that their numbers are declining in spite of complete protection against hunting.[39] Hence an East Arm park, as an instance, might lose plant and animal species for decades after it was established, even if no human being set foot within its bounds.

Precisely what native people whose traditional lands were affected by biogeographical islanding would think about it is not clear, because native spokespersons have rarely commented on species extinction. From circumstantial evidence, though, it is probably fair to say that any loss of wild species would eventually amount to a spiritual and often economic loss to Dene and Inuit, at least as they are today.

---

[39] S. Herrero, "Wildlife Problems in Canada's National Parks", in J.G. Nelson, R.D. Needham, S.H. Nelson, and R.C. Scace, eds., The Canadian National Parks: Today And Tomorrow, Conference II: Ten Years Later (Waterloo, Ontario: Faculty of Environmental Studies, University of Waterloo, 1978), p. 554f.

Some idea of the extent of northern park infrastructure and service development is afforded by reviewing what has already taken place in the ten-year-old Nahanni National Park Reserve and what is anticipated for the future in the case of maximum development in that reserve,[90] remembering that Nahanni is classified as a "wilderness-park.

Nahanni Now

— access by chartered float plane and power boats
— five "primitive" campsite areas
— four portages
— three warden cabins
— three designated campgrounds
— two outfitter camps
— one guided tour
— 500 visitors per year

Nahanni Future

— motorized access on South Nahanni River for both private and commercial vehicles
— additional float plane access
— four designated campgrounds
— two guided tours
— provision for day use: picnic areas, pit privies, access paths

No systematic information is available on how native people regard a proliferation of southern "cultural" development along such lines as these. Probably it is significant that to keep changes in

---

[90] Drawn from the Parks Canada publication, Nahanni National Park Newsletter (issued sporadically).

national park lands to a minimum, the Inuit have tried to negotiate a clause which would require that new parks in Nunavut would contain predominantly Zone I (Special Preservation) and Zone II (Wilderness) in them.[91]

From the point of view of native people enjoying their right to carry on subsistence activities on traditional lands become a national park, some advantageous changes in land and wildlife as a consequence of "parkhood" might be as follows:

(1) improved access to areas where hunting, trapping, fishing, berry picking, and so on are especially good

(2) improved stewardship over game by Parks Canada as compared with that of the territorial government, possibly leading to larger populations

(3) concentration of wildlife at sites convenient for hunting, such as roadsides and campgrounds

(4) a certain amount of "taming" of large mammals through harmless contacts with tourists, making them easier to hunt.

Some disadvantages might be these:

(1) improved access for non-local native hunters, where those persons have rights

(2) an upsetting of the appropriate relationship between wild animals and human beings (especially Dene or Inuit), as certain human-game contacts depart from established etiquette.[92]

---

[91] Inuit Tapirisat, National Park Provisions of an Agreement-in-Principle (Rankin Inlet, N.W.T.: Inuit Tapirisat, 1983), 5.3.21.

[92] Some concrete examples of this phenomenon are described in Richard Nelson, Make Prayers to the Raven, p. 30f.: "...Today the older order is changing and animals have begun penetrating the human sector of the world. Moose wander near the villages, occasionally into them; fox tracks encroach on the limits of settlements; and mink sometimes come around houses in the night. Most distressing of all ravens have begun scavenging within villages."

(3) desecration of the earth by altering it from its natural state

(4) the mere presence of many more human beings in a landscape in which they were formerly scarce

(5) reduced game populations for certain species in certain areas, such as the banks of frequently travelled rivers, because of human disturbance

(6) interference with breeding and other wildlife behaviour through human disturbance across the park as a whole: automobiles, outboard motors, airplane overflights (the allowing of which has been insisted on by the Northwest Territories government), and the sight and sound of hikers.

In Nahanni National Park Reserve administrators believe park creation has promoted an increase in numbers of trumpeter swans and black bears. "Monitoring programs of Dall's sheep use of mineral licks in Deadmen Valley and Upland Sandpiper populations on the Prairie Creek fan have indicated little behavioural change."[93]

Factor 13 — Park effects on surrounding territory

As the economic development of Canada proceeds, national parks become more and more different from the lands surrounding them. Not everywhere is the difference as dramatic as it is along the boundaries of Elk Island National Park, where on one side of a fence are forest and bison and on the other are grain fields and cattle. Nevertheless it is a general rule that inside the long-established parks land and wildlife populations at least resemble what they would be like if

---

[93] Lamb, personal letter.

European man had never appeared on the scene, whereas outside the parks habitat, wildlife, and the very physical expression of the earth are cut, killed, farmed, grazed, flooded, bulldozed, mined, polluted, built on, and generally altered and exploited. Even in the Northwest Territories and Yukon, lands outside a national park or park reserve are sure to be more marked by human activity than are park lands; and the longer the park or park reserve exists, the greater the difference. In the future, northern lands under any government -- territorial, Dene- or Inuit-minority, or Dene- or Inuit-majority -- will certainly undergo further progressive change through industrialization, mining, road-building, hydro-electric power development, logging, tourism, and perhaps a certain amount of agriculture. The burning issues in northern economic development relate not so much to whether it should take place as to who should benefit from it.

It is consequently somewhat surprising that one effect of a national park is to increase the likelihood of preservation or conservation of some lands on its fringes. Because park planners are well aware of the "island effect" described under Factor 12, and because large reserves in a few locations are better ecologically than smaller reserves in many locations,[94] in southern Canada parks agencies now

---

[94] For suggestions on the ecologically optimum geometry of national parks, see International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, World Conservation Strategy: Living Resource Conservation for Sustainable Development (Gland, Switzerland: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, 1980), ch. 6; and Jared M. Diamond, "The Island Dilemma: Lessons of Modern Biogeographic Studies for the Design of Natural Reserves", Biological Conservation 7, pp. 129-146.

make some attempt to buttress national parks with zones of provincial parks, and the provincial parks with forest reserves and other kinds of protected land.[95] Similarly, the Northwest Territories Department of Tourism has expressed some interest in creating territorial parks as "buffers" on the margins of national parks.[96]

Contrariwise, one major instigator to development on the park edges is Parks Canada itself. Parks Canada now deems it appropriate to locate as many non-intrinsic forms of development as possible outside the bounds of its parks.[97] In practice that means visitor centres, administration buildings, highway maintenance impoundments, motels, gas stations, cottages, and commercial and government establishments of most other categories are concentrated around the park entrances or most convenient access points. Naturally the land given to these "services" is lost as wildlife habitat.

National parks promote external development in other ways. Tourism, with all its associated infrastructure, is one. People who travel to an area to visit a park are drawn to explore other points of

---

[95] See B. Salder, "National Parks and Surrounding Lands", in J.G. Nelson et al., eds., The Canadian National Parks, pp. 269-292.

[96] Tom Espie, Canada Parks Activity in N.W.T. and Territorial Parks Policy (Yellowknife: Department of Economic Development and Tourism, Government of the Northwest Territories, 1979), p. 97; and Kovacs, Northern National Parks and Native People, p. 6.

[97] Kovacs, Northern National Parks and Native People, p. 6.

interest in the vicinity, and such exploration will involve commercial accommodations, fishing, canoeing, and so on. Further, it is currently a feature of park creation that Parks Canada undertakes to contribute to local economies and local standards of living in almost every fashion open to it. Communities like Rocky Harbour, on the margin of Gros Morne National Park, thus become growth centres -- to the benefit not just of the original inhabitants of the district -- whose hinterland is intensively exploited.

On the positive side, lands surrounding a national park are often restocked by overflow of wildlife from the park. For example, Parks Canada has predicted improved moose and caribou hunting around Gros Morne National Park.[98]

Factor 14 — Joint Management

What "joint management" means to Parks Canada has already been described to some extent in the introduction to this thesis. It remains to provide a sketch of what the term means, and how much it matters, to northern native people.

In some contexts, of course, "joint management" is understood by native people exactly as it is understood by federal government officials. Such is true of legal agreements, as for example in the

---

[98]Crabb, "Gros Morne National Park", p. 326.

Ellesmereland memorandum of understanding,[99] by which Parks Canada is required to evaluate five models of joint management against three objectives: assigning responsibility for park operation to local groups or people while retaining sufficient authority to ensure the National Parks Act and regulations are effectively administered; ensuring that there will be no impairment of significant park values; and ensuring that there will be opportunities for use and enjoyment by all Canadians. Evidently any one of these five models suited the Inuvialuit of the western Arctic at the time they were put forward, since the Inuvialuit were party to the memorandum.

For the Inuit of the eastern Arctic, similarly, the constitution of a game management board for Nunavut "was never a contentious issue in land claims talks."[100] Indeed, when the federal government delayed ratification of an eastern Arctic land claim wildlife agreement longer than the Inuit felt was warranted, the Inuit Tapirisat went ahead on its own and created such a board according to the terms negotiated. As paraphrased, the terms are that:

> Representatives of regional Inuit wildlife organizations will sit on the management board. The board will participate in wildlife harvest studies, research, control of wildlife quotas, approving use of wildlife for sport and commercial operations and the training of Inuit wildlife officers.[101]

---

[99] Anonymous, Memorandum of Understanding for a National Park on Ellesmere Island, p. 7.

[100] News/North, Friday, July 20, 1984.

[101] News/North, Friday, July 20, 1984.

To a near certainty, the wildlife of eastern Arctic national parks will eventually fall within the purview of this board.[102]

Dene Nation attitudes to the question of joint management of natural resources, including national park wildlife, seem to be resolute for more assurance that native people will control, not just advise, as the federal government would like.[103] In 1984 the Dene Nation negotiating position adhered to the concept of joint Dene-Métis-government management boards to designate spetific uses of unselected land for all purposes. In early 1985, some pertinent features of the Dene-Canadian negotiated wildlife agreement were these: a "Wildlife Management Board" would have sweeping jurisdiction over the use of wildlife; final authority resides in the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs; harvesting might be limited for reasons of conservation, public health, or environmental protection; permits would have to be held under national park regulations (where harvesting was being conducted within national parks); Dene-Métis would have first right to new or expired licences for commercial operations in national parks; an overall Wildlife Management Board would have half its members Dene-Métis, the other half appointed by the federal government, and "regional wildlife management councils" would have the same kinds of powers as the board, but locally.[104]

---

[102] Nancy Weeks, National Parks and Native Peoples, p. 77, carefully distinguishes between joint management regimes for subsistence hunting and fishing and those for park regulation, but native people seldom do.

[103] News/North, Friday, July 27, 1984; Native Press, November 30, 1984.

[104] Native Press, February 8, 1985.

So much for the immediate reality of negotiated joint management regimes, which represent what is acceptable to the negotiating parties, not necessarily what is in the long-term interest of the resource. For the latter consideration one turns to the thinking of such analysts as the Ottawa sociologist Peter Usher; thinking which centres on the potential serviceability of native customary law.

Usher[105] very cogently points out that northern native peoples are not "natural conservators" by genetic endowment, any more than any other identifiable group of people. However, their customs once did impose a cultural framework for conservation. All that would be necessary to restore the force and efficacy of this cultural predisposition to conserve wildlife would be (1) for Canadian law to sanction native customary game laws, and (2) for the customary game laws to be based on local territories. Customary law could, and should, mesh with Euro-Canadian game management techniques.

In Usher's view, the practical advantages of joint management involving customary law (which to some extent overlaps with the regimes already discussed) would be the following:

> (a) the process could provide a forum for native people to consider...the very real ways in which the demands they currently place on wildlife resources are not the same as those of their forefathers.
>
> (b) it could serve to overcome the seeming inevitability that once hunters participate in a management system, they cannot do so on their own terms but must learn the jargon and procedures of both science and bureaucracy. What non-natives commonly understand as 'traditional knowledge' would consist not simply of a set of observations about animal behaviour, but also of rules for human conduct.

---

[105] Peter Usher, "Fair Game", Nature Canada, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1982, pp. 4-43.

> (c) an effective system of customary law and enforcement would both simplify the tasks of 'official' wildlife managers and enforcement officers, and make those occupations more attractive to native people, since they would be implementing their own system, or something reasonably congruent with it, instead of an alien one. A management regime which hunters can understand, support and even demand will require a minimum of enforcement and achieve a maximum of results.
>
> (d) it could provide a forum in which scientists and hunters could overcome at least some of their misunderstandings with respect to the facts, if not what to do about them.
>
> (e) it could provide the means for native people to regulate among themselves the geographical distribution of their hunting effort, chiefly by allocating group or individual rights to specific territories . . . .[106]

Would customary law work? The research of Harvey Feit,[107] Fikret Berkes,[108] and others, as well as the performance of the Beverly-Kaminuriak Caribou Management Board, leads to the conclusion that it would.

Factor 15 — Population growth

As was remarked in the introduction to this study, population criteria help define when human subsistence activities are ecologically

---

[106] Usher, "Fair Game", p. 43.

[107] Harvey A. Feit, "The Ethno-Ecology of the Waswanipi Cree; or How Hunters Can Manage their Resources", in Bruce Cox, ed., Cultural Ecology: Readings on the Canadian Indians and Eskimos (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973), pp. 115-125.

[108] Fikret Berkes, "The Role of Self-Regulation in Living Resources Management in the North", in Milton M.R. Freeman, Proceedings, First International Symposium on Renewable Resources and the Economy of the North (Ottawa: Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies, 1981), pp. 166-178.

"natural". Although current native populations in the North are obviously not limited by the ecosystems within which they are found, both government biologists and native thinkers are interested in the relationship between a growing number of native people eligible to live off the land (including national park land) and a more or less fixed biomass. Complicating the matter is uncertainty about how many people lived in the North before first contact with European influences.

How much hunting, trapping, and fishing can northern ecosystems withstand? Biologists W.A. Fuller and B.A. Hubert have presented figures showing that since 1951 the population of the Northwest Territories has doubled once every eighteen years. From this rate of growth they project that "If the /native/ population reaches 42,000 in 2001 we must plan for a 70 per cent increase in resource harvest over current (1979) rates if the same proportion of the total hopes to reap the same proportion of its support from the resources of fish, fur and game."[109] Further calculations lead to the conclusion that "it would be unwise to count on more than a doubling of the numbers that can ever be supported on wild fish and game if the intensity of use remains at about the same level as it is now. However, most of this margin for increase will be used up by the year 2001."[110] And finally, "only a modest increase in the number of people who can earn a sub-

---

[109] W.A. Fuller and B.A. Hubert, "Fish, Fur and Game in the Northwest Territories: Some Problems of, and Prospects for, Increased Harvests", in Freeman, ed., Proceedings, p. 14.

[110] Fuller and Hubert, "Fish, Fur and Game", p. 21.

stantial part of their living from trapping can occur."[111]

In this regard, it is notable that in Wood Buffalo National Park population expansion has already led to management problems.[112] Native users of the park have themselves recognized the seriousness of the situation and are co-operating with park authorities in trying to bring harvests down to sustainable levels. In Alaska, as has previously been observed, park managers openly acknowledge that rural population growth will be accompanied by further restrictions on subsistence hunting in national parks.

On the other hand, native people are understandably impatient with the idea that some day there may be too many of them for the land, given their long history of depopulation and genocide under European influences, and they take a different view of the numbers of human beings who might be sustained by the wildlife of the North. Joanne Barnaby of the Dene Nation asserts that annual gatherings of Dene at Fort Good Hope in pre-Contact times may have amounted to 30,000 people in one place at one time. Her organization puts the total pre-Contact population of Denendeh at 500,000 -- a figure which implies that if the North were restored to its former productivity in wildlife, it could support many times its current population of native people.

Nor is there a simple linear relationship between numbers of native people and demand for wildlife. Where those native people live,

---

[111] Fuller and Hubert, "Fish, Fur and Game", p. 25.

[112] Charles N.D. Hotzel, The Source of Native Claims in Canada (Ottawa: Minister of the Environment, 1983), p. 63.

what kind of communities they live in, and how they live will all affect consumption of wild foods.[113]

That park establishment may itself result in local population growth in the small communities of the North, because of the business and employment opportunities it provides, is something Parks Canada planners are aware of, if only in principle.[114] But since park economic activity is projected to be low and stable in the North, whereas population growth has a feedback component, how Parks Canada might respond to situations of over-growth is a problem that should be addressed.

In relation to Factor 14, joint management, Fikret Berkes contends that an increase in the population of native hunters may break down customary land tenure systems and self-restraint even where those are long and well established, let alone where they have been eclipsed for several decades. Road access, rapid techological change, commercial hunting, and loss of control contribute to a breakdown which is at bottom a matter of runaway competition as more people try to maximize their take of a constant or diminishing supply of game.[115]

One pregnant fact about population is that at Contact there were roughly ten times as many Amerindians living south of what is now

---

[113]Peter Usher, "Sustenance or Production? The Future of Native Wildlife Harvesting in Northern Canada", in Freeman, ed., Proceedings, pp. 67-69.

[114]Parks Canada, Social and Economic Action Plan, p. 61.

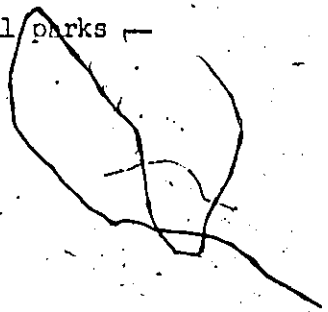
[115]Berkes, "Role of Self-Regulation", pp. 171-172.

the Canada-United States border as north of it. Currently the numbers are about equal.

Factor 16 -- Boundary considerations

Boundary considerations rank very high among the preoccupations of Parks Canada, but very low on the list of native priorities, in park planning. The essential thing to register is that what native people would want to keep out of any park established on their traditional lands is not necessarily what would occur to a southern Canadian: namely sacred places, old graveyards, old village sites, and some of the best hunting and fishing grounds. However, Dene and Inuit subgroups will probably reserve such places to themselves through the land claims process in any case.

Because they dislike arbitrariness and abstractions, native people prefer boundaries that follow natural features such as rivers and heights of land rather than geometric lines. Like ordinary people everywhere, native people are more accepting of innovations the logic of which they understand. Legible and self-explanatory boundaries -- which are not a regular feature of existing Canadian national parks -- reduce the power of a park to alienate.



Factor 17 — Moral atmosphere

Many aspects of Dene, Inuit, and Métis cultures differ from Euro-Canadian culture in ways that affect the moral atmosphere in which northern park planning takes place. Some of these are (1) concepts of game population dynamics (2) conservation practices (3) independence (4) previous history of exploitation (5) fear of acculturation and assimilation.

(1) Concepts of game population dynamics. Most northern native people do not share the notions of why game populations go up and down which are typically cherished by Euro-Canadian biologists or indeed by average Euro-Canadians.[116] Expressed negatively, they apparently do not believe hunting (and in particular their own hunting) reduces overall game populations. On the contrary, Joanne Barnaby of the Dene Nation contends, on behalf of the Dene elders, that game populations in the western Northwest Territories have declined because the animals have not been hunted enough. That is, animals not sufficiently hunted by man grow too numerous and then are swept away by epidemics; or the lack of hunting contributes to an unhealthiness of the entire spiritual system of which the game animals are part, and the popula-

---

[116] See for example George Calef, Caribou and the Barren-Lands (Toronto: Firefly Books Limited, 1981), p. 164ff.; Hugh J. Monaghan, The Caribou Management Board and its Early Growth, draft of May 30, 1983 (unpublished), throughout; and Samuel Hearne, A Journey to the Northern Ocean, ed. by Richard Glover (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1958), pp. 75-76.

tions subsequently decline. Euro-Canadian biologists, genuinely caring about the welfare of the wildlife they study and manage, react to these beliefs with impatience and indignation.

For their part, native people have been outraged by certain biological field study practices, such as radiotelemetry and ear-tagging of caribou or transplanting of fish.

> I've seen them chase buffalo one time, the biologists and the government people. This was a few years back. They chased them with planes and herded them into a corral. Then they took them and moved them into Wood Buffalo National Park. I saw buffalo that had broken legs trying to run. I saw buffalo with blood coming out of their mouths trying to run." You can't chase animals like that without hurting them. Who knows what something like that might do to them. Some of the cows were pregnant.[117]

To some extent native sentiments are a secular reaction to what any sensitive person would see as abuse; to some extent they stem from religious scruples: "Manipulating live animals this way is a serious insult to their protecting spirits."[118]

Native opinion also rightly regards much biological research as tendentious, inclined to support government or business decisions in which Dene or Inuit have had little or no say. A final sad truth is that given the uneven record of provincial fish and wildlife departments in maintaining the once abundant game of southern Canada, they are perfectly reasonable to doubt the usefulness of the same methods in the North.

---

[117] Statement by a Chipewyan hunter and trapper from Fort Fitzgerald, Native Press, 1984 October 5.

[118] Richard Nelson, Make Prayers to the Raven, p. 210.

(2) Conservation practices. Despite the generous outlook Richard Nelson carried away from his studies of the Koyukon[119] and Vanstone from the Chipewyan,[120] it must be admitted that most sojourners among Athapascan peoples have commented unfavourably on their traditional attitudes towards conservation of game. Samuel Hearne,[121] Warburton Pike,[122] Roger Frison-Roche,[123] and George Calef[124] have dispassionately and sometimes passionately recorded that Dene culture does not necessarily disapprove of overkill and the waste of wild meat, sometimes to the extent of hundreds of beasts. No particular explanation is needed for such behaviour, since unedifying displays of it are commonly provided by individuals belonging to many other cultures, including European and Euro-Canadian. Nevertheless, it has been hypothesized that the migratory nature of much barren-land game made it

---

[119] Richard K. Nelson, "A Conservation Ethic and Environment: The Koyukon of Alaska", in Williams and Hunn, eds., Resource Managers, pp. 211-228.

[120] James W. Vanstone, Athapascan Adaptations: Hunters and Fishermen of the Subarctic Forests (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1974); Harvey Feit depicts the unaffiliated, but similar, Waswanipi Cree as natural conservators (in "Ethno-Ecology of the Waswanipi Cree", in Cox, ed., Cultural Ecology, pp. 115-125.

[121] Hearne, Journey to the Northern Ocean, pp. 75-76.

[122] Warburton Pike, The Barren Ground of Northern Canada (London: Macmillan and Co., 1892).

[123] Roger Frison-Roche, Peuples Chasseurs de l'Arctique (Paris: B. Arthaud, 1966), p. 68.

[124] Calef, Caribou and the Barren-Lands, p. 115.

unnecessary or impossible for certain far-northern native groups to develop a conservation ethic.[125] However, whether northern native people are traditional conservators or not, incidents of waste or slaughter of wildlife by Dene or Inuit hunters such as took place in northern Saskatchewan in the early 1930s seriously diminish the strength of the native voice in negotiations about subsistence hunting in parks and later in joint management boards. If such incidents took place in a park and were widely publicized, the national and international outcry could have repercussions on native subsistence rights no matter how ironclad the legal status of those rights.

(3) Independence. Independence is a traditional element in the culture of probably all northern Canadian Indian and Inuit peoples. It has been remarked upon by numerous travellers, both early (Hearne) and late (Frison-Roche), as well as by native people themselves:

> We like to be free; travelling where we want and when we want. We were this way in the old days . . . .[126]
>
> Although our leaders are very important to us, they are meant to guide us and not to have power over us. This is traditional among the Dene.
>
> Although decisions for the community are made by consensus, people are encouraged to make their own decisions about their personal lives.[127]

---

[125] Eugene S. Hunn, "Mobility as a Factor Limiting Resource Use in the Columbia Plateau of North America", in Williams and Hunn, eds., Resource Managers, p. 35.

[126] Dene Nation, Denendeh, p. 77.

[127] Dene Nation, Denendeh, p. 15.

Independence means it is immoral to force decisions about parks by northern native communities until such time as all the people in those communities, as individuals, have become personally informed about parks: what they are, how they work, what they would mean to the individual's own life, and so on. Independence also means that a native community would find it repugnant to restrain an individual to behave in a way that community, perhaps even with the assent of the individual himself as a matter of principle, has decided is appropriate. Hence preserving park wildlife through some joint management scheme can be expected on occasion to have unsatisfactory results. Some individuals may hunt rare species, including those the joint management board has reserved from harvesting. If they do, and they are apprehended, it may be they and not the joint management board who are regarded by the community as being in the right.

(4) Previous history of exploitation. Relations between Euro-Canadians and native Canadians are still burdened by more or less of a sense of guilt -- the feeling of the native people that their forefathers were greatly wronged by the white settlers and their government and the growing acknowledgement of Euro-Canadians that indeed it was so; the suspicion on both sides that injustice, despite much goodwill, continues to the present day. One senior government negotiator on the northern land claims goes so far as to say "Guilt is the whole basis of the negotiations."

Emotion is never a very desirable factor in planning, and shame or anger about previous exploitation of native peoples by Euro-

Canadians may bias planning to the disadvantage of both parties. To repeat cliches, we must be just in our own time, and two wrongs do not make a right. Government agencies which maintain an embarrassed silence on what constitutes legitimate native use of park wildlife may simply be betraying the national park ideal. On the other had, too much suspicion of Parks Canada motives may blind native planners and decision-makers to the real opportunities parks may offer.

(5) Fear of acculturation and assimilation. Fear of acculturation and assimilation is said to be one of the primo movers of native Canadian political action. It is a fear which persists despite the fact that northern native people are more and more expressing confidence in their ability to retain their language, culture, and identity as people. Bleakly, the Mayo Band of the Yukon states "If, through a land claims agreement, we can no longer have access to this lifestyle [of living off the land] as our needs dictate, then we will have doomed ourselves, our children, and other descendants to a life of cultural assimilation."[128] There is, of course, an infinitude of ways in which national parks might assist the preservation of First Nations identities, as by ensuring the continued availability of hunting grounds for those individuals who wish to hunt; and just as many in which it might hasten acculturation, as by exposing people who would otherwise have little exposure to southerners to many of them. Whether parks help or hinder is a matter of planning and goodwill.

---

[128] Quoted in the Whitehorse Star, Monday, October 22, 1984.

Factor 18 — Control

"Control," self-evidently, is what politics and planning are all about. What is of interest in the northern planning situation is that northern native people are committed to winning or retaining control over matters not normally pertaining to local people in the South. For them control is the first element in the bundle of rights which Euro-Canadians see as ownership. Contrariwise, Parks Canada as an institution of the federal government regards control as an irreducible aspect of what it "owns": responsibility for transmission of the Canadian natural heritage down through the generations.

In economic affairs, northern native people view control of resource development on their traditional lands -- lands on which they remain a majority of permanent residents -- as being essential to escaping a condition of colonialism. As the Dene Agreement in Principle puts it, "We must have control in order to ensure that our relationship with the non-Dene remains one between equals rather than one of dependency."[129] Especially needful is local control of natural resources in a fashion that expresses the Dene or Inuit world-view:

> Clearly, we must develop our own economy, rather than depending on externally initiated development. Such an economy would not only encourage continued renewable resource activities, such as hunting, fishing and trapping but would include community-scale activities designed to meet our needs in a more self-reliant fashion. True Dene development will entail political

---

[129] Dene Nation, Agreement in Principle, p. 5.

> control, an adequate resource base, and continuity with our past. It will be based on our own experience and values. In accordance with our emphasis on sharing, Dene development will not permit a few to gain at the expense of the whole community.[130]

So the concern native people have about control is greatest in local control over harvesting. Yet paradoxically, it may be just as much in the interest of southern Canadian goals in the North as it is of Dene and Inuit goals that native people have control over wildlife harvesting. That is because native people, like most others, prefer to abide by their own laws rather than those of aliens. According to Fikret Berkes, the Cree of northern Quebec, employing customary law, regulated their game harvests admirably well until the intrusion of sport fishermen into their country under the terms of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement convinced them they were losing control over their resources.[131] In other words, if local native people have control over their local wildlife, they manage wisely, to the advantage of all who care. If they feel they are losing control, they may over-harvest, leaving little for anyone else to control.

On the Parks Canada side of things, planner Richard Bill, speaking about public participation in the attempt to create two new national parks in Labrador during the 1970s, states that "in the initial stages . . . there was a reluctance to develop a dialogue for

---

[130] Dene Nation, Agreement in Principle, pp. 7-8.

[131] Fikret Berkes, "Fisheries of the James Bay Area and Northern Quebec: A Case Study in Resource Management", in Freeman, ed., Proceedings, p. 172.

fear of losing control of the new park establishment process.[132] More broadly, Parks Canada has always been guarded in surrendering any control over parks or the park planning process. In part this reluctance stems from faithfulness to the bureaucratic mandate of the branch, in part from deep loyalty among individual staff members to the welfare of the ecosystems they are responsible for.

Factor 19 — Economic benefits

As viewed by the federal and territorial governments (of whom it must be said, in fairness, that they are reflecting the expressed desires of local leaders), the economic benefits a local community may expect from establishment of a national park near it are these:

(1) The requirement that under certain conditions park visitors must be accompanied by a "local licenced qualified guide"[133] will create a demand for such guides, who can only come from the local communities.

(2) Training programs and training allowances or salaries will be made available by Parks Canada to those local people who wish to become guides.

(3) Parks Canada will offer local residents and organizations the right to contract for the development and maintenance of parks facilities. On a trial basis for three years, the right to contract visitor and interpretive services will also be offered, following the implementation of another training program.

---

[132] Bill, Attempts to Establish New National Parks, p. 143.

[133] Anonymous, Memorandum of Understanding for a National Park on Ellesmere Island, p. 6.

(4) Local co-ops will be invited to operate or tender for other aspects of park affairs.

(5) "Parks Canada employment positions for the park reserve will be staffed, whenever possible, from within the northern labour market,"[134] often through closed competitions or special training.

(6) Parks Canada will try to promote northerners faster than might otherwise be expected.[135]

(7) "Construction, maintenance, and operation contracts entered into by Parks Canada will contain provisions to ensure that contractors, in the performance of the work, employ labour from the locality where the work is being performed to the extent to which it is available."[136]

(8) Parks Canada will keep citizens, groups, and businesses from communities surrounding the reserve informed of "economic activities generated from the development and operation of the national park reserve."[137]

(9) Parks Canada will generally assist local communities in taking advantage of government programs.

(10) Tenders will be called in such a way as to "promote the involvement of qualified local and territorial businesses and business people;" for example, "contract specifications will be translated into native languages and construction contracts will be divided into their smallest potential components."[138]

(11) Parks Canada will buy goods and services locally "to the extent to which it has the delegated authority to do so."[139]

---

[134] Anonymous, Memorandum of Understanding for a National Park on Ellesmere Island, p. 25; chief of the Old Crow (Yukon) Band Johnny Able reckons that up to ten members of his band will be given such training "over the years" (Whitehorse Star, Monday, May 14, 1984).

[135] Parks Canada, Social and Economic Action Plan, pp. 7 and 66f.

[136] Anonymous, Memorandum of Understanding for a National Park on Ellesmere Island, p. 26, and Parks Canada, Social and Economic Action Plan, p. 8.

[137] Anonymous; Memorandum of Understanding for a National Park on Ellesmere Island, p. 27.

[138] Anonymous, Memorandum of Understanding for a National Park on Ellesmere Island, p. 27.

[139] Anonymous, Memorandum of Understanding for a National Park on Ellesmere Island, p. 28.

(12) Local co-ops will have additional sales of souvenirs and handicrafts — to a modest extent.[140]

(13) No local economic opportunities are expected to be lost, if only in the case of the Ellesmereland park.[141]

(14) Park employment will be tailored in such a way as to encourage native people to take advantage of it.[142]

On the negative side, local expenditures by Parks Canada on northern parks tend to be low (on the order of tens of thousands of dollars),[143] as is re-spending.[144] As a result, indirect economic benefits are predictably minor — at best one new job outside of direct park employment, for example, in Grise Fiord.[145]

Actual employment of natives by northern national parks is minimal, because total numbers of park employees are small. In 1978 the number of native persons occupying permanent positions with Kluane National Park Reserve was 7; with Auyuittuq, 6.[146] "Employment of natives by Nahanni National Park includes a general commitment to provide 1 person year of work to residents of Nahanni Butte. Annual expenditure for these services is approximately $25,000. As well,

---

[140] Parks Canada, Social and Economic Action Plan, pp. 3 and 57.

[141] Parks Canada, Social and Economic Action Plan, p. 3.

[142] Parks Canada, Social and Economic Action Plan, pp. 7f. and 67ff.

[143] Parks Canada, Social and Economic Action Plan, pp. 84-88ff.

[144] Parks Canada, Social and Economic Action Plan, p. 56.

[145] Parks Canada, Social and Economic Action Plan, p. 95.

[146] R. Malis, "Our New Frontier", in Nelson et al., eds., Canadian National Parks, p. 89.

several full-time native staff are currently employed at our Fort Simpson administration office."[147] In Wood Buffalo National Park, on the other hand, the park payroll for native employees amounted to a substantial $600,000 in 1934, and more than $50,000 worth of contracting out benefited natives and native-owned businesses. About 65 natives worked on fire control.[148]

The Northwest Territories Department of Tourism expects that when the national park system is complete in the Northwest Territories, it will provide a total of about 40 jobs to native people, most of them seasonal. If the figure 40 seems to be very small, it should be compared with about 60 in arts and crafts production and, remarkably, just 40 for persons earning more than $5,000 per annum from trapping.[149] Some other details on park economic benefits as perceived by the territorial government are provided in the Parks Canada document Economic Impacts of Existing National Parks in the N.W.T. (Winnipeg: Parks Canada, 1982).

Speaking for themselves, the Dene express a point of view quite different from that of Euro-Canadian economists, who "put a value on everything and understand the value of nothing." According to Joanne Barnaby,

---

[147] Lamb, personal letter.

[148] East, personal letter.

[149] Espie, Canada Parks Activity in N.W.T., p. 80.

> Our priorities in economic development should be to enhance our traditional ways. We should be prepared to put stricter rules on ourselves. We should be prepared to watch the environment more carefully than other industry.
>
> For many, many years, all the time I've worked for my people, the priority has been to protect the land and the way of life. If we still maintain that it is our tr ditional ways and our culture that are valuable to us, anything that we do has to have consistency.[150]

At a meeting in Fort Norman in April 1985, the Dene leadership unanimously passed a motion stating that "the Dene leadership, the Aboriginal Rights Secretariat and the Denendeh Development Corporation set renewable resource development as their priority in economic development."[151] A Dene columnist, writing about externally imposed development projects, writes:

> If local people can't benefit, it's not economic. If a project has to be pushed through fast, if there are 'economic benefits' now but not later, then there's something wrong with the project. Our people have to be involved right from the beginning in the planning of the project. You have to plan long-range. You can't mitigate or compensate as time goes on. It has to be done right from the beginning.[152]

Sociologist Peter Usher has reaffirmed what many northerners asserted before the Berger inquiry: that wildlife harvesting is itself a dominant and far from vestigial economic activity for most northern native people. The fact that very few native trappers earn more than

---

[150] Dene Nation Newsletter (supplement in Native Press), April 30, 1985.

[151] Dene Nation Newsletter, April 30, 1985.

[152] Dene Nation Newsletter, April 30, 1985.

$1000 per year from their catch belies the importance of any independently earned income to them, the surprisingly high value of country food, and the productive use made of many non-commercial species. Above all, it says nothing about the security of life on the land -- a way of life which is viable despite ups and downs in the national or international economy and which will probably still be viable after all the minerals have been shipped out of the North and the Canadian social security system has passed into history.

But Usher has made a still more important point. He says wildlife harvesting is critical for native people in the socialization of children, in mutual aid and sharing, and in the reinforcement of customary land use law. Moreover, the more wage employment enters Indian and Inuit lives, the more important subsistence activities become.

> . . . What is important about wildlife to native people is not simply that it is of cultural or aesthetic importance, but that it is the obvious, and indeed the only possible basis, in the Arctic and subarctic, for the maintenance of the social relations that characterize the traditional mode. It is the relations among people that wildlife harvesting generates, not simply the relations between man and wildlife, which are important.
>
> The idea that any type of employment, so long as it is outdoors and involves fish and wildlife, will be especially suited to native people, ignores this essential fact. For example, working on large trawlers in an offshore fishery is not intrinsically more interesting or beneficial to native people than working on offshore oil rigs. Both are forms of industrial employment . . . . In the same way, the idea that native people might be especially interested in becoming wildlife scientists or managers, or tourist operators . . . is also without solid foundation. The social relations of production in a bureaucracy or even in a small business are not the same as those in the traditional mode.[153]

---

[153] Usher, "Sustenance or Recreation?", p. 61.

Factor 20 -- The universe of alternatives

From the perspective of Parks Canada, the Canadian national parks system will be incomplete until such time as there is at least one national park in each of the 48 natural regions into which this country has been divided.[154] From the perspective of ecosystem preservation, however, national park status is just one in an array of benevolent management regimes, some of which might conceivably be more acceptable to native people and tolerable, at least as a holding operation, when measured against the national parks ideal. Although seldom figuring in First Nation-Parks Canada negotiations, there must be times when these alternatives could offer a way out of a negotiation impasse.

Some alternatives to national park status, with just enough information about them to suggest their general nature, are these:

(1) Scientific reserves protect nature and maintain natural processes in an undisturbed state "to have ecologically representative examples of the natural environment available for scientific study, environmental monitoring, education, and for the maintenance of genetic resources in a dynamic and evolutionary state."[155] Although natural processes "are allowed to take place in the absence of any direct

---

[154] Parks Canada, Parks Canada Policy, p. 38.

[155] Committee on Criteria and Nomenclature, Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas, International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, Categories, Objectives and Criteria for Protected Areas (Morges, Switzerland: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, 1978).

human interference," and "These areas are generally closed to public access, recreation and tourism,"[156] certain configurations of native subsistence activities may be considered natural and hence acceptable in scientific reserves.

(2) The purpose of nature conservation reserves or wildlife sanctuaries is "to assure the natural conditions necessary to protect nationally significant species, groups of species, biotic communities, or physical features of the environment where these require specific human manipulation for their perpetuation." The production of harvestable, renewable resources "may play a role in the management of a particular area."[157]

(3) The category of protected landscape applies to attractive countryside featuring "traditional land use practices of a cultural group in response to their environment."[158] The objective of this category is "to maintain nationally significant natural landscapes which are characteristic of the harmonious interaction of man and land while providing opportunities for public enjoyment through recreation and tourism . . . ." Certain landscapes "possess special aesthetic qualities which are a result of the interaction of man and land," and in them "Traditional land use practices" would be dominant. "The size of

---

[156] Committee on Criteria and Nomenclature, Categories , p. 13.

[157] Committee on Criteria and Nomenclature, Categories, p. 16.

[158] Committee on Criteria and Nomenclature, Categories, p. 17.

the area would be large enough to ensure the integrity of the landscape pattern," and "the use of either central or delegated planning control would likely be necessary to assist in the perpetuation of both the land use and life style."[159] Government subsidization might be necessary for persons living within the protected landscape.

(4) In resource reserves the management objective is to protect the natural resources of the area for future use "and prevent or contain development activities that could affect the resource" pending the setting of clearer objectives.[160] This category of reserve is said to be especially appropriate for regions that are lightly populated but under pressure for greater utilization.

(5) The justification for natural biotic areas-anthropological reserves is "a need for the protection of natural areas in which man is a component and obtains his livelihood by means that do not involve extensive cultivation or other major modifications of the vegetation and animal life." The chief management objective of such a reserve is "to allow the way of life of societies living in harmony with the environment to continue undisturbed by modern technology."[161] One Parks Canada official has suggested that anthropological reserves are "le méchanism le mieux approprié pour assurer la protection des

---

[159] Committee on Criteria and Nomenclature, Categories, p. 18.

[160] Committee on Criteria and Nomenclature, Categories, p. 19.

[161] Committee on Criteria and Nomenclature, Categories, p. 20.

habitants des écosystèmes;"[162] more so than national parks.

(6) The primary objective of biosphere reserves is "to conserve for present and future use the diversity and integrity of biotic communities of plants and animals within natural ecosystems, and to safeguard the genetic diversity of species on which their continuing evolution depends." However, such reserves may contain "examples of harmonious landscapes resulting from traditional patterns of land use,"[163] usually on the principle of a core of undisturbed land and adjacent areas being managed to meet human needs. Two biosphere reserves already exist in Canada. One of them is coterminous with Waterton Lakes National Park, in which native people emphatically do not have special privileges.

(7) Heritage river designation is meant to preserve the natural environment of a stream and adjacent lands, but ownership thereof may reside with governments other than the federal government, and possibly outside government altogether.[164]

(8) Territorial or provincial park status implies a much less secure, long-range, and preservationist fate for a tract of land than does national parkhood. Territorial or provincial parks have recre-

---

[162] Harold Eidsvik, "Evolution du rôle des parcs nationaux et des zones protégées par rapport aux populations des écosystèmes", Troisièmes Assises Internationales de L'Environnement (in press), p. 60.

[163] Committee on Criteria and Nomenclature, Categories, p. 22.

[164] Parks Canada, Parks Canada Policy, p. 65.

creation as their chief objective, not conservation. They also tend to be small.[165] Nevertheless, with appropriate legislative guarantees the more local jurisdiction might adequately second for the national, and at the same time respond to the legitimate rights of native people.

(9) Game reserves once occupied very large tracts of land in the North. They had the purpose of preserving both threatened wildlife and the threatened way of life of native peoples, and seem to have been fairly successful at it. Over the postwar years they were largely dismantled, for no very clear reason.[166] If revived, they might well provide a useful "holding pattern" for lands over which Parks Canada and native organizations have not achieved agreement.

(10) The African park planning theorist Walter J. Lusigi has advanced a concept of the Conservation unit "consisting of three land-use categories: the national park, the protected area, and a multiple-use area."[167] Too complex to be elaborated on here, the conservation unit idea is that degrees of protection of an ecosystem would be nested within each other to allow both conservation of wildlife and exploitation of natural resources by local people.

---

[165] Espie, Canada Parks Activity in N.W.T., pp. 63-65.

[166] William E. Rees, "Development and Planning North of 60°: Past and Future", in Keith and Wright, eds., Northern Transitions, Volume II, p. 47.

[167] Walter J. Lusigi, Future Directions for the Afrotropical Realm (paper presented to the World National Parks Congress, 1982), p. 9.

(11) Finally, there is the status quo option of making no special designation of the land at all; letting it remain as unoccupied Crown land. Parks Canada might find it acceptable to leave the East Arm proposal in abeyance, for example, because it anticipates more propitious park-establishment times after a land settlement and after the current period of fiscal stringency. Native people might prefer not to have a park at all at the moment, perhaps because they want wage employment from mines on proposed park lands, perhaps because they are suspicious park status may not be in their best interest, for reasons which only a decade or two can bring to light. In some parts of the North remoteness is a sufficient defence of lands against early development.

4. The National Park Planning Process

Planning for national parks involves three intergrading but separable components: (1) parks system planning (2) park establishment planning (3) park management planning.

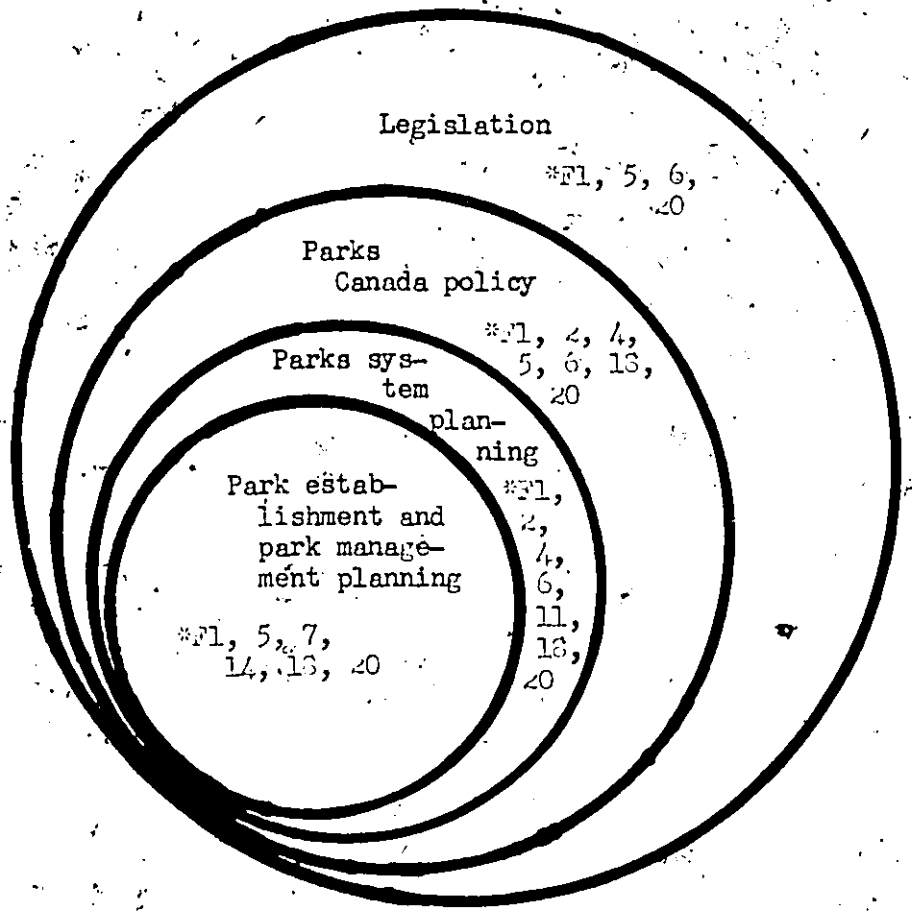
For most of the past century, national park planning in Canada was anything but systematic. Individual parks were called into being for opportunistic and unrelated reasons, by different processes, with subjective criteria operating to decide location and boundaries. In 1970, following American precedent, the idea of a national parks system was introduced into Canadian policy. Henceforward national parks would fit into an overall strategy -- or so it was hoped. However, that strategy itself needed the initial and continuing design which is known today as parks system planning.

Having a parks system implied that park establishment planning would proceed along regular and rational lines. The very way a meaningful system was defined would impose constraints on the fashion in which individual parks are called into being. But beyond that, bureaucratic tidiness requires that certain uniformities be imposed on any repeated process, to allow for the meeting and evaluation of standards. Consequently Parks-Canada now has a preferred approach to park establishment planning.

Once a park or park reserve has been established, it must operate according to its own set of rules -- what was formerly called a master plan and has now (again following American trends) become a management plan. Though the content of a management plan may be

Figure 6

Gross Structure of National Park Planning



*Action of factors (see Chapter 5).

rather idiosyncratic, its form may not, nor may the way in which it is arrived at. Therefore Parks Canada conducts an authorized, if flexible and ever-changing, process of park management planning.

Since the intention of this thesis is not to describe or explain the park planning process in all its detail and implications, but rather to examine it from the single perspective of how it is affected by a group of factors all relating to Indian and Inuit occupancy of northern lands, this chapter will present no more than outlines of the three planning components. Detail in any case belies the subject, because Parks Canada planning thought is evolving so rapidly that what was policy in 1976 might not have been policy in 1978, and what is policy now can from political motives significantly differ from practice. For present purposes it is adequate to work with the most recent documents available,[1] on faith that they are reasonably close to reality, and at a fairly high level of abstraction. The picture they paint of opportunities for indigenous peoples and cultures to figure in national park planning is sufficiently revealing.

---

[1]The author's synopsis of the three components of national park planning is derived mostly from the following documents: National and Historic Parks Branch, National Parks System Planning Manual, second edition (Ottawa: Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1974); Parks Canada, Planning Process for National Parks (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1978); the anonymous 1984 Memorandum of Understanding for the Establishment of a Reserve for a National Park on Ellesmere Island; Parks Canada, Information for the Pond Inlet Development Review Committee concerning Possible Establishment of a National Park Reserve in the Bylot Island-Eclipse Sound Area (Ottawa: Parks Canada, no date); and Richard Eric Bill, Attempts to Establish National Parks in Canada: A Case History in Labrador from 1969 to 1979 (Ottawa: Carleton University M.A. thesis, 1984).

4.1 Parks System Planning

Canadian national park planning begins with the impoverished legislative statement of purpose in section 4 of the National Parks Act:

> The National Parks of Canada are hereby dedicated to the people of Canada for their benefit, education and enjoyment, subject to this Act and the regulations, and the National Parks shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.

On how national parks are to benefit, educate, or give pleasure to the people of Canada, the act is silent.

Current Parks Canada policy offers as the national parks program objective:

> 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.[2]

In this incremental way the general language of the National Parks Act, now over two generations old, has been interpreted more specifically, introducing the contemporary notion of a park "system" as not just a collection of parks but a set of parks related by common criteria of selection.

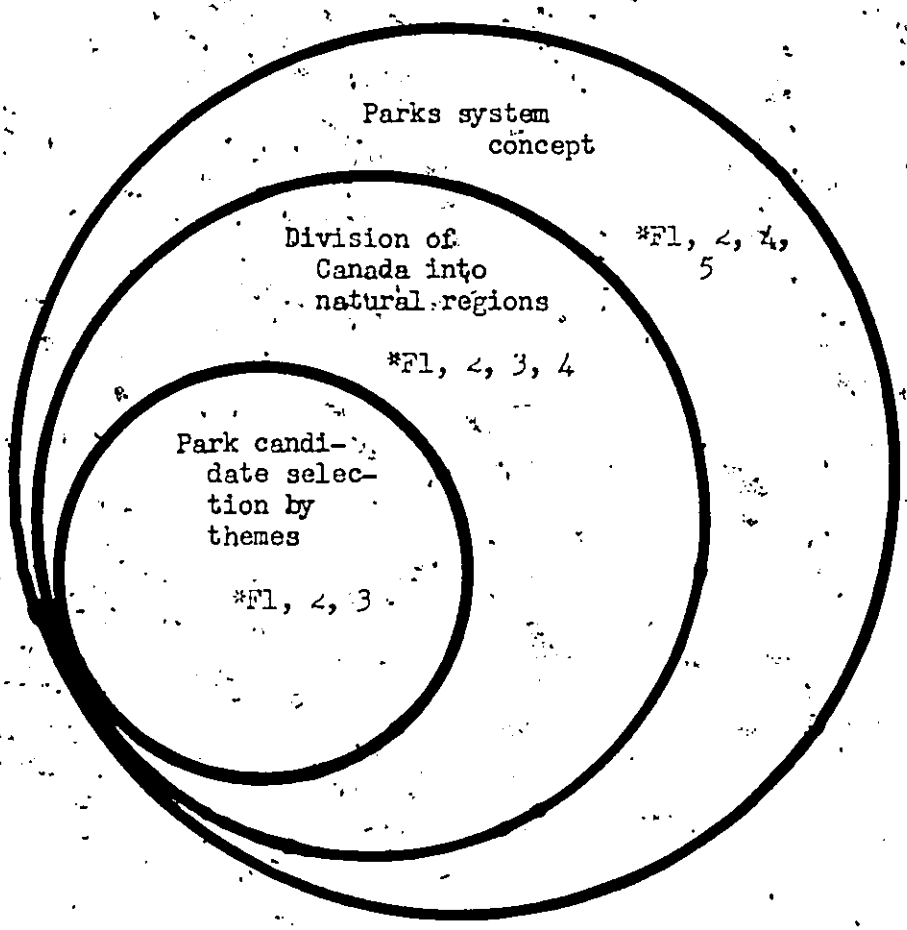
Conceptually, Canadian parks system planning is simple. All

---

[2] Parks Canada, Parks Canada Policy (Ottawa: Minister of the Environment, 1982), p. 38.

Figure 7

Parks System Planning



*Action of factors (see Chapter 5)

of Canada is divided into 48 natural regions, 39 of them terrestrial and 9 marine. Division is accomplished according to ideally scientific and objective judgments on how certain aspects of the landscape coincide. These aspects are physiographic, geological, geographical, and ecological.

> Natural Regions are defined as natural landscapes and/or environments of Canada which may be separated from other such landscapes and environments by surface features which are readily observable, discernible and understandable by the layman as well as by scientists and others more familiar with the natural features of Canada.[3]

Ultimately Parks Canada would like at least one park in each of the 48 natural regions (which more fully are styled "Natural Areas of Canadian Significance").

Although yet young and evolving, the system plan appears to sit on secure bureaucratic foundations and is not likely to undergo drastic change in the near future. At present most work on it concentrates on the Aquatic Subdivision of natural themes, discussed below.

4.2 Park Establishment Planning

On a system-wide basis, Parks Canada has identified a long list of "natural history themes," which are "groupings of like natural features and phenomena which may be observed in one or more Natural

---

[3] National and Historic Parks Branch, Planning Manual, p. A3f.

Figure 8

Parks Canada Natural History Themes

I. Terrestrial

A. Landforms

1. Plains, plateaux, mesas, and peneplains
2. Cuestas and hogbacks
3. Mountain systems
4. The works of volcanism
5. Hot water phenomena
6. Sculpture of the land
7. Eolian landforms
8. River systems and lakes
9. The work of glaciers
10. Seashores, lakeshores, and islands
11. Caves, springs, and karst
12. Meteor impact sites
13. Frost phenomena
14. Unglaciated areas

B. Geological History (secondary in park justification)

1. Precabrian Era
2. Age of Primitive Invertebrates
3. Rise of Vertebrates and the First Forests
4. Development of Land Life and Changes in Marine Life
5. Age of Reptiles
6. Emerging Dominance of Mammals
7. Golden Age of Mammals

C. Land Ecosystems

1. Tundra
2. Boreal Forest
3. Subalpine Forest
4. Montane Forest
5. Coast Forest
6. Columbia Forest
7. Deciduous Forest
8. Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Forest
9. Acadian Forest
10. Grasslands

II. Aquatic

A. Freshwater

B. Marine

1. Landforms
(11 themes)

2. Geological History
(7 themes)

3. Marine Ecosystems
(10 themes)

4. Oceanographic Phenomena
(7 themes)

Regions.[4] Like so much else in Parks Canada planning, the themes have been borrowed holus-bolus from American national park theory. Grouped in a structured way, they are presented in the accompanying figure (see following page).

With themes as their unit of measurement, park planners can pretend to some objectivity in narrowing down their options in selecting park candidates within a natural region. Other things being equal, the more themes represented within an area, the better its claim to selection. But the role of themes within the national parks system is not quite so elementary.

> The long range intention of the National and Historic Parks Branch is to include within both the terrestrial and aquatic components of the National Parks System, representative, unique and outstanding examples of all Natural History Themes found in Canada.[5]

Thus the rank desirability of a given area as a national park increases in proportion to the number of themes it manifests which are unique or outstanding, as well as representative.

Once areas of interest have been identified by map study, aerial photographs, and literature search, Parks Canada begins field surveys. In northern regions these typically involve helicopter or fixed-wing overflights, with a few landings, the whole duration of which amounts to a few days. Provincial or territorial park planners may be involved, as they may be in office studies before and after

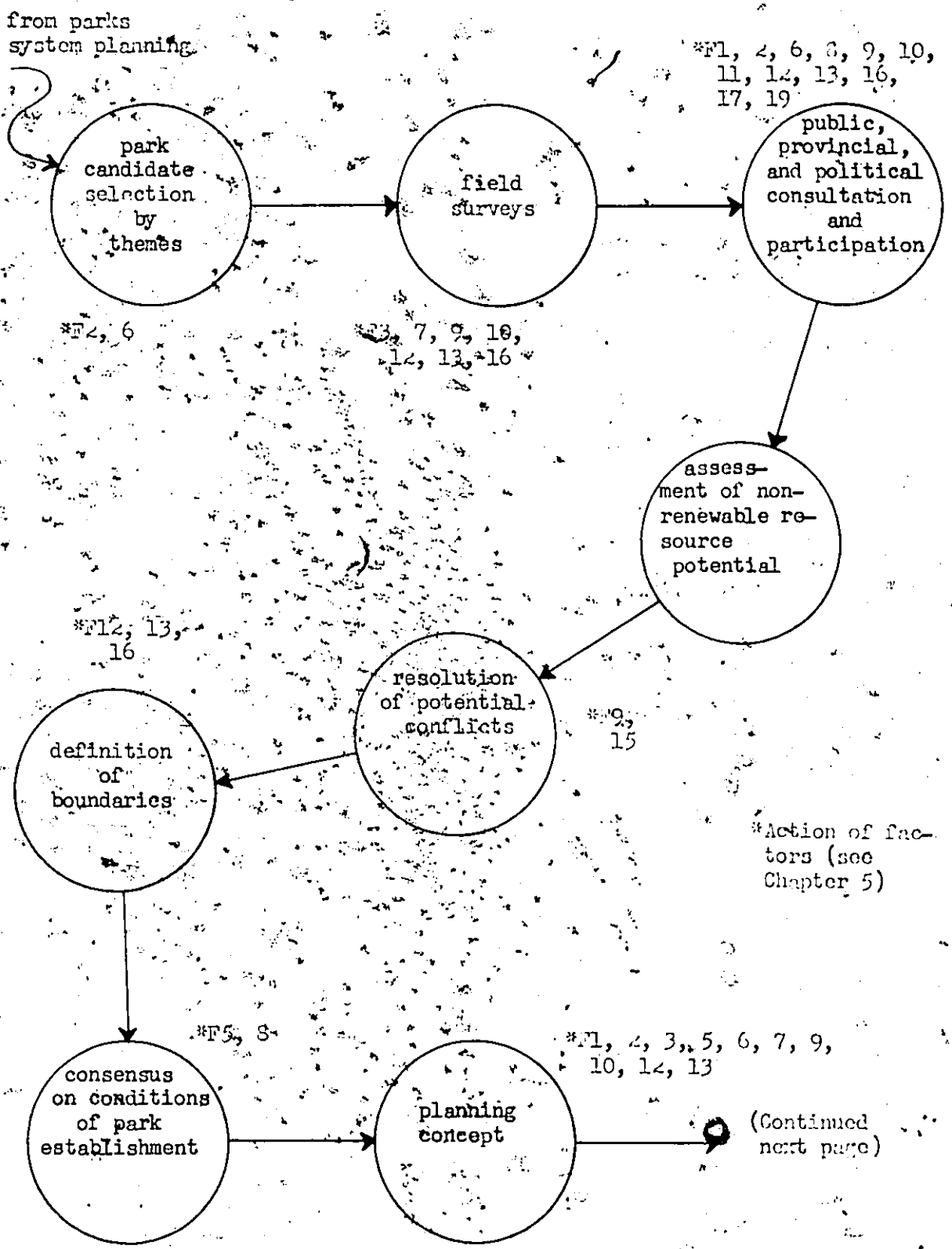
---

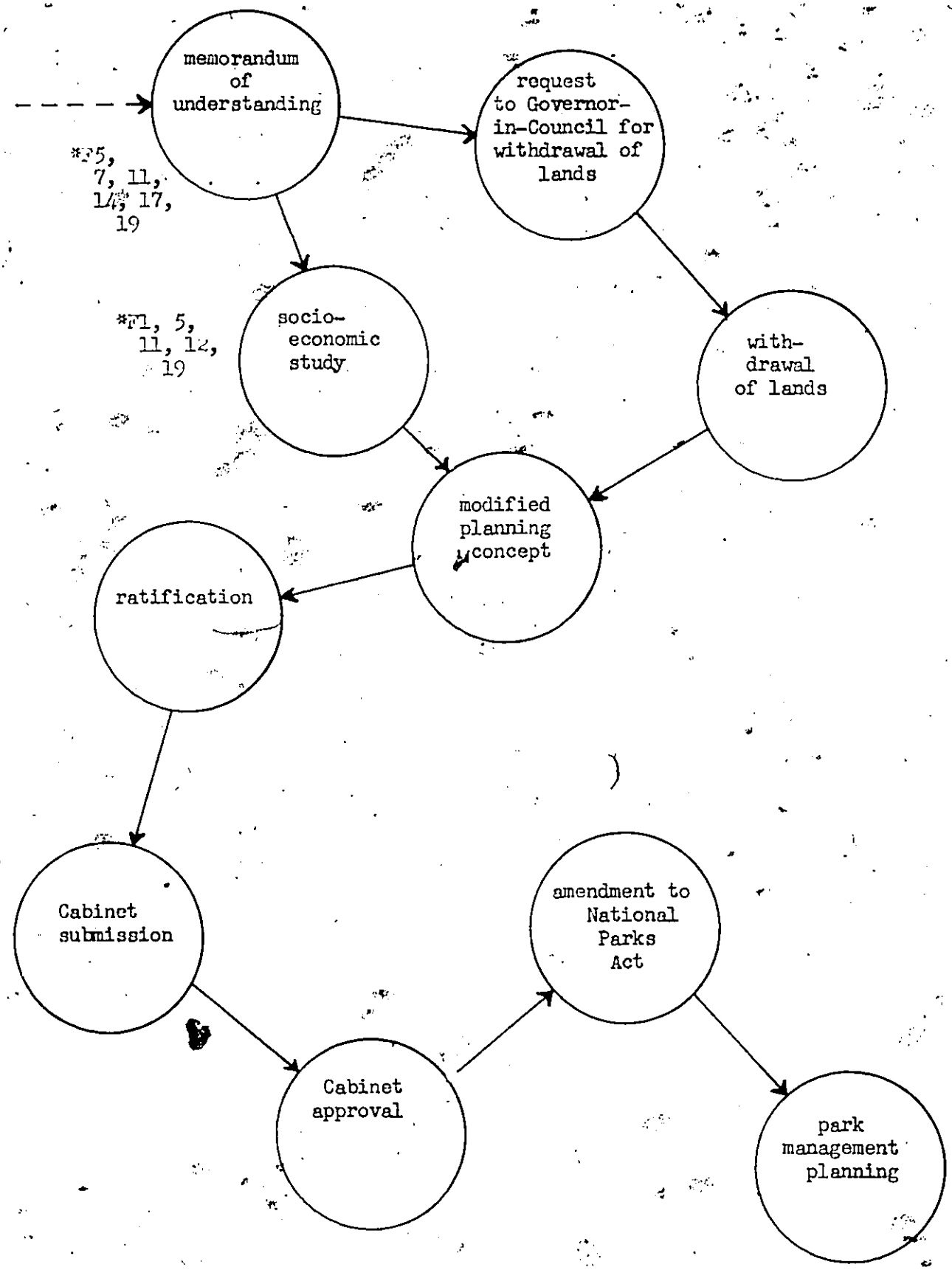
[4] National and Historic Parks Branch, Planning Manual, p. A4.

[5] National and Historic Parks Branch, Planning Manual, p. B8.

Figure 9

Park Establishment Planning




memorandum of understanding
*2, 5, 7, 11, 14, 17, 19
request to Governor-in-Council for withdrawal of lands
socio-economic study
*1, 5, 11, 12, 19
with-drawal of lands
modified planning concept
ratification
Cabinet submission
Cabinet approval
amendment to National Parks Act
park management planning

the trips. Federal and provincial or territorial politicians often make input as well, not so much taking the high road of promoting conservation as the low road of injecting economic concerns into the "objective" park establishment planning process. Eventually a consensus develops about what roughly defined blocks of land would be suitable as representation for the natural region of interest.

Somewhere in this chain of events public participation will commence. Past experience was that local people got wind of Parks Canada interest in their hinterland and immediately took alarm, assuming the worst, namely that they would be excluded, whether they liked it or not, from territory they had long had access to. Only afterward did Parks Canada begin public information sessions, often jointly with provincial or territorial planners; meetings to exchange questions and answers; meetings between park planners and local officials; distribution of brochures and offering of slide presentations; dispatching of public involvement facilitators; and so on. In the 1980s public participation has become an important element at every stage and in every aspect of Parks Canada planning, although where native people are concerned it is still hesitant and prone to embarrassment, its success is spotty, and it works on the short tether of federal-provincial-First Nation intergovernmental politics.

Finally one area will emerge as most suitable for park status. If all interests are in rough agreement, that area will thenceforward be thought of as a potential park, and planning enters the phase of developing the "planning concept" for it. The planning concept will include information on the purpose of the proposed park, an outline

of its location, boundaries, size, and highlights, management objectives for it, and the type of development anticipated to take place in and around it. It will represent an initial consensus among all major actors on the conditions of park establishment.

From this point on, the planning process enters a time track. Planning stages take place in some semblance of chronological order, with deadlines and milestones in sight. Exactly what the stages are varies from case to case, but a generalized series would be more or less as follows.

First, the federal Minister of Environment and his provincial or territorial counterpart conclude a memorandum of understanding or memorandum of intent or other such instrument. The memorandum contains the formal terms and conditions under which further park establishment planning and park establishment itself may go forward. It includes as well a résumé of the park concept, and probably a "socio-economic action plan."

Next, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (as the arm of government responsible for Crown lands in the North) forwards a request to the Governor-in-Council for a withdrawal of land for national park purposes. (In the South the Department of Environment would take this step.) If the request is approved, the proposed park or park reserve lands are withdrawn from other forms of development for a period of 4 months or more.

Before long a socio-economic impact study takes place.

Continuing federal-provincial or territorial negotiations, with more or less public participation, lead to a "modified planning

concept."

At the end of the period defined in the memorandum of intent, the two governments involved ratify an agreement to bring the previously withdrawn lands under the provisions of the National Parks Act.

Parks Canada then prepares a Cabinet submission proposing the inclusion of these lands under the National Parks Act as a park reserve, where these lands are subject to native land claims, pending settlement of the claims; otherwise as a national park.

At last Cabinet approves the new park and it becomes a part of the national park system by an amendment to the National Parks Act.

4.3 Park Management Planning

Once established, a new national park or park reserve undergoes initial and recurrent planning of its management strategy. Current thinking on management planning is similar to that on municipal planning; it should go on all the time or be reactivated at frequent intervals.

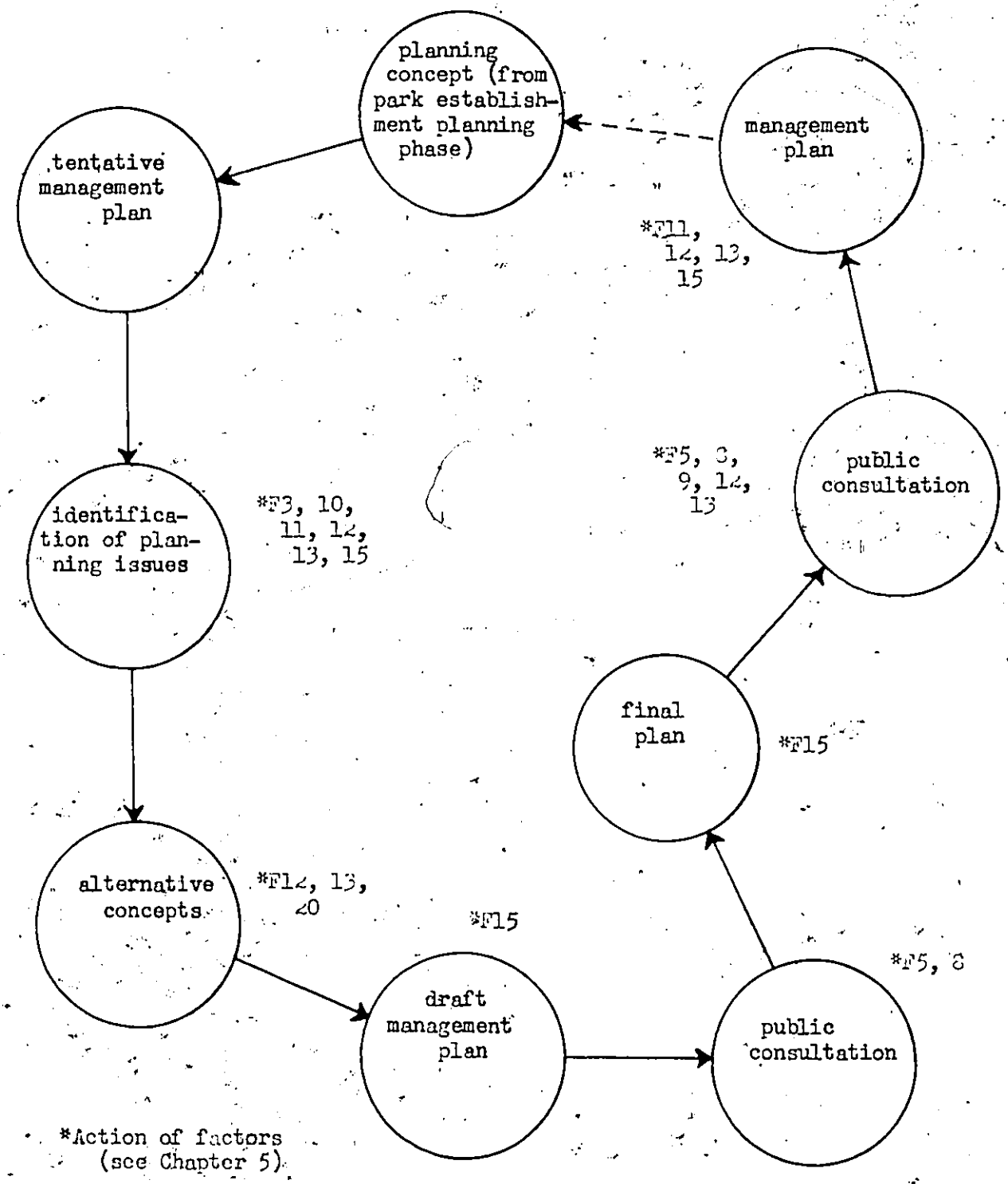
To the extent that park management planning proceeds along a time line, the stages of it are as follows.

First, the planning concept grows into a "tentative management plan." (The term "master plan" was dropped in 1978, along with its suggestion of finality.) Over the short term the park or park reserve must be managed somehow, and the guidelines specify what the interim regime will be to begin protecting park resources immediately.

Meanwhile, public consultation takes place. At time of writing Parks Canada is undertaking an extensive public consultation program

Figure 10

Park Management Planning



*Action of factors (see Chapter 5)

over Nahanni National Park Reserve. The first phase thereof was for Parks Canada to discover what the main management planning issues were, through consultation with both local and national publics, and then to inform those publics of its findings.

Analysis of public opinion allows the planners to formulate "alternative concepts." Again these are submitted to public scrutiny, and again the reaction of the public is studied.

Eventually Parks Canada produces a "draft management plan." When the public has had its say on the draft, a "final plan" is issued. The final plan, through ramification and elaboration, then becomes the "management plan."

5. Action of the Selected Factors in Planning

Many casual indications of factor activity have already been given in the factor descriptions of chapter 3. More will have occurred to any reader at all acquainted with the subject-matter. It is therefore the task of this chapter only to provide in a more systematic way one or two instances of how each factor operates within the planning process for national parks in the North, to establish that what is alleged to be a factor is indeed a factor.

Sometimes participants in the park planning process accord a factor full recognition, sometimes not. When they do, the validity of the factor is obvious. When they do not, it will be argued herein that the factor is valid all the same, as a malfunctioning component in the machine or as a lost opportunity in the quest to fulfil societal goals.

5.1 Native goals and Euro-Canadian goals (Factor 1)

If the goals of a Euro-Canadian national park system are indeed quite different from the goals of northern native groups, it would seem imperative for Parks Canada on the one hand and the Dene Nation (or Inuit Tapirisat and so on) on the other to study closely the goals of their opposite numbers. As for the native organizations, their resources are too limited to do much in this regard except in an intuitive fashion. Not so the resources of Parks Canada; yet nothing in the bibliography of Parks Canada studies would lead one to believe the government agency has realized native Canadians have aims

in land use dramatically distinct from the aims of Euro-Canadians. Certainly Parks Canada documents available to the public reveal no explicit and systematic knowledge of native goals. For practical purposes, Parks Canada appears to treat native ideals and needs in land use as possible to identify through tactical expedients such as field liaison officers rather than through research into the strategic meaning of land use to different native peoples. Sometimes the tactical approach works; sometimes it does not. Rising Dene resentment over the non-negotiated native role in Wood Buffalo National Park appears to baffle park administrators who feel that in practical terms everything that could be done for native park users has been done.

Canadian national parks policy does admit some responsibility for preserving native culture,[1] a responsibility which coincides with what is perhaps the leading goal in native land use policy. In parks system planning, however, the agency has no room for the concept of ensuring that Canadians will always be able to witness representative examples of the only truly indigenous cultures this country has ever produced. All the "themes" of parks system and park establishment planning are natural history themes. Not even in the development of a park concept, as for example in the case of the East Arm proposal, is it usual for there to be a focus on preservation of an indigenous culture. It is not a question of saying, as Parks Canada policy does, that certain aspects of traditional subsistence culture may be per-

---

[1] Parks Canada, Parks Canada Policy (Ottawa: Minister of the Environment, 1982), pp. 11 and 42.

mitted,[2] but of assigning a high park value to those activities in the parks system, and as a consequence possibly even subsidizing them in realized parks, as the Finns do with some cultural traditions in their national park system.[2]

The sharing out of planning and management functions with native people is also an element in Parks Canada policy which coincides with native goals.[3] At present, though, both in policy and in practice, the sharing is directed almost entirely to the local native communities and not to the local communities through the national native organizations. Parks Canada planning would be more effective if it were otherwise. As the words of Snowdrift Chief Pierre Catholique quoted in the "History" section of the Introduction to this thesis reveal, native people want to deal with government officials through high-level and worldly-wise representatives of their own; councils of chiefs and advisers rather than chiefs and councils. When Parks Canada concentrates its attention on local native communities, it misplaces its efforts, because the local community is not equipped to deal with such global matters as national park goals (about which it would be afraid of being tricked), and Euro-Canada loses the opportunity of entering into a dialogue with the pertinent national native organization which would be more meaningful for both parties.

---

[2]Pekka Borg, "National Park Planning and the Rights of Native Peoples", Parks, Volume 1, Number 3, October-November-December 1976, pp. 1-3.

[3]Parks Canada, Parks Canada Policy, p. 40.

Finally, Parks Canada has attempted to convey the meaning of Euro-Canadian goals in park planning to native communities through slide shows, tour junkets of existing parks by chiefs, and liaison officers. To all appearances these efforts have been ineffectual, probably because Parks Canada has failed to realize how different native Canadian goals are from Euro-Canadian goals.

5.2 "We are the land" (Factor 2)

Nothing in the literature published by or for Parks Canada acknowledges the unity of land and people which is the central axiom of aboriginal North American life and ideology; and northern native people know it and dislike it. As previously observed, Parks Canada sees itself as having a duty to preserve to some degree the cultural heritage of native peoples, and it takes it for granted that it is obliged to conserve the natural heritage of Canada. Sometimes the display panels at visitor reception areas in the national parks profess a close relationship between indigenous people and wildlife. But not in planning, not in policy, nor in parks does Parks Canada exhibit a realization of that final intimacy of mutual ecological adaptation between man and nature. Nowhere does the impartial observer see more than a flicker of understanding that for the Canadian natural heritage to be passed down to posterity unimpaired, hunting, fishing, and other subsistence activities must not just be tolerated in the parks, they must be welcomed, even glorified, in the patterns traditionally followed by the specific aboriginal nations who have occupied these proposed park lands from time immemorial. The proof of incomprehension

is that no one talks about native subsistence activities returning to the southern national parks.

On the contrary, planning seems to be carried on as if ecosystems were independent of the extension of human activities on the land. What, if anything, do the 48 "natural regions" of the Canadian national park system have to do with the First Nations? So far as can be determined, nothing; even though, for instance, individual Dene bands helped define and were defined by the ranges of the major barrenland caribou herds, some species of mammals are probably selected to withstand certain kinds of human hunting, and current abundance of wildlife in a given area may be directly related to the previous stewardship of its traditional owners.

In day-to-day terms, this failure to perceive what is so obvious and palpable to native people themselves is an affront to First Nations' pride. Small wonder native people have no sense of identification with the purposes of national parks, when their own large or even overwhelming contribution to the "natural" basis of the parks goes unnoticed. Small wonder their first reaction to a park proposal is astonishment that a government they do not especially consider their own intends to turn their traditional lands to purposes they have never had before, purposes having little or nothing to do with the people whose homeland is being prised from their grasp.

Park planning which does not incorporate native participation from the earliest conceptual stages simply cannot take into account the intense relationship between a specific native people and a specific tract of land. The "we are the land" factor, with its spiritual, eco-

logical; and cultural aspects, means a piecemeal response after the park concept has matured can never be adequate. It is as if a foreign power were to impose itself on the prairie provinces, take over agriculture for some larger good, then proceed to farm the land in a fashion which every instinct of the original inhabitants told them was inefficient, exploitive, unprofitable, and just plain wrong. If such a power were then to consult with the erstwhile farmers of Saskatchewan about their concerns, the results of such "public consultation" would be similar to what Parks Canada consultation with native people achieves today.

Never mentioned in the park planning literature is the fact that when a park is established on, for example, Dene land, even if local Dene continue to have the use of that land or proceed to derive economic benefits from it it will have fallen from the state of grace which is the ideal Denendeh. The local people may have some new jobs and business opportunities, they may still have the right to hunt and trap; but the land will not be as it was before. It will be shared with strangers, and the ancient interpenetrating ways of Dene and Denendeh will be upset forever. Planning misses an opportunity when it omits a system-level dialogue with Dene on how the essential qualities of the man-nature relationship might be preserved even after park creation.

If attention were paid to the "we are the land" factor by planners — as it is not — it would also be clear that national parks, along with comparative small kilometrages owned in fee simple, may or must serve as all the "homeland" certain native peoples will have in

the long run. Planning which did take this factor into account might therefore try to situate and design national parks in such a way as to reinforce the economic and social integrity of the post-land claims settlement native lands, depending on the desires of the native peoples themselves. As far as can be determined, Parks Canada has neither put this idea to the native organizations nor entertained it theoretically and then rejected it.

On the side of the native organizations, there is a general and abstract appreciation of the desirability that, for example, "appropriate recognition be made of Inuit history and presence as part of the process of the establishment and operation of a National Park." [4] For lack of resources, details have not been worked out.

Where this factor operates most powerfully is in Parks Canada policy, where its absence alienates and insults native people; in parks system planning, where its absence in the themes is a straight intellectual oversight; in park establishment planning, where it should figure (but does not) in additional weight being lent to native expertise in park candidate selection, to native viewpoints in public participation, and to native wishes in the development of the planning concept.

5.3 Spiritual significance of land and wildlife (Factor 3)

It does not seem to have entered into the calculations of government park planners that their proposed uses for the traditional lands of northern native peoples are often tantamount, in a word, to

---

[4] Inuit Tapirisat, National Park Provisions of an Agreement-in-Principle (Rankin Inlet, N.W.T.: Inuit Tapirisat, 1983), 5.3.27.

sacrilege. Of course no one, not even the most conservative native elders, would assert that absolutely no technological or merely Euro-Canadian development should take place on what is in effect holy ground. They would regard some desecration as inevitable, if regrettable and ultimately to be expiated in one way or another. Still, the appropriate assessment is that from the point of view of one of the principal actors in the northern park planning drama no heed at all is paid to the deepest meaning of the land being planned for.

It seems safe to say that no proposal or draft plan for a northern national park mentions attempts to map native religious significance onto features of the natural landscape. It is not part of the park planning process to commission studies into what the general and site-specific religous beliefs of relevant northern native peoples are. It is not deemed worth while to inquire into local native aesthetics bearing on land use, although native people have a reverence for natural beauty at least as profound as that of Euro-Canadians and might contribute much to park interpretation and thematics. Planning makes no special effort to design parks, and park use, in ways that will be minimally disruptive to a proper relationship between humankind and the spiritually powerful entities of the natural world as conceived of by native elders.

For this factor, the logical locus in park planning is in the selection of park candidates by themes (as part of parks system planning), in field surveys and development of the park concept (as part of park establishment planning), and in identification of planning issues (as part of park management planning).

5.4 "Always Ask" (Factor 4)

One does not need much imagination to see the utility of always remembering to ask the owner of a parcel of land for permission to make use of its resources. The most point in northern park planning, it is true, is precisely who is the owner. However, this unsettled legal and political question can be circumvented for planning purposes by the expedient of proceeding "as if" the aboriginal people are, and in some senses will remain, the owners.

In this respect Parks Canada has learned from its rough reception by local people in the 1960s, including the Snowdrift Chipewyan, and it does make park planning contingent on local knowledge and acceptance of its initiatives. For instance, any follow-up from the current two-year consultative process over the East Arm proposal depends on "adequate support" from the local people. (See the history of the East Arm proposal included in the Introduction.) Although this observance of proper form is extended also to southern and Euro-Canadian local people who do not make the same kind of claim to ownership of the land as the Northwest Territories Inuit, the Dene Nation, the Yukon Indians, and other native groups do, it is perfectly sincere as far as it goes, and a genuinely accepted park planning principle.

The trouble is that it does not go quite far enough. Parks Canada planning fails to accord native peoples the higher respect they are due for being not just local people but aboriginal "owners". Park planning suffers through native intransigence when planners do not lend additional weight to the importance of "always asking" native people before proceeding with any planning exercise on Canadian lands.

The operation of this factor is pervasive. Conscious recognition of it is most sorely missed in Parks Canada policy and parks system planning (in the division of Canada into natural regions and park-candidate selection by themes), in which Parks Canada might, but does not, reap much goodwill by acknowledging an obligation to obtain the permission — "blessing" might be a better word — of native peoples to plan for their traditional lands.

5.5 Self-Government (Factor 5)

Only very recently, in the analysis of political scientist Michael Asch,[5] has the Canadian government come around to the view that aboriginal nations are entitled to some measure of self-government. Until it did, Parks Canada as an agency of that government had no choice but to address native communities as communities that happened to be composed of natives, the natives in their larger collectivities having more or less of a legal or political claim to ownership of certain lands. The sovereignty of aboriginal nations, if any, was imagined to lie in the fairly remote past. Responses of native people to Parks Canada initiatives were pictured as receiving appropriate expression through individual or band or municipal-type representation.

Not so any longer. Dene, for example, see their interests in intergovernmental affairs as being most suitably represented through the Dene Nation "shadow government," the departments of which

---

[5] Michael Asch, Home and Native Land: Aboriginal Rights and the Canadian Constitution (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1984), p. 55ff.

are located in Yellowknife. One such department concerns itself with land and resources, a responsibility which takes in land use planning and national parks. Already in 1983-84 the different bands of Dene accept advice on national parks from the Dene Nation "civil service" and refer queries relating to national park proposals to it. Currently the Dene Nation land and resources office is trying to reach agreement with Parks Canada on the East Arm public consultation exercise: Parks Canada would supply funds, and Dene Nation employees would conduct the public consultation.

When Canadian government policy is evolving as fast as it is in relations with native people, assessments of current planning behaviour are particularly hard to obtain. It seems to be the case, however, that Parks Canada still works on the assumption that native nations are not sovereign and will not be, despite the fact that self-government is Canadian policy. The implications of native self-government for northern park planning will be dealt with in greater detail later in this dissertation. For the moment it will suffice to point out that Parks Canada has yet to begin to make adjustments to its planning process which may be necessary to handle the exigencies of planning that is bilateral, with Canadian government and native government involved as equal partners.

Self-government as a factor affects, or should affect, planning especially in the phases of legislation (where it manifests itself in the distinction between parks and park reserves); in policy; in thinking about the parks system, which should be a joint government-government responsibility; in park establishment, with special emphasis on

the development of the planning concept, the memorandum of understanding, and the conduct of any socio-economic study; and in the development of the management plan.

5.6 Aboriginal rights and land claims negotiations (Factor 6)

Land claim negotiations have been slowing down national park formation in the North since they began in the mid-1970s. New park reserves, such as the Ellesmereland park, have continued to emerge, and the Yukon North Slope park actually arose from the negotiated Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement land settlement. However, other proposals, such as the one for a Torngat Mountain National Park in northern Labrador, have been brought to a near standstill by opposition from native land claimants. Sometimes, as with the Torngat proposal, the native people simply do not want a park under any conditions, and land claims give them the political or legal power to block such developments. In other cases, as with the Dene, the native people affected may consider parks as having promise, but only if they spring from a negotiated land claim agreement -- which may take more than a decade to achieve. In these cases the terms of native involvement in new national parks on the affected lands are worked out at the land claim negotiating table.

Certainly both Parks Canada and the native organizations are well aware of all these considerations. Both take a long and mature view of the situation.

It is well known that Parks Canada has a distinctly minor and only indirect say in the actual negotiations, because while Indian

and Northern Affairs Canada, through its Office of Native Claims, has overall responsibility in bringing about a settlement, Parks Canada is a branch of Environment Canada. Although the parks branch can make its plans and requirements known to the negotiators, it can do little to promote and defend them in the heat of give-and-take. Its best strategy in the North, and one it may be compelled to follow whether it likes it or not, is to convince the native organizations that parks are in the best interests of their people, and consequently they should do what they can for parks in the final agreements. Such an alliance, first suggested by Judge Thomas Berger, resulted in the Yukon North Slope park: the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement almost forced it on Parks Canada.

In one form or another Parks Canada does submit to aboriginal rights in its newer territorial parks. Where it does not, it is or will be because of abrogations mutually agreed on with the native negotiating bodies, for reasons such as protection of endangered species. Concerning the long-established Wood Buffalo National Park, considerable discontent simmers among the local native people, and in the Dene Nation executive, with the unilateral and non-negotiated abrogation of certain aboriginal rights. This discontent colours attitudes towards the East Arm proposal.

Whether some officials in Parks Canada actually continue to believe settlement of northern land claims will result in a withdrawal of native subsistence activities from park reserves is difficult to ascertain. If they do, their influence on planning would be pernicious, because they are deluding themselves.

Factor 6 influences or should influence national park planning at the following points: in legislation, where park reserve boundaries are contingent on land claims settlements; in Parks Canada policy, where the same is true; and in park establishment planning, especially at the stages of park candidate selection, consultation, and development of the planning concept.

5.7 Territorial government (Factor 7)

As things stand in northern park planning, the federal government interacts with the territorial governments more or less as if they were provincial governments. For their part, the territorial governments, and especially the Northwest Territories government, undertake to represent the concerns of the native people within the geographical bounds of the Northwest Territories and Yukon, legitimizing themselves to some extent by including native persons in their executives. Territorial governments have been quite diligent defenders of native concerns, as they see them, in working out the terms and conditions of park proposals.

In October 1981 the Deputy Minister of Economic Development and Tourism for the Northwest Territories and the Assistant Deputy Minister for the federal Department of the Environment signed an agreement committing Parks Canada to a number of items mandating Government of the Northwest Territories involvement in park planning, most of them providing for information, review, and the need for territorial assent to park proposals. Active territorial participation is stipulated for selection and prioritizing of areas of interest.

Item 1.3.13 calls for the creation of joint management regimes for parks arising out of land claims settlements, in which local native communities would have a negotiated share. Item 1.3.14 preserves the "reserve" status of northern parks until claims are settled.

In its Principles Concerning the Establishment, Development and Operation of New National Parks in the N.W.T., the territorial government describes "criteria that will be used by the G.N.W.T. for evaluating new national park proposals." Most of these criteria appear to be supportive of native concerns. Only the stipulation that "The N.W.T. wildlife resource harvesting regulations and practices for General Licence Holders should be used as the basis for regulating the harvest of wildlife within proposed parks" is open to criticism as possibly flying in the face of customary law being used as the basis for game management in the parks.

Despite such commendable activity on their behalf, native people have a low opinion of the legitimacy with which territorial governments represent their interests. As perceived by those Indians and Inuit who have thought deeply about this matter, a condition affecting native rights or benefits in a park memorandum of understanding may be rightfully solicitous of their concerns and still be offensive because it fails to derive from the sovereign or semi-autonomous status of their nation. Their attitude is the mixed one characteristic of colonialized people who are asked for their opinion. They do not trust the territorial government to represent their interests truly; they resent not being able to speak for themselves where the planning action is, and in deciding what the planning process

should be; they regard the purpose of the planning as something alien to their own way of life, if only because it is foist upon them.

In short, to the extent that Parks Canada is perceived by native people as acting as though the territorial government truly represents their interests (saving for purely local interests), it is perceived as abetting colonialism; and to that extent the park planning process suffers.

The way native people view territorial government affects planning chiefly in park establishment and park management. Sensitive nodes are field surveys; consultation; planning concept; and memorandum of understanding.

5.8 Native decision-making and the "black box" (Factor 8)

Very little is known in a systematic way about how Parks Canada broaches park proposals to Indian and Inuit communities and attempts to win local support. The case of Snowdrift and the East Arm proposal leads one to believe the approach has been to address chief and council, or whatever the local leadership, as if they were strong authorities and directors of opinion, when in fact they typically are neither. At least in the past, park proposals were dropped on unsuspecting remote communities like bombshells. Then public meetings were called to explain the proposals. Plainly, there was no formal recognition that native communities shape their decisions in ways that are fundamentally different from the ways of Euro-Canadian communities. Informally, planners are still puzzled by the response their advances met with in 1969 and following years.

What went awry was partly that the parks branch did not take the Dene decision-making apparatus seriously. Not only was Lu Tsel K'e assent to the park proposal assumed to issue from the chief and council rather than from individual Lu Tsel K'e Dene; such assent was expected to come quickly: neither of which eventualities reflect a true appreciation of how native people arrive at collective decisions. As demonstrated by the subsequent formation of the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories, northern native people want to meet with high-powered government planners on a basis of equality. To that extent, for the federal government to come to Snowdrift with a park proposal in 1969 was for it to be a decade premature. It was asking people to react to a park proposal when they did not feel they had an appropriate apparatus for reacting. Nor was it reasonable to expect consensus to be reached on such a complex issue in a short time. Given such an impossible demand, any Dene leader would react with the same "fight or flight" response as Chief Catholique.

Both "Model 2" decision-making among northern native people and park planning have come a long way since 1969. Nevertheless, Park's Canada still endeavours to persuade local native leaders that a park nearby would be good for their community. It still expects results from public meetings conducted by park planners.

In summary, the special characteristics of native decision-making have a bearing on park planning especially in consultation in the phases of park establishment and park management.

5.9 Park proposals as disruptive forces (Factor 9)

According to one Parks Canada planner interviewed personally, a northern Indian chief a decade or so ago was invited to tour national parks in southern Canada at the expense of the parks branch. The chief accepted, and toured; and was thrown out of office for his pains. His people apparently felt he had been co-opted.

As previously noted, pro- and anti-park factions evolved in Snowdrift as a result of the 1969 East Arm initiative, causing intense emotional distress. Similarly, the author of this thesis is aware of fist-fights that took place in Nain, Labrador solely because Inuit friends of his defended him against the (false) imputation that he was involved in the Torngat national park proposal.

When park proposals are themselves disruptive because of the way they have been presented, they stand very little chance of being accepted by the local native community, because the native community, unlike the majority-seeking Euro-Canadian community, seeks consensus. Presenting a park proposal in terms of advantages and frankly admitted disadvantages, as Parks Canada sometimes does, may increase the probability of pro- and anti- factions arising, because it affords a ready-made, and not necessarily appropriate or accurate, analysis of what should perhaps be left to the local people themselves to analyze. Thenceforward, every additional public-participation stage in the planning process will ratchet up the strength of feeling. Although rather different mechanisms may have been at work in his case histories, Richard Bill's penetrating study of the Labrador park initia-

tives of the 1970s provides broad reasons to suppose that Parks Canada continues to have little appreciation of the disruption its proposals may have in native communities.

Operation of this factor is restricted to park establishment planning, in the field surveys, public consultation, and planning concept.

5.10 Social impacts anticipated from the park itself (Factor 10)

National park planners (including those working for territorial governments) do try to anticipate the social impacts a new park in the North might have on native people. The Ellesmereland documents are good evidence of that. Furthermore, government planners attempt to ascertain what social impacts might be anticipated by obtaining input from the local native people themselves. Showing that they appreciate how devastating new national parks may be to the social fabric of their communities, land use planners working for the native organizations have tried to ensure that most land in new northern national parks will be zoned as "Special Preservation" or "Wilderness".[6]

However, the understanding park planners have of social impacts, and the means by which they gather information about them, both discussed elsewhere in this thesis, fall short of what is needed. That is, federal and territorial park planners do not recognize certain kinds of social impacts which might be anticipated from a new park,

---

[6]Inuit Tapirisat, National Park Provisions, 5.3.1.

such as item 8, "sense of loss as even park land is altered from the 'Dene image' of it." Nor do their methods of gathering data directly, for example by holding public meetings, ensure that such anticipated impacts will be brought to their attention. (Current Parks Canada experimentation with the idea of contracting out social research to the Dene Nation may indicate a growing awareness of how the challenge of Factor 10 has not been met by traditional parks branch methods.) And because planner information-gathering and understanding are incomplete, planner presentations of park proposals are incomplete — and are perceived to be so by native people.

Anticipated social impacts are a factor at the following points in national park planning, at the park establishment phase: consultation, planning concept, and socio-economic study. In park management planning they have a role in identification of planning issues.

5.11 Restrictions and practical problems (Factor 11)

Native people have had a lively appreciation of how national park creation restricts their activities for a century now. Over the years national park planners have learned to be sensitive to such restrictions too, or the potential for them, and they now spend much time in consulting over ways in which the inconveniences and lost opportunities may be limited as far as possible. Yet it is apparent from the situations reported by the superintendents of Nahanni, Auyittuq, and Wood Buffalo parks that Parks Canada does not have a uniform policy on restriction of native subsistence activities in northern national

parks. For example, sometimes territorial regulations are said to serve as a model for park regulations, sometimes it is asserted that there are no restrictions except those in federal legislation. Not being clear even on what "subsistence activities" are, planners have acute difficulty explaining to local native people how a proposal for a new national park would affect them as hunters, trappers, and fishermen. Without that information, local native people are in no position to make the informed judgment that is essential to a meaningful public consultation process.

Neither have northern native organizations surveyed what the problems of their constituency are in conducting subsistence activities in existing national parks or park reserves. Operating from a base of anecdotal and unsystematic information on this score, they allow Parks Canada to define the issues in their stead. Sometimes to do so is to allow the government agency to set up and then knock down a straw man. Certainly native planners ought to be very concerned about how Alaskan national park managers, for example, already insert escape clauses into their thinking about native use of American northern national parks, anticipating problems which might not emerge for generations.

Restrictions and practical problems in existing parks are a factor in how native people, like other people, view proposals for new parks. They therefore affect planning to some extent at the parks system level, where they can and do slow down parks system expansion throughout the North, with the result that new park creation efforts are shifted to other parts of the country. They impinge more heavily on park establishment planning (in public consultation, memorandum of

understanding, and to some extent socio-economic study) and park management planning (in identification of planning issues and of course the management plan itself).

5.1.2 Changes in land and wildlife within a park

Parks Canada planners appear to be aware of island biogeographical effects and to some extent they incorporate their awareness of them into the park planning process at the stage of formulating the specific objectives for a given park proposal. Regrettably, planners have very little control over the most important single determinant of "island" quality, namely size, although they do strive to make new parks as large as they can.

Very few native people are familiar with the Euro-Canadian concept of island biogeography. As a development of Western science it is too new. If they have a related concept drawn from their own understanding of nature, it would be surprising if that concept had been applied to the analysis of national park proposals. So one of the actors in the northern park planning process best situated to bring about the creation of large new national parks lacks an additional valid reason for wanting those parks indeed to be as large as possible, other things being equal. Conversely, planners working on behalf of northern native people probably do not fully realize the importance of making new national parks contiguous with lands reserved to their clients.

Once again, there is an absence of evidence that planners have

foreseen how the islanding of northern parks may affect native people, or what native people might feel about the consequences of islanding to them. But a planning process that neglects the potential influence of factor 12 in this way falls short of being comprehensive.

Awareness of changes that might take place within a park is or ought to be a factor in the field surveys of park establishment planning, in consultation, in the development of the planning concept, and in the socio-economic study. In park management planning it does or should enter into the identification of planning issues, the development of alternative concepts, public consultation, and the management plan.

5.13 Park effects on surrounding territory (Factor 13)

It is not clear that factor 13 so far has had much effect on planning for northern parks, apart from expressions of intent by government planners to make national and territorial parks contiguous, where appropriate. If the positive ecological "island" effects of national parks were fully realized, Parks Canada and native planners would probably endeavour to situate new parks in proximity to lands that might subserve ecological purposes as well as native economic purposes. Similarly, Parks Canada fails to alert interested sectors of the public, including native people, of the somewhat deleterious ecological effects its "extra-structure", as well as consequentially displaced commercial and service structure, can have on lands surrounding a park. In fact, authoritative statements of the Canadian

national park planning process leave no obvious opening for an extraterritorial factor to enter into rational consideration.

Yet the effect a park has on the lands surrounding it, just like the effect on a park from being surrounded by lands different from it, plainly ought to figure largely in the planning of parks at all three levels: system, establishment, and management. Lack of adequate attention to forecasting these matters is a deficiency in the park-planning process.

The range of pertinence this factor has to planning is almost exactly the same as for factor 12.

5.14 Joint management (Factor 14)

Both Parks Canada and the native organizations are committed to achieving joint management regimes for national parks in the North. On what those joint management regimes should be, they frequently differ. Difference is possible even within the framework of new park establishment, because the native land claim negotiating organizations work out their agreements (including those affecting lands which may become national parks) with the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, not with Environment Canada, of which Parks Canada is a branch. In this unreal atmosphere Parks Canada planners vacillate uncomfortably between goodwill towards native rights and anxiety not to sell out the shop, while native leaders perhaps mistakenly fail to discriminate between joint management schemes for lands within parks and those for lands outside.

Joint management currently seems to be perceived by Parks Canada as being mainly a policy matter. To the degree that it is accepted as an aspect of planning for particular parks, it is directly pertinent only to wildlife management. (In the recent case of the Ellesmere Island National Park Reserve proposal, joint management meant no more than Parks Canada consultation with the Grise Fiord Hunters' and Trappers' Association in developing hunting and trapping regulations, and joint determination of harvest quotas.) Therefore it enters the planning process at the stage of data analysis of natural resources and socio-economic impact. It can continue to have a bearing on data synthesis, especially in relating the data to administration and management requirements. In the absence of settled departmental policy, however, it can easily be pushed along from one end of the planning process to the other without ever being decisively resolved.

Parks Canada would like to restrict the applicability of concepts of joint management to the park management planning process, particularly from identification of issues on. Native organizations either agree or would push questions of joint management back into the park establishment phase, at least as far as development of the planning concept, and certainly as far as the memorandum of understanding. Neither Parks Canada nor native planners have pushed for the cultivation of native customary law in a possibly desirable integration with Canadian law in the national parks.

5.15 Population growth (Factor 15)

Parks Canada planners are well aware of the threat native population growth might constitute to northern national parks if park management were not planned in such a way as to make native harvesting of park wildlife homeostatic. It seems to be their fear of a hereditary right to hunt and trap in the parks, combined with natural population growth, which has caused them to drag their feet in changing branch policy to admit joint management regimes with native communities of more than advisory capacity. Native population size, in other words, looks like an uncontrolled variable in the wildlife management equation, capable of giving satisfactory and planned results now but perhaps disastrous and unplanned results in the future. So the government planners are searching for modifications of policy that will either compensate for population growth or give native people a say in managing park wildlife while Parks Canada retains control — with a decided preference for the latter alternative.

For their part, northern native people have been dealt a strong hand in the coincidence of a period of park expansion with an era of land claims negotiations. Through the negotiations they may be able, if it is sufficiently important to them, to force into existence specific park wildlife management regimes which will allow them to make their own adjustments to population growth. If they were prudent, they would attempt to fix a formula for such adjustments into joint management schemes themselves, in recognition of human frailty and the ultimate need to preserve the "resource". However,

their belief that the numbers of native people in the 1980s are far below those at Contact, and far below the carrying capacity of the land, contributes to a sense that things will look after themselves. In short, Indian and Inuit land use planners by and large deny that native population growth should be a factor in northern national parks, although the whole of human history and prehistory suggests they are mistaken.

Surely an outstanding omission from national park planning calculations is acknowledgement that Euro-Canadian society has traditionally accorded native people treatment which is better than United States treatment of American native people (probably because economic development in Canada has lagged behind that in the United States while ethical development has kept pace). It is arguable that a proper Canadian view of northern native population increase is to see it as a welcome prospect, opening vistas of cultural and linguistic revival rather than over-exploitation of fish and game. From this perspective Factor 15 should be understood as affecting planning as much through its potential usefulness as through the current understanding planners have of it.

The scope of this factor is limited. It should operate or does operate mostly in the realm of park management planning, as a planning issue and as an aspect of the different drafts of the management plans. It could have a role in policy.

5.16 Boundary considerations (Factor 16)

Boundary alternatives fit into current Parks Canada planning under the rubric of "data synthesis". Data synthesized into boundary proposals would normally include such items as information on mineral deposits, town sites, land claims, game ranges, and ecosystem holism. Less formally, it would also take in the results of consultation between Parks Canada planners and local people, among whom would be local native people.

If only on first inspection, Parks Canada seems to have no systematic procedure for discovering what natural features local native people would want to see closed in by or excluded from a new park. Apparently the assumption is made that the local people themselves will make their requirements known when the subject is raised in general terms during park establishment or during land claims negotiations; or, alternatively, that by and large equivalent acreages are equivalent in local significance. Both of these assumptions are somewhat justified by the realities of land claims negotiations, with their extensive land utilization studies being performed by native organizations, and by the experience of Nahanni, Kluane, and Auyuittuq National Park Reserves, where for native people the question has been more whether there should be a park than where it should be situated. Native people are reticent, however, and planners do not make the kind of systematic inquiries into native boundary concerns they ought to, category by category asking for input on sacred places, old village sites, old graveyards, and so on. Nor has Parks Canada

attempted to develop its capability to perform rational and comprehensive planning in this area by developing expertise in native value systems; although persons occupying the field post of "Public Involvement Officer" may have a wealth of practical expertise in this field.

The purview of boundary considerations is restricted largely to park establishment planning, in field surveys and consultation.

5.17 Moral atmosphere (Factor 17)

Elsewhere in this thesis it has been remarked that moral security or insecurity affect land use planning in the Canadian North. Land claims negotiators admit that "the whole basis of the negotiations is guilt;" historians document that the record of native treatment in early park establishment and wildlife management is one of culpable neglect and outright dishonesty; Parks Canada biologists concede that Euro-Canadian game management policies have been such failures that they have no better claim to control over wildlife than do native managers; native leaders conspicuously resist imputations that they are holding up progress or traitorously selling out their people's interests. Morale has a lot to do with political ascendancy, and to the extent that native interests are contending against Euro-Canadian interests in national park formation, feelings of guilt, virtue, victimization, duty, remorse, and so on will help determine whose interests win out.

One has the impression that in the conceptual zones of game

population dynamics and conservation practices, moral outrage is evenly apportioned between native people and Euro-Canadians. Both sides have reason to be ashamed of their relations with wildlife and both sides have reason to think their own ways are the right ones. On balance neither has undisputed control of the moral high ground.

In their personal independence, northern native people have always confounded Europeans and Euro-Canadians, who are accustomed to subordinating individual prerogatives to political organization and leadership. Because early Dene, for example, had no chieftains except for war or trading, fur company traders and government treaty negotiators chose chieftains for them. Later, Treaties 8 and 11 had their legitimacy called into question partly for this very reason. With a background such as this, it is no wonder Euro-Canadian officials and businessmen regard Dene and Inuit communities as anarchic and rudderless, while native people view Euro-Canadians as slavish "organization men." Overall the sense of superiority in each camp is probably the same.

But there is a moral imbalance. In the 1980s most well educated North Americans would readily agree that indigenous cultures have a right to existence. They wince whenever indigenous people express a fear of acculturation or assimilation, and they dread the sometimes exaggerated charge of "cultural genocide" whenever it is levelled against their own society. They will bend over backwards to help indigenous people resist acculturation and assimilation -- as individuals, if not through their institutions.

And for decades now nearly all thinking Euro-Canadians have

deeply repented of the role their nation played in the exploitation and actual destruction of the First Nations who once owned this continent. Some find the atrocities their ancestors or cultural forebears participated in so painful to contemplate that they are ashamed even to meet native people, or they do not know what to talk about when they do meet them. While it is true that Indian and Inuit writers for their part have admitted to a feeling of shame over native alcoholism, squalor, and anomie, they recognize, as does anyone else who has devoted any attention to the subject, that these are by-products of the Euro-Canadian intrusion into aboriginal lands and lives. Here the moral advantage of native people is very great.

In sum, native interests have a heavy moral weight behind them. That weight expresses itself in current planning for northern national parks in the disproportionate political attention paid to what native communities say about proposals for parks on their traditional lands and in the recent openness to joint management regimes. Everywhere, it takes the form of heightened respect for native culture and people.

Moral atmosphere pervades the entire park planning process. It is particularly powerful in the consultation and memorandum of understanding stage of park establishment planning.

5.18 Control (Factor 18)

To mention just one form of control, it may seem a foregone conclusion that control over the northern park planning process is

entirely in the hands of the Euro-Canadian-responsive federal government, but such is not necessarily the case. As has already been mentioned, the Yukon North Slope park was to some degree forced on a reluctant Parks Canada by the Inuvialuit claimants, to take one extreme; and to take another, the Minister of Environment assured the Lu Tsel K'e Dene that the East Arm proposal will not go ahead against their wishes. Control of this kind may have an all-or-nothing narrowness to it, if only in the short term, but it is not negligible.

Timing of a park proposal is in the control of Parks Canada, as is the nature of public consultation, the objectives of the park under consideration, and most aspects of planned management patterns. Native people have some control over wildlife harvesting, area of the park, boundaries, effects of visitors on their own communities — all in the form of decisive public input into the planning process.

Currently, wrestling for control of the park planning process between native organizations and Euro-Canadian institutions is dormant. If and when it does become a large factor, as it has in overall land use planning in the Northwest Territories, it will be all-pervasive in policy and parks system planning, with the national organizations taking the lead, and in park establishment and park management planning, with the individual First Nations taking the lead.

5.19 Economic benefits (Factor 19)

About economic benefits as a park planning factor little need be said, because others have said so much already and no one doubts

their importance. Economic benefits have their specific place in the Parks Canada planning process under the analysis of socio-economic impacts. The Ellesmereland memorandum of understanding shows that considerable effort and ingenuity go into inventing ways in which a local native community may benefit from a new park on its traditional lands.

One carries away the impression that native leaders and planners react to Parks Canada economic propositions rather than initiate proposals themselves. That is, if Parks Canada planners allege that a new park may create several jobs for local native people as wardens, carpenters, information desk employees, and so on, the native community leaders and planners in the national organizations tend to try to come up with ways in which working conditions in those jobs might be most advantageous for the individual worker and his or her community. They do not usually make counter-proposals for restructuring the entire park concept in such a way as to create more or better jobs, or jobs subserving wider native goals. Their input, too, is of the public-consultative sort. At the same time it must be admitted that the "Schedule of Matters Appropriate for Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreements in Relation to Parks", as one example of the regard Parks Canada pays to native economic benefits, is a comprehensive list.[7]

Although economic benefits as a park planning factor of interest to native people relate mainly to park establishment planning (consultation, memorandum of understanding, and socio-economic study),

---

[7] Inuit Tapirisat, National Park Provisions, schedule.

they receive translation into tangible jobs and opportunities in the park-management planning process (identification of issues and the different versions of the management plan).

5.20 The universe of alternatives (Factor 20)

Under the umbrella term of "national parks," the Canadian government manages over 30 nature preserves in distinctly different ways. Some, like Auyuittuq, are wilderness parks, with few facilities and no intent to draw tourists. Some are maintained primarily as wildlife sanctuaries, as with Wood Buffalo. Still others, such as Banff, were brought into existence and are developed more for recreation than for any other rationale. A few, of which Gros Morne perhaps is one, have little reason for being except to preserve, in the language of the Parks Canada program objective, a representative portion of the Canadian natural heritage for all time (while assisting the economy of a depressed region).

Moreover, in many countries the range of meaning covered by the expression "national park" extends well beyond what Canadians understand by the term, in various directions. National parks in European countries, for example, regularly include within their boundaries farms and villages, sometimes towns and cities (and they are not regarded as mistakes or historical accidents, as are Jasper and Lake Louise). Third World national parks may permit logging (as does just one Canadian national park), mining (as the Canadian national park system does no longer), lumbering, and hunting.

Australian national parks are not even created and managed by the national government, but by the states.

Despite all this latitude, and despite the evident awareness Parks Canada policy-makers have of the many different kinds of park-equivalent reserves countries around the world have experimented with,[8] it does not seem to be the case that the federal government has ever proposed to the public new kinds of national parks, in the North or anywhere else, which would serve Euro-Canadian or native goals better than the ones we have now. For example, no evidence is ready to hand that the options of "anthropological reserve" or "conservation unit" have been examined for their possible applicability to the East Arm situation. Certainly Parks Canada has not asked land use planners employed by the native organizations to express their opinions of reserves of these novel kinds.

The option of no park at all is one that Parks Canada entertains frequently. However, it is always a tactical possibility, not a strategic one, except insofar as the location of a proposed park may be shifted this way and that within a natural region, or even to the point where it straddles a boundary between natural regions. In the end the inviolable goal of the branch, prompted by the parks system approach, remains at least one national park in every "natural region" in the country.

As for land use planning by native organizations, a quick

---

[8] The Parks Canada Senior Policy Adviser Harold K. Eidsvik is a world authority on this subject.

reconnaissance leads one to conclude that it does not much follow up on the possibility of park reserves other than national parks. When Mr. Justice Thomas R. Berger recommended the creation of a reserve on the Yukon North Slope in 1977, he called it a "wilderness park," saying nothing about who should manage it except that native people should not be left out.[9] When the Inuvialuit negotiated the park into existence in 1984, it was classed simply as a national park.

Junctures where the universe of alternatives is or ought to be a factor are in legislation; in Parks Canada policy; in parks system planning at its most general; and in park establishment planning, as an initial range of options.

---

[9] Thomas R. Berger, Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland, The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1977), Vol. I, p. 42.

6. General Conclusions

In this chapter the intent is to draw some general conclusions about how the northern park planning process might be improved. The conclusions are "general" in the sense that they follow broadly from the factor analysis provided in Chapters 3 and 5, and the courses of action they imply would result in non-specific or global improvements to the planning process. From them, in turn, one may derive some of the particular improvements to the planning process suggested in Chapter 7.

6.1 The place of native peoples in a Canadian national park system

National parks are the brainchild of the American people, and if Canadians have usually not been very far behind in following American innovations in park theory,[1] they have not been very original, either. By and large the Canadian parks system has benefited enormously from this close association, because much of the geography and ecology of this country, like the complexion of its two dominant cultures, bears a near resemblance to those of its southern neighbour. Still, Canada does differ from the United States in important ways, and one of them is the historical relationship between First Nations and settlers of offshore origin.

---

[1] Some American commentators are openly contemptuous of Canadian backwardness in employing national parks as a device to preserve wilderness for its own sake; see John C. Hendee, George H. Stankey, and Robert C. Lucas, Wilderness Management (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 53ff.

While Euro-Canadians have nothing to be proud of in their record of nearly five centuries of relations with indigenous peoples in the northern half of North America, they rarely, and perhaps never, set out deliberately to exterminate indigenous peoples. Sickening though it is to modern sensitivities, Euro-Americans did. A mass of documentation unabashedly reveals that Euro-Americans infected trade blankets with smallpox to kill off entire tribes of hostile Appalachian Indians; the American executive and Congress calculated that they might starve thousands of intractable Plains Indians into submission and death by eliminating the bison, and they succeeded; such national heroes as John Quincy Adams uprooted the tribes of the eastern seaboard and herded them to the arid West, in such a way that only a small fraction of the victims survived; the United States Cavalry murdered entire villages of defenceless native women and children in the incredibly literal belief that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian." For complex reasons, including land hunger, temperate climate, and their own unbridled democracy, Euro-Americans worked themselves into a series of Indian wars which escalated from atrocity to atrocity until there was no hope of peaceful accommodation between themselves and the aboriginal people they wanted out of the way. In Canada the image school children have of relations between whites and Indians in the Nineteenth Century is one of peaceful fur trading, or, less flatteringly, of the RNWMP officer kicking down the poles of Chief Piapot's tipi to remove it from the path of the oncoming railway. In the United States it is one of defiant pioneers firing round after round into a closing circle of demoniacally hostile warriors.

By the Twentieth Century the American conception of nature was that in it man was an intruder. It had to be that way, because Euro-Americans were indeed intruders in the New World, and by 1900 the native people were nearly all gone -- gone to reserves, or gone to extinction. Whereas there had once been about ten United States aborigines for every one Canadian, now the numbers were more or less equal. East of the Mississippi Euro-Americans had eradicated the aborigines almost to the last one. Meanwhile, wherever there was wilderness in Canada, there remained native people who were at home in it -- even if, as sometimes happened, Euro-Canadians could sometimes persuade themselves that they were exploring country where human beings had never before set foot. Canadians have never seriously believed, as the 1964 United States Wilderness Act puts it, that "wilderness" is a place "where man himself is a visitor who does not remain."[2]

In brief, the American understanding and experience of nature is not the Canadian understanding and experience. Therefore the American approach to preserving a natural heritage should not be the Canadian approach. A Canadian approach to planning a national park system, if it were true to what is best in Euro-Canadian history and ideals, would reserve a major role for aboriginal cultures, aboriginal economies, and aboriginal people. Without question, Euro-Canadians owe it to native people that they bring such an attitude to national

---

[2] Quoted in Hendee et al., Wilderness Management, p. 9; yet on p. 10 the authors blandly comment that in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries wilderness was a barrier to settlers in part because "it harboured Indians."

park planning; but they also owe it to themselves. For the adjectives future Canadians and people of other nationalities will use to describe the planning of the national park system this generation will leave behind if it does not accord a proper role to native people will not be ones living Canadians would be pleased to hear: blind, ethnocentric, and unjust.

6.2 Native themes in parks system planning

Only one justification can be used for excluding an aboriginal presence from the factors taken into account by Canadian national parks system planning, and it is the view that human beings, at all times and in all their behavioural modalities, are not natural. For if the human presence were, in some times and in some of its manifestations, natural, at least some of the aboriginal cultures of this country would surely be instances of the kind. And if natural, they would be part of the Canadian natural heritage and it would be within the mandate of Parks Canada to preserve representative examples of them in national parks.

As yet the debate over when a human presence is natural and when it is not is far from maturity. An extensive literature in several fields, including ecology, anthropology, philosophy, and religion, has served rather to expose the complexity of the question than to provide easy answers. About all there is wide agreement on is that virtually no human culture in the world today is natural in the sense that wild plants and animals are natural. Moreover, the anthropolo-

gists have uncovered evidence for an "unnatural" imbalance between human populations and natural resources reaching back thousands of years into the past.[3]

Yet the definition of naturalness quoted in subchapter 1.1 of this thesis does allow us to see what we are getting at. Although perhaps only a handful of human cultures over the past 100,000 years have existed in the complete absence of imports and exports, one can argue that such importing and exporting as was done by hunting and gathering people was no more extensive than, for instance, the movement of nutrients into or out of an ecosystem by migrating birds. In other words, hunting and gathering cultures, if not perfectly natural, at least approach naturalness very closely. Indeed, pre-Contact hunting and gathering peoples of Canada, for example, were probably more natural than the Acadian forest or the bison populations Canadians now attentively preserve in Kejimkujik or Wood Buffalo National Park.

The analogy with the bison is a pertinent one, because it occurred to native people themselves as long ago as 1900.[4] If Parks Canada claims it is not in the business of reconstituting altered ecosystems but of preserving portions of whatever ecosystems are left, the bison stand as reminders that it is not necessarily so, for the bison in Wood Buffalo National Park today are not even of the same

---

[3]See Mark Nathan Cohen, The Food Crisis in Prehistory (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977).

[4]See Rene Fumoleau, As Long As This Land Shall Last: A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, 1870-1939 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973), pp. 88-99, 119ff., 226, and 255-257.

subspecies as those which frequented the area in times before the park was established. If Parks Canada asserts that First Nations hunting and gathering peoples may once have been natural but are so no longer, and therefore native cultures are not eligible for representation as part of the Canadian natural heritage, again the bison of Wood Buffalo are there to repudiate the contention, for it can be argued that the bison of Wood Buffalo have undergone exogenous changes as fundamental as those of the nearby Dene who used to, and who sometimes still do, hunt them.[5]

If some, or most, of the aboriginal cultures of Canada were approximately "natural" in the ecological sense of the term, then it follows that they should somehow be an element in the selected representation of nature which Parks Canada seeks to preserve for future generations of Canadians. An obvious place to begin rectifying the omissions of the past is in the parks system mapping out of the country into "natural regions." Natural regions, or natural areas of Canadian significance, should be defined not just by physiological, geographical, geological, and ecological parameters, but partly with reference to aboriginal cultures.

At first sight the cultural criterion might seem like a formidably difficult one to apply; but probably in practice it would be easy to wield. The very essence of "naturalness" as defined by the ecologists is limitation of a species by the environment, and as

---

[5] Dirk Van Vuren, "Abnormal Dentition in the American Bison, Bison bison", The Canadian Field-Naturalist, Volume 98, Number 3 (1984), pp. 366-367.

previously noted Canadian aboriginal populations at Contact were almost all quite strictly limited by the ecosystems of which they were a part. As has already been mentioned, there is reason to believe sub-groups of the Chipewyan were organized in a direct relationship with sub-groups of the Beverly and Kaminuriak caribou herds. In most cases it would no doubt be found, on closer study, that Amerindian cultural boundaries coincided with the boundaries Parks Canada has already drawn for its natural regions using its physiological, ecological, and other criteria.

Yet it would not be an addition without a difference. The difference would be that Parks Canada, and Euro-Canadians as the clients or constituency of Parks Canada, would be recognizing the long association of the First Nations with the land, how admirable that association was, and why certain natural regions bear the relationship to specific native peoples not of territories but of homelands. The difference would be that at long last the Canadian national park system would have a meaning for the First Nations themselves, for individual native persons could then point to a park and with perfect justice say, That is a Dogrib park, intended in some degree to preserve the way of life of our people; or, That is a Caribou Eskimo park, and I am proud to see strangers visiting it, because it tells the world something about what I am.[6]

---

[6] A value Parks Canada alludes to when it speaks approvingly of the Arctic Islands Inuit being "hosts" in the Ellesmereland park; see Parks Canada, Information for the Pond Inlet Development Review Committee concerning Possible Establishment of a National Park Reserve in the Bylot Island-Eclipse Sound Area (Ottawa: Parks Canada, no date).

Similarly, the Parks Canada natural history themes should be either reshaped as nature-including-man themes or redefined in such a way as to include Contact hunter-gatherer influence on the land. For example, the aspen parkland appears to be in large measure a product of First Nation burning practices.[7] "Fire-prairies" might therefore be an appropriate theme under land ecosystems. (Curiously, aspen parkland does not figure in the existing system of Canadian national park natural regions.) It is bizarre that Inuit sea-hunting, which was by no means a negligible factor in sea-mammal behaviour and distribution, not to mention one of the most obvious features of the east and north coasts of this continent as the first explorers encountered them, should be accorded no recognition among the Marine themes. Possibly Parks Canada system planners have been unaware that human beings were implicated in the extinction and distribution patterns of dozens of species of large mammals seven, nine, or eleven thousand years before Europeans ever crossed the North Atlantic.

The deploying of hunter-gatherer natural history themes is a logical consequence of viewing aboriginal cultures as ecologically natural. It would reinforce the dedication of parks system planning to the new attitude outlined above for "natural regions," and in that way confirm the value of the new planning system in native eyes. It would also come much closer to the reality of things, in which dynamics of the land and dynamics of the sea were both subject to the contributing influence of natural man.

---

[7] Henry T. Lewis, "Maskuta: The Ecology of Indian Fires in Northern Alberta", Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Volume 3 (1977), No. 1, pp. 15-52.

6.3 A hunter-gatherer surrogate for national parks

"Naturalness" is one of the commonest and most important criteria in choosing and maintaining land for conservation purposes.[8] It is, furthermore, an aspect of pre-Contact hunting-gathering but not of "traditional" subsistence activities as they are practised by native people today, because current subsistence activities are heavily dependent on the import and export of biologically significant materials. The national park policy planner is thus presented with a choice. He or she can incorporate traditional native subsistence activities in a park and diminish whatever naturalness the ecosystems of that park might possess. Alternatively, he or she can exclude native hunting and gathering, forgoing the other positive values of native participation in the park; and still not achieve naturalness.

One escape from the planner's dilemma might be to create a "surrogate hunter-gatherer" component in the national park. The surrogate component would have as many of the ecological functions of the original pre-Contact hunter-gatherer population as possible, while not aiming at technological or physical identity. As long as the surrogate stood in approximately the same relation to the other components of the ecosystem as pre-Contact hunter-gatherers did, it could be functionally natural, even if the hunting were done by advanced weaponry, the gathering by 10 people to the square kilometre instead of 0.1.

---

[8] C. Margules and M.B. Usher, "Criteria Used in Assessing Wildlife Conservation Potential: A Review", Biological Conservation 21 (1981), p. 91.

Although surrogate hunter-gatherer ecological components could be realized in many different ways, and would have to be realized in ways specific to particular ecosystems, a brief sketch of the kind of entity they might be is worth presenting for its illustrative value. The surrogate for a national park on the East Arm of Great Slave Lake might include such elements as follow.

(1) A specification of herbivore kill, by species, age, sex, herd, and locality; by season, per annum, and by decade; by what devices and with what techniques; all to simulate man-animal relationships at Contact.

(2) Specification of fur-bearer harvest, to simulate subsistence requirements only.

(3) Specification of fish and small game harvest by locality, season, quantity, means, etc.

(4) Guidance on mean sizes of prey to be taken.

(5) Specification of berry, root, firewood, and tree gathering activities.

(6) Prescription of disposal of offal and wastes in the pre-Contact manner -- even if this is offensive to tourists.

(7) Specification of hunting methods, with accumulating experience, so that animal reactions to human presence approximate those typical of early Contact times.

(8) Amount and kinds of human-animal interaction generally to be prescribed.

(9) Siting of campsites to follow pre-Contact practices.

(10) Pre-Contact fire-setting to be simulated (not necessarily by native people themselves).

(11) Band and family hunting divisions to be simulated, with seasonal round of activities.

(12) Traditional native religious determinants on hunting practices to be adopted (such as location of game by dream).

(13) Adventitious changes (intertribal warfare, disease, social reorganization) to be simulated from time to time.

(14) Local hunter-gatherer population effects somehow to be simulated.

(15) Appropriate overall population density to be simulated.

(16) Nomadism to be simulated.

(17) Because of the large "ranges" of both northern hunter-gatherers and the large mammals and birds they preyed upon, simulations of the human niche in arctic and boreal areas may have to apply to some lands outside the park boundaries, and park managers may have to reserve fractions of the surrogate for "outside" harvesters.

If surrogate hunter-gatherer behaviour could not be identical with what Canadian native people regard as their traditional way of life, it might nevertheless include enough elements of that way of life to invite the participation of some of them. Stoney Chief John Snow has expressed his approval of native people's adopting just such a role:

> Opportunities could also be found for some of our people to employ their hunting skills. Much of our traditional hunting area has been taken up by the Banff National Park. Hunting within the park boundaries is not allowed, and there are very few carnivorous beasts roaming the area. This absence of human

> hunters and scarcity of animal predators results in overstocking and the necessity, from time to time, of reducing the number of grazing animals so that a proper ecological balance can be maintained. Indian people could, and should, be represented in the Parks Branch to advise on the conditions of the game and the best method of reducing game populations whenever this becomes necessary. Stoney hunters could be employed to thin the herds.[9]

There is not enough space in this monograph to enumerate the ways in which Canadian national parks might benefit from having hunter-gatherer ecological surrogates, nor to speculate about the details of how native people might take advantage from them. It must suffice to observe that biologists are already worried that park bears are being genetically selected for a different relationship with human beings than the "natural" one, and that native people would find in the hunter-gatherer surrogate scope for the preservation of their way of life, their identification with the land, their spirituality, their economy, and their rights. Despite the difficulties of implementation, surrogates would be a normal development of the national park concept, yet one that would offer interesting solutions to joint management and the problem of what mechanism to use to limit the game harvests of a growing native population.

6.4 An "as if" perspective in park establishment planning

Throughout the section of this thesis dealing with how the identified factors impinge on planning and how planning might adjust

---

[9] John Snow, These Mountains Are Our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney Indians (Toronto: Samuel Stevens, 1977), p. 158.

so as to come to grips with them in a more satisfactory way it is apparent that planning would benefit if government planners brought with themselves to the planning situation an "as if" attitude. That is to say, their agency, Parks Canada, need not concede, as a branch of the federal government, that northern native people have complete sovereignty over their traditional lands; it need only act with the respect for native organizations and institutions which it would show if the northern native peoples did in fact have such sovereignty over the lands to which they have laid claim in the courts of law and the courts of public opinion.

What is being suggested here is nothing out of the ordinary. Governments indulge in "as if" behaviour all the time. For example, a senior public servant testifying before the House of Commons Natural Resources and Public Works Committee on 1985 January 29 made the following statement: "That resulted in a very complex legal apparatus to give effect to the Canada-Nova Scotia agreement where each government has passed legislation pretending, or as though, it had jurisdiction in the entire offshore area...."

From the point of view of northern native people the general advantages of the approach, quite apart from the incremental benefits it would bring to many of the individual factorial aspects of planning, would be great. They would have the respect to which they claim they are entitled: respect for their rights in the land, respect for their status as First Nations, respect for the substance and variety and achievements of their cultures. Their assertion of entitlement for special treatment of all kinds would receive additional legitimization,

They would simply be more important in the Canadian scheme of things, without prejudice to the outcome of their respective land claims.

Of course a planning process which showed such respect for the northern native peoples, and which had few or no corresponding disadvantages, would be one they would far more readily participate in than the one they are offered by Parks Canada now, in which they are evidently regarded as local publics with an unusual, but probably transitory, interest in the land. For that reason alone, if for no other, a park establishment planning process conducted on an "as if" basis would be a better one than what Canadians have now. But a planning process founded on respect for all parties concerned is inherently a planning process to be prized above all others, and especially if the respect accorded is the respect the parties are objectively entitled to.

For Parks Canada the "as if" planning approach might bring as many costs as it would bring gains. Undeniably some planners in parks system planning would be distressed by the government-to-government style of interaction they would be committed to in their future dealings with native people under an "as if" policy. Some might feel the heightened bargaining power of native groups in park establishment planning was too high a price to pay for native co-operation and enthusiasm. Some would feel personally uneasy about interacting with fellow countrymen of theirs as if they were citizens of another nation. The idea has perhaps occurred to some planners that if Parks Canada waits until land claims have been settled, it may not be necessary to care about what native people think of nation-

al parks, so if only they delay long enough, the whole troublesome matter will go away. Politically, one may be confident that segments of the Canadian public would oppose the according of special status to native peoples in national park planning, with repercussions for the federal agency doing that planning.

Nonetheless, "as if" is the approach of choice, and for the following reasons. First, to a near certainty it is morally the right thing to do. Second, it will result in better, more interesting parks, because natural regions and natural history themes will be determined with major input from aboriginal nations, who have a different and corrective view of the appropriate relationship between man and nature from the one usually adhered to by Euro-Canadians. Third, it will defend northern national parks against future attacks on their legitimacy. Fourth, it will result in parks which fit better into their regional milieu, and hence parks which are ecologically and politically sounder. And fifth, tactically speaking, the park establishment planning process might be less of a hostage to land claims negotiations if Parks Canada were in direct negotiations of its own with native governments (as opposed to native communities), instead of totally entrusting its interest to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the perceived arch-enemy of Indians.

6.5 Independent commissions of inquiry

Among native people, as most Canadians know, the Berger commission or Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry was an unprecedented

success. Whole communities of people who had previously regarded government and business activities as being entirely beyond their ability to influence slowly came to have faith that they could be influenced; and in the end their faith was rewarded. Where earlier attempts to obtain native input into planning decisions had met only with apathy, Mr. Justice Thomas Berger stimulated passion and participation.

The reasons for Mr. Justice Berger's success have been sought for by numerous analysts. Often remarked upon are his patience, his informality, his initiative in visiting even remote and small communities, his evident sympathy for the traditional northern native way of life. Possibly most important, though, was his sterling neutrality. When it was all over, many businessmen and politicians may have seen the Berger commission as biased against the pipeline proposal as presented. The native people, though, never asked for more than the judge's independence from industry and southern Canadian power centres. When they saw he had it, they responded as they had never done to a government initiative before.

In its own northern public consultation exercises Parks Canada patently cannot conduct hearings that are perceived by native people to be impartial as between park and no-park options, for the very good reason that it is the development proponent. Indeed, for the average northern Indian or Inuk, a national park is a resource development exactly like an oil pipeline or a large dam, and park planners are as much to be trusted as industry public relations people. If Parks Canada wishes to have productive exercises in public participation

among northern native people, it must somehow arrange for an outside agency, palpably independent and neutral, to conduct impact assessments and public hearings.[10]

Naturally, if planning were carried out on an "as if" basis, impact assessments and public hearings would be in the hands of Parks Canada and one or another native government or organization jointly. But if it were not carried out on an "as if" basis, it would best be done by some private body on contract. One might imagine, for example, the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee doing this sort of thing, or even consulting companies specialized to that purpose. Funding, as other writers have suggested in a different context, would desirably be accomplished by having Parks Canada place in trust a sum equivalent to some small proportion of the total anticipated cost of park establishment. While it is a sobering fact that the Berger commission cost some $10 million, commissions ventilating the much more local and unportentous issue of a national park ought to require a much smaller outlay, some or all of which would have been spent by Parks Canada on public consultation in any event. Espie puts the cost of establishing a new national park in northern Canada at about $10 million (1979), and of operating it $1 million annually.[11]

---

[10] The need for independent commissions of inquiry has been mentioned repeatedly in connection with northern land use planning; see for example the two volumes of Northern Transitions: Northern Resource and Land Use Policy Study (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1978), Everett B. Peterson and Janet B. Wright, eds., Volume I, pp. 59, 71, 78, and 217; and Robert F. Keith and Janet B. Wright, eds., Volume II, p. 71.

[11] Tom Espie, Canada Parks Activity in N.W.T. and Territorial Parks Policy (Yellowknife: Department of Economic Development and Tourism, Government of the Northwest Territories, 1979), p. 74ff.

The independence of the commission would have to be manifest in other ways than membership and cost. Terms of reference for such a commission would have to be widely perceived as fair. Meetings would have to be conducted in native languages, where appropriate, and proceedings issued in prompt translation. Hearings would have to be non-adversarial. Reports would have to be made public without modification by Parks Canada.

It is noteworthy that northern native people have expressed a particular determination to involve themselves in the design of land use planning inquiries. The Inuvialuit have called for "public hearings at the community and regional level" for "assessment of large-scale and long-term activities or proposed activities affecting the land base",[12] and they want to be on the "Land Use Planning Commission" that would conduct such hearings. More recently, in connection with a socio-economic study for the Norman Wells oil pipeline, the Dene have mooted the idea that the Dene Nation should hold "Berger-type hearings."[13]

Admittedly none of these ideas is new. But if Parks Canada has seriously entertained the notion of independent commissions of inquiry to look into the implications to native people of new park establishment in the North, and the adaptation of consultative exercises to native requirements, it does not seem ever to have published the results of its deliberations.

---

[12] Inuvialuit Land Rights Settlement: Agreement in Principle, p. 57f.

[13] Lanny Cooke, "Dene to Study the Dene", Dene Nation Newsletter, in News/North, November 30, 1984.

6.6 Mandatory native guiding

If there is anything native people dislike, it is non-natives telling them what is good for them. Yet if it is a proper function of park planners to find a way around the impasse presented by the divergent goals of native and Euro-Canadian cultures by locating ways in which the Euro-Canadian institution of national parks might satisfy native goals, then surely planners may take some liberties in proposing courses of action which might appeal to native people as well as the southern park constituency. In fact, they must propose such courses of action, or at least lay them out for consideration.

What is surely an instance of the "one solution to two problems" variety is the mandatory native guide for wilderness parties in national parks. That is, a legislated or otherwise firm requirement by Parks Canada that "outside" parties travelling into wilderness portions of northern national parks must be accompanied by local native guides would accomplish many ends of importance to native people and many others of importance to Parks Canada itself.

For the native communities, guiding could constitute a source of employment on a scale greatly exceeding the handful of man-years to be expected from direct employment by Parks Canada. At present, certainly, it is seasonal work -- and in the North the season is a brief one. But winter excursions are expanding rapidly in Canada, and it would be premature to discount the prospect of a year-round, or long-season, northern park guiding calendar. What is being talked about here is a need, ultimately, for a dozen or more guides per park, if numbers of visitors to Auyuittuq and Nahanni National Park Reserves

are any indication.

Guiding of parties down wilderness rivers in national parks is already a thriving form of business venture in Canada, and one apparently growing at a rate of about 40% a year. Many small companies use their guiding expertise as the central attraction of tour packages taking young professional people from southern cities down such rivers as the South Nahanni, Coppermine, and Thelon, by canoe or rubber raft. The entrepreneurs, usually the same people as the guides, mostly start out their careers with little experience or knowledge and less financing. There is no reason why native communities could not be providing such services themselves.

For those native people who choose to live on the land, guiding may be an acceptable, in fact appealing, way to exercise their traditional skills. Should animal rights proponents make further headway against trapping and hunting, there may be no economically productive alternative use of those skills. While the life of a guide may call for colossal forbearance with the foibles of witless, demanding, rude, or disgusting tourists, it is a life many Swiss mountaineers, for example, have found has its compensations. As for whether native people will have held on to enough of their traditional lore to be good guides a generation from now, the answer is that territorial youngsters at present receive instruction in the subsistence life as part of their school curriculum, spending a week or more per year in the bush under the tutelage of elders of their community.[14] Bush

---

[14]Rachel Crapeau, "Youngsters Learn Traditional Skills", Native Press, June 29, 1984.

life remains the avocation of many native youngsters today, and probably will for the indefinite future.

Less commonly noticed is the way guiding might be used by native people as a tool for the promotion of native cultures and native points of view. To date almost all the cultural proselytizing has been one-sided in favour of Euro-Canadian society, as if one were witnessing the reciprocal gravitational perturbations of Jupiter upon one of its lesser moons. Yet it need not always be so. Interest in and sympathy for native ways of thinking and doing things have never been greater, nor means for satisfying curiosity more ample. With some effort of imagination, native communities might use guiding as a means to explain their ideals to the outside world, to change the attitudes of persons whose word may be worth ten votes apiece back in their homes in Toronto, New York, Munich, or Tokyo when it comes to issues that threaten the native lifestyle,, or to reshape world mentality to something a little more like Dene or Inuit mentality simply because it is a good frame of mind to be in. The practical value of carrying the gospel to the unconverted is incalculable, but in the upshot often immense. It need only be noted that giant multinational companies do it with politicians, American governments do it with young rising stars of the Third World, and Parks Can da does it with Indian chiefs. Can they all be wrong?

Resources would not be lacking to assist native communities in developing programs aimed at getting the most public relations value out of park guiding. Under the "Social and Cultural Considerations" section of the Ellesmereland memorandum of unde standing one

clause asserts that:

> Upon request, Parks Canada will provide technical assistance and expertise to local communities for the development of viable interpretation programs to express traditional lifestyles and cultural and value systems within the framework of the park theme.[15]

Another highly desirable feature of guiding is that it is a gentle and civilized way of controlling the comings and goings of visitors to the traditional lands of a community and an unobtrusive way of monitoring visitor activities for their pertinence to native sensitivities. Guides might lead some parties to witness a caribou migration, but they might steer others away from a trapline cabin or a revered burial ground. For native communities to have any real control over numbers of visitors or visitor behaviour, it is virtually a necessity that native people from the communities be guides.

From the perspective of Parks Canada too there are marked advantages to mandatory native guiding. One is improved public safety. With more and more people travelling in wilderness parks, and doing so hard on the heels of break-up and closer and closer to freeze-up, the risks of accident, exposure, and animal attack are bound to increase in future. In the absence of guides, the government agency itself will at some point be placed in the position of either providing expensive rescue services or coming down with restrictions. Guides know what they are doing when they are confronted with polar or grizzly bears, spates on the river, unseasonable cold, loss of a party's food supply,

---

[15] Anonymous, Memorandum of Understanding for the Establishment of a Reserve for a National Park on Ellesmere Island (no date), p. 29.

illness a long way from help — or they would not be guides. Because they have this knowledge, they can help keep canoe, ski, or mountaineering parties in particular out of trouble.

Another point in favour of guides as seen by park managers is that they amount to a very mild, very indirect, yet firm kind of park supervision over visitors' behaviour. It is supervision at one remove, which makes it politically less touchy to handle than direct policing of the activities of visitors in the back country. Park regulations would govern the responsibilities of the guides, and the guides would use persuasion with the visitors, all coming to a lighter hand than the unarguable (but easily ignored) dos and don'ts posted in the park literature and visitor reception building.

Best of all for a government branch under tight budgetary restraint, native guiding would cost the taxpayer little or nothing.

That it would cost plenty for the wilderness-travelling public there is no denying. Depending on competition for guides' time from other visitors or other economic activities such as commercial fishing, which often come during the same open-water season as tourism, rates might vary anywhere between minimum wage and two or three times as much. The imposition of mandatory native guiding, however, ought to put an onus on Parks Canada and the local native communities to keep guides' fees within reason. Nevertheless, on sea coasts or large rivers or lakes where the guide is providing boat transport as well as his wilderness acumen, rates of twice the minimum wage or more could still be a bargain, spread across a group of six or eight people. Climbing parties on the north coast of Labrador do not balk at paying

high rates for a guide and trap boat, because the alternative is a still more expensive series of charter float plane flights.

When Indian or Inuit guides transport hikers or climbers to a remote area by boat or snowmobile, the resulting experience can be among the most intense in the visitors' lives. Boat travel especially has a pace, a drama, and a naturalness to it far surpassing the banality of most other forms of transportation. When a native skipper cons a boat on big water, and it is his boat and the land of his people, the urban heartbeat soars in an unaccustomed fashion. For then the headlands and islands and fiords and rivers and wild animals are not mere scenery or mere landscape, but elements in a cultural pageant, the meaning of which is somehow implicit in every stray comment the guide or his helpers make. After all, it is not because the scenery is finer that so many North Americans flock to Europe for their annual vacations, but because the human meaning of the European landscape seems richer. It is not always culturally richer, of course; but it does seem that way, if only because Americans and Euro-Canadians have done so much to obliterate the very memory of indigenous cultures from their own countries.

Only rarely, it might be predicted, would southern visitors to a northern national park wilderness feel they had not undergone an education through being guided by a native hunter, trapper, or fisherman. The quality of that education could be improved, though it might lose some of its spontaneity, if native tourism experts prepared native guides for their role and assisted local communities in setting up guiding programs. As usual, the preparation would be overwhelmingly

in the area of human relations, with a small admixture of what Euro-Canadians want to learn from native people.

Although many southern Canadians imagine they know what they are doing in the bush, and rightly so, they feel increasingly vulnerable as they venture farther north into subarctic taiga, tundra lands, or arctic sea coasts. Thoughts of polar bears, barren-ground grizzlies, or death from exposure do more than titillate the office worker planning his summer trip to the North during coffee break; they haunt his dreams at night. The assurance that an Inuit guide can judge solely from the behaviour of caribou whether a polar bear happens to be in the fiord is a very great comfort to such a person, or a party made up of such persons. For wilderness park visitors this feeling of safety may count for more than the actual increase in public safety rationally taken into account in the reckonings of park managers.

As always, there is a moral cost to interference with the freedom of the public. People go into the wilderness to escape control, to escape indoctrination, and sometimes to escape all human company. As René Dubos puts it, "the quality of freedom associated with wilderness is diminished if not destroyed by human control of its use."[16] Nor, surely, should a Canadian park system ever eliminate all opportunities for these kinds of escape to be accomplished. But the notion of "guidance" is a broad one, and it is hard to believe some forms of it might not be discovered that would leave individual freedom untouched for those to whom it was overarchingly important in a wilder-

---

[16] René Dubos, The Wooing of Earth: New Perspectives on Man's Use of Nature (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), p. 138.

ness context. Maybe it would be enough if such persons merely consulted a native guide for advice before setting out into terrain that would be for him or her novel and potentially hostile, but for the guide familiar and yielding. At any rate one can be confident that with their own love of personal independence and daring the native people themselves will understand the motives of the adventurers perfectly.

Can a government agency go so far as to make native guiding mandatory in national parks? In the first place, there are intimations that Parks Canada is already feeling its way into this measure. Wood Buffalo National Park officials apparently warn tourists trying to reach remoter areas of the park that they should not travel without a guide "since many parts of the park are shallow marshland, difficult to travel by boat or foot."[17] Expressing it in the conditional mood, but opening precisely the option being discussed here, the Ellesmere-land memorandum, in the section entitled "Visitor Use and Interpretation", states that "Visitors may be required to be accompanied by local, licensed guides when travelling within the park in order to enrich their experience and facilitate the preservation of fragile park resources."[18] That such mandatory guiding is not just an option prudent planners want to keep in hand for unforeseen contingencies is hinted at by Item 16 of the "Terms and Conditions" of the memorandum:

---

[17] News/North, Friday, may 11, 1984.

[18] Anonymous, Memorandum of Understanding, p. 22.

> The Parties shall develop criteria to indicate those conditions under which park visitors must be accompanied by a local licenced qualified guide. Parks Canada will ensure that . . . training programs . . . for . . . residents . . . to qualify as knowledgeable guides will be provided.

These passages are plain evidence that native guiding is an acceptable and timely idea as far as Parks Canada is concerned. For at least some groups of northern native people, namely the Grise Fiord Inuit and the Yukon Indians,[19] it is something they are anxious to see come about. In sum, mandatory guiding is a good example of how planning can identify common means of satisfying the disparate goals of client groups from two distinct cultures of two sovereign entities. It is also a good candidate for much further elaboration of its possibilities.

6.7 Split management

One does not have to be a cynic to harbour doubts about the success of either version of wildlife management philosophy, the one based on Euro-Canadian biology (and biased or subverted by Euro-Canadian politics) or the one based on Dene or Inuit traditional conservation practices (and biased or subverted by modern technology and acculturation). Human beings are human beings: they succumb to temptation, they change their minds as conditions change, they change from generation to generation, they trade off one concern against another,

---

[19] See Jane Woodhead, "Klondike Shouldn't Be the Sole Tourism Theme", The Whitehorse Star, Friday, October 26, 1984.

they differ in their opinions and their commitment to principle. In the words of the British theologian Hugh Montefiore, "there is no way of describing a moral equilibrium between man and his environment."[20] Solomon, in his wisdom, might himself have quailed at deciding whether Euro-Canadian or native wildlife management is better for national parks when it is the welfare of the wildlife itself that is at stake.

Of course, it is not the welfare of northern wildlife alone that is at stake. Also important are rights, promises, politics, power, goodwill, and a host of other abstractions. But to the extent that welfare of wildlife was advanced, a good many other concerns affected by park wildlife management would also be satisfied.

For this reason Parks Canada and the native peoples ought to conduct an experiment in each northern park or park reserve where the philosophy and form of management are contentious. Each park should be roughly divided into two along ecosystem boundaries. In one half of the park Euro-Canadian wildlife management should prevail (although it may nevertheless allow for native representation in the setting of policy for native subsistence activities on the land). In the other native conservation regimes should prevail (yet with Parks Canada or Canadian Wildlife Service input). When, in ten years or a generation, it has become clear to everyone who has an interest in the matter which option in management is the superior, that option should become the permanent way of doing things.

---

[20] Hugh Montefiore, ed., Man and Nature (London: William Collins Sons & Co Ltd, 1975), p. 12.

In this manner both Parks Canada and native people would be assured that park wildlife will be husbanded as much as humanly possible. Both will have control. Both will discharge their mandates to their respective posterities.

The objections to such a scheme are obvious enough that space need not be taken up to enumerate them here. A sufficient answer to most of them is that Parks Canada already in its history has embraced a cognate idea in the principle of "core and reserve", by which a park grows by increments, the reserve being managed under different principles from those of the core. If government and native people were in agreement on it, split management would encounter no serious legal or technical impediments.

It is true that governments do not look with favour on experiments or trial runs. However, anyone familiar with the success rate of federal or provincial government planning initiatives could only conclude that they ought to.

7. Particular Conclusions

Factor analysis, by saying something about how the park planning process works, should throw out insights into how it might work better. Chapter 6 provided some ideas for global or non-specific improvements to the planning process. This chapter undertakes to relate insights arising from specific factors to specific phases of the planning process. Once again the intent is to be not exhaustive but suggestive.

7.1 Legislation and policy

Factors 1 to 6; identifying the unique relationship native Canadians have with their traditional lands, suggest that First Nations should be recognized in legislation and policy as having an interest in national parks of the same nature as the interest of the Government of Canada; that is, a governmental interest. All these factors enforce the conclusion that national parks legislation and policy should be amended to make preservation of First Nations culture and ways of life a Canadian goal.

Factor 17 suggests that Parks Canada has a moral obligation to accord First Nations special status in planning.

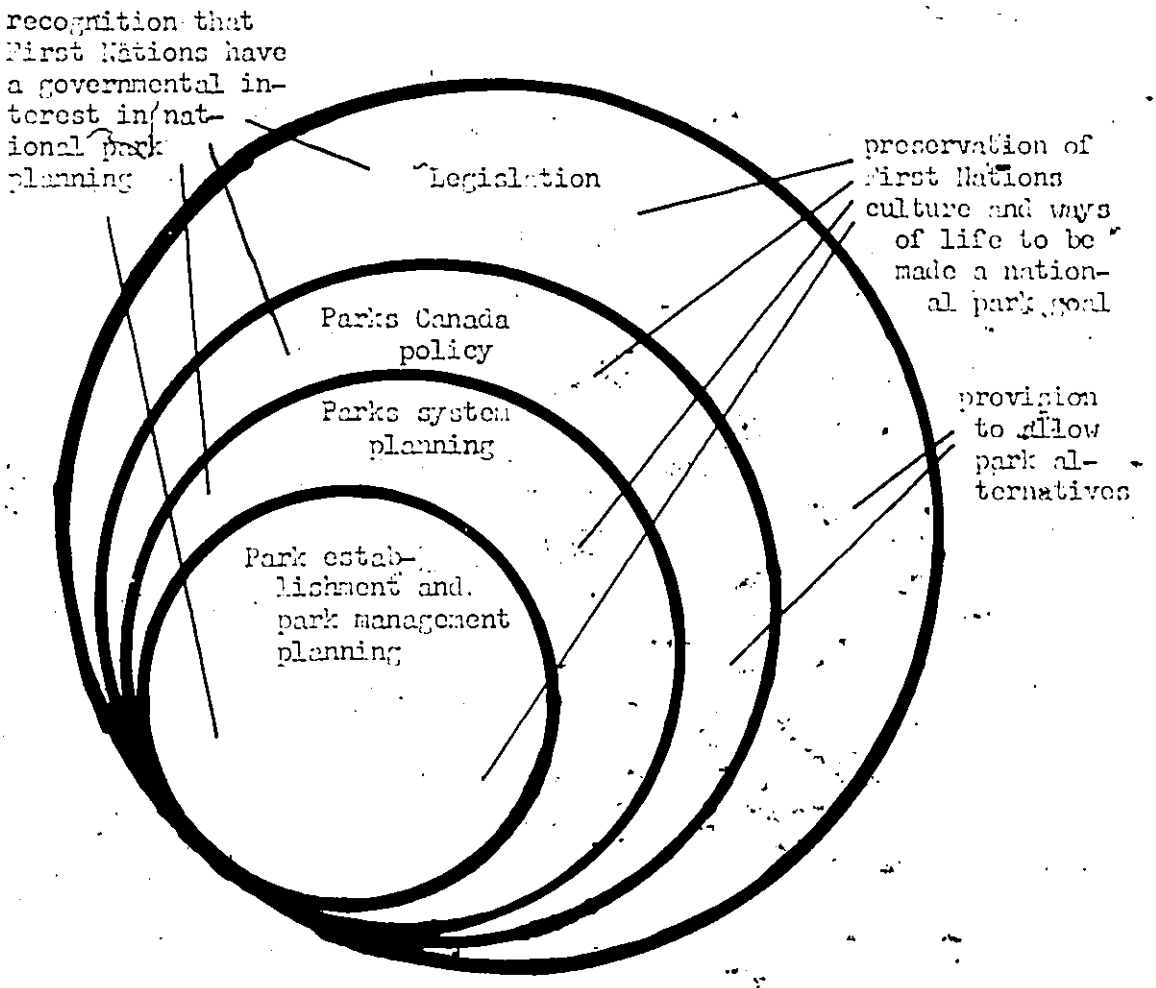
Factor 18 suggests that legislation and policy should extend to First Nations as much control over northern park planning and management as possible.

Figure 11

Some Suggestions for Improvement

in

Gross Structure of Park Planning



Factor 20 suggests that legislation and policy should make room for more kinds of national parks or park alternatives than now exist in the Canadian parks system, especially kinds that would be protective and nurturing of the interests of native people.

7.2 Parks system planning

Parks system concept

Factor 1 suggests that if native peoples have goals in land use different from the goals of Euro-Canadians, then goal-setting in the development of the parks system concept should be a joint exercise.

Parks Canada and the native organizations should take steps to improve their understanding of the goals of each other's clienteles.

Parks Canada should elevate the priority of its obligation to preserve First Nation cultures and ways of life.

Parks Canada should do whatever it can to satisfy the native goal of First Nations having more of a say in planning and management.

Factor 2, identifying First Nations with the lands they occupy, suggests that Parks Canada should change its very way of thinking, to recognize native people as an integral part of park lands and park ecology, in the South as well as in the North.

Parks Canada should consider new northern national parks as components in the homelands of specific northern native peoples, and act accordingly.

Factor 3 implies that Parks Canada should incorporate a phase in its planning process which investigates the spiritual qualities of lands it has an interest in, from both native and Euro-Canadian points of view. Planning should map the spiritual landscape onto the physical landscape.

Factor 4 implies that native people should always be asked for their permission in planning matters affecting their lands, no matter how early in the planning cycle it is. Sometimes asking for the permission is even more important than the granting of it.

Factors 5 and 6, relating to First Nation sovereignty, imply that the "as if" perspective, discussed in subchapter 6.4, be adopted by Parks Canada in its dealings with native groups. In relation to factor 1, the "as if two sovereign nations" perspective means that reconciliation of differing national goals would call for high-level diplomacy, not just liaison officers. Parks Canada ought to have policy officers on its payroll whose function is to communicate information about Euro-Canadian park system goals to First Nations, and more importantly, to inquire into the land use goals of First Nations and communicate information on them to Parks Canada planners. With this information, or intelligence, it should be possible to relate the progress of any particular national park proposal to a realistic scale of achievement. That is, the measurement will not be agreement over details such as boundaries or numbers of guaranteed jobs going to native people but either the identification of courses of action mutually satisfactory to both sets of goals or, what is more likely,

a narrowing of the gap between sets of goals. Consequently frustration over what looks like gratuitous obstruction of park proposals would be less.

Factor 7 suggests that Parks Canada should recognize that territorial governments do not speak for native people with complete legitimacy. Were Parks Canada to maintain an "as if" perspective of native sovereignty, it would do everything it could to negotiate park planning exercises with First Nations on approximately the same basis as if they were that other kind of semi-sovereign body, the territorial governments. If that means conducting parallel exercises in co-operative planning, so be it.

Factor 8 suggests that Parks Canada should develop the parks system concept in co-operation with native organizations such as the Dene Nation and Inuit Tapirisat. When system plans had been agreed on and promulgated to the grass roots, native communities might be notified, through their respective national organizations, that their area was of interest to park planners. Then native planners, working for the native organization, could begin the long job of building up a local consensus for a park or parks of the kind their "shadow government" and Parks Canada had agreed would be mutually advantageous in the region. From the perspective of Parks Canada, the proposal would have entered the "black box" of native decision-making, into which it would not be polite for Euro-Canadians to poke their collective noses without invitation.

Factor 17, on the moral imperative, implies that in parks system planning native Canadian interests should generally receive some preference over southern Canadian interests. Modern philosophers who believe in rights, such as Tom Regan, are inclined to say, with John Stuart Mill, that to have a right is to have something society ought to defend one in the possession of. What the marked moral ascendancy of indigenous peoples in the Twentieth Century amounts to, it can be argued, is an overwhelming claim that they have something Canadian society, among other societies, ought to support them in the possession of: their culture, their language, their traditional way of life, a modicum of their ancestral lands. If the Canadian government agrees they have a valid claim, and recognizes they have valid rights, as it more than a little has and as it appears more and more to be doing, then it has a duty to support those rights actively by all the means reasonably at its disposal. Park system planning is one of those means.

Factor 18 suggests that Parks Canada should be prepared to share some control over the very form and nature of the system planning process with the national native organizations, if not individual First Nations.

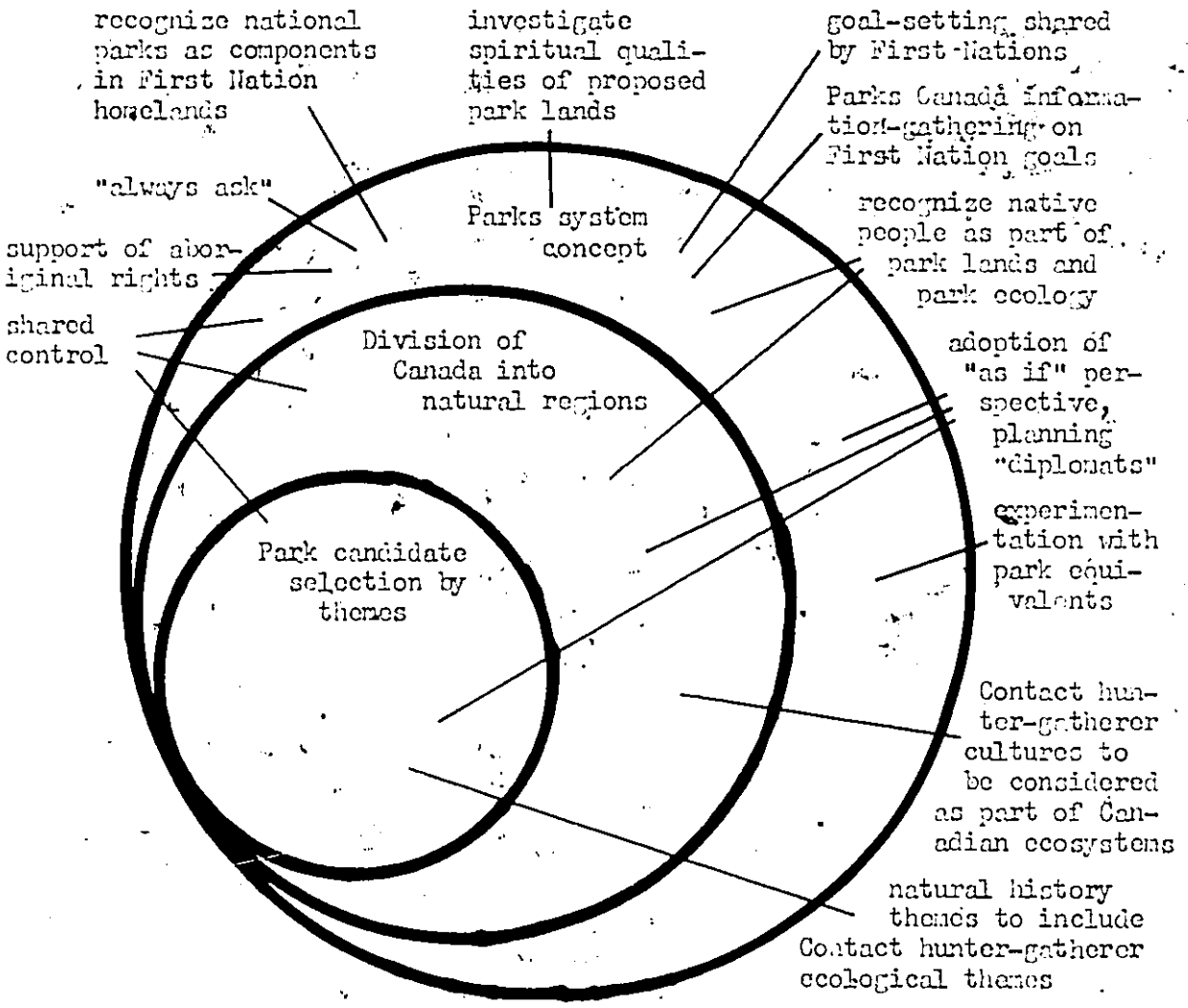
Factor 20 implies that Parks Canada should experiment with new kinds of national park-equivalent reserves, looking for variations which would meet native ends as well as its own aims. Especially promising are biosphere reserve, protected landscape, nature conservation reserve, and the unfortunately named anthropological reserve.

Figure 12

Some Suggestions for Improvement

in

Parks System Planning



For example, the status of anthropological reserve for, say, the East Arm could convey the sense that the reserve was as much a showcase for the Chipewyan culture as it was for the land and wildlife. The status of protected landscape would imply that the Snowdrift Chipewyans, and other Dene, had reason to be proud of their role in shaping a landscape worthy of presentation to the world as outstanding for its beauty, harmony, and interest. The status of nature conservation reserve would reassure local people that their subsistence activities are not, and will not in future be, regarded as some kind of aberration, best dispensed with as soon as feasible.

Division of Canada into natural regions

Factor 1 suggests that Parks Canada should incorporate the goal of helping to preserve aboriginal cultures by taking account of aboriginal contributions to Canadian ecosystems in its division of Canada into natural regions.

Factor 2 suggests that Parks Canada should revise its natural history themes to include themes relating to the original hunter-gatherer ecology of most First Nations.

Factor 3 implies that spiritual aspects of aboriginal life should figure among the natural history themes of system planning.

7.3 Park establishment planning

Park candidate selection by themes

See preceding section on "Division of Canada into natural

regions."

Factor 4 suggests that Parks Canada should ask First Nations for advice and consent with any thematic evaluation planned for their traditional lands.

Field surveys

Factor 3 implies that spiritual aspects of the land should be studied in field surveys.

Factor 4 implies that field surveys should take place only after notification and with the permission of First Nations whose lands are affected.

Factors 12 and 13 suggest that lands adjacent to proposed new national parks should be surveyed as thoroughly as lands within the area of interest.

Factor 18 suggests that native authorities should have considerable control over the nature and timing of field surveys.

Public consultation and participation

Factors 1 and 8 imply that native nations should themselves determine the nature of Parks Canada consultation of their people. Factor 8 further suggests that independent commissions of inquiry should be used in native consultation exercises.

Factors 2 and 6 imply that greater weight should be lent to native opinion than to the opinion of other sectors of the public.

Preferential weighting of the opinions of some sectors of the public over those of others is normal in planning: the views of local people almost always count for more than those of distant parties.

Factor 9 implies that Parks Canada must be extremely sensitive in how it broaches park proposals to native communities. It should make all its initial moves through national native organizations.

When Euro-Canadian planners do present themselves before local native communities while engaged in public consultation, they should observe proper decorum. To do so, like any good ambassadors, they should know what the local etiquette is. Former Prime Minister Trudeau's flippant or impatient remarks about prayer before a meeting with native people are a good example of how not to proceed.

Factor 10 suggests that Parks Canada needs a concept of "social impact" broader than the one it now uses when it consults the public on the potential effects of national park establishment on native people.

Factor 11 suggests that Parks Canada needs a written policy on the general scheme of restrictions it wishes to see on native subsistence activities in northern parks. Local native hunters and trappers can hardly fail to be suspicious that a new park will harm them when they see that Parks Canada has different restrictions on users in different parks, with no principled reason for any of them.

Unquestionably the national park planning process would be more comprehensive and solidly based if native organizations compiled and assessed information on how native subsistence activities are

unnecessarily thwarted or hampered in existing parks. Without this information government planners are led unrealistically to believe certain negative impacts of parks are less or other than they really are. Meanwhile native user discontent festers, and when communicated throughout the entire northern native community prejudices new park proposals, to the detriment of all concerned.

A First Nation affected by a park proposal should be given the resources to evaluate the positive and negative features of national parks on their own.

Factors 12 and 13 suggest that Parks Canada must give native people it consults over park proposals a fair idea of the nature of biogeographical islanding and of the potentially devastating effects of park extraterritoriality.

One of the steps in making a specific park proposal should be an investigation of changes in surrounding territory to be expected from park creation. Changes of ecological relevance to be looked into vis-à-vis adjacent lands might be (1) island-sea relationship with the park (2) possible game reserve status (3) habitat destruction as a result of displacement of human activity from the park (4) habitat destruction as a result of attraction of human activity to the neighbourhood of the park (5) potential for benefiting from restocking of wildlife from the park.

Park planning must recognize extraterritorial park effects if it is to rational and comprehensive. Native publics must have some idea of what the potential extraterritorial effects might be if they are to make an informed judgment on a park proposal in all its

many aspects. Not least, it would be a simple courtesy for Parks Canada to present native groups with enough of an extraterritorial scenario that they might have an easier time of making their own extensive land use planning decisions.

Factor 15 implies that both Parks Canada and native leaders and planners need to be more realistic about population growth. The subject should be discussed openly, and, following from Factor 17, without shame, because what is being talked about is a need to limit hunting effort, not native numbers.

Factor 17 implies that wherever moral baggage encumbers good judgment, Parks Canada or native planners should try to pull the planning process back from emotional brinks. Parks Canada planners in particular should know the history of Dene-Euro-Canadian or Inuit-Euro-Canadian relationships from the point of view of the Dene or Inuit, all moral overtones included.

As a Euro-Canadian institution, Parks Canada should admit its moral obligation to make exceptional efforts to achieve meaningful consultation with native people.

Factor 18 implies that native people should have extensive control over public consultation on park proposals affecting their traditional lands and over the extent of their participation in park planning.

Factor 19 implies that native leaders and planners should be careful not to go too far in the direction of reacting to Parks Canada

economic propositions instead of initiating proposals themselves. Mandatory native guiding for wilderness excursionists seems to be one kind of economic benefit which native negotiators would be especially well advised to press for, or to advise local communities to press for.

Assessment of non-renewable resource potential

Factor 4 suggests that native permission should be sought even for Ottawa-based information-gathering exercises involving traditional lands.

Factor 13 suggests that native people may want to have some involvement in resource assessment, if only to maintain control by being kept informed.

Resolution of conflicts

Factor 8 implies that Parks Canada must greatly improve its understanding of native decision-making if it hopes to resolve conflicts between itself and native groups or between other interests and native interests. For this purpose Parks Canada should employ "ambassadors" to native organizations and governments, and invite native leaders to address planning personnel on a regular basis.

Factor 9 implies that many conflicts can be avoided right at the beginning by very careful presentation of a new park proposal.

Factor 14 implies that Parks Canada and native organizations

should look into the possibility of making native customary law the basis of joint management schemes in northern parks. A policy of preferring native customary law in new northern national parks would reduce anticipatory types of conflict between Parks Canada and native people.

Factor 17 implies that moral issues should usually be downplayed or avoided in resolving conflict, but that in general Euro-Canadian planners must credit native Canadians with moral superiority in any conflict between them and other interests because they have suffered historic nation-to-nation injustices.

Definition of boundaries

Factors 12 and 13 suggest that Parks Canada should draw park boundaries with greater attention to island biogeography.

Consensus on conditions of park establishment

Factors 3 and 17 suggest that Parks Canada should take account of the fact that native leadership cannot guarantee the assent of all individuals in a community to a park proposal. The agreement of native leaders to a park proposal other parties accept by consensus is contingent on consensus among native individuals.

Planning concept

Factors 1 to 6 imply that the planning concept for a proposed

park should be one which reflects a native view of the world.

Memorandum of understanding

Factor 5 implies that native governments should be signatories to memoranda of understanding.

Request for withdrawal of lands

Withdrawal of lands

No remarks.

Socio-economic study

Factor 11 suggests that some aspects of the socio-economic study should be contracted out to First Nations or native organizations, because of their unique understanding of the restrictions and practical problems parks pose for native users.

Factors 12 and 13 suggest that socio-economic studies should include the ecological effects of the proposed park on adjacent lands.

Factor 19 implies that the view of economics assumed in the socio-economic study should be one that is meaningful to native people.

Factor 20 implies that the socio-economic study should examine the economic costs and benefits to the First Nation concerned of different park alternatives.

Modified planning concept

See planning concept, above.

Ratification

Factors 5 and 6 imply that native governments should be signatories to all formal agreements.

Cabinet submission

Cabinet approval

Amendment to National Parks Act

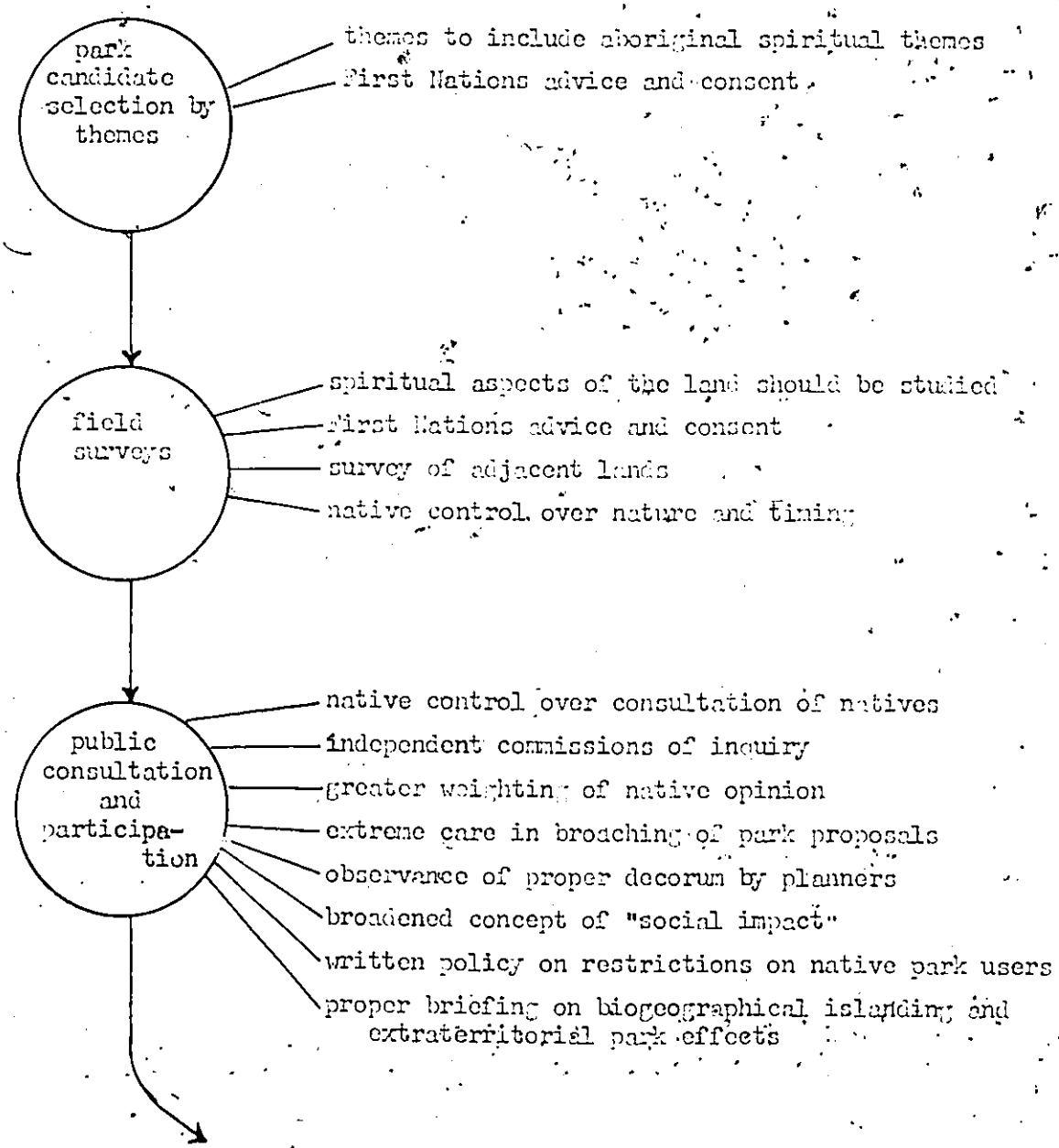
No remarks.

Figure 13

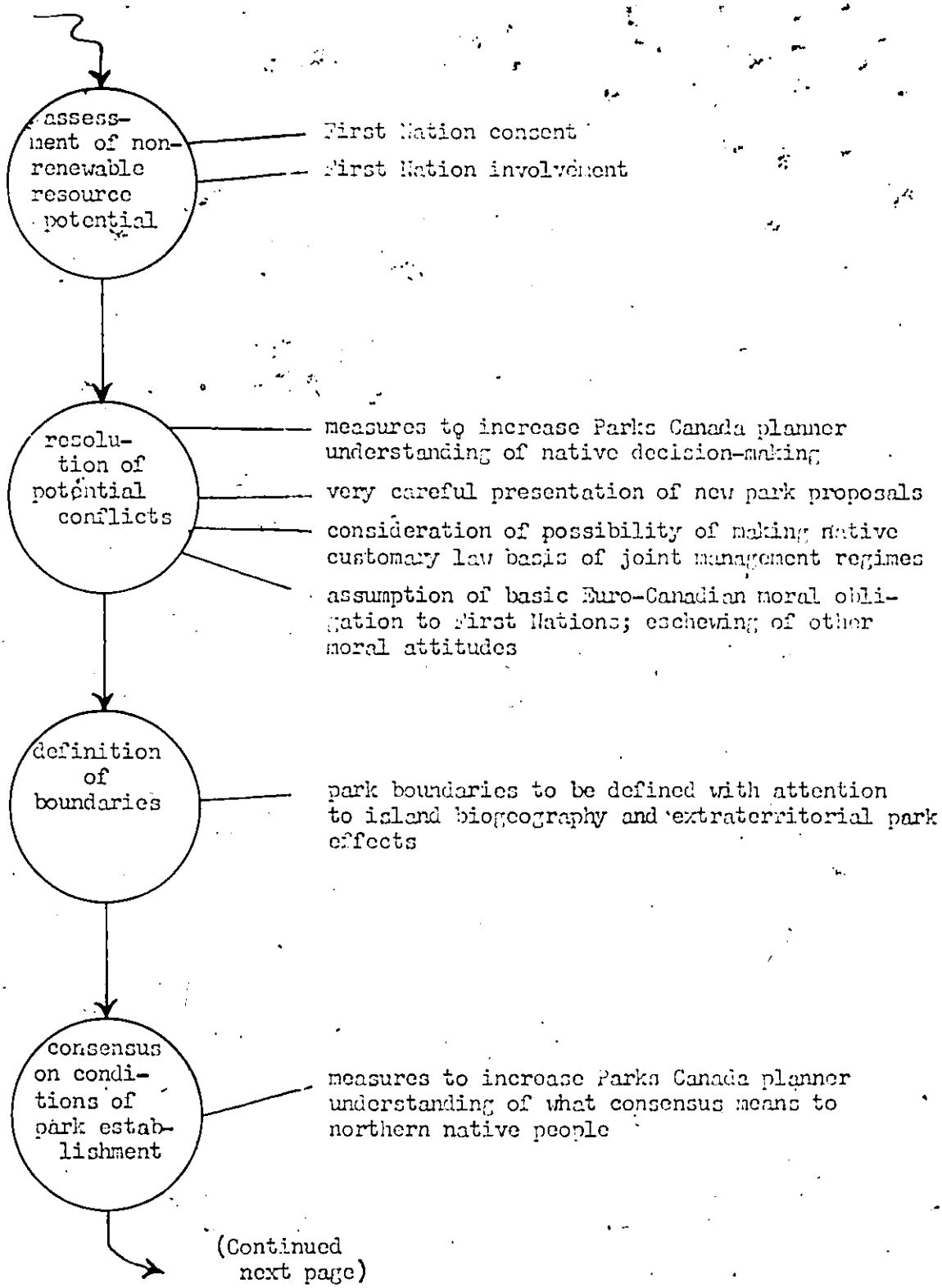
Some Suggestions for Improvement

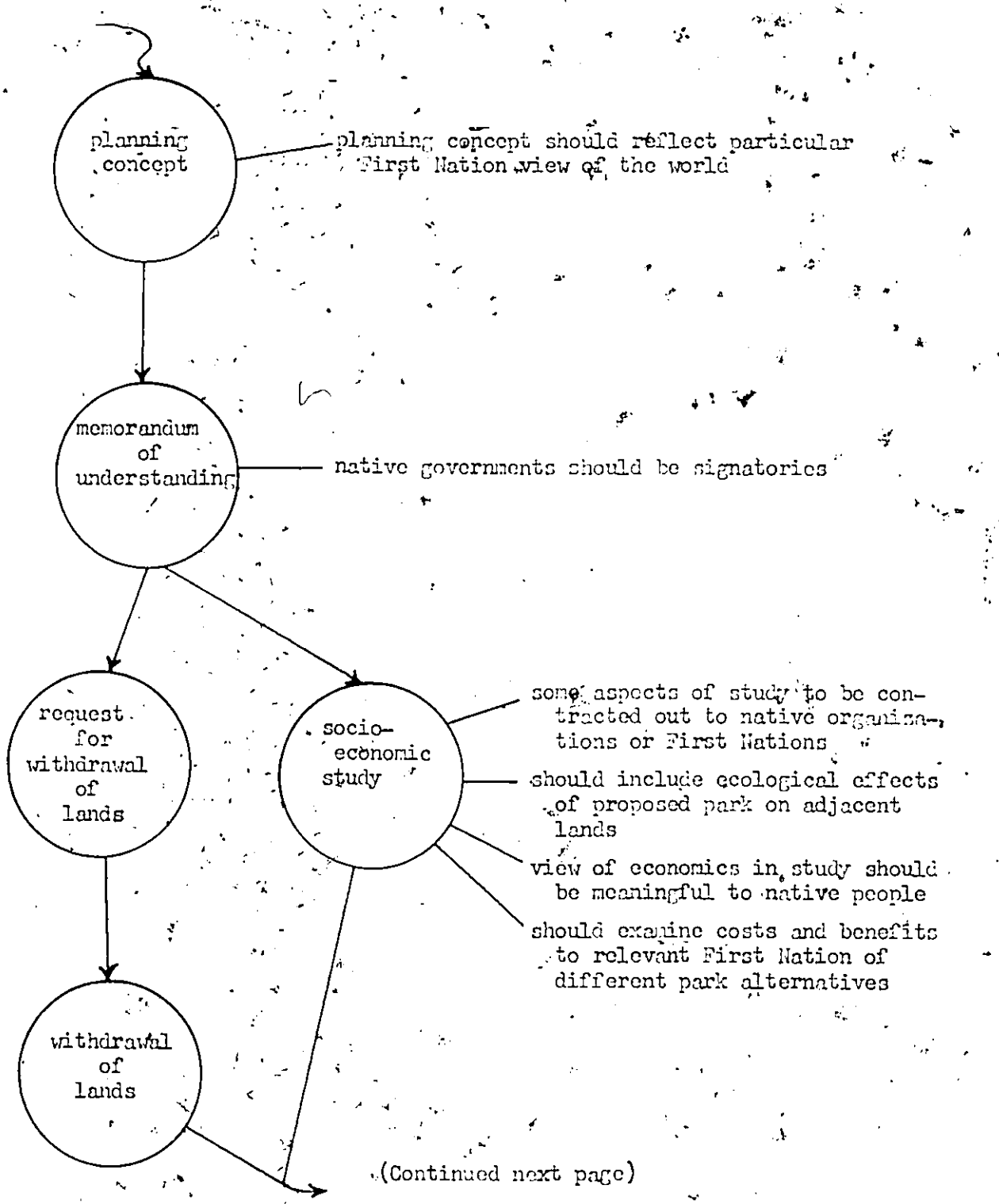
in

Park Establishment Planning

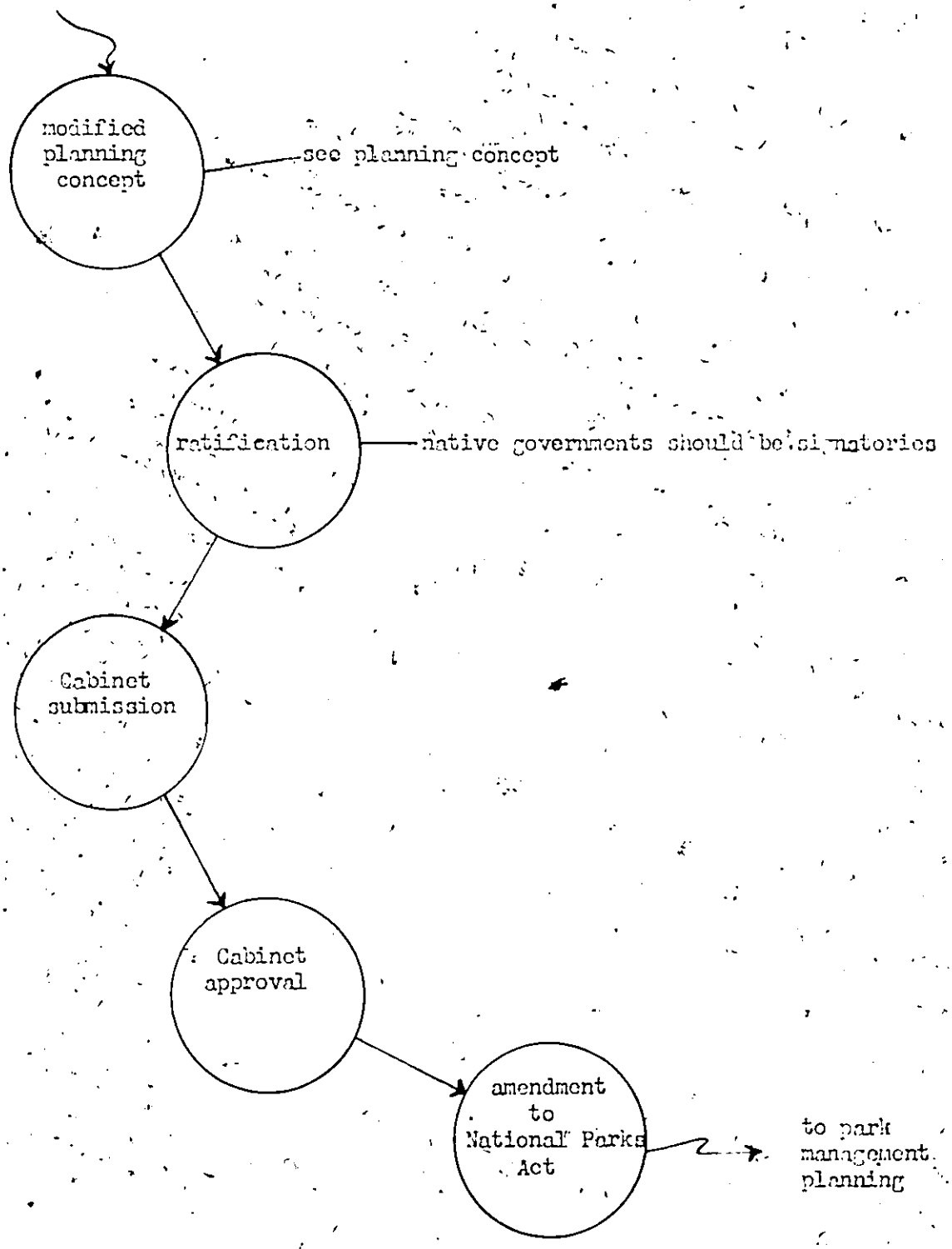


(Continued next page)


assess-
ment of non-
renewable
resource
potential
First Nation consent
First Nation involvement
resolu-
tion of
potential
conflicts
measures to increase Parks Canada planner understanding of native decision-making
very careful presentation of new park proposals
consideration of possibility of making native customary law basis of joint management regimes
assumption of basic Euro-Canadian moral obligation to First Nations; eschewing of other moral attitudes
definition
of
boundaries
park boundaries to be defined with attention to island biogeography and extraterritorial park effects
consensus
on condi-
tions of
park estab-
lishment
measures to increase Parks Canada planner understanding of what consensus means to northern native people
(Continued
next page)



(Continued next page)


modified planning concept
see planning concept
ratification
native governments should be signatories
Cabinet submission
Cabinet approval
amendment to National Parks Act
to park management planning

7.4 Park management planning

Planning concept

See under 7.3.

Tentative management plan

Factors 1 to 6 suggest that any park management plan should reflect the uniquely privileged status of native people in Canada, and above all in matters of land use. Northern national parks should be managed in such a way as to leave a clear impression that they are at least as much Indian or Inuit parks as Euro-Canadian parks. The tentative management plan should have built into it automatic mechanisms for day-to-day consultation between managers and native people over spiritual aspects of the landscape (Factor 3) and permitted activities (Factor 4). It should further native goals (Factor 1).

Factor 3 suggests that the management plan should have one device to obtain temporary or short-term native decisions on land use and another device to obtain permanent or long-term decisions. The latter would have the authority of traditional consensus, the former perhaps only some executive authority.

Factor 11 suggests that management plans should have some provision allowing for native organisations to assess the problems of and restrictions on native users of given parks on a regular basis.

Factor 14 implies that in some parks, if not all, joint manage-

ment should be founded on customary law, which would receive its authority from the management plan.

Factor 15 implies that management plans will contain some provision to handle any tendency to increase in hunting, trapping, or fishing pressure as a result of growth in the population of eligible native people.

Factor 18 implies that native communities or nations should have not just an advisory voice but a measure of true control in management. The mechanisms for and degree of control should be specified clearly in the management plan, but probably with provision for joint review every five years.

Factors 10 and 19 suggest that park management plans should be written to some extent with a view to social and economic consequences to local native communities; for example, a provision for mandatory native guiding, as discussed in subchapter 6.6, would be very beneficial to native people.

Identification of planning issues

Factor 8 suggests that Parks Canada would be well advised to maintain a certain distance between itself and native decision-making. One way of opening up this distance in such a matter as identification of planning issues is by delegating the job to an independent body, as discussed in subchapter 6.5.

Factors 10 to 15, plus 19, suggest that standard planning issues ought to be social impacts of the full range provided in the factor description, restrictions and practical problems, changes withinside and withoutside the park, joint management, population growth, and economic benefits.

Alternative concepts

Factors 12 and 13 imply that any alternative concepts examined should take into account the effects of the park on adjacent lands and vice versa.

Draft management plan

See under Tentative management plan, above.

Public consultation

See Public consultation and participation, in subchapter 7.3.

Final plan

See Tentative management plan, above.

Public consultation

See Public consultation and participation, in subchapter 7.3.

Management plan

See Tentative management plan, above.

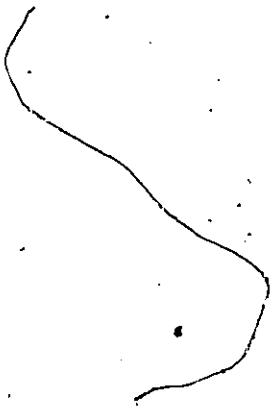
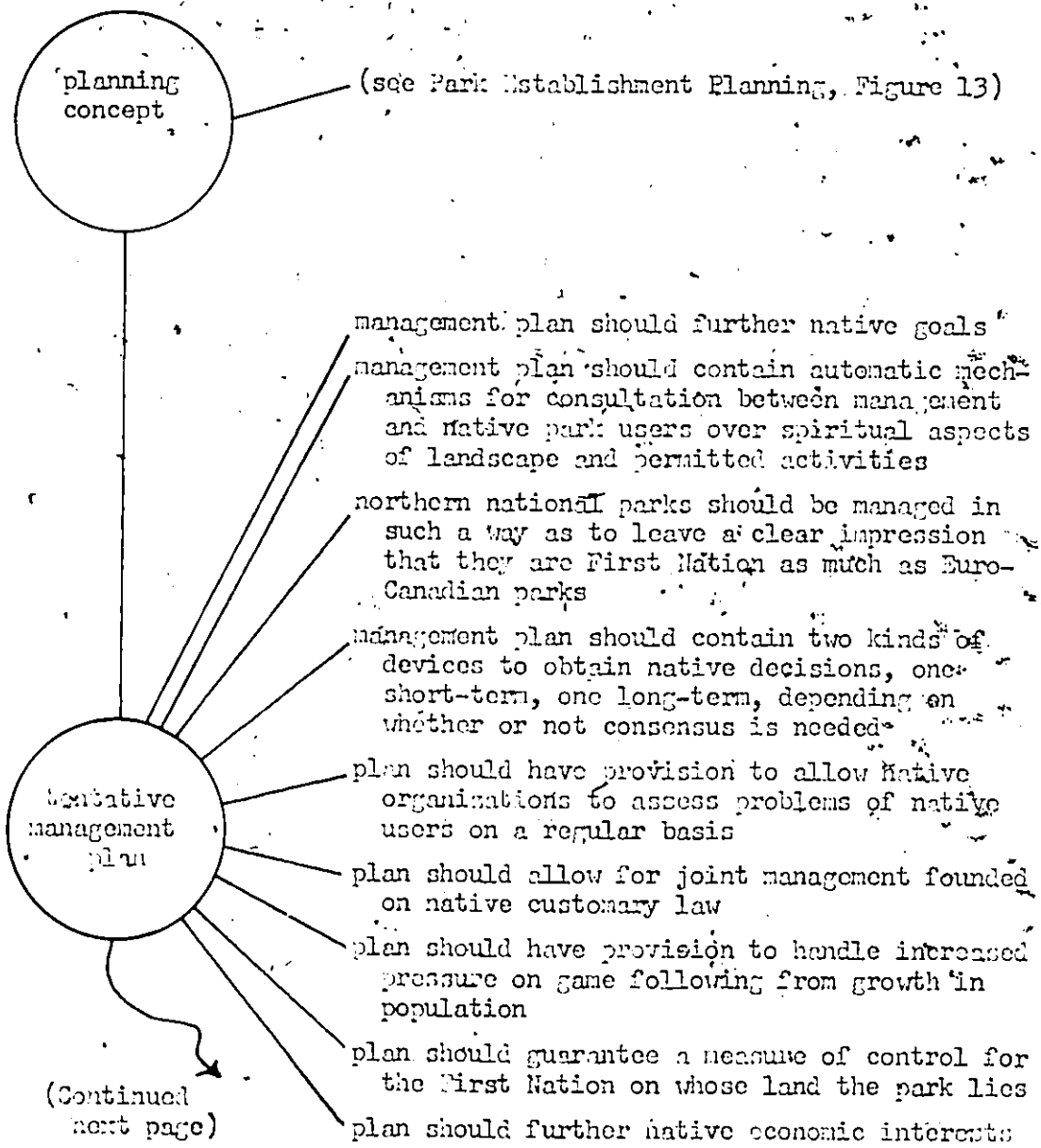


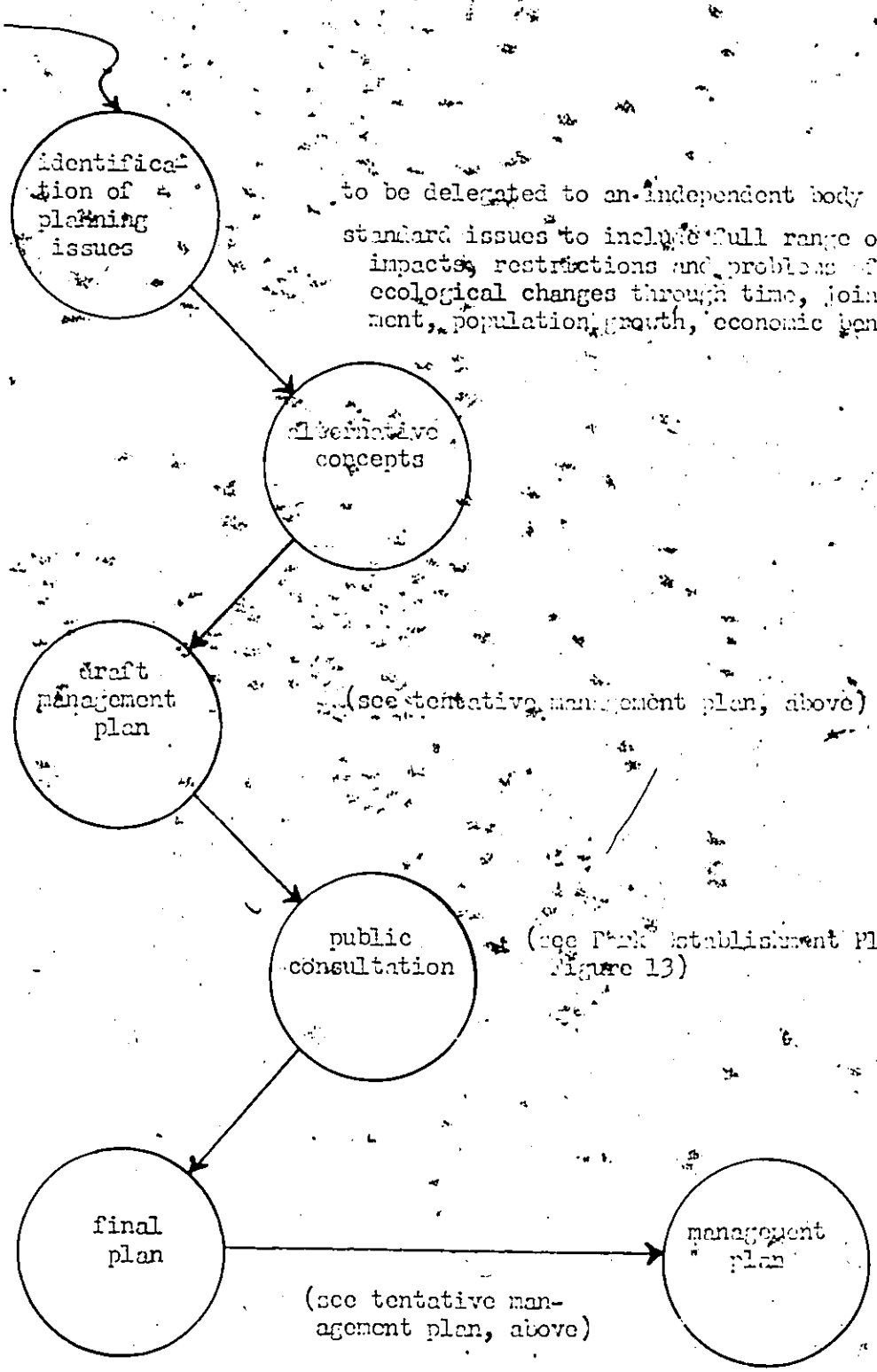
Figure 14

Some Suggestions for Improvement

in

Park Management Planning




identification of planning issues
to be delegated to an independent body
standard issues to include full range of social impacts, restrictions and problems of use, ecological changes through time, joint management, population growth, economic benefits
alternative concepts
draft management plan
(see tentative management plan, above)
public consultation
(see Park Establishment Planning, Figure 13)
final plan
(see tentative management plan, above)
management plan

8. Summary Statement

Out of a literature search and a program of interviews, this thesis drew a set of factors which seem to be involved in the planning of national parks in northern Canada. Description of the factors and analysis of how they work threw light on the shortcomings of the current Parks Canada planning process. Description and analysis also provided insight into how the planning process might be improved both globally and in its separate phases, especially from the perspective of how the planning process treats northern native people. Overall the thesis concludes that the planning process for northern Canadian national parks would be a better one if it accorded the First Nations of Canada the respect to which they are entitled.

Bibliography

Allbutt, Anne. Social and Economic Implications of Native Land Claims on the Establishment of New National Parks in the Western Arctic Region. Ottawa: Socio-Economic Division, Parks Canada, 1982.

Angel, J. Lawrence. "Paleoecology, Paleodemography and Health". In Polgar, ed., Population, Ecology, and Social Evolution, cited below, pp. 167-190.

Anonymous. "Focus on Comprehensive Native Claims". Special edition of Intercom. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, March 1982.

Anonymous. Inuvialuit Land Rights Settlement: Agreement in Principle. 1978.

Anonymous. Memorandum of Understanding for the Establishment of a Reserve for a National Park on Ellesmere Island. No date.

Anonymous. Parks Canada-G.N.W.T. Northern Ellesmere Memorandum of Understanding. 1982.

Asch, Michael. Home and Native Land: Aboriginal Rights and the Canadian Consitution. Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1984.

Beaman, J., L. Lehtiniemi and R. Stanley. Evaluation of the Impact of a National Park: The Longitudinal Study. Ottawa: Socio-Economic Division, Parks Canada; no date.

Beauchamp, Kenneth P. Land Management in the Canadian North. Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1976.

Bennett, David. Subsistence v. Commercial Use: The Meaning of These Words in Relation to Hunting and Fishing by Canada's Native Peoples. Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1982.

Bennett, John W. "Ecosystem Analogies in Cultural Ecology". In Polgar, ed., Population, Ecology, and Social Evolution, cited below, pp. 273-303.

Berger, Thomas R. Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland, The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1977.

Berkes, Fikret. "Fisheries of the James Bay area and Northern Quebec: A case study in resource management". In Freeman, ed., Proceedings, cited below, pp. 143-160.

———. "The Role of Self-Regulation in Living Resources Management in the North". In Freeman, ed., Proceedings, cited below, pp. 166-178.

Bicchieri, M.G., ed. Hunters and Gatherers Today. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1972.

Bill, Richard Eric. Attempts to Establish National Parks in Canada: A Case History in Labrador from 1969 to 1979. Ottawa: Carlton University M.A. thesis, 1982.

Birdsell, Joseph B. "Some Predictions for the Pleistocene Based on Equilibrium Systems among Recent hunter-Gatherers". In Lee and DeVore, eds., Man the Hunter, cited below, pp. 229-240.

Bonnicksen, T.M., and E.C. Stone. "Managing Vegetation within U.S. National Parks: A Policy Analysis". Environmental Management 5 (1982), pp. 109-122.

Borg, Pekka. "National Park Planning and the Rights of Native Peoples". Parks, Volume 1, Number 3, October-November-December 1976, pp. 1-3.

Breynat, Gabriel. Bishop of the Winds. New York: P.J. Kennedy Sons, 1955.

Brody, Hugh. Maps and Dreams. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1981

Brooks, Lloyd, and Harold Eidsvik. National Park Potentials, Northwest Territories and Yukon: Report of Field Operation and Recommendations. Ottawa: National Parks Branch, 1963.

Burgess, Robert F. and David M. Sharpe, eds. Forest Island Dynamics in Man-Dominated Landscapes. New York: Springer-Verlag, 1981.

Calef, George. Caribou and the Barren-Lands. Toronto: Firefly Books Limited, 1981.

Cardinal, Harold. The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians. Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Ltd., Publishers, 1969.

Christiansen, Monty I. Park Planning Handbook: Fundamentals of Physical Planning for Parks and Recreation Areas. Toronto: John Wiley & Sons, 1977.

Clavel, Pierre. Opposition Planning in Wales and Appalachia. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983.

Cody, Martin L., and Jared M. Diamond, eds. Ecology and Evolution of Communities. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1975.

Cohen, Mark Nathan. The Food Crisis in Prehistory: Overpopulation and the Origins of Agriculture. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977.

Commission on Environmental Planning, International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources. Environmental Planning Guidelines for Strategies and Plans, Preliminary Version. Gland, Switzerland: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, 1984.

Committee on Criteria and Nomenclature, Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas, International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources. Categories, Objectives and Criteria for Protected Areas. Morges, Switzerland: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, 1978.

Cooke, Lanny. "Dene to Study the Dene". Dene Nation Newsletter, in News/North, November 30, 1984.

Crabb, Peter. "Gros Morne National Park, Newfoundland, and Parks Canada Policies". Environmental Conservation, Vol. 8, No. 4, Winter 1981, pp. 343-347.

Crapeau, Rachel. "Youngsters Learn Traditional Skills". Native Press, June 29, 1984.

Darlington, Philip J. Zoogeography: The Geographical Distribution of Animals. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1957.

Lasmann, Raymond F. "Ecosystem People". Parks, Volume 1, Number 1, April-May-June 1976, p. 24.

--------. "The Relationship between Protected Areas and Indigenous Peoples". Paper presented to the World National Parks Congress, 1982.

Davidson, A.T. Renewable Resource Harvesting in New National Parks: Protection and Conservation Requirements. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1981.

Day, Gordon M. "The Indian as an Ecological Factor in the Northeastern Forest". Ecology, Vol. 34, No. 2 (April, 1953), pp. 329-346.

Dene Nation. Agreement in Principle Between the Dene Nation and Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada. Yellowknife: Dene Nation, 1976.

————. Denendeh: A Dene Celebration. Yellowknife and Toronto: The Dene Nation and McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1934.

————. Public Government for the People of the North. Yellowknife: Dene Nation, 1982.

Department of Economic Development and Tourism, Government of the Northwest Territories. Community Based Tourism: A Strategy for the Northwest Territories Tourism Industry. Yellowknife: Government of the Northwest Territories, 1933.

————. National Park Selection and Establishment Process — the Involvement of the Government of the Northwest Territories. Yellowknife: Government of the Northwest Territories, 1981.

————. Principles Concerning the Establishment, Development and Operation of New National Parks in the N.W.T. Yellowknife: Government of the Northwest Territories, no date.

Diamond, Jared M. "Assembly of Species Communities". In Cody and Diamond, eds., Ecology and Evolution of Communities, cited above, pp. 342-444.

Division of Tourism and Parks, Government of the Northwest Territories, and Socio-Economic Division, Parks Canada. Local Benefits Study. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1981.

Dorney, R.S. "Philosophical and Technical Principles for Identifying Environmental Planning and Management Strategies". In Keith and Wright, eds., Northern Transitions, Volume II, cited below, pp. 144-149.

Dubos, René. A God Within. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972.

————. The Wooing of Earth: New Perspectives on Man's Use of Nature. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980.

Edwards, William Ellis. "The Late-Pleistocene Extinction and Diminution in Size of Many Mammal Species". In Martin and Wright, eds., Pleistocene Extinctions, cited below, pp. 141-154.

Eidsvik, Harold. "Evolution du rôle des parcs nationaux et des zones protégées par rapport aux populations des écosystèmes". Troisièmes Assises Internationales de L'Environnement. Information on publisher and date of publication unavailable.

———. "Involving the Public in Park Planning: Canada". Parks, Volume 3, Number 1, April-May-June 1978, pp. 3-5.

———. "National Parks and Other Protected Areas: Some Reflections on the Past and Prescriptions for the Future". Environmental Conservation, Vol. 7, No. 3, Autumn 1980, pp. 185-190.

———. "The Park Planning Process". Parks, Volume 2, Number 3, October-November-December 1977, pp. 8-12.

Environment Canada, Minister of. East Arm of Great Slave Lake Park Proposal. Press release. Ottawa: August 21, 1984.

Espie, Tom. Canada Parks Activity in N.W.T. and Territorial Parks Policy. Yellowknife: Department of Economic Development and Tourism, Government of the Northwest Territories, 1979.

Executive Committee of the Northwest Territories. Aboriginal Rights and Constitutional Development in the Northwest Territories. Yellowknife: Government of the Northwest Territories, 1980.

Feit, Harvey A. "The Ethno-Ecology of the Waswanipi Cree; or How Hunters Can Manage their Resources". In Bruce Cox, ed., Cultural Ecology: Readings on the Canadian Indians and Eskimos (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973), pp. 115-125.

Ferrar, A.A., ed. Guidelines for the Management of Large Mammals in African Conservation Areas. Pretoria, South Africa: Cooperative Scientific Programmes, Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, 1983.

Foster, Michael, and Andrew S. Harvey. Regional Socio-Economic Impact of a National Park: Before and After Kejimkujik. Halifax: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1976.

Forster, Richard R. Planning for Man and Nature in National Parks: Reconciling Perpetuation and Use. Morges, Switzerland: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, 1973.

Freeman, Milton M.R., ed. Proceedings, First International Symposium on Renewable Resources and the Economy of the North. Ottawa: Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies, 1981.

Frison-Roche, Roger. Peuples Chasseurs de l'Arctique. Paris: B. Arthaud, 1966.

Fuller, W.A. and B.A. Hubert. "Fish, Fur and Game in the Northwest Territories: Some Problems of, and Prospects for, Increased Harvests". In Freeman, Proceedings, cited above, pp. 12-29.

Fumoleau, René. As Long As This Land Shall Last: A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, 1870-1939. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973.

Gans, Herbert. People and Plans: Essays on Urban Problems and Solutions. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968.

———. The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans. New York: The Free Press (A Division of Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc.), 1982.

Gardner, Julia Elaine. National Parks and Native People in Northern Canada, Alaska, and Northern Australia. Waterloo: University of Waterloo M.A. thesis, 1979.

——— and J.G. Nelson. "Comparing National Park and Related Reserve Policy in Hinterland Areas: Alaska, Northern Canada, and Northern Australia". Environmental Conservation, Vol. 7, No. 1, Spring 1980, pp. 43-50.

———. and J.G. Nelson. "National Parks and Native Peoples in Northern Canada, Alaska, and Northern Australia". Environmental Conservation, Vol. 8, No. 3, Autumn 1981, pp. 207-215.

Gavva, I.A., V.V. Krinitsky, and Yu. P. Yazan. "Development of Nature Reserves and National Parks in the USSR". Parks, Volume 8, Number 2, July-August-September 1983, pp. 1-3.

Gordon, Bryan H.C. Of Men and Herds in Barrenland Prehistory. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975.

Gould, Richard A. "To Have and Have Not: The Ecology of Sharing Among Hunter-Gatherers". In Williams and Hunn, Resource Managers, cited below, pp. 69-91.

Hartman, G.F. "Managing Non-Native Renewable Resource Use in the North: Rising Expectations in Unproductive Ecosystems". In Freeman, ed., Proceedings, cited above, pp. 30-55.

Hassan, Fekri A. "Determination of the Size, Density, and Growth Rate of Hunting-Gathering Populations". In Polgar, ed., Population, Ecology, and Social Evolution, cited below, pp. 27-52.

Hearne, Samuel. A Journey to the Northern Ocean. Edited by Richard Glover. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1958.

Helm, June, volume ed. Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 6, Subarctic. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981.

Hendee, John C., George H. Stankey, and Robert C. Lucas. Wilderness Management. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978.

Herrero, S. "Wildlife Problems in Canada's National Parks". In J.G. Nelson et al., eds., The Canadian National Parks, cited below, pp. 551-570.

Higgs, E.S., ed. Palaeoeconomy. London: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Hobart, Charles W. "Impacts of Industrial Employment on Hunting and Trapping among Canadian Inuit". In Freeman, ed., Proceedings, cited above, pp. 202-213.

Hopkins, David M., ed. The Bering Land Bridge. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1967.

Hotzel, Charles N.D. The Source of Native Claims in Canada. Ottawa: Minister of the Environment, 1983.

Hunn, Eugene S. "Mobility as a Factor Limiting Resource Use in the Columbia Plateau of North America". In Williams and Hunn, eds., Resource Managers, cited below, pp. 17-43.

Hunt, Constance D. "Approaches to Native Land Settlements and Implications for Northern Land Use and Resource Management Policies". In Keith and Wright, eds., Northern Transitions, Volume II, cited below, pp. 5-41.

———. "People and Parks: Selected Legal Issues in Canada". In J.G. Nelson et al., eds., The Canadian National Parks, cited below, pp. 605-624.

International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources. World Conservation Strategy: Living Resource Conservation for Sustainable Development. Gland, Switzerland: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, 1980.

Inuit Tapirisat. National Park Provisions of an Agreement-in-Principle. Rankin Inlet, N.W.T.: Inuit Tapirisat, 1983.

Jelinek, Arthur J. "Man's Role in the Extinction of Pleistocene Faunas". In Martin and Wright, eds., Pleistocene Extinctions, cited below, pp. 193-200.

Jochim, Michael A. Hunter-Gatherer Subsistence and Settlement: A Predictive Model. New York: Academic Press (A Subsidiary of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers), 1976.

Keith, Robert F. and Janet B. Wright, eds. Northern Transitions: Volume II: Second National Workshop of People, Resources and the Environment North of 60°. Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1978.

Kevan, P.G. and L.N. Evernden. "A National Park for the Northwest Territories -- The East Arm of Great Slave Lake and Artillery Lake". Canadian Field-Naturalist, Vol. 83, No. 2 (April-June), 1969, pp. 169-172.

———. "A National Park for the Northwest Territories -- Continued". Canadian Field-Naturalist, Vol. 84, No. 1 (January-March), 1970, pp. 65-66.

Kovacs, Tom. "The Impact of New Park Development on Communities". Unpublished paper presented to the 20th annual Federal-Provincial Parks Conference, Whitehorse, Yukon, 1981.

———. "Northern National Parks and Native People: The Canadian Experience". Unpublished paper submitted to the First World Conference on Cultural Parks, Mesa Verde National Park, 1984.

Krech, Shepard, III, ed. Indians, Animals, and the Fur Trade: A Critique of Keepers of the Game. Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1981.

Lamothe, Rene. On Cultural Needs. Yellowknife: Government of the Northwest Territories, 1984.

Lee, Richard B. and Irven DeVore, eds. Man the Hunter. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968.

Lewis, Henry T. "Maskuta: The Ecology of Indian Fires in Northern Alberta". Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Volume 3 (1977), No. 1, pp. 15-52.

Lovejoy, Thomas E. "Discontinuous Wilderness: Minimum Areas for Conservation". Parks, Volume 5, Number 2, July-August-September 1980, pp. 13-15.

Lucas, A.R. and E.B. Peterson. "Northern Land Use Law and Policy Development: 1972-78 and the Future". In Keith and Wright, eds., Northern Transitions, Volume II, cited above, pp. 63-93.

Lusigi, Walter J. Future Directions for the Afrotropical Realm. Paper presented to the World National Parks Congress, 1982.

Malis, R. "Our New Frontier". In J.G. Nelson et al., eds., The Canadian National Parks, cited below, pp. 87-90.

Manuel, George and Michael Posluns. The Fourth World: An Indian Reality. Don Mills, Ontario: Collier-Macmillan Canada, Ltd., 1974.

Margules, C. and M.B. Usher. "Criteria Used in Assessing Wildlife Conservation Potential: A Review". Biological Conservation 21 (1981), pp. 79-109.

Martin, Calvin. Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

Martin, Paul S. "Prehistoric Overkill". In Martin and Wright, eds., Pleistocene Extinctions, cited below, pp. 75-120.

———— and H.E. Wright, Jr. Pleistocene Extinctions: The Search for a Cause. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.

McPhee, John. Encounters with the Archdruid. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1971.

Miller, Kenton R. "Forests for People: A Message from Djakarta". Parks, Volume 4, Number 2, July-August-September 1979, pp. 11-12.

Mitchell, Edward and Randall R. Reeves. "The Alaska Bowhead Problem: A Commentary". Arctic, Vol. 33, No. 4 (December 1980), pp. 686-723.

Monaghan, Hugh J. The Caribou Management Board and its Early Growth. Draft of May 30, 1983 (unpublished).

Mondor, C. East Arm National Park Reserve, Northwest Territories, Boundary Considerations and Significance. Ottawa: National Parks Branch, 1982.

Montefiore, Hugh, ed. Man and Nature. London: William Collins Sons & Co Ltd, 1975.

Myers, Fred R. "Always Ask: Resource Use and Land Ownership Among the Pintupi Aborigines of the Australian Western Desert". In Williams and Hunn, eds., Resource Managers, cited below, pp. 173-195.

National and Historic Parks Branch. National Parks System Planning Manual. Second edition. Ottawa: Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1972.

National and Historic Parks Branch. Proposed National Park, Great Slave Lake. Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1969.

National Parks Act and Amendment, 1974.

National Parks System Division, Parks Canada. Joint Management Regimes: A Proposed Management Guideline for Native People's Participation in Planning and Management of Northern Parks. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1982.

Naysmith, John Kennedy. Land Use and Public Policy in Northern Canada. Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1976.

Nelson, J.G., ed. Canadian Parks in Perspective. Montreal: Harvest House Ltd., 1970.

———, R.D. Needham, S.H. Nelson, and R.C. Scace, eds. The Canadian National Parks: Today and Tomorrow, Conference II: Ten Years Later. Waterloo, Ontario: Faculty of Environmental Studies, University of Waterloo, 1978.

Nelson, Richard K. "A Conservation Ethic and Environment: The Koyukon of Alaska". In Williams and Hunn, eds., Resource Managers, cited below, pp. 211-228.

———. Make Prayers to the Raven: A Koyukon View of the Northern Forest. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Nichol, J.I. "The National Parks Movement in Canada". In Nelson, J.G., ed., Canadian Parks in Perspective, cited above, pp. 19-34.

Office of Native Claims. Fact Sheets on Native Claims. Ottawa: Office of Native Claims, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1983.

———. In All Fairness: A Native Claims Policy: Comprehensive Claims. Ottawa: Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1981.

———. Outstanding Business: A Native Claims Policy: Specific Claims. Ottawa: Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1982.

Parks Canada. Draft Parks Canada Management Guideline: Native People's Participation in Northern Park Planning and Management. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1982.

———. Economic Impacts of Existing National Parks in the N.W.T. Winnipeg: Parks Canada, 1982.

———. Ellesmere Island National Park Reserve Proposal -- Park Planning and Establishment Principles. Yellowknife: Parks Canada, 1984.

———. Information for the Pond Inlet Development Review Committee concerning Possible Establishment of a National Park Reserve in the Bylot Island-Eclipse Sound Area. Ottawa: Parks Canada, no date.

———. Joint Management Regimes: A Proposed Management Guideline for Native People's Participation in Planning and Management of Northern Parks. Ottawa: National Parks System Division, Parks Canada, 1984.

———. Mechanism for Native Involvement in Park Planning and Management. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1983.

———. Nahanni National Park Reserve Newsletter. Issued sporadically.

———. National Park Provisions of an Agreement-in-Principle. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1983.

———. Parks Canada Policy. Ottawa: Minister of the Environment, 1984.

———. Planning Process for National Parks. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1973.

———. Social and Economic Action Plan: An Examination of the Potential Impacts and Socio-economic Strategy for the Establishment of a National Park Reserve on Northern Ellesmere. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1983.

Peterson, Everett B. and Janet B. Wright, eds. Northern Transitions: Volume I: Northern Resource and Land Use Policy Study. Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1978.

Petitot, Emile. The Book of Dene. Yellowknife: Department of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories, 1976.

Pike, Warburton. The Barren Ground of Northern Canada. London: Macmillan and Co., 1892.

Pimental, David and Marcia. Food, Energy, and Society. London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd, 1979.

Polgar, Steven, ed. Population, Ecology, and Social Evolution. The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1975.

———. "Population, Evolution, and Theoretical Paradigms." In Polgar, ed., Population, cited above, pp. 1–25.

Polunin, Nicholas and Harold K. Eidsvik. "Ecological Principles for the Establishment and Management of National Parks and Equivalent Reserves". Environmental Conservation, Vol. 6, No. 1, Spring 1979, pp. 21–26.

Pope, Saxton T. Bows and Arrows. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962.

Rees, William E. "Development and Planning North of 60°: Past and Future". In Keith and Wright, eds., Northern Transitions, Volume II, cited above, pp. 42–62.

Resources Management Consultants (N.W.T.) Ltd. Overview of Economic Impacts Generated by Auyuittuq and Nahanni National Parks. Yellowknife: Department of Economic Development and Tourism, Government of the Northwest Territories, 1981.

Roots, E.F. "The Northern Dilemma: Comments on Realities and Conflicts of Ecosystems, Economic Systems and Cultural Expression in the Northern Environment". In Freeman, ed.; Proceedings, cited above, pp. 1–11.

Runte, Alfred. National Parks, The American Experience. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.

Salder, B. "National Parks and Surrounding Lands". In J.G. Nelson et al., eds., The Canadian National Parks, cited above, pp. 269–292.

Sax, Joseph L. Mountains Without Handrails: Reflections on the National Parks. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1980.

Shaver, C. Mack. Traditional National Park Values and Living Cultural Parks Seemingly Conflicting Management Demands Coexisting in Alaska's New National Parklands. Paper presented to First World Conference on Cultural Parks, Mesa Verde National Park, 1984.

Shephard, Paul. The Tender Carnivore and the Sacred Game. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973.

Siegfried, W.R. and B.R. Davies. Conservation of Ecosystems: Theory and Practice. Pretoria, South Africa: Cooperative Scientific Programs, Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, 1982.

Smith, J. Maynard. Models in Ecology. London: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

Smith, James J.E. "Chipewyan". In Helm, volume ed., Handbook of North American Indians, cited above, pp. 271-284.

Snow, John. These Mountains Are Our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney Indians. Toronto: Samuel Stevens, 1977.

Socio-Economic Division, Prairie Region, Parks Canada. Wood Buffalo National Park: Socio-Economic Statement on the Recommended Management Plan. Winnipeg: Parks Canada, 1983.

Socio-Economic Research Division, Parks Canada. Guidelines for Social and Economic Impact Studies. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977.

Special Committee on Constitutional Development, Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories. A Comparison of the Government of the Northwest Territories and the Denendeh Government Proposal. Yellowknife: Northwest Territories Information, 1982.

Tanner, Adrian. Bringing Home Animals: Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1979.

Tester, Frank J. "Northern Renewable Resource Management: Socio-Psychological Dimensions of Participation". In Freeman, ed., Proceedings, cited above, pp. 190-197.

Tetso, John. Trapping is My Life. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1977.

Theberge, John B. "Kluane National Park". In Peterson and Wright, eds., Northern Transitions, Volume I, cited above, pp. 153-180.

Thomas, William L., Jr., ed. Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956.

Tilden, Freeman. The National Parks. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968.

Usher, Peter. "Fair Game". Nature Canada, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1982, pp. 4-43.

_____. "Renewable Resource Development in Northern Canada". In Keith and Wright, eds., Northern Transitions, Volume II, cited above, pp. 154-180.

_____. Renewable Resources in the Future of Northern Labrador. Nain, Labrador: Labrador Inuit Association, 1982.

_____. "Sustenance or Production? The Future of Native Wildlife Harvesting in Northern Canada". In Freeman, ed., Proceedings, cited above, pp. 56-71.

Van Vuren, Dirk. "Abnormal Dentition in the American Bison, Bison Bison". The Canadian Field-Naturalist, Volume 98, Number 3 (1984), pp. 366-367.

Vanstone, James W. Athapascan Adaptations: Hunters and Fishermen of the Subarctic Forests. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1974.

Watkins, Mel, ed. Dene Nation: The Colony Within. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

Weeks, Nancy C. National Parks and Native Peoples: A Study of the Experience of Selected Other Jurisdictions with a View to Cooperation in Northern Canada. Unpublished, 1981.

Wilkinson, P.F. "The Relevance of Musk Ox Exploitation to the Study of Prehistoric Animal Economies". In Higgs, ed., Palaeoeconomy, cited above, pp. 9-53.

————. "Some Thoughts Towards a Policy for the Rational Use of Renewable Resources in the Canadian North". In Freeman, ed., Proceedings, cited above, pp. 72-85.

Williams, Nancy M. and Eugene S. Hunn, eds. Resource Managers: North American and Australian Hunter-Gatherers. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc., 1982.

Wilson, E.O. Sociobiology: The New Synthesis. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1975.

Winterhalder, Bruce and Eric Alden Smith. Hunter-Gatherer Foraging Strategies: Ethnographic and Archeological Analyses. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Woodhead, Jane. "Klondike Shouldn't Be the Sole Tourism Theme". The Whitehorse Star, Friday, October 26, 1984.