

CONSERVATION AND INUIT HUNTING,
CONFLICT OR COMPATIBILITY

by



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ABSTRACT

The pursuit of conservation interests in lands occupied by Inuit benefits Inuit when addressed to ecological problems arising directly from their resource usage, but precipitates political conflict, and effectively appropriates resources, when accompanied by recreational land uses. In response, Inuit may either assert their aboriginal rights, accept whatever accommodations are offered or attempt to assume political responsibility for conservation.

Inuit resource use is examined to determine the range of current ecological conservation problems. The attitudes and effects of four separate conservation interests are described: wilderness recreation and preservation, sports hunting, animal welfare movement, scientific conservation. The history of conservation in the Inuit resource area shows how Inuit usage, once central to conservation policy, has become progressively peripheral. It is concluded that the enshrinement of aboriginal rights is a weak defense of Inuit interests. The most effective is an assumption of political control over conservation; this would entail an acceptance of the principles of wildlife management.

LA PROTECTION ET LA CHASSE INUITE,
CONFLIT OU COMPATIBILITE

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RESUME

Le développement de la protection sur les territoires occupés par les Inuits est avantageux pour eux quand il touche les problèmes écologiques relevant directement de leur utilisation des ressources. Par contre, il provoque des conflits politiques et, dans les faits, annexe des ressources quand s'y ajoute l'utilisation du territoire pour les loisirs. Trois réactions s'offrent aux Inuits: ils peuvent affirmer leurs droits aborigènes, accepter les aménagements proposés ou essayer d'assumer leur responsabilité politique en matière de protection.

L'utilisation des ressources par les Inuits est étudiée afin de déterminer l'étendue des problèmes actuels de protection écologique. Les caractéristiques et les effets de quatre différents moyens de conservation sont décrits: protection de la nature et des loisirs de plein air, chasse sportive, mouvement de protection des animaux, protection scientifique. L'histoire de la protection des ressources inuites démontre comment l'utilisation/l'exploitation des ressources des Inuits, autrefois d'une importance primordiale, est devenu progressivement secondaire. Il faut conclure que la reconnaissance des droits aborigènes est une défense bien faible des intérêts inuits. Il serait plus efficace que les Inuits assument la gestion politique de la protection; ceci entraînerait une acceptation des principes de contrôle de la nature.

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INTRODUCTION

Thesis Topic: Resource Use Conflict between Inuit Society and Conservation Interests

This thesis is advanced as a case study addressing the general problem of the perpetuation of traditional or indigenous practices of natural resource usage in a world increasingly dominated by highly systematic and industrialised forms of resource utilisation. It is a study of resource use conflict and, to the limited extent that schemes of resource usage reflect views upon the natural world, a study in cultural conflict.

The particular conflict under examination obtains between Inuit living in the Canadian Northwest Territories and those southern Canadian conservation interests which, over the last one hundred years, have been increasingly active in this region.

Bodley (1975) has provided a thorough review of the destructive effects upon indigenous societies of the imposition of colonial rule and the exhaustive exploitation of the natural resources by the colonial powers. However, though he recognises that conservation measures may be as much an instrument of cultural dissemination and domination as missionary societies and railroads, he touches only in passing upon the range of their effects. Here, this issue is directly addressed in an attempt to determine the extent to which the advance of conservation interests may ultimately produce an effect

resembling those detailed by Bodley; specifically, the effective appropriation of the resource base of an indigenous society.

This proposed process of appropriation is complicated, and sometimes obscured, by the fact that 'conservation' has, conventionally, a benign reputation. In fact conservation measures may very well act in the interests of indigenous societies when they are applied solely towards the protection of such societies' resources from industrial exploitation. In recent years, some conservationists have gone so far as to declare that the ways of life of indigenous people deserve as much protection as the habitats they occupy and that conservation policies should be adjusted accordingly.

Despite this potential for mutual benefit from the introduction of conservation measures, the relations between conservation interests and indigenous peoples are invariably marked by antagonisms rather than alliances. Such conflicts may have two points of origin.

First, it may be thought that indigenous peoples are over-exploiting the resource, in which case the dispute centres around the imposition of hunting or fishing regulations.

Second, a particular form of use for the conserved species may be envisioned which conflicts with the established form of utilisation by the indigenous people.

Such 'conservational uses', considered to be compatible with the primary objectives of conservation, have become increasingly important as interest in various forms of wilderness

recreation deepens within industrialised societies. As a result, while conservation measures were once introduced to deal with an actual or imminent environmental emergency, they are now frequently considered not so much where the natural landscape is in some way threatened but where it offers outstanding opportunities for such recreations. In this sense, conservation has become a form of land use in its own right rather than a means of regulating other uses.

I shall attempt to show how conservation measures, once supportive of Inuit resource use have since become progressively more committed to other conflicting uses which will, if prosecuted, result in an appropriation of the Inuit resource base. This process is both informed and justified by the belief that Inuit hunting is no longer an 'authentic' or economically viable way of life and must irrevocably give way to the forms of resource use signified by the current expansion of conservational land uses. My purpose is to question the inevitability of this process and to discover the conditions under which Inuit resource use may resist this conflicting pressure and continue as the primary form of utilisation of the animal resources.

The Contribution to this Study of Some Recent Developments in Geography

This study deals with two kinds of problem, or conflict, which are in theory distinct but in actuality often confused with one another. There are the clearly defined problems which are technical in nature and amenable to technical solutions. A frequent example in this thesis is the problem

arising when hunting pressure increases beyond the limits, sustainable by the hunted animal population. However complex and difficult the task may be, such problems are ultimately resolvable in terms of objective data. Here, such problems are termed 'ecological conservation problems'.

In contrast, there are problems which are essentially political and are the result of a multiplicity of conflicting uses being proposed for the same resource base. While ecological problems do not take account of subjective evaluations of the resource base, these are of the essence of political conservation problems.

Recent reviews of an area overlapped by geography and anthropology, loosely defined as 'cultural ecology' (Grossman 1977, Butzer 1978), have stressed the importance of taking into account the various and different perceptions of environment which are culturally determined to the extent that it may be practically impossible for a member of one culture to assimilate the view of another while retaining his/her own. Current developments in phenomenological or perceptual geography are especially apposite in describing the area and sources of the inter-cultural conflict which underlie the discussion in this thesis.

Tuan (1971) and Relph (1976a, 1976b) argue that the significance of the sensible environment in influencing action has often been neglected in favour more objective and readily measurable data. Lowenthal (1961:260) reviews the broad field of environmental perception and finds a . . . "common

denominator is . . . interest in the relationship between the real environment, perception of the environment, decision making and overt behaviour." Sprout (1957) emphasises the importance of taking into account what is by definition unquantifiable "what matters in the explanation of decisions and policies is how the actor imagined his environment to be not actually how it was."

A second apposite direction taken by recent geographical writers, and one which is particularly appropriate to this study, is of the attitudes towards nature found in Euro-American society. Lowenthal (1976) has investigated the radical changes that have taken place in the attitudes towards nature of Europeans since North America was first settled. He notes that at first this attitude encompassed the Indians, who were at one time reviled, but, once subdued, were romanticised as an expression of 'Antiquity'.

Watson (1976a) suggests that the image of nature in America has passed through four phases. The first settlers encountered the 'second eden', which, upon exhaustion of its resources, became 'eden despoiled'. The movement for preservation signified 'eden regained', but we have recently entered the phase, 'eden divided'. This current phase is represented most clearly in Watson's view (1976b), in contemporary Alaska where conservationists and developers are in declared conflict over the disposition of the natural resources at the last 'northern' frontier.

In attempting to describe Euro-American perceptions of the environment, these writers have frequently drawn comparisons with those of indigenous societies. Relph (1976:15) provides the basis for this distinction: "There is in fact a very clear distinction between the existential space of a culture like that of the Aborigines and most technological and industrial cultures - the former is 'sacred' and symbolic, while the latter are 'geographical' and significant mainly for functional and utilitarian purposes." He suggests that Europeans possess space by organising it; by allocating functions to it.

But this thesis is concerned not only with the extent to which Inuit and non-Inuit perceptions of the environment contribute towards conflicts over conservation, but also with the role of Euro-Canadian attitudes towards Inuit, and, in turn, the way these may be mediated by Euro-Canadian perceptions of the value of Inuit resources. Once these resources acquire value, attitudes towards them, and hence towards Inuit usage, cease to be disinterested and tend to become expedient, and interpretations of adaptations undertaken by Inuit are likely to be coloured by this desire for the resources.

Thus, to a southern Canadian, the adoption of motor toboggans and oil stoves may signify an abandoning of traditional ways, but Harding (1960:56) notes that "adaptive modifications produce stability" and warns against the danger of misinterpreting changes that are intended to conserve culture. Jochelson (1933) has put it well in describing the trials of the Yakut, an equestrian culture forced by the

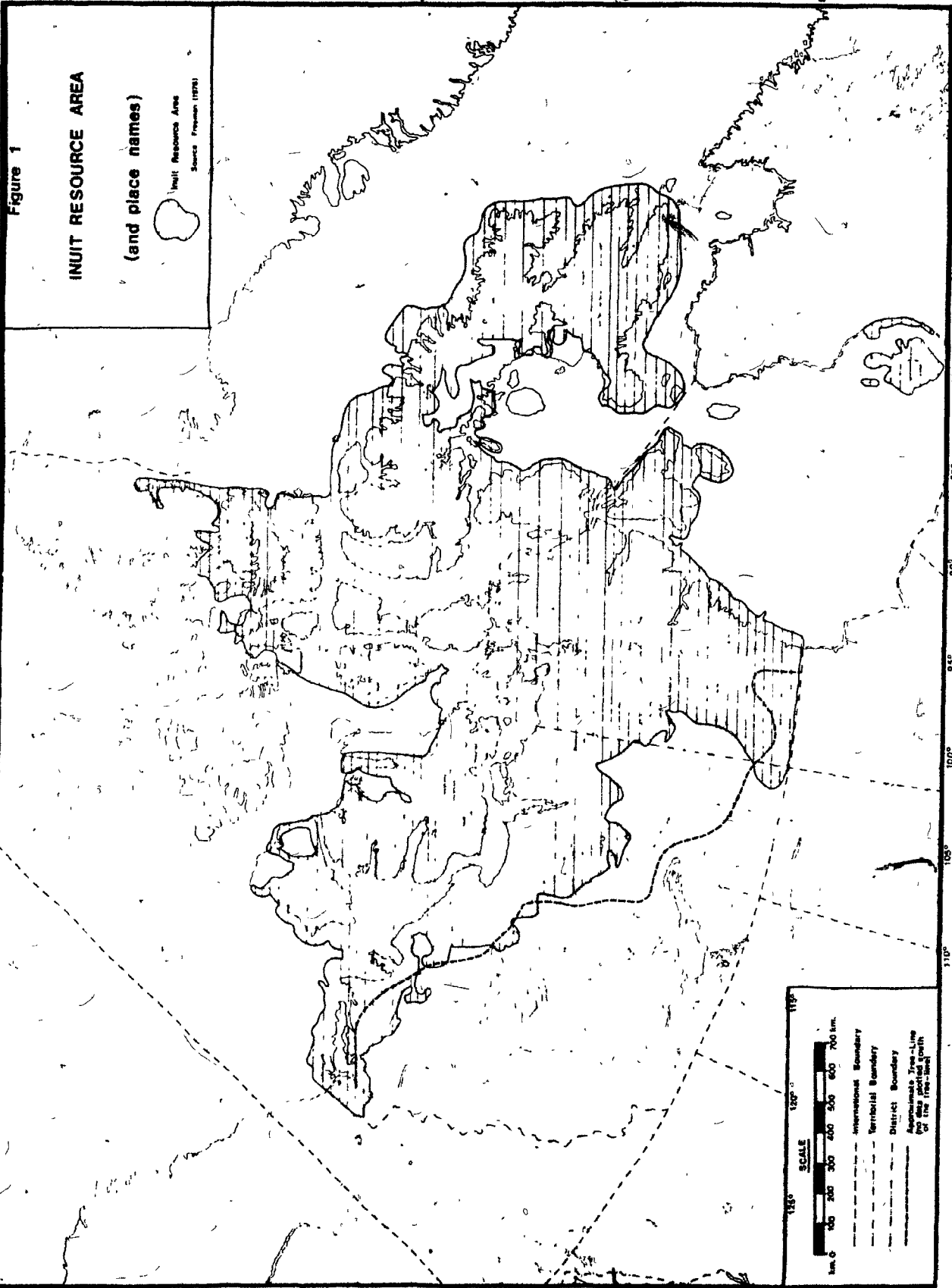
Mongols to occupy the Siberian tundra: "... they changed just enough so they would not have to change."

However, while a perceptual or phenomenological approach sets a useful framework for explaining the sources of conflict over resource uses, it does not provide any equipment for resolving such controversies. Indeed, the suggestion that environmental policies reflect culturally determined perceptions leaves little room for finding a solution to a resource conflict which also happens to be an inter-cultural conflict.

It was suggested above that ecological problems are amenable to resolution once all the facts are revealed and acknowledged by the parties involved. Political conservation problems are not so amenable to resolution; they call for a negotiated or contested outcome. Inuit living in the Canadian Northwest Territories are at present engaged in negotiating a settlement of their land claims with the Canadian Government, and in the concluding chapter I shall suggest means by which both the ecological and the political conservation problems may be dealt with in the context of those negotiations.

Area of Reference

The discussion will be largely confined to what may be termed the 'Inuit resource area' (see Fig. 1). This term is used to denote that part of the NWT which was identified in the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Study (Freeman 1976) to represent the full extent of Inuit land use within this political unit. The Inuit resource area covers 2,600,000 km²



of land and sea and, in 1979 was occupied by an estimated 16,151 Inuit (Hamelin 1979) living in 32 settlements and perhaps as many outpost camps.

Data from this area will be supplemented by references to Inuit in other parts of Canada: Quebec, Labrador, and the Yukon Territory, and, generally, to past relations between American native societies and Europeans, Canadian and American governments and institutions.

Data Acquisition

The field data contributing to this thesis were gathered in the course of visits to over twenty Inuit communities and camps over the winters 1978-79 and 1979-80. During these visits, discussions were held with Inuit hunters, Hunters' and Trappers' Associations, and local fisheries and wildlife management officials, over current issues affecting hunting practices and concerns related both to the application of conservation measures and the effects of industrial development. In the years preceding 1978, I spent three summers and one winter travelling continually by aeroplane, helicopter, whaleboat, canoe and on foot throughout the Canadian Arctic Archipelago and mainland, and I have obtained as a result a comprehensive familiarity with the landscape and biota and the inhabitants of the region.

This fieldwork has been supplemented by library and records research at conservation agencies in Ottawa, Yellowknife, Whitehorse, Edmonton, and Montreal - as well as discussions with scientists and management staff actively involved

with conservation in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon Territory (see Appendix 1).

CHAPTER 1

THE DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

In order to indicate the scope and complexity of the problem under study, several propositions are introduced here which will be elaborated in this chapter and substantiated in later chapters with reference to specific events. In summary, these propositions are:

That conservation in the NWT may be either supportive of Inuit resource use, or may serve as a vehicle for appropriating Inuit resources.

That the motivation for appropriation is a re-evaluation by southern Canadians of Inuit resources, which were formerly perceived to be of marginal worth. Such re-evaluations precipitate proposals to use these resources in ways which may conflict with Inuit usage.

There may also be divergent perceptions of value and appropriate usage within the collective conservation interest, though these differences may not be apparent in the collective effect upon Inuit resource use.

That there is invariably a tension between the use and protective aspects of a conservation measure, and that this tension may lead to political conflict when a multiplicity of uses are proposed in conjunction with a single conservation measure.

That, in defending the Inuit interest against this appropriative effect, it is imperative to distinguish between ecological conservational problems, amenable to technical solutions, and political problems, which must be dealt with in political terms.

These statements will be amplified following a brief review of relations between aboriginal peoples and conservation interests elsewhere.

Geographical Background

Though large in relation to their population, the areas still occupied throughout the world by peoples whose primary form of resource use is hunting and gathering represent generally the least attractive and most inhospitable portions of the ranges formerly occupied by such societies (Lee and Devore 1968). As a product of cultural evolution towards other economic and political systems, a contraction in hunting range has been proceeding since the origins of agriculture during the Neolithic. Recently, this process has been accelerated by effects of colonialism and industrial development (Bodley 1975).

Bodley points out that, to a large extent, the continued survival of the hunting and gathering way of life is contingent upon the habitats where this is practised being perceived by outsiders as economically marginal.

Biswas (1979) points out the difficulty in precisely defining 'marginal lands'. The economist may understand them to be lands of low productivity; to the ecologist they may be lands where the ecosystems are fragile and inherently unstable. Monkhouse (1970:220) defines marginal land as "land which is hardly worth cultivating or which may or may not be according to changes in economic conditions." I wish to concentrate here on the notion that the 'marginality' of land may be provisional upon estimates of its economic worth, and elaborate

it to embrace less material means of evaluating the land and its resources.

Murdock (1968) reports on the status of surviving hunting and gathering peoples. The habitats occupied by these groups may possess economic value but be considered marginal by virtue of their small size or inaccessibility, for example certain South Pacific islands or sectors within the Ethiopian Highlands. They may lie just beyond the frontiers of expanding economic development with their eventual exploitation inevitable, for example parts of the Amazon Basin and the African rain forest region. They may also be considered marginal because the resources that are evidently located there are simply not perceived by the industrial world to possess enough conventional economic value to justify their development on a scale which would reduce the habitat available for hunting and gathering.

This last category contains the most extensive areas still used primarily for hunting and gathering; the hot arid and semi-arid regions of the southern hemisphere, the taiga and tundra of the northern hemisphere.

In considering the effects of agricultural or industrial development upon hunting and gathering, a distinction arises between those processes which necessitate the transformation of the habitat to the extent that the hunting and gathering resources can no longer survive, for example, intensive agriculture or the conversion of rain forest to plantations, and those which do not necessarily entail permanent environmental

transformation on such a scale, significant examples of which are the extractions of mineral or hydrocarbon deposits. While the first category must impend the exclusion of hunting and gathering, the second offers scope for co-existence. In this thesis, I shall be dealing with an area where development promises to be confined to the second category, the Canadian Arctic tundra and the adjacent seas.

Over the last fifty years, lands which have been regarded as marginal for conventional economic purposes have increasingly come to attract the attention of individuals and institutions representing those conservation interests which are specifically concerned with the preservation of landscapes and biota in as natural a condition as circumstances permit. There are two related reasons for this. First, that such lands are thought to present the closest surviving approximation of natural virgin conditions and thus offer the most attractive opportunities for establishing conservation areas. Second, that conservation areas are extremely difficult to set up in lands already committed to some other form of use, particularly where such uses entail substantial transformations of the habitat.

Conservationists have sometimes expressed regret at being confined, in the establishment of conservation areas, to lands which are thought to be otherwise worthless; to their regret is added the irony that these are presumably the lands least in need of protective measures. Many of the larger conservation areas in the world are placed in what were regarded

as marginal lands at the time of their establishment: the tse-tse infested miombo woodlands of Tanzania, the ice-cap and polar desert of Greenland, the Kalahari desert of southern Africa. Conservation areas which have been placed in lands with potential economic worth, become jeopardised when this value later becomes realisable; such areas may then come under intense pressure to alter their boundaries, or allow certain forms of resource uses. (This process is current in the Amazon Basin and in the savannah lands of East Africa.)

The pursuit of conservation interests in marginal lands engenders the possibility of encountering hunting and gathering peoples, in residence and enjoying exclusive or primary use of the natural resources. Such encounters have not in the past been of invariable benefit to the occupants. In Uganda, the Ik were expelled from their traditional hunting lands upon the establishment of Kidepo National Park (Turnbull 1972). When Tsavo National Park, in Kenya, was designated, Waliangulu hunters became immediately re-defined as poachers (Gomm 1974). In both these cases, occupancy by aboriginal peoples was incidental to the establishment of the parks. The dispossession of the Ik and the Waliangulu is explicable in terms of the history of conservation areas in East Africa. Most of the areas now designated as parks were originally game reserves set up to guarantee a supply of animals for white sports hunters (Guggisberg 1970); aboriginal hunters were automatically perceived, and excluded, as competitive users.

Yet such an outcome is not inevitable: Odzala National Park, in Zaire, contains Pygmy tribes, the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park contains Bushmen, with both groups remaining more or less unaffected by these conservation measures (Dasmann 1975). In Brazil, the Xingu National Park was established expressly for the protection of a group of Indians and its way of life, albeit a group which had been translocated to the park to accommodate the industrial development of their traditional lands (Bodley 1975).

The probability of conflict between aboriginal peoples and conservation interests increases when a specific purpose, or use, is assigned to a conservation area beyond the conventionally accepted objective of protecting natural conditions from disturbance. Where the sources of such disturbance are obvious, and the environmental impact likely to be severe, the case for establishing protected areas is clear and incontrovertible; however, where the threat is less imminent, or even nominal, the case for establishing conservation areas must be supported by other arguments. In such instances, greater prominence may be given to the attractions of the candidate area for various recreational uses. This suggests two axiomatic propositions which underlie much of the argument presented in this thesis. The first is that, as the scale and severity of likely environmental impacts diminish, greater emphasis is placed upon the value of conservation areas for recreational and related purposes. In turn, as this emphasis increases, so does the likelihood of conflict with aboriginal

peoples occupying those areas.

The Character of Inuit Land Use

The changes that have occurred over the last two or three generations in the areas hunted by Inuit and the species taken have been thoroughly described in the recent report on the "Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project" (Freeman 1976). Though there have been considerable changes in techniques, economy and organisation during this period, Inuit land use remains essentially a form of hunting, with the hunting ranges and the movements of the hunters determined by those of their quarry.

Technical changes are derived mainly from the adoption of firearms and motorised transport. Changes in economy from the introduction of external trade lead to an intensification of trapping and later trade in animal skins and ivory. Both technical and economic changes have led to changes in the organisation of hunting by facilitating or motivating individual hunters to accomplish what had formerly required group or communal efforts. An exception to this trend is the increasing use of large boats which are frequently owned and operated by family groups of hunters. Such changes have tended to increase the productivity rather than the predictability of hunting. By and large, it remains an economically hazardous enterprise, exposed to the exigencies of weather and the unforeseeable changes in distribution and abundance of animal populations.

Elsewhere than North America, traditional hunting economies in habitats unsuitable for conversion to agriculture have usually been supplanted by highly technical and systematic forms of hunting. Commercial fisheries employ sophisticated detection systems which reduce the element of uncertainty to within calculable limits. The regular cropping of wild ungulate populations, usually termed 'wildlife husbandry', is based on detailed knowledge of population structure and a certain amount of control of rival predator populations. Such hunting has become corporate in nature in contrast to Inuit hunting, which remains a domestic activity and as such retains its cultural significance to Inuit society. Inuit hunting, in fact, persists under economic conditions which could not be tolerated by such corporate enterprises and it is arguable that the financial investment which Inuit families and individuals are obliged to make in order to sustain hunting is a measure of its cultural importance.

Much has been made of the general failure to introduce reindeer husbandry in the Inuit resource area, despite some local and partial success. These failures have been referred to the lack of both motivation and a social organisation conducive to reindeer husbandry. It is questionable whether systematic wild animal cropping would also succeed, even though it involves a measure of actual hunting, if it could not be accommodated within the established cultural framework supporting Inuit hunting as currently practised.

The Constituents of the
Conservation Interest

The Conservation interest, as a collective term used above, comprises those government agencies and private organizations whose primary mandate or concern is to provide for the perpetuation of natural conditions as far as circumstances permit. The focus of a conservation measure may be a specific geographic area that is considered to be in need of special protection, or a species or group of similar species. Such measures may take the form of wildlife sanctuaries, national parks, endangered species legislation or hunting regulations. Membership in the collective conservation interest comprises the government agencies responsible for planning and administering conservation measures and those private conservation organisations which divide their time between lobbying government agencies and organising public campaigns.

Leading conservation agencies have established, or are developing, comprehensive conservation systems in the Arctic which reflect their particular mandates. The Canadian Wildlife Service has established a system of migratory bird sanctuaries (Allison 1977) and is considering a comparable system of national wildlife areas (Hunt 1978). Parks Canada is developing a system of national parks and heritage rivers (Parks Canada 1979). The Canadian Committee for the International Biological Programme (Tundra Panel) has proposed a system of ecological sites which are felt to deserve special protection (Nettleship

and Smith 1975). At present, 17 conservation areas account for approximately 200,000 km² in the Northwest Territories. The 75 or so additional areas which have been proposed would increase this total area to about 500,000 km².

Factions and Conflict within
the Collective Conservation Interest

A major divide separates the proponents of conservation, or 'wise use', within the collective conservation interest, from the supporters of preservation, or non-use. This division is often evident in disputes over such issues as the development of conservation areas for recreational purposes or the harvesting of wild animal populations to provide meat. Such disputes may focus less on whether the ecological objectives of conservation have been prejudiced by such developments than on whether the non-material values motivating the particular conservation measure have been compromised by the production of monetary returns.

The institutions comprising the conservation interest subscribe to these non-economic values in varying proportions, with organisations such as the International Fund for Animal Welfare occupying the moral ground, government parks and recreational agencies concerned more with aesthetics and amenity, and (e.g. in Canada) the Northwest Territorial Fish and Wildlife Service taking the more pragmatic position on the management of renewable resources. Whatever the individual position, agencies engaged in conservation are generally

presumed to subordinate the prospect of monetary gain to other objectives. It was noted above that Inuit land use has a similar quality.

The Dual Ecological and Political
Quality of Conservation Issues

It was suggested above that a conservation measure may stress one of two objectives. First, the process of protection, of arranging for the perpetuation of natural conditions as far as circumstances permit. Second, the use to which such a protected feature is put.

The perpetuation of natural conditions with little human interference is, in theory, a purely practical matter. Those ecological processes which can be controlled or contained in the service of this goal are manipulated appropriately; those which cannot embody the qualifications, "as far as circumstances permit". The "natural conditions" in question may not be represented by a relatively discrete and continuous biogeographical unit but may be defined by the spatially and temporally discontinuous habitat of a species or group of species.

However 'compatible' a projected use may be, it is bound to affect natural conditions to a degree, with any judgement on compatibility based on what is regarded as an acceptable degree. In this sense compatible uses should perhaps be subsumed under the "circumstances" which set a limit on the extent to which natural conditions may be perpetuated. Yet once these circumstances are given, there is in theory but a single

ecological solution to any conservation problem, while there may be as many political solutions (or positions) as there are conceivable uses, or permutations of these uses.

I shall show later that Inuit resource use is confronting several problems which are primarily ecological in scope and derive from imbalances between hunting pressure and the capacity of animal populations to sustain such pressure. Such problems could be resolved solely in terms of the arithmetic of conservation, but there is a tendency, evident amongst both Inuit and non-Inuit, to convert these mainly ecological issues into political issues. Once 'politicised' this issue cannot be resolved in terms of generally acknowledged facts, but becomes susceptible to pressure from interests whose objective is the limitation of Inuit hunting. (It should be mentioned here that an insufficiency of generally acknowledged facts on animal populations contributes to this tendency.)

The Political Basis for Conservation Controversies

A controversy is likely to arise when one set of compatible alternatives is seen to be incompatible with another, rather than with the practical protection of a natural feature, and when a decision must be made on which of these uses should be implemented. Such controversies may arise between sports hunters and hikers, between the promoters of package tourism and wilderness recreation or between the proponents of sustained yield harvesting of wild animal populations and those who consider such practices to be immoral.

A central issue in this thesis is the extent to which Inuit land use is seen to qualify as such a compatible use. This extent has varied considerably over the last century. Much of the early conservation legislation was designed specifically to protect the animal resources and its required space for Inuit use. At the same time, certain measures were introduced to protect endangered populations from any form of use. Since then, an increasing amount of conservation legislation has been directed towards providing for sports hunting by non-Inuit and providing opportunities for wilderness recreation and tourism. The net result has been that Inuit land use has gradually become peripheral to conservation in the Arctic, the subject of concessions rather than commitments, and in certain cases may no longer be regarded as a land use compatible with the objectives of conservation.

It is noteworthy that this change in attitude towards Inuit hunting has not been related to changes in the ecological effects of Inuit hunting but seems to be more the product of changes in the attitudes of southern Canadians toward the resources used by Inuit.

Emergence of 'Conservation' as
an Independent Form of Land Use

While Inuit land use has been in this sense derogated from, other uses have come to enjoy increasing recognition as legitimate activities associated with the implementation of conservation measures; in some cases, they may almost justify, or motivate, the conservation measure rather than remaining

extrinsic to it. Thus, Parks Canada recently unveiled its Canadian Heritage Rivers Programme, designed to select "outstanding examples" of rivers and to "encourage (their) public understanding and enjoyment" (Parks Canada 1979). In such programmes, conservation is no longer a response precipitated by imminent possibilities of irreversible environmental changes but comes to resemble a form of land use in its own right. The public announcement of six proposed new national parks in the Northwest Territories was accompanied by the assurance that "competing resource interests are minimal" (Faulkner 1978a). Such assurances suggest that national parks are eschewing rather than averting environmental threats posed by industrial development.

Range of Effects of Conservation
upon Inuit Resource Use

The pursuit of conservation interests in the Inuit resource area is likely to precipitate an encounter with Inuit engaged in their regular hunting activities. The resulting position adopted by the conservation agency or organisation will vary according to its mandate or objectives as well as any compatible uses associated with the proposed conservation measure. An assurance may be given that Inuit land use may continue without interference; alternatively, a qualified assurance may be given that 'certain' or 'traditional' practices may continue.

The effects of the conservation interest upon Inuit land use are not confined to the designation of conservation areas; they may refer to particular species or groups of species.

Such measures are of two kinds: total protection of a population; the prescription of a sustainable yield for a population. Total protection may attend the realisation that a population is in a condition of decline which may be irreversibly accelerated by continued hunting and as such it is purely a device for practical conservation. But total protection may also be called for on the grounds that it offends human sensibilities or is simply immoral. The question of sustainable yield, and of its harvesting, is one of the classic conservation controversies and it is critical to the questions addressed here.

Both forms of conservation measure find areal expression. In many cases, localities selected as prospective conservation areas also hold attractions for Inuit hunters as they may contain a great variety or density of animal populations. The area over which a species regulation is operative varies with the range and seasonal movements of the populations. Thus Inuit land use may be limited by reduced access to certain hunting grounds or to certain species.

It must be emphasised, though, that reduced physical access is not the only means by which Inuit land use may be limited; it may, in fact, not be the primary means. Confronted with the fact of prior Inuit occupancy, a government agency contemplating the introduction of a conservation area might stipulate the conditions under which Inuit land use will be acceptable in such an area, once established. Such stipulations will vary with the agency but, in substance, they will

tend to permit those activities which have a 'traditional', or 'subsistence' flavour, and exclude those which resemble commerce. For example, the taking of a designated commercial Arctic char quota for local sale may not be countenanced, while fishing for domestic use with leisters would be found acceptable. This approach is not confined to conservation areas, but may also accompany regulations concerning the harvest of certain species whereby hunting for domestic use may be permitted but for commercial trade, prohibited.

Attitudes towards Inuit Resource Use

Attempts to circumscribe Inuit land use practices by regulation are informed by an attitude towards Inuit hunting which will be encountered repeatedly in this thesis. Briefly, it holds that, so long as Inuit employ what are regarded as traditional implements and techniques, and restrict the use of their harvests to domestic or limited local circles, their use of the animal resources will be either respected or assigned a priority over competing uses. Conversely, their adoption of industrial equipment or their involvement in commercial harvesting operations signifies an abandonment of traditional practices and a consequent forfeiting of any prior claim to the resource. This argument has been gaining considerable currency as the conservation interest expands its activities into the Inuit resource area. It represents an ironic reversal of the argument advanced by early European colonists in justification of their appropriation of Indian lands: Indians

were then disqualified from aspiring to hold property rights precisely because of their nomadic, hunting way of life (Lester 1977). To substantiate rights of usufruct over their animal resources, Inuit are now required to resume such ways.

This argument is either applied cynically or it fails to take into account the continuing changes taking place in Inuit land use practices and patterns. Such changes cannot be construed as responses to competing claims on the resources, by conservation or other interests, but are largely the less direct result of changes on a regional scale in economic, social and political conditions. The extent of these changes will be detailed in the following chapter; they can be considered to be the latest in a series of adaptations initiated upon first contact with Euro-Canadian society.

Courses of Action Open to Inuit in Defending their Interests

Three major courses of action are open to Inuit when faced with competing claims upon their resources.

- (1) They may insist that their aboriginal rights are being violated.
- (2) They may accept assurances that their resource use practices will be accommodated within the proposed conservation program.
- (3) They may attempt to obtain political control over conservation.

(1) The Inuit position in the current round of land claim negotiations with the Canadian government is firmly

grounded in the issue of aboriginal rights of occupancy and usage. Just as Inuit feel that the disruption of animal populations, or the regulation of hunting practices, may constitute an infringement of their hunting rights, the most obvious responses are either to take the issue to the courts or to press for the enactment of permanent statutory protection. Without denying the historical entitlement due to Inuit, it is questionable how effective in the long run will be the legal enshrinement of ethnic rights in a country composed of a variety of cultural groups - particularly when those rights may be perceived by others to be privileges.

(2) The second course of action would be to accept assurances on the part of conservation agencies that Inuit hunting practises could continue, subject to the maintenance of animal populations. If this course of action is taken, the security of Inuit resource use will largely depend upon the degree to which conservation measures are committed to potentially conflicting resource uses and the intensity of demand from potential users (Chapter 4).

(3) The third course of action would be to assume political responsibility for conservation in the Inuit resource area. However, at present, Inuit frequently take strong issue with technical and practical principles underlying the management of wild animal populations and their habitats. It is improbable that the agencies at present responsible for conservation would relinquish political control if they felt that the basic practical objectives of conservation would be

neglected. But this approach would provide Inuit with discretionary powers over the use to which conserved areas and species might be put - to discriminate between such possibly conflicting uses as Inuit hunting, sports hunting and wilderness tourism.

CHAPTER 2

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN INUIT LAND USE

Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I suggested that Inuit hunting, when being weighed against competing ways of using the animal resources, may be judged not only according to its economic-ecological efficiency, but also upon the extent to which its practices may be regarded as 'traditional'; the implication being that the less these resemble their pre-contact counterparts the less Inuit may lay claim to the prerogative exercise of their aboriginal hunting rights. This possibility places Inuit hunters in an awkward dilemma for there has certainly been a series of quite radical and observable changes in hunting practices since contact. Such changes have either resulted from efforts to maintain hunting as a viable form of land use in the face of adverse social and economic conditions over which Inuit had no control, or from efforts to increase the efficiency or productivity of hunting by adopting industrial technology. Thus, the further Inuit proceed in their efforts to make hunting in all respects a more secure and viable form of resource use, the more their claim to be exercising aboriginal rights is placed in jeopardy.

As Brody (1975) has pointed out, there is an acute awareness amongst Inuit of the degree and rapidity of these

changes and often the older people now living in settlements express a keen nostalgia for the old ways, signified by life in the camps. But there are no indications that they believe their rights of usage have been abandoned along with perennial camp life. Suggestions of this kind are more likely to issue from non-Inuit segments of Canadian society.

The changes in hunting practices that have occurred since contact can simply be viewed as a series of adaptations to changing external conditions over which Inuit had no effective control. The primary motivation of such adaptive strategies has been to sustain hunting as the central cultural activity in Inuit society. In the first part of this chapter, I shall briefly describe past adaptations in Inuit hunting. I shall then try to elucidate the present and impending problems facing Inuit hunters with a view to distinguishing between intrinsic adaptive problems and those which arise from the advancement of competing claims upon Inuit resources.

Conservation measures may appear in either guise; as an expression of a competing claim or as an adaptive strategy. In the extreme case, a general prohibition on hunting, effectively an expropriation of the resource, would unconditionally preclude any possibility of adapting hunting practices. Conversely, less draconian measures, such as the imposition of hunting quotas or seasons, could well turn out to be the most appropriate course of action.

In the second part of this chapter, I shall turn to the direct relationship between Inuit hunting and conservation:

first, with respect to its compatibility with the conservation of natural conditions, as defined in the preceding chapter; secondly, with respect to the contribution which conservation might make to the adaptive problems at present confronting Inuit. By this means, I hope to be able to determine the extent and form in which conservation should necessarily accompany Inuit land use.

The ensuing discussion will also provide an opportunity to introduce some differentiation within what has hitherto been indiscriminately referred to as the conservation interest. The dominant division of interest in this chapter is that represented by wildlife and fisheries management. The two principal agencies concerned with Inuit land use are the Northwest Territorial Wildlife Service, with its jurisdiction extending over terrestrial mammals (including polar bears) and the Federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans, which maintains jurisdiction over fish and sea mammals (sea mammals being officially regarded as fish). The Canadian Wildlife Service holds the mandate for migratory birds, but its exercise will be covered more comprehensively in Chapter 5.

A primary responsibility of the first two agencies is the development and enforcement of harvest quotas for those populations where it is believed that harvest levels would otherwise exceed the maximum sustainable yield. As a mechanism for maintaining population levels, harvest quotas are an element of what I have described above as practical conservation and are ostensibly politically neutral - though there are those

who might disagree with this view.

As a more detailed reference base for the hunting practices which are discussed summarily in this chapter these practices are described in more detail in Appendix II of this thesis. Here, thirteen species groups are covered with reference to hunting practice, usage and regulatory status.

Changes in Practices of Inuit
Land Use since Contact

Over the last century, four major factors have contributed to general changes in Inuit land use practices involving animal resources.

First, involvement in trade with Europe and Canada extended the range of species taken and the form of use of species already taken. Fur-bearers came to be systematically trapped rather than obtained incidentally to hunting staple food species. Species such as musk oxen came to be taken in numbers exceeding those required for subsistence and were traded both for their meat and their skins (Ross 1973, Tener 1965).

Second, the use of firearms and metal traps facilitated such trading practices while at the same time generating a need for cash to purchase such equipment. The resulting integration of trading and subsistence practices has been described by many observers as a 'mixed economy' - though this term may also refer to the incorporation of the proceeds from casual labour.

Third, settlement of the majority of the Inuit population within permanent communities during the decade 1955-1965 tended to concentrate and immobilize a nomadic people which had

previously been thinly dispersed in small camps and whose former seasonal movements had corresponded to a greater degree with those of the animal populations hunted.

Fourth, the acquisition of motor toboggans and outboard motor canoes in the late 1960's enabled hunters to partially counteract these tendencies by moving rapidly beyond the areas in the immediate vicinity of the settlements, where some species had become depleted as a result of persistent hunting pressure. Motorized transport also added significantly to the costs of hunting.

Changes in Inuit Occupancy

There has been a considerable amount of debate over which were the factors most responsible for the concentration of most Inuit within settlements, as well as the degrees of persuasion or coercion exerted by government agencies in effecting this change in primary form of occupancy. Amongst the factors frequently cited are: the establishment of schools, the depletion of animal populations, the enforced attendance for annual medical inspections, the fluctuations in fur prices, the proselytizing of missionaries, the debilitating effects of epidemics, the inability to survive camp life in non-Inuit clothing, the loss of dog teams through canine epidemics, the security from hardship signified by embryonic settlements, the opportunities for earning casual wages. The debate has not led to any general consensus of opinion on which of these factors was the most important, but rather suggests that they

were all contributory and that their proportional significance varied with the area and the specific settlement.

The change from predominantly camp life to predominantly settlement life was swift and dramatic, taking only ten years. For many Inuit it marked the divide between the old ways and the new (Brody 1976b). As perhaps the most conspicuous and remarked upon of the recent changes in the Inuit way of life, this transition has been frequently associated with the development of the 'social pathologies' described so clearly by Brody (1975) with the result that settlements have acquired an image which is often regarded as intrinsically inimical to the hunting way of life. Yet one should point out that, though such pathologies might invariably develop in settlements, all settlements do not necessarily produce them.

Studies of Inuit resource use in some of the smaller settlements, for example Sachs Harbour (Usher 1971), Holman Island (Smith 1973) and Repulse Bay (Müller-Wille 1978), have not suggested that the simple fact of the concentration of hunters and their families in such communities has in itself made their utilization of the resources any less efficient than it was when they were dispersed in camps. On Banks Island, the families moved from their year-round camps to Sachs Harbour for convenience and community. These perennial camp sites then became seasonal camps, with the settlement itself fulfilling a communal function reminiscent of the winter sealing villages of the pre-contact era.

However, there can be no doubt that in areas where resources were less abundant, or became so, the concentration of Inuit within the larger settlements made it increasingly difficult for hunters to find game. This consequence was not immediately apparent to Inuit and Kusugak (1979) has suggested that it took a 'scholastic' generation for the many Inuit parents, who moved to settlements in order that their children would obtain the educational and economic benefits promised by the government (NWT Council, Opening Address 1959), to discover the consequences; that their children not only had become strangers to them but had become unable to function adequately either in the Inuit or the white world. One result of this discovery has been a widely expressed desire by hunters and their families to return to the camp life. In response to this, the NWT Wildlife Service set up the Outpost Camp Program, which, since its inception in 1975 has been heavily subscribed to, so much so that the available funds cannot meet the demand (Creery 1978).

Though the Outpost Camp Program has been welcomed by Inuit as one which appears to be unconditionally in their interests. (Gaunt 1976) the reaction in territorial political circles has been less unanimous. Objections to it have been lodged on two major counts: that it is a form of "high cost welfare" (Coun. Deb. 66 Sess. 1978:414), that the camps may become "embryonic settlements . . . requiring in the years ahead the capital amenities that other settlements require" (Coun. Deb. 61 Sess. 1977:70). In response to such objections,

the camps are defended as offering a 'real choice' to those hunters and their families who wish to resume a life on the land. Such a view could, in time, lead to a distinction between those Inuit who opt for this choice and those who elect to remain in the settlements. Such a distinction would lend substance to the contention that Inuit hunting from settlements resemble non-Inuit sports hunters more than those living entirely off the land and should therefore not be assigned privileges inaccessible to non-Inuit residents.

Applicants for support from the program have asserted that a complete livelihood from hunting can only be obtained in localities lying beyond the reach of 'weekend hunters' from the settlements (Keenayuk Association 1974). Such hunting grounds have often been previously occupied by several generations of the applicants' forebears but had been abandoned when the local trading post had closed. Though apparently merged with other such groups in the settlements, they had retained both their cohesion and identity with particular sites and hunting areas (Akulivik Council 1975).

Upon receipt of an outpost camp grant, an applicant must relinquish claims to social welfare benefits. Besides a sum to cover the cost of establishing the camp, two airlifts are provided each year for fuel and essential materials, and minimal medical and communications facilities are made available. For the period, 1978-79, 21 Inuit outpost camps, occupied all year, were receiving support. The number of reported occupants exceeded 400 people (Creery 1978).

Changes in Forms of Usage and
Disposal of Animal Resources

A confusing variety of terms have been applied to Inuit usage of their animal harvest, usually in an attempt to categorize exemptions from conservation legislation or to explain hunting rights recognized for Inuit over other groups - or, conversely, to limit such rights. Isolated from their original geographical, anthropological or economic context, such words as "subsistence", "domestic", "traditional", or "commercial" are applied to present Inuit practices for what they signify as much as what they actually mean.

Thus, in drafting the new set of Walrus Protection Regulations, the Dept. of Fisheries and Oceans (Federal) has substituted the words "trade or barter" for the provocative word "sell" (contained in an otherwise identical provision in the old set) in the hope that the Service will appear to its southern detractors to be permitting a "traditional" rather than a "commercial" sort of practice. Such preoccupations with motive or means of disposal have the effect of shifting attention away from the arithmetic of conservation, which is ostensibly the primary concern of wildlife management agencies.

In Table 1, I have attempted to show the variety of means by which hunters may dispose of that part of their harvest which they do not wish to retain for personal use - which includes sharing amongst relatives and friends. The column, Settlement Sales, includes local outlets which may be maintained by the Co-op or the Hunters' and Trappers' Association. Such

Table 1

Characteristic means of disposing of harvest beyond domestic use

Species or species group	Disposable parts	Settlement sales	Inter-settlement trade	Extra-territorial trade
Caribou	meat skin antlers	meat	meat antlers skins	antlers skins
Musk ox	meat skins horns qiviut		meat qiviut	skin horns qiviut
Polar bear	meat skin		meat	skin
Wolf	skin			skin
Arctic fox	skin			skin
Ringed seal	meat skin		meat skin	skin
Bearded seal	meat skin			
Walrus	meat skin tusk	tusk	meat tusk	tusk
Narwhal	meat muktuk tusk		muktuk tusk	tusk
Beluga	meat muktuk		muktuk	
Bowhead whale	meat muktuk			
Wildfowl	meat eggs			
Fish	meat	meat	meat	meat

Note: This table should be regarded as an approximation. A great deal of inter-settlement trade, or exchanging, goes on. The lists refer to disposal along more formal channels.

outlets are usually confined to the sale of fish; caribou is occasionally available and, less often, muktuk. The column, Inter-settlement Trade, lists those animal products in which trade between Inuit settlements has been developing in recent years. Such trade is becoming an important way of redressing regional imbalances in the supply and demand for animal resources. Extra-territorial trade refers mainly to the traditional trade in furs and skins. With the fairly recent development of large scale Arctic char fisheries delivering substantial quantities to southern Canada, such trade is no longer necessarily confined to inedible commodities. Of these three means of disposal, I would suggest that developments in inter-settlement trade are likely to precipitate a reassessment of the terminology and categories that have been applied to Inuit land use practices.

The "regional imbalances" I referred to above are the result, not only of naturally occurring discontinuities in animal population distributions but also the changes in patterns of occupancy which were discussed above. Thus, in Baker Lake, the only Inuit settlement not located on the coast (it is 270 km inland), I was surprised to be informed of a strong, and largely unsatisfied, demand for walrus meat amongst that segment of the local population which had previously occupied the coast of Hudson Bay.

Early accounts of Inuit economies recorded regular instances of trade between regional groupings, particularly in materials needed for weapons and other implements. (Graburn 1969). Hunters

have described to me cases where the people in one settlement undertook to supply food to those in another when the local harvest failed for one reason or another. In this way, in recent years, Repulse Bay and Chesterfield Inlet have supplied Coral Harbour with caribou, Coppermine has sent caribou to Cambridge Bay and Eskimo Point has sent caribou to Baker Lake. There are other cases where such trade is not the result of such 'emergencies' but where it is a simple case of sending, or sending for, certain foods. Thus: Igloolik trades walrus, aged in a particular local way, to other settlements in the north Baffin region, Baker Lake sends to Whale Cove for beluga muktuk, hunters from Spence Bay travel to Cresswell Bay to collect muktuk which has been reserved for them.

In recognition of the value to Inuit of this hitherto discrete and spontaneous trading activity, the NWT Wildlife Service, in 1978, set up, with the Frobisher Bay Hunters and Trappers Association, a 'country food store' designed to facilitate the distribution of food from other settlements to the local population. This has been designated a pilot project and as such is regarded as a success. Caribou is sent from Igloolik and Hall Beach, ringed seal from Broughton Island, Arctic char from Pangnirtung, beluga muktuk from Lake Harbour, narwhal muktuk from Pond Inlet, musk ox and polar bear from Resolute Bay (IDC 1980).

The various government agencies with jurisdiction over the species traded have either issued regulations intended specifically to deal with the growth in intersettlement trade

in country foods or they have relied upon the application of existing legislation. An example of the former is the allocation of 'commercial caribou quotas' by the NWT Wildlife Service. These are based on estimates of the harvest that individual caribou herds can sustain in addition to the harvest taken for domestic use - which is itself not subject to quotas. Thus, the operators of the Frobisher Bay country food store know that their closest source of caribou is the Melville Peninsula herd, which has a commercial quota of 200, divided among the hunters of Igloolik and Hall Beach. An example of the latter is contained in the Regulations for the Protection of Walrus, imposed by the Federal Fisheries and Marine Service. These state that "No person shall trade or barter Walrus meat to another person unless that other person is travelling in or is a resident of the area in which the Walrus is killed and requires the meat as food for himself, his family or his dogs." This quotation is from the final draft (1980) of the new regulations which have for some time been circulated for comment by persons who are fully aware that walrus (from Igloolik) is being sold in Frobisher Bay - under the auspices of the NWT Government. In a similar vein, the regulations affecting seal hunting do not permit the sale of seal meat, yet ringed seal from Broughton Island is regularly featured on the shelves of the Frobisher Bay store (Ibid.).

During inquiries amongst hunters on their views about inter-settlement trade, it was consistently pointed out that such practices are regarded as no more than an extension of

traditional sharing or barter amongst closely related groups. In support of this, it should be noted that the typical prices charged for country food range between 20% and 30% of local prices for comparable foods imported from the south: such prices are set to barely cover costs, and local wildlife officers concerned with encouraging inter-settlement trade unanimously stated that their greatest problem was in getting suppliers to ask for any money at all (Ibid.).

In contrast, the Fisheries and Marine Service have shown a clear reluctance, not only to accommodate the fact of inter-settlement trade, but even to acknowledge its existence. The quotation inserted above more accurately reflects the realities of twenty years ago than those of today. This curious perspective has existed for some time. The regulations governing seal hunting do not permit the sale of seal skins unless the seal is taken, and consumed, for domestic purposes. Three communities, Pangnirtung, Broughton Island and Clyde River, took a combined average of about 17,000 ringed seal between 1972 and 1978, over half the NWT total harvest. It is a widely acknowledged fact that only a small part of this harvest is eaten, yet not only is this illegality ignored by the responsible authorities, but the seal skin trade itself is the subject of continual government support, both financial and in the form of tuition and workshops in skin dressing and marketing (NWTG Dept. Econ. Dev. 1978). If inter-settlement trade were to be seen as an extension of traditional methods of use, a result of change in the prevailing patterns of occupation in relation to

the distribution of animal resources, then its successful prosecution would constitute a means of legitimizing the illegal seal skin trade.

Until now, hunters have provided meat for intersettlement trade by a simple intensification of their regular hunting or by making use of the meat from animals taken for their skins, which would otherwise not be eaten. The proposed scheme to systematically manage and harvest the Coats Island caribou population would, if put into effect, mark a significant change: caribou would be taken specifically for intersettlement trade. There are other examples where an entire harvest for a specific area would be taken for trade. Sachs Harbour has, for 1980, been allocated a musk ox quota of 150, an increase of 138 over the previous quota and 62% of the total Canadian quota of 242. The residents of Sachs Harbour have always preferred eating caribou, of which they have a plentiful supply, and they propose to devote most of this quota to trade. There are certain areas where beluga populations would be high enough to support intensive harvesting programs designed to provide for trade (Sergeant and Brodie 1975).

The meat from such intensive harvesting schemes as these will be surplus to local domestic needs and can thus be a direct source of monetary income. Whether intersettlement trade provides an income to hunters through participation in such schemes or through an intensification of their hunting efforts, this means of disposal of animal harvests extends the range of means by which a hunter may obtain cash; previously,

cash return was confined to the products of trapping fur-bearers.

The Economic Status of Inuit Hunting

Stabler (1978) clearly expresses an attitude towards the "native economy" which is common amongst its detractors. It is treated as though it *should* be capable of providing support for the native population. Once this principle is accepted, it permits the depreciation of that "economy" on the grounds that it cannot provide incomes or an occupational structure comparable with those of, say, forestry or marine fisheries. This argument is clinched by the insertion of tables familiar to the readers of the Area Economic Surveys of the early 1960's (Lotz 1976) showing that the incomes of the most successful hunters and trappers hardly exceed \$3,000 per annum.

Stabler's paper is a critique of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Berger 1977). Stabler's economic disparagement of native resource use is accompanied by three supporting arguments which are frequently featured in similar commentaries:

- (1) He is concerned over "the ability of the native economy to support a rapidly growing population" (Stabler 1978:194);
- (2) Judge Berger's "argument concerning the importance of the land in the native culture" (Ibid.:194) is dismissed as being "rather ethereal" (Ibid.:194) - which it ought to be;
- (3) some significance is placed upon the transition from "closed system" governed by "the 'iron law' of subsistence economics" (Ibid.: 189) to the state whereby native people "willingly . . . become

as dependent on the industrial economy and the market system as the factory worker in a mill town" (Ibid.:189). This last argument is not completely articulated for it relies upon the power of suggestion rather than reason; it appeals to the sentiment embedded in the 'southern' view of Inuit society (see p. 26), that prior claims by Inuit to the animal resources are necessarily forfeit once this transition has been accomplished.

I would suggest an alternative approach towards the economics of Inuit resource use, one that is reminiscent of a closed system. It has two components: the hunting resources, the Inuit population. The problem is, how can the population manage to continue utilizing these resources? There are two aspects to this problem: first, the economic mechanics of using the resource; second, the problem of resisting competing claims, of maintaining the 'closed system'. In this section, I shall attempt to address the former.

Stabler's point about the expanding population is perfectly valid, though I would dispute that renewable resource use should be judged in terms of its ability to support this growth. It means that individual shares of these finite resources will steadily diminish. In the Belcher Islands the resource equation involving wildfowl has already reached the point where the spring goose hunt does not provide enough to go around and to that extent consumption is being ritualized, though participation has not decreased (Freeman personal communication 1979).

This extreme example is uncommon but is notable as a portent. In fact, population increase is just one contributory factor. The increasing productivity of hunting resulting from the use of motorized transport and high-powered rifles is bringing harvest levels appreciably closer to the yields which existing animal populations can sustain. Polar bear hunting illustrates this process. An abrupt increase in the polar bear harvest in the early 1960's has been associated with the increasing use of motor toboggans for hunting (Miller 1978). This increase led to the introduction of polar bear quotas. A senior NWT Wildlife Service official has stated that the quotas could conceivably be removed if Inuit would agree to hunt polar bear only with dog teams for transport (Land, personal communication). Whatever the actual figures may be, and despite the views of some communities that their quotas should be increased, the principles and necessity of conserving the stock are recognized by Inuit (ITC 1973, NQIA 1978). To the extent that a polar bear quota is estimated and filled, the utilization of the polar bear population may be regarded as complete. The imposition of quotas, as shown in Table 2 (p. 48) suggests that, in the official view, the utilization of several other species is approaching this condition.

It is perhaps ironic that the increase in the productivity of hunting techniques, which has contributed to increases in harvest levels, cannot be further taken advantage of where the harvests approach sustainable levels. The capital investment required to kill one polar bear could account for two or more

Table 2

Summary of Harvest Regulations Affecting Inuit Hunting

Species or species group	General quota	Commercial quotas	Complete Protection
Caribou		community quotas on certain herds	
Musk ox	community quotas		
Polar bear	community quotas		
Wolf			
Arctic fox			
Ringed seal			
Bearded seal			
Walrus	community quotas, and hunter quotas		
Narwhal	community quotas		
Beluga	one community quota		
Bowhead whale			complete protection by consent ¹
Wildfowl	(informal quotas)		closed season ²
Fish		quotas on certain populations	

1. one community quota has been requested for 1980

2. the official closed season applies while migratory wildfowl are in the Inuit resource area, but informal hunters quotas apply in certain areas.

bears for comparatively slight additional costs. However, this increase in productivity has a more favourable aspect: a hunter may obtain his harvest in a considerably shorter time, thus allowing him more time to earn the money needed to pay his hunting costs, which - as several authors have shown are in many cases exceeding the levels which he can reasonably expect to account for from his cash returns from hunting.

Usher (1970) estimated the total annual cost of operating a motor toboggan on Banks Island in 1970 to be \$1,350. Müller-Wille (1978) gave \$1,705 for comparable costs in Repulse Bay in 1973 - and \$4,540 as the total average expenditure on hunting equipment. Costs have risen appreciably since these two studies were made and in my inquiries on the annual operating costs of motor toboggans amongst hunters in ten eastern Arctic settlements over the winter 1979-80, the estimates were all in the \$4,000-\$5,000 range.

The overwhelming majority of the hunters in these settlements were in full-time employment and restricted their hunting to the weekends and holidays. Provided that they possessed adequate equipment, most hunters were able to obtain sufficient supplies of meat during these periods. It does not seem that such hunting provides enough income to recoup expenditures on such scales as those estimated above.

Data from NWT Wildlife Service records from the Baffin Region indicate the amounts of cash obtained by hunters. In 1977-78, there were 938 registered hunters in the region. Total fur sales, excluding polar bear, accruing to the hunters

were \$460,932, an average of \$491 per hunter. The two hunters leading in fur sales realized \$5,538 and \$4,540 respectively. Total polar bear quotas for the region are 237, so it is conceivable that an equivalent number of hunters obtained a further \$1,000 to \$1,500 each, depending upon the quality of the skin (NWT Wildlife Service 1979). At present, the most highly developed intersettlement trade takes place amongst communities in the Baffin Region. Though there are no records for the period, 1977-78, projected yearly sales for the country food store in Frobisher Bay are \$80,000, of which hunters would receive \$40,000-\$50,000. Though this excludes limited local sales of car and caribou, this figure does not add significantly to the fur sales total mentioned above. An optimistic estimate for fur, polar bear skins and country food for the region would be around \$800,000, still, an average of less than \$1,000 per registered hunter.

This estimate does not include the imputed value of the food obtained by hunters, which would considerably exceed these realisable cash values (Usher 1976, Pavich 1979). However high these imputed values may be they do not provide the actual cash required by hunters to obtain equipment, fuel, ammunition and other supplies. Contemplating such data as these, one is tempted to conclude that it is the hunters themselves who subsidize their hunting to a greater extent than any other agency.

The authors of a study on the socio-economic impact of the Nanasivik iron mine, North Baffin Island, (BRIA 1978)

concluded that the majority of Inuit workers in effect used the opportunity to earn cash as a means of subsidizing their hunting. The highest 'turnovers' were amongst the most active hunters who tended to leave as soon as they had accumulated the sum required for some specific purpose; it was estimated that about 80% of the workers' wages was spent directly on hunting equipment. The authors, moreover, remarked upon the consistency of view regarding the proper functions of work and hunting; interviewers often recorded the same comment "we work for money and hunt for food" (Ibid.: 17).

The price which Inuit are prepared to pay in order to continue hunting could be construed as an indicator of its cultural importance, thought "rather ethereal" by Stabler (1978). The comment quoted above suggests that there might be some resistance to the development of 'professional hunting' as a way of increasing productivity in relation to capital input. As Müller-Wille (1978) points out, hunting is perhaps the most important way of affirming ethnic identity; where harvest levels approximate sustainable yields, the institutional promotion of such professional hunting may well be interpreted as effectively reducing the number of animals accessible to the 'amateurs'.

Similarly, it is conceivable that wildlife husbandry schemes (see p. 58) might lack support to the extent that they may be seen to confer hunting advantages on a few participants at the expense of the majority who are excluded. In discussing the proposed Coats Island caribou management scheme, with the

Hunters and Trappers Association of Coral Harbour, there was some concern expressed over whether participation in the scheme could be accommodated within the hunters' scheduled summer holiday periods, many of which are presently used up in walrus and caribou hunting expeditions to Coats Island and other areas.

For those hunters who elect to resume living completely off the land in outpost camps, financial problems are perhaps reduced, but by no means eliminated. Some camps have required a certain amount of continued support beyond the establishment grants provided under the Outpost Camp Programme. Other camps have sought ways of obtaining cash beyond the sale of furs and skins. The Allen Island camp supplies soapstone to Baffin Island settlements. The Perry Island camp is setting up a similar soapstone trade to Cambridge Bay. The Creswell Bay camp trades char to Resolute Bay, caribou to Grise Fiord and muktuk to Spence Bay. In addition, the occupants of the camps obtain revenue from the sale of carvings and other craft objects..

If I may refer again to Stabler's (1978) concern over the "ability of the native economy to support a growing population", I would suggest that a problem of equal, if not greater, economic importance is that of how a growing population can continue to support hunting; this issue is certainly of extreme cultural importance.

The Compatibility of Inuit
Land Use with Conservation

There are two senses in which Inuit hunting may be regarded as incompatible with the conservation of natural systems: the first concerns the intensity of use, the second refers to inherent incompatibility. Those who declare that Inuit hunting is not "conservational" usually cite examples of over-harvesting in support of this claim (they may also cite examples of "waste", but this is not the same thing). The second sense suggests that there are certain forms of resource utilization which are intrinsically incompatible with the conservation of natural systems, though they may be conservational in other senses. An example from forestry would be the replacement of wild forests with tree plantations. With reference to hunting as a form of resource use, I would suggest that a similar type of incompatibility emerges as hunting is replaced by husbandry.

With regard to the first type of compatibility, the present system of harvest quotas used to regulate the hunting of thirteen species and species groups (Appendix II) are shown in Table 2. There are three ways in which harvest levels are regulated: complete protection, general quotas, commercial quotas. Such regulations are usually referred to apparently discrete population units of a species and may cover all known populations, or selected populations which are believed to be endangered by current use levels. Quotas may be allocated to the community customarily hunting a particular population

or they may be allocated on the 'bag limit' system - so many animals per hunter.

Four species are regulated by general quotas: polar bear, musk ox, narwhal, walrus. In the first three of these, the quotas are allocated by community. Within each community, a set of 'tags' corresponding to the number of the quota is distributed amongst the hunters. For walrus it is different. Over the past year or so, officials from the Fisheries and Marine Service have been discussing quotas with local hunters, who have been given the option of choosing between a community quota and an individual hunter quota. Only four communities have selected the former; elsewhere, the quota is limited to four walrus per hunter. Fisheries management officials are somewhat disappointed with this as the prediction of maximum harvest levels becomes less reliable.

Quotas signify a maximum harvest level; this is not necessarily reached each year. The total narwhal quota, distributed amongst 18 settlements, is 497, yet between 1973 and 1978 the recorded total narwhal harvest averaged 266 (Wong 1979). The reason for this is that the past harvests of some settlements, for example Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, often exceeded the quota levels they have since been allocated, whereas other settlements, such as Pelly Bay and Gjoa Haven, have been allocated quotas even though narwhal very rarely come within range of the settlements and hunters are thus unable to fill the quota. By affecting only those communities with consistently high harvests, the narwhal quota has had the

effect of depressing the total harvest level. By contrast, the polar bear quota is always filled.

A selective general quota has been imposed on the usage of the Cumberland Sound beluga population. This population has been subjected to a more sustained commercial exploitation than any other population in the Canadian Arctic (Sergeant and Brodie 1975). The Hudson's Bay Company operated a whaling station at Pangnirtung which did not close until the early 1960's, though extremely high catches had been recorded as early as the 1920's (Brodie 1971). Following the closure of the whaling station, Inuit hunting continued at reduced levels. However, in the early 1970's a successful local trade in beluga muktuk was expanded to take in intersettlement trade with Frobisher Bay. Upon this, the harvest of the Cumberland Sound beluga began to rise again and though it did not reach the earlier levels reported by Brodie (1971) it was estimated to account for 22% of the total remaining population. In the view of fisheries biologists, if this population was able to recover the number obtaining before the 1920's, it could well sustain such harvest levels: but, in its depleted condition, it cannot do so (Sergeant personal communication). It is not felt that local usage endangers this population, but unrestrained commercial exploitation, and latterly intersettlement trade, were considered to constitute less finite demands which could only be met by depleting this population. The present quota rests at 5% of the estimated population and usage is restricted to the settlement of Pangnirtung.

Commercial quotas are set for the harvests of caribou and the three species of fish commonly taken by Inuit, Arctic char, lake trout and whitefish. While there are no restrictions placed on the number of these species which an Inuit hunter may take for his personal, or "domestic", use, he may only sell those which are taken from a commercial quota. As I pointed out above, by using the term "commercial" such means of disposal are categorized with such enterprises as the Hudson's Bay Company beluga whaling operation mentioned above, whereas individual hunters may consider the disposal of country foods to other Inuit communities, through the agency of the local Co-op or Hunters and Trappers Association, to be no more than an extension or adaptation of traditional means of disposal.

Bowhead whales and wildfowl are both subject to complete protection. Though Inuit may apply for a licence to hunt bowhead, few have done so in recent years and the species is generally thought to be protected by consent (Davis et al. 1980). Under the Migratory Birds Convention Act, a closed season is imposed on wildfowl which effectively prohibits Inuit from practising their traditional spring hunt. In fact, this hunt continues in most areas; in some places there is an informal agreement that only a limited number be taken (Allison 1977). Such an informal agreement has also been made between the hunters of Whale Cove and Fisheries and Marine Service officials regarding beluga harvesting. Whale Cove wishes to supply other Keewatin communities with beluga. In the past a NWT government supported whaling program accounted for harvests

as high as 200 per year (Sergeant 1973). The local Hunters and Trappers Association have agreed to take 35 beluga for trade: this is an informal arrangement and is not enshrined in the Beluga Protection Regulations (Dowler, personal communication 1980).

Of the four species not subjected to quota restrictions, none is believed to be in danger of depletion through Inuit harvesting (see above species discussions). The harvests of the remaining species regularly hunted by Inuit are all regulated by quotas. While considerable argument may attend the introduction of hunting regulations, such regulations, once imposed, are in the main followed by Inuit hunters. Management officials might prefer the circumstances under which such limitations are introduced to be more peaceful, but such controversies as the Kaminuriak caribou issue (see Chapter 5) are in part the inevitable outcome of the contrast in experience and outlook between Inuit hunters and wildlife managers. To the extent that harvest quotas are followed, Inuit resource use cannot be regarded as incompatible with conservation in the first sense mentioned at the head of this section.

The second sense of incompatibility referred to the distinction between hunting and husbandry. Though there is little problem in distinguishing between hunting caribou and raising cattle, it is arguable that the measure of control exerted by some forms of wildlife management is such that it approximates the state of husbandry. In comparing hunters and nomadic herders in tundra regions, Paine (1971) suggests that hunters'

intimate knowledge of the behavior of their quarry constitutes a form of husbandry. Besides the fact that this does not leave much room for defining hunting as anything more than incipient husbandry, I would suggest that it is the application of such knowledge in certain definite ways which constitutes husbandry. A rudimentary example might be the control of the movements of animal populations. Practices of reindeer management entail varying degrees of such control (Scotter 1972) and Kelsall's (1968) suggestion of 250-400 miles of fencing to contain the movements of the Great Bear Lake caribou herd could be regarded as an embryonic form of husbandry.

"Game ranching" or "wildlife cropping" or "wildlife husbandry", as it has been variously called, is a resource use of fairly recent vintage which has reached its highest development in East and Southern Africa (Fraser Darling 1960, Talbot et al. 1962). These terms refer simply to the organized harvesting of 'surpluses' which accrue to animal populations, without deliberate human effort. Typically, it occurs in national parks where animal populations begin to exceed the carrying capacities of their reduced ranges. Thus, elephants are taken in Tsavo National Park in Kenya (Glover 1963) and hippopotami in the parks of Uganda (Petrides and Swank 1958). It may also occur more or less spontaneously in large cattle ranches - in areas less suitable for domestic stock (Dasmann and Mossman 1961). Scotter and Telfer (1975) have reviewed the scope for introducing such practices amongst the ungulate populations of northern Canada. In the Inuit resource area, they discuss

the prospects for musk oxen and for caribou.

The potential for musk oxen was represented by the meat and the wool undercoat (qivuit) grown each winter. It was felt the growth and mortality rates were prohibitive for successful game ranching, and that the total population was rather low. In fact, my field inquiries showed that these authors may have underestimated the potential represented by musk oxen. Hunters in Grise Fiord have developed techniques for extracting 8-10 lbs of qivuit from a large musk ox (qiviut sells for \$50-80 lb). The figure of \$1.00 lb to the hunter is general for caribou and could be applied to musk oxen - with carcass weights around 350 lbs. Musk ox hides may provide considerable sums to the hunter; from \$250 for the hide alone to \$500 for a hide plus the cape and hooves. From these figures, a single musk ox could realize between \$1,000 and \$1,650 for the hunter, which, taking the minimal return, would provide a value for the Sachs Harbour quota of 150 musk oxen of \$150,000 - an appreciable sum for a community of less than 200 people.

These authors do not provide a definition of game ranching which adequately distinguishes it from hunting; "We use the term game ranching to include any commercial use of wildlife from intensively-managed bison ranches to organized community hunts to crop free-ranging caribou" (Ibid.:25). Since the early 1970's, the NWT government has been sponsoring such "organized hunts". They consist in a group of hunters using a large aeroplane to reach caribou which would otherwise be

inaccessible and to bring the meat back to their community. That is the extent of the 'organization' and the meat is disposed of amongst the community as though it had been brought back by motor toboggan. Organized hunts are subsidized means of providing caribou meat and as such are seen as a social service by the recipients (NWT Council, Jan. 25, 1979, pp. 174-195).

In contrast, the proposed scheme to systematically harvest the Coats Island caribou population (Gates 1979) could be construed as a departure from traditional hunting and a move towards husbandry. "The harvest could be structured to remove surplus males and yearlings in order to maintain a maximum number of reproductive age cows with a minimum number of bulls and an adequate level of recruitment" (Ibid.:2-2).

The geography of caribou ranges is critical to the success of such schemes. In this respect, Coats Island is eminently suitable for, even in winter, it is largely isolated by persistent wide leads in the sea ice. The potential for similar schemes has also been noted on Southampton Island (Kelsall 1968), where the caribou population was observed to be in decline by 1950 (Bird 1953). In 1968, the Canadian Wildlife Service arranged for transshipment of a small herd from Coats Island (Manning 1967), which Coral Harbour Inuit have refrained from hunting since (Simmons 1979), and which is now reaching numbers which would permit a limited harvest (Gates personal communication 1979). It is conceivable that such management schemes might eventually come to resemble reindeer husbandry so closely

that the question of their compatibility with the conservation of *natural* conditions will become redundant.

The Necessity for Conservation Measures

The above discussion suggests that conservation in its regulatory aspect is necessitated to redress imbalances in the resource equation, brought about earlier by demographic changes or by increases in the productivity of hunting techniques. In the Inuit resource area such imbalances may be manifest either locally, where population densities exceed pre-contact levels, or with respect to preferred species such as polar bear or caribou.

Such imbalances may be redressed either by regulating harvest levels or by restricting ~~hunting~~ practices to those which are self-limiting, in the sense that they are less productive than those which may be thought responsible for producing the imbalance. As shown in Table 2, the regulations imposed by government management agencies in the Inuit resource area are entirely of the first kind. There is a certain amount of regulation of Inuit hunting techniques, usually on the calibre of rifle used, but these refer more to the efficiency of the practice than its productivity. By contrast, the hunting regulations devised by the Elders of the Labrador Inuit communities where local hunting pressure became critical derived from traditional practices and principles of Inuit land use and were designed to ensure a continuing equity of usage amongst an increasingly settled population (Brody 1977).

They were effected by regulating practices, such as the usage of rifles, rather than by limiting the numbers of animals that may be taken.

Where there are disputes between Inuit and game management officials over the introduction of hunting regulations, they are as much over the manner of the conservation measure as its necessity. Inuit resent the impositions of outsiders unfamiliar with their hunting grounds and for whose biological knowledge they have little respect. They will insist that the problem can be dealt with in the Inuit way: they will not always deny that there is a problem.

Concluding Remarks

Since contact, Inuit hunting as a form of resource use has passed through a series of changes in practice which may be construed as adaptations to changing external conditions. The primary motivation behind such adaptive strategies has been to perpetuate the hunting way of life. These adaptive strategies themselves, in combination with further external changes, have generated a fresh set of problems currently facing Inuit hunters.

These present problems arise from demographic changes within Inuit society, changes in occupational structure, changes in the productivity of hunting techniques. To some degree, their resolution requires the introduction of conservation measures, whether these derive from traditional Inuit practice or from the discipline of game management. They also appear

to impend significant changes in the manner in which Inuit hunting is conducted - who hunts and how hunting is integrated into the fabric of Inuit life. Though this second adaptive problem has a critical bearing on the practice of Inuit hunting, its resolution lies beyond the experience and competence of conventional game management practice.

CHAPTER 3

THE EFFICACY OF ABORIGINAL HUNTING RIGHTS
AS A MEANS OF DEFENDING THE INUIT INTEREST

In concluding Chapter 1, I suggested that the enshrinement of Inuit hunting rights in law is one course of action open to Inuit upon finding that competing claims upon their resources are progressively restricting the scope of their resource utilization. In this chapter, I propose to examine the efficacy of this approach. In doing so, I shall refer to past relations between European colonizers and American Indian societies for, as Berger (1979) has pointed out, current issues and attitudes have often been adumbrated by those which developed as these two cultures encountered one another.

Early treaties concluded between colonial governments and Indian groups had as their primary objectives the cessation of conflict and the acquisition of Indian lands for agriculture and settlement. The remaining land which the treaties reserved to the Indians was usually perceived at that time to be of little use for these purposes. The treaties also promised the Indians that they could continue to hunt without restriction on lands which had been ceded to the colonial government but not put to immediate use - what were

referred to as 'unoccupied crown lands'. In time, portions of such lands were gradually settled or came to acquire fresh values for colonial society, for example, as places suitable for the pursuit of various outdoor recreations. On occasion, such pursuits engendered conflicts with Indian groups already using the land for their purposes. Where such conflict resulted in restrictions being placed upon usage by Indians, they realized that their continued enjoyment of the rights assured them by treaty was to a large extent contingent upon the dominant society continuing to perceive the lands they hunted over to be of little value.

Such restrictions may consist in the sequestering of certain areas from aboriginal use, thus reducing the absolute area available to them, or by placing restrictions on their hunting practices. In either case, the restriction may be seen not only as an expression of a new kind of value assigned to the land but also as a reflection of the value, or respect, attached to aboriginal hunting rights obtaining over the land.

Conscious that such restrictions may be construed as an infringement of aboriginal hunting rights, the interests responsible for them may say in justification that they are necessitated in order to conserve the resources. While there may be cases where such conservation action is uncontrovertibly necessary, this becomes open to question if the restrictions placed upon aboriginal usage are followed by the introduction of alternative forms of use peculiar to the dominant society, for example, the recreational pursuits cited above. Such

eventualities will be dealt with later; here, I wish to consider in more detail the creation of aboriginal hunting rights and the ways in which these may be subsequently curtailed by conservation measures.

The Appropriation of Aboriginal Land
through Treaties and the
Justification Provided

During the early sixteenth century, some Spanish clerics were troubled by the effects upon the native Indian population of the rapidly expanding conquest in Central and South America. Cumming and Mickenberg (1972) place the origin of the theory of aboriginal rights in the work of one of these, Francisco de Vitoria, who asserted that Indians had property rights as much as had any Spaniard - despite their lack of the Roman Catholic faith. In 1537, a papal bull stated that "... Indians are truly men . . . they may and should, freely and legitimately, enjoy their liberty and the possession of their property . . . " (Cumming and Mickenberg 1972:14).

Persuaded by such arguments, King Ferdinand suspended further conquests while a junta of theologians and jurists debated the issue at Valladolid in 1550. The case for the rights of the Indians was led by Bishop Las Casas, who followed Vitoria's line of argument. Against him, the jurist Juan Ginés de Sepulveda advanced a position based upon the Aristotelian doctrine of natural inequality amongst races, of which the Indians were the unfortunate victims (Berger 1979).

Sepulveda's argument rested on three major points:

(1) because of their condition and nature, the Indians require the authority and tutelage of the conqueror; (2) they possess none of his civilized institutions, least of all private property; (3) they have received the material benefits available from Spain such as cattle, books and above all, Christianity. Sepulveda concludes his case with a point of modern sophistication:

Those who try to prevent Spanish expeditions from bringing all these advantages to the Indians are not favouring them, as they like to believe, but are really . . . depriving the Indian of many excellent products without which they will be greatly retarded in their development. (quoted in Berger 1979:2)

Lester (1977) describes how the English in North America had carried this line of argument further and had added a refinement by distinguishing between natural and civil title. Natural title was not denied to Indians; it prevailed where the land was held in common, but was inferior to civil title which was marked by the appropriation and maintenance of private property. Associated with civil title was the cultivation of land and, in as much as this was a response to the divine injunction to improve the earth, this lent further superiority to the European settlers.

Their nomadic hunting and gathering existence worked further to the disadvantage of the Indians. Apologists for the early colonists insisted that the Indians did not need large parts of the land they inhabited. Waste and extravagance

were added to the list disqualifying them from holding any rights equivalent to civil title.

Such views were not developed solely to justify colonial expansion at the expense of American Indians. They closely resembled the views on nature held by a school of contemporary philosophers and naturalists exemplified by Count Buffon, who charged civilized man with a divine responsibility to improve and order nature (Glacken 1967). By endowing Indians with natural title, they could then be aligned with nature as requiring similar improvement.

Such views continued to be useful after they had fallen into academic disrepute. They appeared in legal arguments and judicial opinions as cases arising from Indian treaties began to appear before the courts of the United States. In Worcester vs The State of Georgia (1830), Mr. Justice McLean stated that the aim of the government was "to reclaim the savage from his erratic way of life and induce him to assume the forms of civilization"; to this end he should exchange "the hunter state for that of the agriculturalist and herdsman" (quoted in Forrest 1976:47). Forrest (1976) describes the process of "civilizing" begun by the United States government in the 1840's. "Destruction of the roaming lifestyle and collective ownership of land was the essential method by which the government could make more land available for white settlement" (Ibid.:47). In 1851, the Annual Report of the United States Commissioner for Indian Affairs stated that "any plan for the civilization of our Indians will be fatally

defective if it do (sic) not provide, in the most efficient manner, first, for their concentration, secondly for their domestication, and, thirdly, for their ultimate incorporation into the great body of our citizen population" (quoted in Forrest 1976:49).

This emphasis upon encouraging Indians to take up agriculture was carried over to the Canadian treaty negotiations which took place around the middle of the nineteenth century. It was seen to be the most efficient way of assimilating Indian society, a means of preventing them from becoming wards of the state, and as the only way of resolving what appeared to be an incompatibility between the nomadic and the settled ways of life.

Morris (1880) describes the negotiations leading to the 'Numbered Treaties' in western Canada. The government negotiators' speech to the Cree and Salteaux (Qu'Appelle Treaty No. 4) contains a blend of assurances and encouragement which is typical of this series. The fact that these Indians were in extreme straits as a result of the decline in the plains bison herds was clearly apprehended by the government negotiators:

I will give you the Queen's message . . .
She has always cared for her red children
as much as for her white. Out of her
generous heart and her liberal hand she
wants to do something for you, so that when
the buffalo get scarcer, and they are scarce
enough now, you will be able to do some-
thing for yourselves . . . If any of you
would settle down on the land, she would
give you cattle to help you; she would like

you to have some seed to plant. She would like to give you, every year, for twenty years, some powder, shot, twine to make nets of . . . We are ready to promise to give \$1,000 every year, for twenty years, to buy powder and shot and twine, by the end of which time I hope you will have your little farms. (Morris 1880:92-93)

Upon the conclusion of Treaty No. 8 (1899), the government negotiators sent a report dwelling upon the anxiety expressed by the chiefs at the prospect of losing their hunting rights:

Our chief difficulty was the apprehension that hunting and fishing privileges were to be curtailed. The provision in the treaty under which ammunition and twine is to be furnished went far in the direction of quieting the fears of the Indians, for they admitted that it would be unreasonable to furnish the means of hunting and fishing if laws were to be enacted which would make hunting and fishing so restricted as to render it impossible to make a livelihood by such pursuits. But over and above the provision we had to solemnly assure them that only such laws as to hunting and fishing as were in the interests of the Indians and were found necessary in order to protect the fish and fur-bearing animals would be made, and they would be as free to hunt and fish after the treaty as they would be if they had never entered into it. (quoted in Cumming and Mickenberg 1972:125)

The moral issues attendant upon the conquest of the new world and the subjugation of its peoples had faded in time and been replaced by the more practical problem of how to acquire the more promising agricultural land from the Indians without their going to war or becoming destitute as a result. There is little indication in the contemporary records or

or accounts of treaty negotiations that the government negotiators thought that hunting could provide a secure and indefinite livelihood for the Indians. They could hardly consider this a serious proposition while in the process of depriving the Indians of the most productive ungulate habitat in Canada. The promise of ammunition and twine for only twenty years must be viewed as a cynical premonition of how much longer the game would last.

The Limitation of Treaty
Hunting Rights through
Conservation Legislation

Since the time when assurances such as those quoted above were given to Canadian Indians, the legal status of aboriginal hunting rights has become increasingly subject to interpretations which appear to be inconsistent with the intent of these promises. After the conclusion of the Numbered Treaties, the hunting rights they created were re-stated in the Natural Resources Agreements obtaining between the Canadian Government and the prairie provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. These Agreements state that "Indians shall have the rights . . . of hunting, trapping and fishing game and fish for food at all seasons of the year on all unoccupied crown lands and on any other lands to which the said Indians may have right of access" (quoted in Cumming and Mickenberg 1972:211).

Legal issues deriving from these Agreements have revolved around the definition of "rights" and of "unoccupied crown lands". Cumming and Mickenberg (1972) report the case of

Rex vs Smith (1935) in which the conviction of an Indian for carrying a firearm on a game reserve was upheld by the Saskatchewan Court of Appeal. The case turned on whether or not a game reserve constituted unoccupied crown land and, if not, whether it then could be considered crown land to which the Indian had right of access. The game reserve was determined to be occupied crown land, in that hunting or fishing would defeat its purpose as a game reserve. On the issue of access, it was judged that Indians had right of access along with non-Indians, but not while carrying firearms.

A further source of ambiguity stems from the suggestion that certain treaties appear to contemplate the curtailment of hunting rights just as they are creating them. A passage from Treaty No. 6 (1876), which also appears in several other of the Numbered Treaties, exemplifies what might be considered a conditional granting of hunting rights.

Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians that they, the said Indians, shall have rights to pursue their avocations of hunting and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as hereinbefore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by her government of her Dominion of Canada, and saving and excepting such tracts as may from time to time be required or taken up for settlement, mining, lumbering or other purposes by her said Government
 (Morris 1880:353)

In the case referred to above (Rex vs Smith) a game reserve was deemed to be one of the "other purposes" contemplated in this treaty.

In a similar sense, the "regulations" to which hunting might be subject "from time to time" could be construed to be game regulations which could restrict Indian hunting. In this connection, the judgement on Rex vs Welsey (1932) assumed unconditionally that the regulations contemplated in this treaty would be necessitated only to ensure a continued supply of animals for Indian hunting. This view, that conservation could have as its objective the supply of game for native hunters, was current early in this century, though by no means un-unanimously held. It informed the establishment of the first Arctic Game Preserves in 1918. Since that period, other objectives for conservation measures have gradually been gaining currency and native hunting has increasingly come to be seen as incidental rather than central to the conservation of game populations.

This process is clearly illustrated by what has come to be termed in Alaska the "subsistence issue", an issue which has become most clearly defined in Alaska but is presently transpiring in Canada. It signifies the emergence of a new frame of reference for the consideration of aboriginal hunting practices and hunting rights. At issue is not only whether native hunting is 'conservational' but the conditions under which it should be allowed to continue at all. I shall close this chapter by examining this question in more detail.

The Subsistence Issue

Whereas the treaties and settlements with native peoples

cited above invariably contained assurances that they would be able to continue hunting, and that conservation measures would only be applied to ensure a supply of game animals for native hunting, more recent settlements have contained provisions for conservation measures which are explicitly directed towards meeting *other* objectives. For example, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1970) allocated 40 million acres to Alaskan Natives but also included an appropriation of 80 million acres for additions to the national park system, the national forest system, the national wildlife system and the national wild and scenic river system (Forrest 1976). The James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement contained a provision that the New Quebec Crater would later be considered as a possible Quebec Provincial Park (Brook, personal communication 1979). The Agreement in Principle with the Inuvialuit (The Council for Original Peoples' Entitlement) contained a provision that 5,000 sq. mi. or more would be set aside as a national wilderness park (ONC 1978).

The United States Department of the Interior's policy towards native people who might have been traditionally accustomed to using land designated as national parks, is expressed by Belous (1976).

An important distinction is made by the Secretary between right and privilege based on the provision of ANCSA that all aboriginal claims of hunting and fishing rights are extinguished. Neither Natives nor non-natives have a legal basis for claiming a right to pursue subsistence activities on parklands. However, qualified local

residents will be given the privilege of pursuing established practices on new parklands created pursuant to ANCSA. This element forms the basis for a permit system to control who may pursue subsistence activities on parklands.
(Belous 1976:A-4)

Thus, native hunting rights have been transmuted to privileges which may be exercised so long as the practitioners are qualified and the practices conform to an applied definition of 'subsistence'. Belous (1976:6) supplies such a definition: "Subsistence is comprised of the taking of customary or traditional wild foods and other renewable biological resources of the lands and waters for personal or family consumption, but not solely for sale or commercial enterprise."

This definition makes no reference to the effects of hunting upon animal populations. In this respect it contrasts with the definition developed by the Inuvialuit (the Inuit of the western Canadian Arctic) and the Canadian government:

Subsistence usage means in respect of wildlife excluding migratory game birds, migratory non-game birds and migratory insectivorous birds, subject to international conventions, the taking of wildlife by Inuvialuit for personal use by Inuvialuit for food and clothing and includes the taking of wildlife for the purposes of trade, barter and, subject to subparagraph 14(2) (b) (iii)* the sale among Inuvialuit, and the trade, barter and sale to any person of the non-edible byproducts of wildlife that are incidental to the taking of wildlife by the Inuvialuit for their personal use; and means in respect of migratory game birds, migratory non-game birds, migratory insectivorous birds, subject to the Migratory Birds Convention Act, the taking of such birds by Inuvialuit for food and clothing and includes the taking of such birds for the purposes of trade and barter among the Inuvialuit for food and clothing and includes the taking of such birds for the purposes of trade and barter

among the Inuvialuit and the trade, barter and sale to any person of the non-edible parts of such birds to the extent permitted under regulations made pursuant to the Migratory Birds Convention Act.
(Office of Native Claims 1978:8-9)

*This qualification concerns the sale of fish among Inuvialuit.

This definition explicitly associates subsistence with ethnic origin and it requires that harvests conform to limits set by conservation legislation. The single prohibition affecting subsistence practice is upon the sale of edible parts of animals to non-Inuvialuit. In this respect, the definition of 'harvesting' contained in the James Bay Agreement is yet more flexible, while recognizing that total restrictions may sometimes be necessary.

"Harvesting" means hunting, fishing and trapping by the Native people for the purpose of the capture or killing of individuals of any species of wild fauna, except species from time to time completely protected to ensure the continued existence of that species or a population thereof, for personal and community purposes related to the fur trade and commercial fisheries.
(James Bay Agreement: 24.1..3)

In Alaska, where the subsistence issue is manifest as a conflict between native hunters and such conservation interests as parks and recreation agencies and sportsmens' associations, ethnic references have been excised by non-native protagonists:

A subsistence economy is one which utilizes on a regular basis an item which is owned in common by the people of the State, or the United States, including, but not limited to, fish, game, furbearing animals, birds, timber, or any part of the habitat for non-commercial

purposes. (Ext. from Alaska State Statutes)

I think subsistence must be defined on the basis of economic dependence, place of residence, and traditional lifestyle of the user. I don't think definitions of preference based on race or ethnic origin are necessary. (Sen. Gavel, in Tundra Times, Jan. 1978)

The term 'subsistence' may be appropriately defined as the local use of fish and wildlife for human consumption. (Alaska Chapter; Wildlife Society, in Rearden 1978)

These definitions ignore the possibility of any form of proprietary rights over animal population being attached to native people and advance instead a notion of common ownership: thus, "urban sportsmen say the game belongs to everyone and that division along racial lines is unconstitutional" (Tundra Times, Jan. 1978). In rationalizing this approach, a Federal-State Land-Use Planning Commission stated that "a pure native culture probably does not exist in Alaska. Thus, we are not talking about perpetuation of a culture; we're talking about perpetuation of a life style" (in Rearden 1978:86). In future national parks, refuges, wild and scenic rivers, only "people engaged in a genuinely subsistence-centered lifestyle (may) continue to do so" (U.S. Congress 1978:1). By discounting claims to exclusive use deriving from ethnic origin or historical dependence, and advancing instead the 'lifestyle' qualification, native claims are diluted by providing access to the animal populations to those non-natives willing to adopt this way of life. Moreover, a method of resource use is effectively prescribed which is inconsistent with the trends in Inuit

resource use discussed in the preceding chapter.

Though the Alaskan experience may not be entirely applicable to Canada, the current subsistence issue is certainly the consequence of increasing interests on the part of non-native society in the resources traditionally used by the native peoples. ANCSA provided a certain degree of preference in the use of these resources to native peoples, which is now being challenged on the basis that it contravenes civil rights legislation by discriminating against non-native sportsmen (Rearden 1978).

At the beginning of this chapter, I suggested that aboriginal hunting rights, once enshrined in treaties, are liable to become challenged and diluted as circumstances change. One such circumstance is the emerging social 'climate' regarding racial differences. Just as adverse racial discrimination is becoming increasingly unacceptable so is any form of favourable discrimination by racial origin. The Alaskan experience suggests that the recognition of aboriginal hunting rights may not be legally or socially sustainable. This does not question the justification of aboriginal claims, but suggests that their perpetuation by some institutional means as the product of a treaty or settlement, could turn out to be self-defeating.

A second circumstance, and the central topic of the next chapter, is the process whereby native hunting resources acquire new values amongst non-native society. It is conceivable that if the hunting resources of the Inuit possessed

the aesthetic, symbolic and sentimental attributes of the mongongo nut, the major dietary component of Kung Bushmen (Lee 1968), they would not have attracted the attention visited upon them by what I have collectively termed the conservation interest. In this and the preceding chapter, I have suggested that conservation measures are not necessarily inimical to Inuit resource use but they may, in the service of a particular interest, have a limiting effect. In the following chapter, I shall distinguish between major divisions of the conservation interest with a view to describing their peculiar effects upon Inuit land use practices as well as the degree to which their expression, in the form of conservation measures or forms of land use, is likely to lead to conflicts with Inuit resource use.


CHAPTER 4MAJOR DIVISIONS OF THE CONSERVATION INTERESTS,
THEIR ORIGINS, OBJECTIVES AND POTENTIAL
EFFECTS UPON INUIT LAND USEIntroduction

The origins of what is generally understood as the 'conservation movement' are often referred to the period during the mid-nineteenth century during which a significant segment of the North American public became increasingly aware, not only of the damage being done to the natural resource base by unrestrained exploitation (Marsh 1864), but also of certain recreational or aesthetic values inherent in a wilderness which until then had been regarded largely as raw material for agricultural transformation. In fact, certain practices such as forestry and game management, which became partially absorbed within the conservation movement as it became institutionalized, pre-dated this period by a considerable margin. But it was about this time that conservation acquired its distinctive moral tone - a sense of self-imposed restraint upon exploitation in the service of a higher and less material good.

In this chapter, I wish to examine four reasonably separable strains within what I have collectively termed the conservation interest. These are: the wilderness

preservation and recreation movement, the animal welfare movement, sports hunting and scientific conservation. As a reference base, I have in Figure 2 associated major conservation agencies and organizations with these four divisions of interest. These institutions may be responsible for conservation legislation and planning, or for representing private and public interests.

I suggested earlier that to varying degrees these conservation interests are advanced at the expense of Inuit land use either by circumscribing Inuit usage or more seriously by leading towards an effective appropriation of Inuit resources. This view contends that these agencies are the exponents of a set of beliefs and values regarding the proper uses of protected areas and species which, at the last resort, would not accept Inuit hunting as a legitimate form of resource use, however clearly its compatibility with the objectives of conservation may have been demonstrated. While in this respect, the four divisions of interest given above may vary, Inuit may not from their point of view appreciate the variance and may instead refer the effect to a single source.

As a means of further clarifying the relationship of these divisions of the conservation interest, both to each other and the objectives of conservation, I have, in Figure 3, placed them with respect to two major factors: the degree of environmental change entailed, the economic aspect. The vertical axis represents the economic aspect. At one extreme, conservation measures are either subsidized as a government

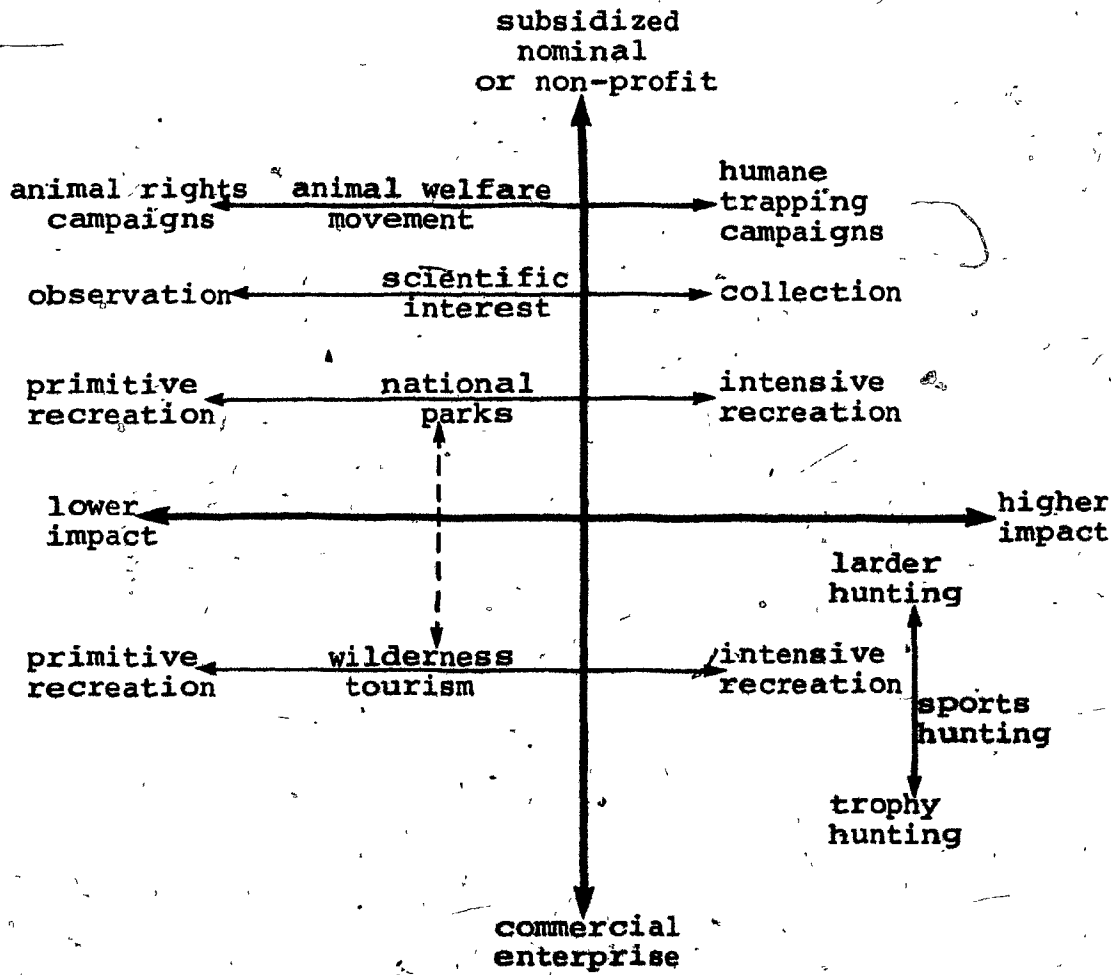
Figure 2

Primary Conservation Mandates and Interests of
Representative Government Agencies
and Private Organizations

TITLE	SCIENTIFIC INTEREST	SPORTS HUNTING	WILDERNESS PRESERVATION & RECREATION	ANIMAL WELFARE MOVEMENT
Canadian Wildlife Service				
International Biological Prog.				
International Whaling Comm.				
Int. Union Conservation Nature				
NWT Wildlife Service				
Dept. Fisheries and Oceans				
Hunters & Anglers Assoc. NWT				
Ducks Unlimited				
Travel Industry Assoc. NWT				
Parks Canada				
International Heritage Fdtn.				
Canadian Nature Federation				
Canadian Wildlife Federation				
Friends of the Earth				
Greenpeace Foundation				
Fund for Animals				
Int. Fund Animal Welfare				

Figure 3

Divisions of the General Conservation Interest in Relation to their Economic Status and the Degree of Environmental Impact



responsibility or undertaken by non-profit private organizations; at the other, the use made of the conserved area or species is organized to maximize the profit. The horizontal axis represents the degree of environmental preservation or transformation entailed in the conservation measure. Each division of interest, except sports hunting, varies along this axis: at each extreme point, a typical conservation measure is given as an illustration.² This variance is characteristic of a persistent tension within the conservation movement, between the utilitarian and the preservationist points of view. This tension is discussed below.

The Utilitarian-Preservationist Dialectic within the Conservation Movement

This widely recognized division of interest within the conservation movement has usually been termed the 'conservationist-preservationist conflict'. To avoid confusion with the 'conservation movement' itself, and to introduce, as utilitarian, the sense of practical benefits, presumed to be enjoyed by the majority, the above polarity is used instead.

Recently, a leading biologist and preservationist remarked that, when "supporters of the national park and nature reserve movement argue that living things have educational value, that the beauties of nature give pleasure to humanity, that they are of scientific value . . . (their) essential attitude is not far in advance of the timber merchant" (Fraser Darling 1969:119). It was not so long ago that preservationists would avoid uttering such sentiments in public, for fear of jeopardizing

their cause: that Fraser, Darling, a leading international conservationist, feels secure in censuring such arguments suggests that the preservationists feel they can dispense with them; that they have discovered arguments for their cause which are beyond the reach of commerce yet potent enough to mobilize the support needed to carry through preservationist campaigns.

Though conservation measures, in the form of national parks or game reserves, may be regarded as a form of land use, I shall, in this chapter, look upon conservation as a critical process applied both to existing forms of land use and the society from which they originate. In this respect, I would suggest that the utilitarian position consists in a criticism of existing land use practices, while the preservationist position derives more from a criticism of society, particularly in its urban-industrial aspect. Utilitarian criticism is pragmatic in tone, and nowadays exemplified by environmental impact statements. Preservationist criticism is predominantly moral in tone and exemplified in the extreme by campaigns for animal rights.

I would further like to suggest, as a generalization, that over time the utilitarian perspective tends to appropriate the preservationist. This is achieved partly by extending the sense of utility beyond its simple meaning of material use to encompass such intangible assets as amenity and partly by appearing to satisfy the conditions proposed by preservationists while simultaneously integrating them with what are regarded

as conflicting practices - hence the perjorative sense assigned by preservationists to the term 'multiple use'. This may work to the advantage of commercial interests contemplating the exploitation of resources which preservationists are anxious to have preserved; they may attempt to pre-empt the preservationist campaign by presenting themselves as 'the conservationists', thus acquiring both respectability and access to the resource.

This erosion of the preservationist position has had the effect of refining it to its spiritual, and I believe essentially puritanical, foundations. This process has been accompanied by a steady decrease in the general area of wilderness and the shedding of certain activities which the early preservationists found compatible with their cause, notably sports hunting and even some forms of wilderness recreation. Hunting was once taken for granted as an inseparable part of the wilderness way, but has gradually fallen into disrepute amongst preservationists: this fall was succeeded by the recent recruitment of the animal welfare movement to the preservationist cause. The commitment to wilderness recreation has declined as its increase in popularity has tended to impair 'wilderness quality'. Over the last century, the tension between the utilitarian and the preservationist positions has provided a dimension for constant shifts in position amongst the divisions of the general conservation interest. Such shifts have not always directly affected Inuit hunting, or necessarily been to its disadvantage, but there has been a

general drift in the assumptions underlying conservation, away from Inuit hunting as the self-evident objective of conservation measures and towards the various alternatives to be discussed below.

The Wilderness Preservation
and Recreation Movement

The term "recreation" is included here because, from the beginnings of the movement for wilderness preservation in the mid-nineteenth century, its advocates have been as much motivated by the desire for the spiritual regeneration inspired by the wilderness as by the more objective desire that certain areas remain free from exploitation or habitation. In fact, there was often a general lack of objective interest in natural phenomena, particularly animals, an omission felt to be imprudent by their contemporaries who were campaigning for the protection of wildlife (Foster 1978). The association between wilderness preservation and recreation persists today with Parks Canada, in discussing the prospect of national wilderness parks in the Arctic, referring to "rights of the public to understand and enjoy Canada's natural heritage" (Parks Canada 1978b:81). I would suggest that it is this commitment to the recreational use of preserved areas, this acknowledgement of a public "right", which will in the end make it a practical impossibility for this agency to countenance Inuit hunting within national parks. Current conceptions of 'wilderness' depend as much upon what is absent as what is present in an area, and it is difficult to accept that Inuit hunting would

not be excluded.

In support of this, I would like to refer to the origins of the preservation movement, for it was then that the persistent association between wilderness and recreation emerged in a form that has not changed substantially since. As remarked above, the early preservationists did not profess an objective and systematic interest in natural phenomena. Their view of nature was informed by the writings of members of the Transcendentalist school such as Emerson and Thoreau. Intuition and imagination were valued above rationalism, the subjective over the objective. For Emerson (1883:10) "the whole of nature is a metaphor for the human mind": "In the woods . . . the currents of the Universal Being circulate through me." Thoreau (1854) presented nature as an antidote to the corruption of contemporary society. The puritan view of nature as a moral vacuum was overtly rejected, along with the urban industrial society the puritan work ethic had helped to produce.

But, despite their criticisms of contemporary society, both Emerson and Thoreau recommended that a balance be sought between society and nature. The leader of the next generation, John Muir, did not think so, and took their views to extremes they probably would not have countenanced. For Muir, nature was the sole "conductor of divinity" (Nash 1973) and though the religious depths of his passion for wilderness may not always be reproduced amongst modern preservationists, his influence as a popularizer and publicist of wilderness recreation has not been exceeded in this century.

This intuitive and subjective view of wilderness sufficed for the early preservationists as long as *enough* wilderness lasted. As the pressure from competing land uses increased, it was found that this perspective did not yield an adequate definition of wilderness on which to base a defence against those unconvinced of the values that the preservationists found self-evident.

To secure the continued preservation of wilderness areas, certain compromises were necessary. These have taken several forms, elucidated by Nash (1967): wilderness as representative of American nationhood, as a model for a happy and healthy society, as a complement to civilization rather than a refuge, as a source of particular forms of recreation inaccessible to commerce. Of these, the last has proved most enduring, but, though still largely inaccessible to commerce, the wilderness has become increasingly accessible to people and this has produced amongst preservationists a protracted dilemma which has resisted resolution as much as wilderness has resisted generally approved definition.

Lowenthal (1970) has clearly stated the dilemma. As the recreational value of wilderness is advertised, in an effort to secure support for its preservation, the success of the campaign is marked by an increasing intensity of recreational use which, in turn, reduces "wilderness quality". Nash (1967) has adopted the concept of 'carrying capacity', from the discipline of range management, in categorizing this problem. He defines three types of carrying capacity.

Physical carrying capacity refers to the impact upon the inanimate environment, its capacity to absorb an infrastructure of recreational facilities. Biological carrying capacity refers to the effect upon the biota. Psychological carrying capacity "relates to the effect of other people's presence on the experience of a visitor to the wilderness": beyond the limit of tolerance lies "people pollution". Nash concludes that only a visitor quota system would remove this problem but acknowledges that such regulation would contradict the spirit of wilderness.

It is conceivable that Inuit hunting would aggravate this dilemma. Parks Canada (1978b:82) has stated that "National wilderness parks (in the Arctic) would be planned and managed to provide wilderness experience for the visitor". Though the nature of this experience was not described, it is doubtful whether it would encompass the witness of Inuit hunting and trapping with motor toboggans and canoes, and surely a certain proportion of visitors would object fiercely to any form of hunting.

The Animal Welfare Movement

Since the origins of this movement during the Hellenic period (Niven 1967) its traditional concerns have been bloodsports, cruelty to domesticated animals, especially in the form of factory farming, and vivisection. Until recently, its effect upon wild animal populations has been limited to those which have provided quarry for sports hunting and for trapping. In the latter case, the campaign against the leg-hold

trap has had only a slight effect upon Inuit hunting. This campaign has been conducted by the reformist rather than the radical wing of the movement and its objective has been to substitute humane traps rather than eliminate trapping altogether (Hume 1962). Lately, the attentions of the more radical elements have been transferred towards the commercial hunting of wild animals, particularly sea mammals; this represents an emerging pressure upon Inuit hunting quite different from that manifest in wilderness preservation.

The animal welfare movement itself is divided along lines resembling the utilitarian-preservationist polarity within the general conservation movement. The reformist-utilitarian wing has inherited the Stoic-Christian tradition which refutes the existence of moral obligations towards animals but demands that behaviour towards animals should be humanitarian and should not include the infliction of unnecessary pain. The radical-preservationist wing insists that animals possess intrinsic rights and that modern attitudes towards animals are reminiscent of racism in their denial of basic freedom: the issue of necessary pain is not germane to its cause as all forms of animal exploitation are considered to be unnecessary.

The Stoic view held that exploitation of animals was unavoidable, otherwise civilization would collapse. Much of the debate within Christianity over the relations between humans and other animals was concerned with sustaining human uniqueness in the possession of a soul. Aquinas (1928) "refuted the error of those who said it is sinful for a man

to kill dumb animals; for by divine providence they are intended for man's use in the natural order . . . And if any passages of Holy Writ appear to forbid us to be cruel to dumb animals (this is) to remove man's thoughts from being cruel to other man . . .".

These two notions: that some exploitation is inevitable and that consideration towards animals is a sign of general humaneness have dominated the position of the reformist element of the animal rights movement. This has called for the moderation of practices of animal exploitation rather than their elimination. Aquinas' suggestion that cruelty is wrong in that it may sanction cruelty to other men has been modified by increasing acceptance of sentience amongst animals. Passmore (1975) considers that it is now universally accepted amongst moral philosophers that the infliction of unnecessary pain on animals is "obviously" wrong; that "insensibility to (animal) suffering . . . is a moral defect in a human being" (Ibid.:117). However, in their campaigns, the reformers must always confront the problem of judging what is necessary pain.

This problem does not trouble the radical wing, which lately has come to refer to animal rights rather than animal welfare, as it is against all exploitation of animals, including killing. Ryder (1979) has traced the history of what he terms the "struggle against speciesism". He equates animal exploitation with slavery and racial exploitation. Fox (1979:49) finds the present issue of natural ("trees, rivers, mountains, ecosystems and animals") rights to be the logical

successor to the human rights movement of the two last centuries. For Brophy (1979:69) "We are engaged in the revolutionary enterprise of demolishing a class barrier; many of the normal mechanisms for changing things are denied us, but two are not, namely forming a popular front and raising the political consciousness of the citizens."

The assertions that animals possess souls, or rights, have been made by the advocates of animal welfare to convince others that they owe obligations to animals either because of their community with humans or their possession of rights which are peculiar to animals, or individual species. This position has always been vulnerable to attack on the grounds that, ultimately, souls and rights are human inventions and that self-evident differences preclude their possession by other than humans. This is one position taken by evolutionary humanists such as Dobzhansky (1967) - a position "cordially detested" by Clark (1977:7).

However, recent contributions from the discipline of ethnology may be applied to render the dispute over souls and rights redundant to the issue of animal welfare. Midgley (1973) shows how such findings question, it not invalidate, some of the assumed distinctions between humans and animals and in consequence question ethical positions based upon those distinctions. Jordan (1979) reviews the evidence for altruism amongst animals and its role in relation to aggression. Such evidence, and that produced by investigations into animal communication, reinforce the case for a continuity between

humans and animals and the possibility of an intellectual reciprocity, however rudimentary, which has been put forward by the adherents of animal rights as grounds for the existence of a single ethical community encompassing humans and animals, with all the mutual duties and obligations which that entails. The animal welfare movement has affected Inuit hunting in three ways: by instigating campaigns against the hunting of certain species, by campaigning against trapping techniques, and, indirectly, by affecting the market for skins and furs as a result of campaigns against hunting elsewhere. These pressures upon Inuit hunting will be examined in specific detail in the next chapter.

The Scientific Interest in Conservation

Though individual scientists have always contributed in some way to utilitarian forms of conservation, it is only fairly recently that the results and methodologies of certain disciplines have begun to make an increasingly significant contribution to the principles and practices of conservation in its more preservationist aspect. This takes two major forms: the emergence of a form of land use which is distinctively scientific and research oriented; the development of a worldwide frame of reference for the selection and location of protected areas. Burton (1972) describes how the more productive impetus for the early conservation movement came from the "resource professionals" who expressed grave concerns over waste and mismanagement in resource utilization, but who were ultimately

committed to efficient and progressive exploitation of these resources rather than their sequestration in protected areas. As their reforms became absorbed into common practice, the impetus for conservation passed to the preservationists and the focus shifted to amenity values of the environment. As Nash (1973) points out, it wasn't until the 1930's that Leopold, in his development of a "land ethic", achieved a "synthesis of the logic of a scientist with the ethical and aesthetic sensitivity of a romantic (as an) effective armament for the defense of wilderness". But Leopold arrogated the more abstract conceptions which were then current in ecology. Since then, science in its more utilitarian aspect has progressively acquired more legitimacy as a way of using protected areas without any dependence upon the more traditional arguments put forward by the preservationists.

These arguments rest on either demonstrated or latent utility residing in undisturbed natural areas. Ramsay and Anderson (1972) point out that modern high-yield varieties of corn were produced by hybridizing variants found in nature. Passmore (1975) refers to the discovery that 'unproductive' coastal wetland may provide habitat for the young of fish caught in 'productive' habitat. Research into the hibernation of black bears has led to the isolation of a substance useful in the treatment of kidney disease; octopus studies have contributed to research into the ageing process (IUCN 1978). Almost half of the prescription drugs used in the United States contain a component from a plant, animal or microbe as the

main active ingredient (Lean 1980). The 'World Conservation Strategy', currently being formulated under the auspices of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), is based upon scientific, and potentially economic, justifications rather than those of amenity or recreation. This strategy is partly based upon a comparison of the actual world distribution of conservation areas (IUCN 1971, 1975) with the 'ideal' system which would afford appropriate protection to representative examples of a comprehensive cross-section of ecological types. The classifications of natural regions developed by biogeographers and ecologists (Upvady 1975, Dasmann 1973) have been used in formulating this ideal system.

For a global classification, the level of integration is rather general; the Inuit resource area in the NWT is contained within one 'biome', the Canadian tundra biome (Upvady 1975). Within this biome, several protected area 'systems' have so far been established or have been proposed by Canadian conservation organizations: migratory bird sanctuaries, ecological sites, national parks, biosphere reserves. The relation between these conservation areas and Inuit resource use will be dealt with in detail in the next chapter.

To summarize, modern science has made two significant kinds of practical contributions to conservation. First, a set of concrete arguments for preservation which, though essentially utilitarian, do not necessarily entail the transformation of the landscape or association with commercial enterprise. Second, a methodology for deciding upon the

selection, location and type of conservation area. The scientific interest compares with other conservation interests in one respect which is critical to its relationship to the Inuit interest. There is a lack of concern for the amenity, sentimental or moral arguments typical of other interests; it is in this sense politically neutral. In addition, not only is there now a priori exclusion of aboriginal land usage but some proposals for protected area systems contain express commitments towards supporting or accommodating such uses without any stipulations other than those required for the perpetuation of natural conditions (IUCN 1975, MAB 1974).

Sports Hunting

Sports hunting, which includes sports fishing, continues to be considered by its practitioners an essentially conservationist activity, yet it is attracting an increasing degree of circumspection, if not denigration, from other sectors of the conservation interest. Sportsmen have some reason to feel aggrieved over this, as their version of conservation is of considerable maturity. It was primarily for sport that, in Europe at least, the surviving mediaeval forest land was preserved from transformation to farmland (Darby 1956). During this period the European passion for hunting reached its greatest intensity, but the numbers able to indulge it decreased with the clearance of the great forests until it became a privilege exercised by the aristocracy in reserves managed for that purpose (Glacken 1967).

Following the establishment of the hunting preserves, the foresters developed what were recognizably conservational practices, serving non-commercial ends. In the nineteenth century the specific discipline of game management emerged from the field of forestry (Guggisberg 1970). When these practices were introduced into North America, game management retained its close association with sports hunting and I think it could be fairly said that until the end of the nineteenth century, sports hunting was widely perceived to be the proper and predominant manner of exploiting wild animal populations. Certainly the early wilderness preservationists saw no contradiction between hunting and their principles, and the wardens of the first United States National Park, Yellowstone, were expected to supplement their diet with hunting (Foster 1978). Since then, sports hunting has fallen into lower moral repute amongst the other divisions of interest within the conservation movement. Though still in principle compatible with the objectives of the wilderness preservationists, it is directly antithetical to those of the animal rights advocates; its gradual demise seems to have accompanied the diffusion of the 'ecological conscience' (Leopold 1949) amongst conservationists.

This has done little to deter the hunters themselves, who continue to insist that their interest is properly conservationist. To advance this interest they have formed themselves into formidable associations such as the Hunters and Anglers Association of the NWT.

From a morally neutral point of view, sports hunting has undeniable merits as a form of resource and land use compatible with the objectives of conservation, both economical and ecological. The revenues attendant upon the successful acquisition of an animal usually exceed its retail value and they may even be satisfactory without such success. As Guggisberg (1970) has pointed out, trophy hunting has potentially less effect upon animal population demography than commercial harvesting. In pressing their claims, hunters have taken full advantage of these potential merits.

Strategic Convergence and Divergence
within the Conservation Interest

It was suggested above that the first 'recognizably' conservation areas in Europe were autocratically created by the aristocracy for their personal use. Nowadays, the establishment of protected areas has become democratized and the minority who take an active interest in preservation are obliged to mobilize public support for their objectives. Over the last thirty or forty years two general strategies for achieving this have emerged from within the conservation movement. One, the development of the 'conservation ethic', suggests practical obligations and sacrifices; the other, the preservation of 'natural heritage', promises spiritual rewards. Since both these strategies are informed by attitudes and sentiments towards nature which Inuit do not share with the public whose support is being sought, and since the conservation measures implementing these strategies act to

circumscribe Inuit hunting, I wish to conclude this chapter by briefly examining their derivation and the means by which they are implemented.

No publication on environmental issue seems to be complete these days without its author calling for a new ethic. Recent propositions of this kind have not substantially advanced upon the "land ethic" proposed by Leopold (1933). Leopold puts forward the following argument. "The first ethic dealt with the relation between individuals . . . later accretions dealt with the relation between the individual and society . . . The land ethic simply enlarges the boundaries of the community to include soils, waters, plants, and animals, or collectively, the land" (Leopold 1949:202-203).

Odum (1974) explains how the "extension of ethics is actually a process of ecological evolution . . . an ethic, biologically, is a limitation on freedom of action in the struggle for existence. An ethic, philosophically, is a differentiation of social from anti-social conduct. These are two definitions of the same thing." Odum is sure that expediency precipitates ethics and is impatient that the present human/environment situation, which he regards as terminally expedient, has not yet produced the required ethic: thus, "we can confidently expect that the decade of 1970 to 1980 will bring greater acceptance of the third ethic, because it must" (Ibid.:11-12).

Appealing though Leopold's three stages may be, it remains a dubious extrapolation, and Odum's "two definitions of the

same thing" obscure the fact that the leap to the land ethic is one that most moral philosophers have hesitated to take. I would suggest that the 'land ethic' is a version of the second stage. As Odum suggests, the ethic was needed to avert the environmental catastrophes he foresaw in 1974, yet surely he is doing no more than calling for prudence and enlightened self-interest on the part of the human community, an ethical condition covered by Leopold's second stage, and also, as Passmore (1975) has insisted, catered for by existing and accepted ethical strictures on short-sightedness and greed.

The third stage makes sense only if intrinsic rights are assigned to the environment, a gesture avoided by both Leopold and Odum but not by those advocates of animal rights whom I have described as radical. For this reason, I have suggested that there is scope for a convergence between the landscape preservation movement and the animal welfare movement whereby the arguments put forward by the latter on the possession of intrinsic rights by natural phenomena are extended to encompass other than animals.

Clark (1977) has recommended that those playing the "ecology card" should adopt this course to avoid being eventually hoisted by their own petards. He quotes Tribe (1974) in this regard: "By articulating environmental goals wholly in terms of human needs and preferences (the environmentalist) may be helping to legitimate a system of discourse which so structures human thought and feeling as to erode over the long run the very sense of obligation which provided the

initial impetus for his very protective efforts". Brophy (1979) has acknowledged the difficulty in drawing the line over recognition of rights within the animal world, in avoiding the temptation of assigning rights to species perceived by humans to be most similar to them.

However, even if the land ethic would be accepted as such, and coupled with the recognition of rights amongst natural phenomena, the preservation of 'wilderness quality' would not necessarily be guaranteed. I mentioned above that such quality was the product both of the landscape and the way it is perceived, with the presence of other people or human artifacts most likely to dilute the 'wilderness experience' of the perceiver. Excessive dilution was not a problem as long as the supply of potential wilderness remained plentiful in relation to demand for it and the advocates of wilderness preservation could apply for public support without fear of congestion at the sites they wished to preserve. To galvanize this support, a variety of practical and economic arguments has been advanced. In many cases the resulting intensity of recreational use has risen to levels where the perception of wilderness quality is subverted, and preservationists embarrassed by the success of their campaign (Lowenthal 1970).

Since this problem began to make itself felt, an alternative argument for wilderness preservation has gradually been gaining currency. It strongly suggests a reversion to the Transcendentalist position, unsullied by any gestures towards commerce. Nash (1973) provides what he considers to be "the

classic statement of the relationship of wilderness to man's spirit" with reference to the (1962) contribution of the novelist Wallace Stegner whose "defense of wilderness values would not concern recreation at all. Instead, he would concentrate on the wilderness idea as an intangible spiritual resource . . . the American . . . is different amongst men . . . a civilized man who has renewed himself in the wild . . . Whether one visits wild country or not . . . just knowing it is there, that civilization is not all-embracing, fortifies the spirit."

Since that statement was made, "just knowing it is there" has developed with extraordinary speed into a psychological entity known as the 'vicarious wilderness experience'. With modern visual media as its ideal vehicle, this can be conveyed to the public in return for its remote support for the preservation of areas they would be unlikely ever to desecrate with their presence.

Stegner's second appeal, to nationalism, reinforces the notion of preserved areas as symbolic entities; things not to be toyed with. Such sentiments are likely to meet with approval amongst the preservationists who feel that wilderness areas "are meant for reverence, not for recreation, play would pollute them . . . They urge its preservation as an ideal, all the more precious because rarely, if ever, experienced" (Lowenthal 1970). The recent establishment of the World Heritage Foundation, dedicated to the location and preservation of both cultural and natural monuments (Bennett 1977) bestows

upon such sites a significance which may have as much to do with their representation of the 'sublime' (Shepard 1967) as with their ecological function. In this respect, Parks Canada (1979) has recently developed a hierarchy whereby natural features and areas may be endowed with international, Canadian and provincial "significance", in that descending order.

A Gallup Poll on attitudes towards conservation, commissioned by the National Wildlife Federation (United States) in 1969, showed a striking generality of concern amongst younger, college-educated Americans (in McEvoy 1972) - 83% of whom were in favour of reserving public lands for conservation purposes such as national parks and wildlife refuges. Morrison et al. (1972) relate the "environmental crisis" to rising expectations and suggest that concern over preservationist issues arises first amongst those classes in society with potential access to wilderness which they perceive to be blocked off. They suggest that the environmental movement itself is a significant force in affecting the way environmental problems are defined and addressed. McEvoy (1972) considers environmental concern to be largely generated by urbanization and points out that those with such concerns tend to have greater access to power than those concerned over other social issues, such as race or poverty.

In comparing the civil rights and environmental movements, Gale (1972:29) refers to a "vaguely defined environmental constituency". In Canada, this constituency is represented by national organizations, such as the Canadian Nature Federation

and the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada and local chapters of international organizations such as the World Wildlife Fund and the Canadian Wildlife Federation; an off-shoot of the United States National Wildlife Federation.

The characteristic mode of communication within this constituency is the nature magazine. Russell (1970) analyzed the contents of three major journals between 1954 and 1969: Outdoor America, National Audubon and American Forests. He found a steady increase in "issue articles" over this period, with the five leading categories of issue being: urban environments, outdoor recreation, problems caused by industrialization, conservation education and threatened animal species. A concern with the extinction of animal species was found by the Gallup poll referred to above to be recent and was "linked" to a decrease in the amount of industrial pollution, or an increased acceptance of it (McEvoy 1972).

The Consolidation of Conservation as a Distinctive Form of Land Use

In concluding this chapter, I shall examine the nexus that has developed between conservation and recreation and the contribution it has made to the emergence of a distinctive form of land usage which reflects this somewhat equivocal relationship. It is arguable that the recent growth in both the demand and provision of lands for recreational purposes influences the selection between regulatory and areal conservation measures in favour of the latter. This emphasis upon

areal rather than regulatory measures may not always be in the best interests of protecting natural systems from disturbance. To illustrate this contention, I shall examine four separable phases of conservation action as ways of dealing with prospective environmental impacts.

The first type is remedial. It deals with the perceived source of the environmental impact by regulating it so as to mitigate its effects. Examples would be the introduction of hunting quotas, the control of water pollution or the Arctic Land Use Regulations (see below). The conservation measure is contingent upon the source of impact and is relaxed when that impact ceases to occur. Such measures may have an areal aspect but are not usually manifest as conservation areas as such.

The second phase of conservation action is preventative in intent. It is taken to pre-empt imminent rather than actual environmental impacts. An example would be the migratory bird sanctuaries, established to anticipate the effects of industrial development in the Arctic. As preventative measures are not specific to actual source of impact, they must be more comprehensive than remedial measures, so as to cater for a wider range of possible impacts. This requirement switches the emphasis from the source of impact to the natural systems and can be most satisfactorily met by designating relatively discrete systems as conservation areas. A remedial measure which remains in effect once the impact has ceased may acquire the character of a preventative measure.

The third phase entails the multiplication of conservation areas dealing with a particular natural feature to cover all examples of that feature; resulting in the conservation systems discussed above. The development of the migratory bird sanctuary system is an example of this after it had been extended to cover all known waterfowl breeding areas in the Arctic. The location and size of the conservation areas in the system is determined by the location and size of the characteristic feature.

The first three phases successively increase the distance between the actuality of environmental impact and the conservationist response to it, but they are all basically protective in intent. The fourth phase, the evolution of recreational land usage in association with conservation measures, marks a critical departure from these other three. Though wilderness recreation may seem to be a logical way of using protected natural areas, such usage is normally understood to be consequent upon the establishment of such areas for purely conservationist reasons. Without disputing that conservation areas always afford protection to the environment, it is worth asking whether circumstances always justify this.

In the absence of actual or imminent threat of environmental impact, it is arguable that, in planning conservation areas, the protective function may become subordinated to the perceived recreational function. Parks Canada has announced an interest in establishing national parks in four areas in the NWT: Wager Bay, Banks Island, Northern Ellesmere Island

and Bathurst Inlet. Though there has been a certain amount of non-renewable resource exploration in these areas, the results have not led to any proposals for developing these areas and they could hardly be described as being threatened by imminent industrial development - which presently is focused elsewhere in the Arctic. The four areas were in fact described as "areas where competing resource uses are minimal" (Faulkner 1978a:1). Thus, if established, these areas would enjoy the status of conserved wilderness areas without the calibre of this protection being put to the test.

There are in fact four pieces of legislation applicable in the NWT which are remedial in the sense suggested above, for they provide 'impact-specific' environmental protection. These are the Arctic Land Use Regulations (1971), the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act (1970), the Northern Inland Waters Act (1970) and the Oil and Gas Production and Conservation Act (1970). This legislation is designed to cater for the range of possible impacts resulting from contemplated industrial development. Before any such activity is allowed to proceed, it is scrutinized with a view to imposing controls where deemed necessary. Though this legislation is not always effective in its applications, its failings derive from its relative immaturity rather than from its intent (Beauchamp 1976, Macleod 1977).

Without disputing that certain critical habitats may be so sensitive to disturbance as to require unconditional protection as conservation areas, it is arguable that, in the NWT,

this impact-specific approach to environmental conservation is, in general, more effective than the protected area approach. In southern Canada, where land uses such as agriculture and silviculture entail the effective transformation of the environment, conservation areas, as natural enclaves, may constitute the most expeditious means of perpetuating natural conditions. In the Inuit Resource Area potential industrial development does not invariably impend such transformations; to the extent that it is localized and temporary, there is scope for containing its effects within acceptable limits.

In this sense, a distinction can be drawn between those conservation areas which are designed to complement or reinforce land use regulations and those which do not refer to this body of legislation but are declared to provide non-specific protection. For example, industrial development is not categorically prohibited in migratory bird sanctuaries but the designation of these areas signifies that they are highly critical wildfowl habitat and that any contemplated development will be closely examined and stringently regulated.

In contrast, most forms of industrial development are prohibited in national parks. The enabling legislation requires that national parks be "dedicated to the people of Canada for their benefit, education and enjoyment . . . and shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations" (National Parks Act:4). As a tangible expression of the principles underlying the preservationist interest, such areas, and their use for

wilderness recreation, both confirm and sustain the significance of the conservation constituency and I would suggest that this appeal encourages the general preference for this kind of conservation measure over the regulatory type, which would not provide the same kind of substantiation.

CHAPTER 5

FROM COMPATIBILITY TO CONFLICT:
THE RECORD OF CONSERVATION IN
THE INUIT RESOURCE AREA

It was suggested in Chapter 1 of this thesis that both conservation interests and indigenous peoples may have a common interest in lands which, for conventional economic purposes, are considered to be sub-marginal. Such lands are attractive to conservation interests because they are likely to be the closest surviving approximation to natural conditions and they are lands where conservation areas can be designated with least objection from competing economic interests. They may be occupied by aboriginal peoples because they have always been there or because they have taken refuge there upon the transformation of their previous habitat through agricultural exploitation and settlement by a colonial power.

In North America, this transformation was often preceded by negotiations during which aboriginal title was surrendered in return for various forms of material compensation and assurances that aboriginal hunting could continue without any restrictions. During these negotiations, representatives of the colonial powers expressed the hope that the aboriginal people would abandon the hunting way of life and take up a settled agricultural existence. In this chapter, I shall show

how in the Inuit resource area what have been called 'recreational land uses' were in this regard adumbrated by agriculture and the prospect of guides and outfitters licences has replaced "your little farms" (Morris 1880:93).

Such recreational land uses, wilderness tourism, sports fishing and hunting, are the frequent accompaniment of conservation measures: they are indeed sometimes regarded as the proper and legitimate use to which conservation areas such as national parks and game reserves should be put. An intimate and intricate association has developed between conservation and recreation to such an extent that conservation measures may occasionally be introduced to serve recreational purposes rather than to conserve natural resources.

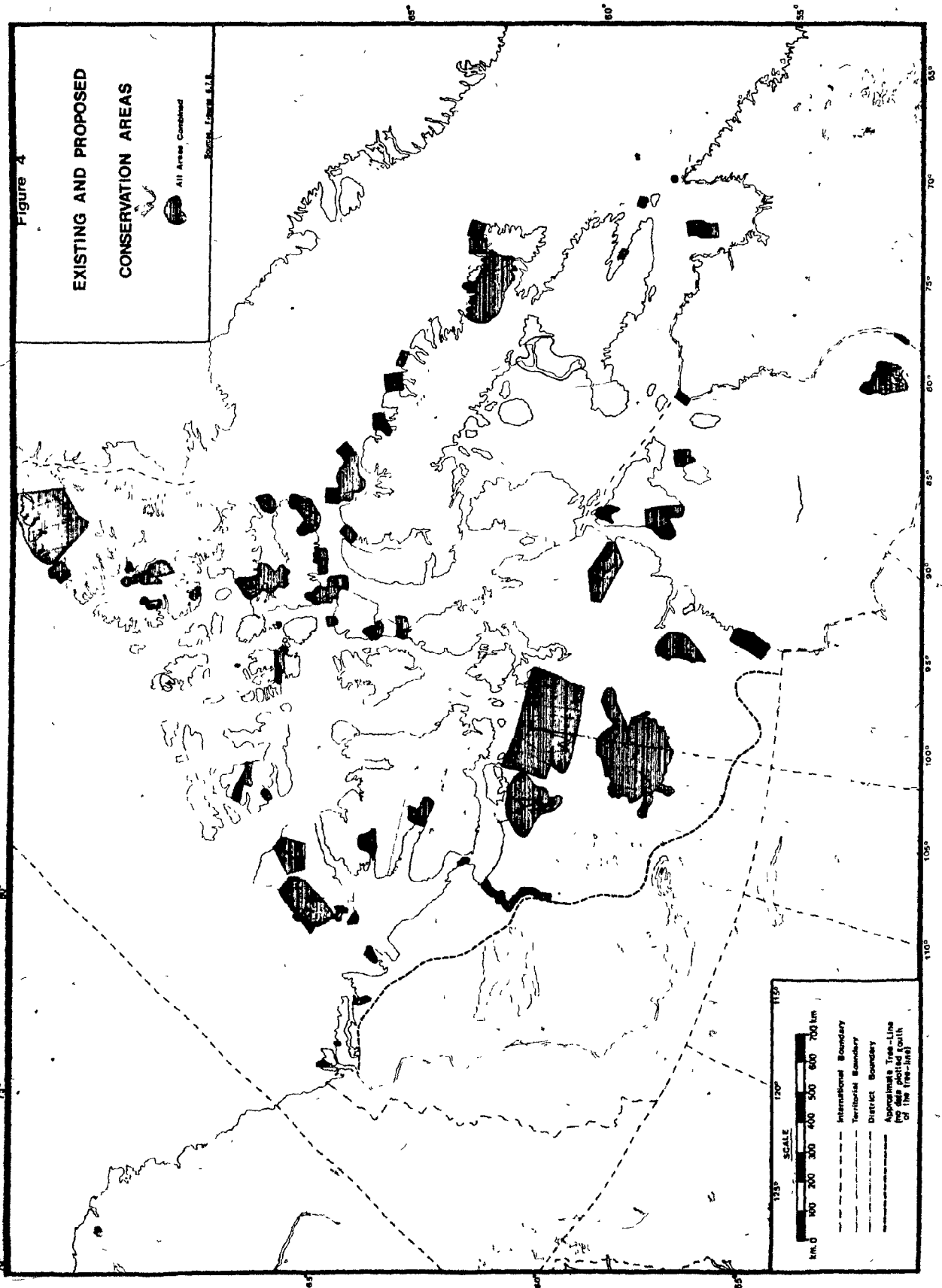
This development contrasts with the older function of conservation as it applied to the exercise of aboriginal hunting rights. Much of the conservation legislation introduced during the period following the negotiation of treaties with North American Indians was concerned and motivated by the desire to protect animal populations and their habitats as an aboriginal food supply. Where the attainment of this objective meant infringing upon hunting rights to the extent of setting harvest levels, conservation agencies held that aboriginal people still maintained exclusive rights to permissible harvests.

Current manifestations of various conservation interests in the Inuit resource area represent the extensive re-appraisal of the animal resources that has taken place over the last

century. Formerly regarded primarily as a food source, for explorers or Inuit, these resources have since been endowed with a variety of additional evaluative attributes, symbolic, amenity, moral, sentimental or purely monetary. One or more of these values may be enlisted in promulgating ways of using the animal resources which would, to the extent that they conflict with or limit Inuit hunting, constitute an appropriation of the resource, previously regarded as the exclusive preserve of the Inuit.

In this chapter, the variety of claims, the interests they represent and their effects upon Inuit hunting will be examined in the context of developments since the turn of the century. During this period, three discernible trends have contributed to the present situation of actual and incipient conflict over the use of Inuit resources. First, the maintenance of Inuit hunting has gradually been displaced as the self-evident accompaniment to conservation measures. Second, there has been a concomittant emergence of alternative ways of using the animal resources which may be compatible with the conservation of natural conditions but not with Inuit usage. Third, the gradual institutionalization of the conservation interest has been reflected in the Inuit resource by a progression towards the establishment of conservation areas where the environmental protection function is subordinate to recreational usage.

To provide an impression of the total area representing this kind of interest, existing and proposed conservation



areas are shown in Figure 4.

Conservation Measures Protecting Inuit Usage:
the Expansion and Contraction of
the Arctic Game Preserves, 1916-1966

The debate over the Unorganized Game Preservation Act (1894) addressed the problem of reconciling what were perceived to be preservation objectives with the usage of animal populations by native peoples. In the Senate Debate over this bill, Mackenzie Bowell said:

The object of this bill is to protect as far as possible what remains of this important resource of the country for the Indians and other Native peoples who would in the event of the extermination of the animals, either starve to death or make their way out to the settled parts and become the wards of the country. The Native himself would appear to have no idea of protecting the fur-bearing animals, but slaughters all that comes his way. (Sen. Deb. 1894:286-360)

The bill imposed closed seasons on certain species but exempted Indians and "other inhabitants of the said country" from these provisions: much of the debate focused on whether this exemption should refer to use for food only or remain unqualified. The identity of "the other inhabitants" was also debated; these were described as non-Indian "explorers, surveyors and travellers" who lived the same manner as the Indians and were as dependent as they were upon the country resources.

The concrete provisions of the Act were prohibitions on the hunting of bison and musk oxen and closed seasons on certain fur-bearers. Indians were exempted from these, except for closed seasons imposed for bison and musk oxen. Given

the vague category of "other inhabitants", it is difficult to discover what classes of persons were excluded under this Act. In the Commons Debate, the Minister stated that "The only thing we can do is to prevent these animals from being shot for pleasure by other than inhabitants . . ." (Hse. Comm. Deb. 1894:3538).

The debates over this legislation were inconclusive but brought focal points to light which have not changed substantially since: (1) the idea of a limited and declining supply of game animals, (2) the dependence of native peoples upon this resource, (3) the notion of "other inhabitants" who might qualify for the exemptions enjoyed by native peoples by virtue of their adopted way of life, and (4) the perception of aboriginal hunters as "indiscriminate slaughterers" in contrast to conservationists. The expedient quality of this legislation was demonstrated by the intention to avoid Indians becoming wards of the state and the suggestion during the debates that more restrictive legislation might provoke "Indian wars" (ITC 1973:21).

This legislation remained essentially the same when replaced by the Northwest Game Act (1906) and was not substantially revised until this act was amended in 1917. These revisions reflected changing conditions in the northwest as well as the work of the Commission on Conservation, established under the Conservation Act (1909), which lasted, until 1921, and probably had more influence on early conservation legislation in Canada than any other single organization.

Though the politicians debating the earlier legislation had seen Indians as either potential wards of the state or as "indiscriminate slaughterers" (Bowell, above) of wild animals, this view was not shared by all the members of this committee.

. . . it cannot be too often remarked that the Indian, when unspoiled by white men, is traditionally a conserver of wild life, that is, he uses it but does not exterminate it. The Indians and the Eskimos knew what the results would be if they conducted a policy of extermination, and they took common-sense precautions accordingly.
(Hewitt 1921:12)

Where beforehand, all aboriginal peoples had been referred to as Indians, the Commission on Conservation began to refer specifically to Inuit, sometimes to show that, unaffected by white men, native people were conservationist. "How about the Arctic Circle, where the Indian (sic) is not molested by white man? Have you ever heard of the Indian exterminating the game there?" (W.C.J. Hall 1919:39). Earlier, Hewitt had stated that "the Eskimos are respecting the law, and keeping track of the closed seasons by means of calendars . . . They are a superior people, and they appreciate that the preservation of fur depends upon a closed season; and, although this is not required, many of them will not kill meat out of season. They are preserving the animals for their proper season" (Hewitt 1917:120).

Occasionally, there were disputes between provincial game management authorities and Indian Affairs officials who called for special consideration to Indian tribes which found hunting difficult under the game laws and the competitive conditions

of the trapping industry. It was said of the Indian Affairs Dept. that its policy was that the "poor Indians must be fed, and in the cheapest manner possible" and, moreover, that its officials "encouraged rather than discouraged the illegal killing of game in order to keep departmental costs down" (Ref. in Foster 1978:207).

However, in areas where the Federal Government retained political control, game preservation legislation continued to be informed by the view that the native peoples' dependence upon the hunting resources should continue to be protected and that it was the commercial trapping and meat hunting encouraged by white traders which was primarily responsible for the depletion of game populations.

In the debate over the Northwest Game Act (1917):

We are anxious to conserve the animal life, not only for the animals themselves, but to ensure the food supply of the native peoples. (Hse. Comm. Deb.:3669-3670)

The Act was directed against

Those who are coming in for exploiting purposes, and organised bands of hunters who get into the Northwest Territories . . . Americans going in through the north passage and establishing trading posts. (Hse. Comm. Deb. 1917:3674)

The 1917 Act provided the foundation for the Arctic Game Preserve system, which was initiated in 1918, with the establishment of the Victoria Island Preserve and progressively enlarged until 1945 (see Figure 5). The successive Orders-in-Council (Table 3) declaring these enlargements repeated the reasons quoted from the Commons debate above. However, the expansion

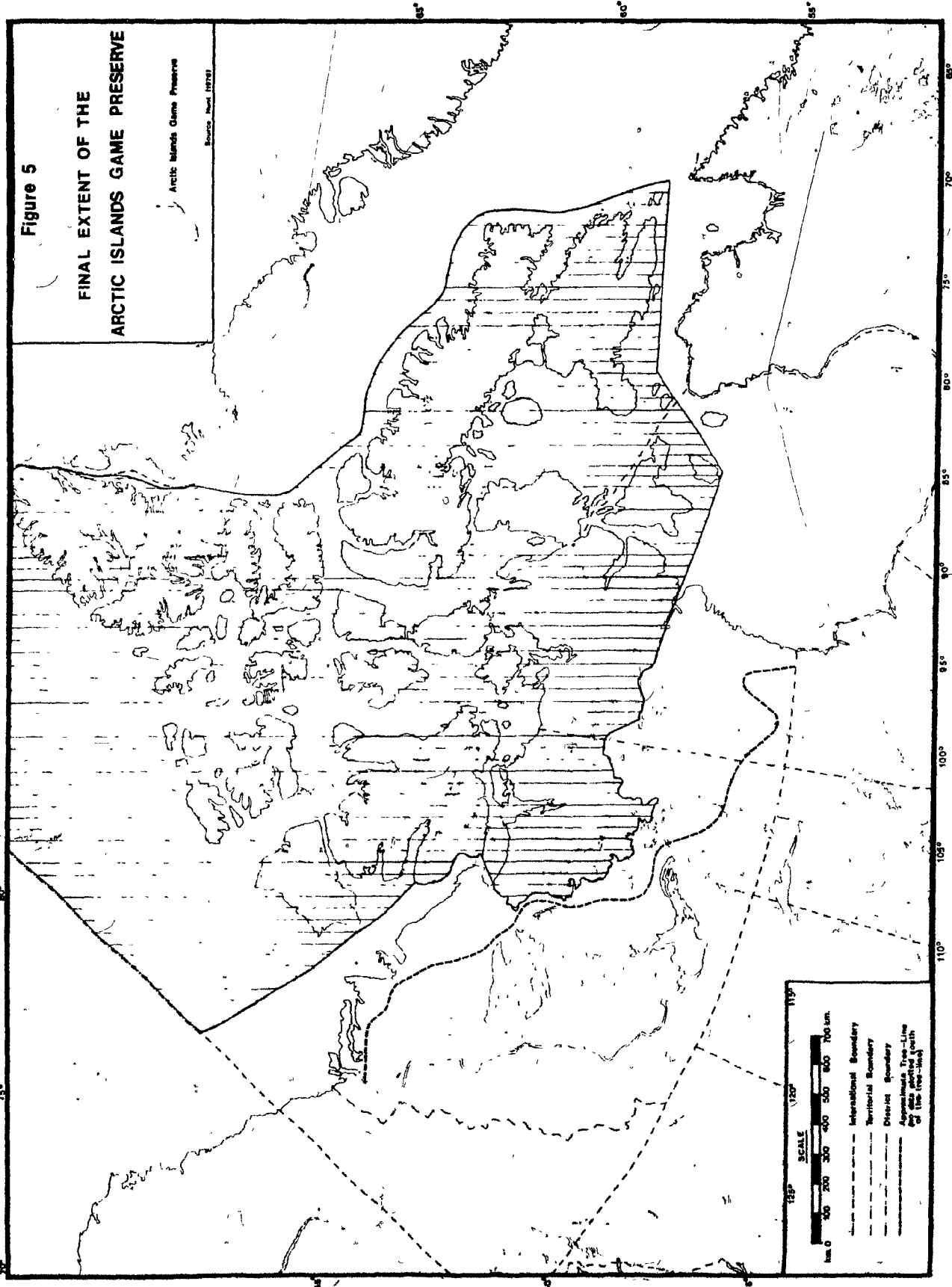


Figure 5

FINAL EXTENT OF THE
ARCTIC ISLANDS GAME PRESERVE

Arctic Islands Game Preserve

Source: News, 1978

SCALE

km 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700

- International Boundary
- Territorial Boundary
- District Boundary
- Approximate True-Line of the 1967-1968

Table 3

Legislative Stages in the Development of the Arctic
Islands Game Preserve System in the Inuit Resource Area

1918, Northwest Game Act Regs.....	Victoria Island Preserve
1920, PC 533.....	Banks Island Preserve
1923, PC 1826.....	Back River Preserve Banks Island & Victoria Islands Preserves con- solidated
1926, PC 1146.....	Arctic Islands Preserve established and absorbs Back River Preserve
1929, PC 113.....	Banks, Victoria and Arctic Islands Preserve amalgamated
1929, PC 807.....	Preserve Boundaries consolidated
1939, PC 1935.....	Preserve boundaries re-stated
1942, PC 6812.....	Arctic Islands Preserve expanded
1945, PC 6115.....	Arctic Islands Preserve expanded

Based on Hunt 1976.

also reflected the concern of the Canadian Government over the activities of foreigners in a region regarded as a logical extension of the Canada it was familiar with (Hunt 1976).

This concern over the penetration of the Arctic by American traders was extended to the activities of foreign explorers, however innocent their intentions may have been. During his expeditions of 1898-1902, Otto Sverdrup claimed Axel Heiberg and Ellef Ringnes Islands for Norway. Inuit from Greenland worked for Peary during his sequence of expeditions leading to his polar journey in 1906, and subsequently continued to visit Ellesmere to hunt musk oxen (Tener 1965).

It was this hunting in Ellesmere Island which attracted a great deal of attraction in federal government circles, including that of J.B. Harkin, Dominion Commissioner of Parks, who suggested to his Deputy Minister in 1920 that,

. . . it might be good policy to transfer to Ellesmere Land a small colony of our Eskimo . . . with the colony could go one or two mounted police. We would then lie in a position to protect our musk-ox.
(cited in Hunt 1976:16)

In 1925, a Northern Advisory Board was set up to consider the territorial issues raised by the activities of the foreigners. "One of its first recommendations was that the Arctic Islands should be included in a game preserve, for native people" (Hunt 1976:16). This led to an immediate and enormous enlargement of the reserve system in 1926 and instigated a progressive expansion which lasted until 1945 (see Fig. 5 and Table 3). Hunt demonstrates how the continued extension of the reserve

system was linked not only to the sovereignty issue, but also to a developing awareness of the possible mineral resource to be exploited in the Arctic. The contraction of the Arctic game preserve system commenced in 1949, shortly after the transfer of authority for the preservation of game from federal to territorial jurisdiction, under an amendment to the NWT Act (1948), which repealed the 1906 Northwest Game Act.

The convention that the objective of conservation legislation in the north was the protection of animal populations for the use of native peoples, as a source of income and a food supply, did not carry over with the transfer of authority. Upon the repeal of the Northwest Game Act, there was no discussion in Parliament of either of these objectives or of the hunting rights of native peoples. The Commissioner of the NWT was in future to be responsible for the preservation of game; and his mandate did not oblige him to observe the primacy of native use.

The final, and most extensive deletion, was the abolition of the vast Arctic Islands Preserve. This issue was first raised in the NWT Council in 1965 when a member asked why it was that the (non-Inuit) holders of game bird licenses could not hunt in the preserve and also if there was any reason why the preserve should not be abolished (Coun. Deb. 30 Sess. 1965:304-05). At that time, game bird licenses were available to non-native residents of the NWT: general hunting licenses, the widest in scope, were available only to native people and a few non-natives who had been long-time residents.

Further discussion of this issue was postponed until the next year, by which time the NWT government had prepared a background paper on the Arctic Islands Preserve. The paper pointed out that the preserve would have to be abolished to allow game bird hunting by non-Inuit. A recommendation to the NWT Council concluded that,

. . . it has been suggested that low fur prices, eligibility requirements for a general hunting licence and the assignment of trapping areas may combine to prevent the influx of too many hunters. Therefore, the purposes of the preserve may have become obsolete. (Recomm. to Coun. 14, 31 Sess. 1966)

The brief ensuing debate concentrated upon the deprivations of those whose hunting was limited or prohibited by the reserve; the preserve itself was stated to "serve little purpose" and to be "an obstacle to good management"; there were no explicit references to the original reasons for establishing the preserve, which were dismissed as "ancient history" (Coun. Deb. 32 Sess. 1966:449-451). The NWT Commissioner himself opposed abolition,

. . . if you abolish this without consulting the Eskimos who live in this part of the country, you will endanger the game and you will break faith with the Eskimos. (Coun. Deb. 32 Sess. 1966:450)

A Canadian Wildlife Service biologist was consulted by the NWT Council. In his view, the purpose of abolition was to,

. . . allow the development of a different kind of hunting practice by people who are not Eskimos or who are not necessarily

residents of the Northwest Territories:
that is the development of sports hunting
which, under the Game Ordinance now, is
not permitted.
(Coun. Deb. 32 Sess. 1966:451)

The Commissioner postponed further debate until he could consult with Inuit. With the Superintendent of Game, he visited 20 communities, to discover that 90% of the Inuit hunters were ignorant of the existence of the Arctic Islands Game Preserve (Hunt 1976). Along with a second NWT government paper recommending abolition was a brief from the NWT Hunters and Anglers Association. In this, the preserve was described as a "detriment to good game management and to the interests of residents of the Territories" (Coun. Deb. 32 Sess. Tabled Doct. 6). At this debate, the Commissioner reversed his previous stand and the NWT Council voted for the abolition of the Arctic Islands Game Preserve.

The increasing pressure to abolish the Arctic game preserve system was accompanied by a drive to extend the hunting rights enjoyed by native peoples to non-natives, a campaign which has not abated since the final abolition of the preserve in the Inuit resource area. Before dealing with this process in detail, consideration will be given to the introduction of a series of conservation measures which were contemporaneous with the evolution of the Arctic game preserve system but which were directed towards a different purpose, the protection of animal populations without reference to usage.

Conservation Measures Protecting
Animal Populations:
Sanctuaries and Protected Species

As the Arctic game preserve system evolved another form of conservation legislation was being gradually introduced into the NWT. This was designed specifically to protect animal populations and did not take account of any form of hunting. The most complete kind of protection was afforded within wildlife sanctuaries which were designated with the intention of protecting animal populations and their habitats. Partial protection was provided by extending protection to a species (but not its habitat), by limiting the number that may be taken (quotas) or by limiting the hunting period (closed seasons).

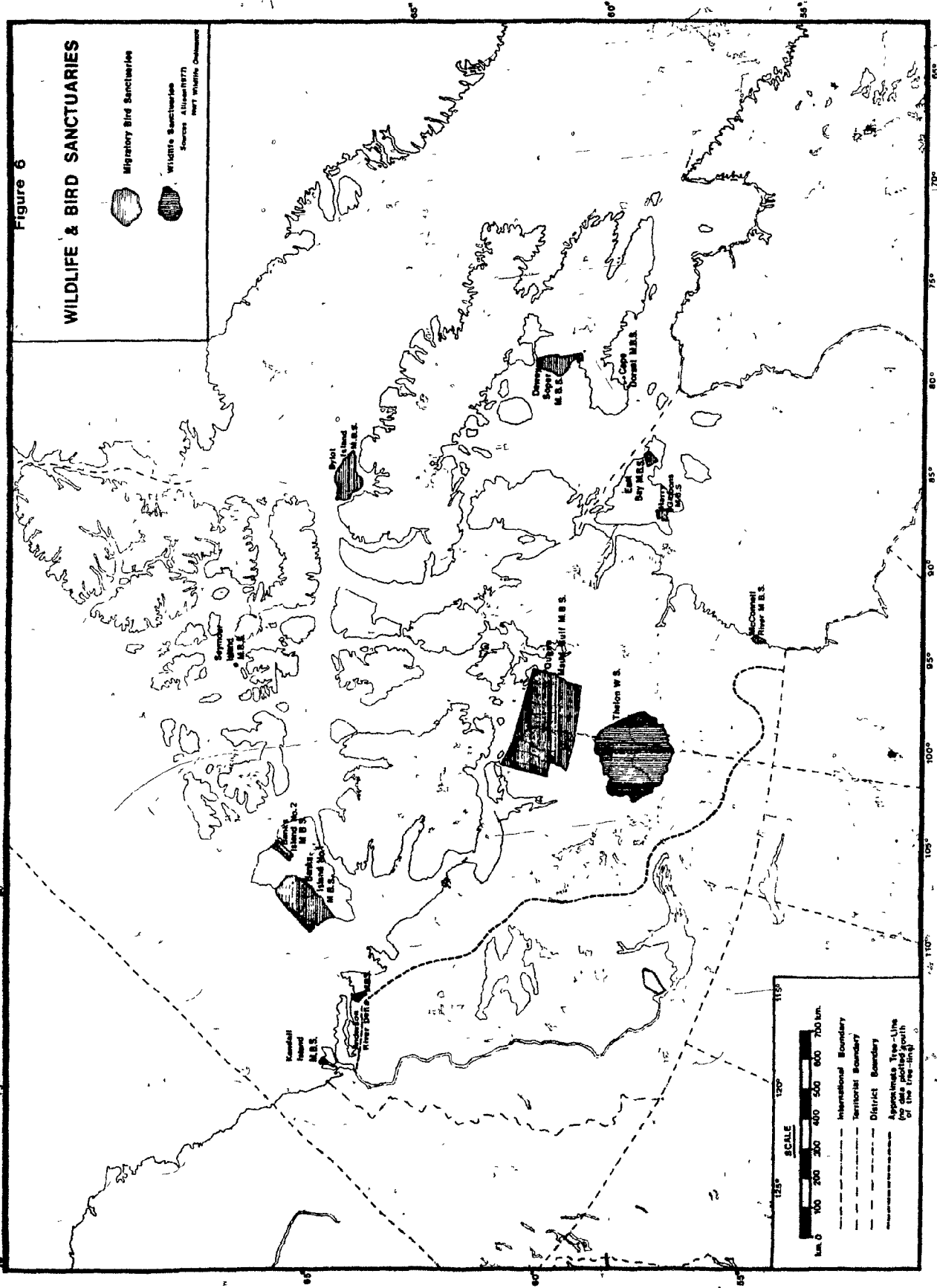
In the Inuit resource area, musk oxen was the first species to be subjected to this kind of legislation. The Unorganized Territories Game Preservation Act (1894) established closed seasons for musk oxen which had to be universally observed. The Northwest Game Act (1917) prohibited all musk ox hunting except where permitted by Order-in-Council. The Regulations pursuant to this Act (P.C. 1053, 1918) in fact permitted Inuit to take musk oxen to prevent starvation but the trade in skins of musk oxen under such circumstances was not permitted. In 1927, the Thelon Game Sanctuary was designated (P.C. 1146, 1927) for the express purpose of protecting the range of what was believed to be the only substantial musk ox population surviving on the Arctic mainland (see Figure 6).

These protective measures were imposed in response to

alarming reports of the numbers of musk ox skins which were being traded out of the Arctic (Hewitt 1921) and the numbers of musk oxen being taken to support parties of explorers in the Arctic archipelago (Tener 1965). In recent years, the success of these measures has been signified by a general increase in musk ox populations and they have now been relaxed to the extent of introducing local harvest quotas.

The musk ox protective legislation was introduced in the clear knowledge that Inuit hunting would be limited, but the crisis was perceived to be serious enough to call for these extreme measures. The case is less clear for contemporary protective measures which applied to migratory birds. In 1917, the Migratory Birds Convention Act was passed, pursuant to the Migratory Birds Convention signed the previous year by Great Britain and the United States. It has affected Inuit hunting in two ways: from the outset, by imposing closed seasons on certain species traditionally used by Inuit; from the 1950's, by establishing a system of Migratory Bird Sanctuaries throughout Nunavut (see Figure 6).

Foster (1978) provides a detailed account of the sequence of events leading towards the signing of the Convention, in which the preservationist and sports hunting interests played dominant and conflicting roles. The campaign was initiated by preservationist organization in the U.S., appalled at the numbers of birds hunted for commercial purposes and disturbed at the lack of control on sports hunting. It was estimated that 5,000,000 birds were taken each year for the millinery



trade alone (Ibid.).

The preservationists felt that United States' legislation passed in the early 1900's was inadequate and they decided to press for an international treaty which would not be vulnerable to challenges from individual states. This prospect was discussed with the Canadian leaders in bird protection, but there the major concern was not commercial hunting but the spring hunt (Hewitt 1921). The abolition of the spring hunt became the principal focus of the campaign in Canada and its leaders evinced some dismay over the comparative lack of concern for this issue amongst campaigners from the United States (Foster 1978).

Provincial responses to a draft of the International Convention were varied. Nova Scotia objected on the grounds that shorebirds had left the province on their fall migration after the proposed closed season had commenced: the closed season was then shortened to accommodate this objection. British Columbia tendered more strenuous objections. Sportsmen there were used to a five and a half month open season, compared with the three and a half month season proposed in the draft. This objection was accommodated by inserting a special article (Ibid.:140) whereby birds could be killed under permit if "injurious to agricultural, fishing or other interests". It was conceded by the federal government negotiators that geese could be so defined in the spring. Curiously, the Yukon and NWT governments were not provided with an opportunity to comment on the draft of the Convention. "Through

an unfortunate oversight at the time, copies of the draft proposal (of the Convention) were not sent to the Yukon and Northwest Territorial Governments, nor were the Indian and Inuit peoples consulted on the issue (Ibid.:134). Thus while sports hunters in the provinces were able to alter the legislation in their favour, Inuit hunters were not provided with such an opportunity; neither was this accomplished on their behalf by the federal authorities who were otherwise so insistent about the necessity for the Arctic Preserves.

Having finally dealt with these and similar objections from the provinces, the Canadian negotiators were dismayed to discover that their American counterparts had been forced to give way on the vital issue of the spring hunt. Congressmen representing states along the Mississippi flyway threatened the dismembership of the U.S. Biological Survey if the open season there was not extended from February 1st to March 10th. The Canadians were obliged to accede to this in order to save the remaining legislation (Ibid.).

Several authors have remarked that, though the first reading of the Migratory Birds Convention Act took place on the day after that of the Northwest Game Act, and that both second readings took place on the same day, there was no parliamentary debate over native hunting rights in connection with the Migratory Birds Act, despite the thorough attention given to this subject in the debate on the Northwest Game Act (Hunt 1976, ITC 1973). This was curious, since not only was there a contradiction in principle, whereby the importance of native

access to a food supply was simply ignored, but also in fact, in that certain groups of species, swans and ducks for example, were the object of closed seasons under the Migratory Birds Act but of exemptions for native people under the Northwest Game Act. These contradictions have since given rise to a series of legal actions over Indian hunting, which have done little to resolve the issue (Cumming and Mickenberg 1972).

In Regina vs Sikyea (1964), an Indian was charged with shooting a duck out of season. The court observed that,

I cannot believe that the Government of Canada realized that in implementing the Convention, they were at the same time breaching the treaties that they had made with the Indians. It is much more likely that these obligations had been overlooked - a case of the left hand having forgotten what the right hand had done.
(quoted in Cumming and Mickenberg 1972:72)

This oversight was surprising since, in Canada, the Commission on Conservation was the major organization pressing for both Acts.

The Migratory Birds Convention Act introduced an open season for the Territories between August 31 and December 15 - a period when most waterfowl had left the tundra regions. However, certain concessions were made towards Indians and Inuit: they were allowed to take scoters for food at any season and to take migratory non-game birds, such as murre and guillemots, and their eggs, for food and clothing. These concessions indicate that there must have been an awareness of the extent of native use amongst negotiators of the convention in spite of the fact that this subject was not discussed

during parliamentary debate over the pursuant Act. It has been pointed out, cynically perhaps, that these negligible concessions provided a vehicle for *mentioning* Indians and Inuit in the convention, thus making it difficult for native peoples to subsequently challenge it on the grounds that their interests had not been considered at all (ITC 1973). Peculiarly, there is a suggestion that Canada objected to a lack of recognition during early negotiations, but this was settled without explicit provisions in the convention "and so the Indian and Eskimo, as long as he hunts in the manner of his fathers, is secured in his right to do so . . ." (Hayden 1942:74).

In the 1950's, conservation legislation applicable to migratory birds in the Inuit resource area was applied to the establishment of a series of Migratory Bird Sanctuaries. The impetus for these sanctuaries was provided by biologists of the Canadian Wildlife Service who grew increasingly concerned over the possible effects of DEW-Line construction and mineral extraction upon coastal, cliff and wetland sites serving as critical breeding habitat for migratory waterfowl (Nelson 1975). Fourteen such sanctuaries have been established, most of them during the period 1957-1963.

Cooch (1976) describes how, in 1956, he managed to enlist the support of local camp leaders, not only in establishing the Cape Dorset Migratory Bird Sanctuary, but also in ensuring that its regulations would be observed. During the breeding season, non-Inuit require a permit to enter sanctuaries.

Inuit may enter them and take firearms for the purpose of hunting other than migratory birds. In fact, in areas where a sanctuary has been established on the site of a traditional spring hunt, that hunt has usually continued - with enforcement officials overlooking the fact so long as an informally agreed quota is observed (Allison 1977). In the western Arctic, this informal quota has been around 30 geese per family (Williams 1979 personal communication).

Since their establishment, migratory bird sanctuaries have not been developed specifically for any recreational uses. The Canadian Wildlife Service, which is responsible for their management, has been primarily concerned with regulating those industrial development activities which have been recently intensifying in many of the sanctuaries. This has obliged development interests to pay more attention to the incidental effects of their activities and the Canadian Wildlife Service to particularize their objections in terms of concrete effects upon birds and their habitat rather than adopting a position on industrial development similar to that of National Parks, that is, a comprehensive prohibition regardless of specific effects. This has required an integration of the impact-specific and conservation area approach to environmental protection. Industrial activities are not categorically prohibited in the migratory bird sanctuaries, but these are designated as areas where the effects of the proposed activity will automatically be subjected to the most intense scrutiny.

The Growth of the Sports Hunting Interest
in the Inuit Resource Area

Sports hunting by non-Inuit may be of two types: (1) larder hunting by residents of the NWT and (2) trophy hunting, usually by non-residents. Before 1948, when the NWT government assumed responsibility for the "preservation of game" (NWT Act 1948), there was practically no trophy hunting in the territory and non-native residents were restricted in the main to fishing and to hunting of upland game birds. Since then, there has been a persistent pressure on the part of non-native residents to extend their hunting privileges and intermittent efforts to develop trophy hunting as part of the tourist industry. This process has been complicated in the past by the equivocal, and sometimes ambiguous, political position adopted by the agency responsible for game management, now called the NWT Wildlife Service. The practical problems that the officials of this agency have faced in discharging their conservation functions have been complicated by the political positions adopted by the NWT government, both regarding the use to which animal populations should be put and the hunting rights of the Inuit.

The attitude of the NWT government towards Inuit hunting rights and land use practices was clearly enunciated in its official response (NWTG 1973) to a Brief on Inuit Hunting Rights prepared by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC 1973). This response is imbued with the conviction that irresistible changes are overtaking Inuit hunting, not least in its cultural significance: "An attachment to the resource will

continue; however, the emphasis will change to a recreational/aesthetic attachment . . . experience in other areas indicates that with increasing participation in the overall society subsequent generations of native people tend to view wildlife in the same manner as their peer groups of other races" (NWTG 1973:2).

The development of tourism and sports hunting is seen as an inevitability. "A change in the method of utilization of these resources can definitely assist the native people to develop skills to make the transition (for those who wish) to a wage economy . . . For example, big game outfitting may well be a large industry primarily involving native employees and entrepreneurs. This would represent a normal evolution from straight subsistence hunting to an economic hunt involving local native people accommodating visiting sportsmen" (Ibid.:5).

Inuit hunters are not to receive exclusive use of the hunting resources on the basis of their ancestry. "Our policy will continue to be to give prior consideration to those 'living on the land' priority. In time (and in certain areas currently) this will mean limiting native hunters who do not participate in resource harvesting as their primary way of life . . . The criteria (sic) should not be race but rather dependence on the resource" (Ibid.:4).

There is to be no recognition of Inuit hunting rights. "We refer to privileges rather than rights which mainly originate from the dependence of the native people. However, as their lifestyle evolves, so presumably will their primary

attachment to the resources" (Ibid.:2).

Even these privileges are to be conditional in respect of those Inuit with jobs; ". . . if they are receiving the benefits of the wage economy there is no reason to permit them exclusive use of the resource for recreational purposes . . . (such) Exclusive use of the wildlife resources by the native people would be a continuing source of frustration to non-natives resulting in a considerable backlash" (Ibid.:3).

Thus, while the territorial government refuses to recognize hunting rights as legal entities, it accords Inuit hunters certain priorities and privileges with respect to non-native residents of the territories. Exercising these privileges is ultimately contingent upon the "life style" of the hunters: those who are in full-time employment are liable to be deprived of these privileges, while those who elect to "live off the land" may continue to enjoy them.

As early as 1941, non-native residents of the NWT expressed the view that they had as much right of access to animal populations as the native peoples. Hunt (1976) quotes from a petition sent to Ottawa by the community of Yellowknife,

. . . that many of the privileges enjoyed elsewhere in Canada are not available to the Yellowknife community and that sport is desirable and in the interests of the health; that the privileges enjoyed by the Indians would not be prejudicially affected by the granting of the request of the Yellowknife residents as Yellowknife native game reserve covers a large area (70,000 sq. mi.) . . . (Hunt 1976:23)

The notion that providing non-natives with access to the animal populations reserved to native peoples would not jeopardize native usage was frequently put forward. The conviction was expressed that there were plenty of animals to go around or that certain areas were not hunted regularly by Indians or Inuit and should therefore be made available to other residents. It was also thought that providing greater access to game would serve to induce more southerners to move to the NWT. A paper submitted to the NWT Council in 1966, entitled "Encouragement of Settlement in the Northwest Territories" stated,

The stringent regulations in effect in the Northwest Territories have been progressively relaxed as game populations increased and remote areas became opened up. (Recomm. to Coun. 2, 32 Sess. 1966)

In the opening address to this session of Council, the opinion was expressed that the regulations had not been relaxed enough,

. . . For some time it had been felt that our game laws are too restrictive and there has been some modification of them in recent years. It has been felt by a number of people that people would be encouraged to come to the country more if the game laws were amended so that they would be able to get their own meat. (NWT Coun. Deb. 32 Sess. 1966:5)

The NWT government's reluctance to openly recognize Inuit hunting rights was reflected by its decision in 1972 to delete all references to ethnic origin from the game ordinance. While discussing this decision in the NWT Council, the Deputy Commissioner explained that,

. . . there was a request by Members of this Council to remove certain statements

in the ordinance which appeared to be discriminatory and this is what we did. In removing, where it was not necessary to have it in, the words Indian and Inuit, and dealing in fact, as the ordinance should, with northern residents. Where it is necessary and important that they be named then this has been done and these words have been retained. There is no diminution whatsoever of the rights of the Indian or Inuit people by any changes that have been made in this ordinance. (Coun. Deb. 47 Sess., 1972:260)

In spite of NWT government gestures towards the disregard of aboriginal hunting rights, people of native origin in the territory are still accorded preference over non-natives. In the current game ordinance, and regulations pursuant to it, the words Inuit, Indian and Metis are mentioned only once - on the application form for a general hunting license. This issue of ethnic terms is a good example of the confusing double standard maintained by the NWT government: on the one hand, the public stance that there are no special aboriginal rights, that all residents are "Northerners", on the other, the continued legal support of the notion that, as far as hunting is concerned, native peoples have special rights. The adoption of this double standard may be seen as a reluctant concession to the commitments inherited from the federal government when the NWT government assumed responsibility for game management in 1948. As the NWT government proceeded discretely to shed itself of these responsibilities in the following years, fresh perceptions of the value of the animal resources began to affect the policies of game management. During the mid-1960's,

as the process of abolition of the Arctic game preserve system neared completion, the first steps were taken towards developing the potential for trophy hunting of musk ox and polar bear. In the opening address to the Council session, which also saw the abolition of the Arctic Islands Game Preserve, it was suggested that the current game laws did not favour such endeavours,

No doubt the reason for the institution of these laws are good reasons. But times are changing and possibly what was protection in the past is a shackle in the present. Polar bear or musk ox would make excellent bait for prime tourists.
(Coun. Deb. 32 Sess. 1966:5)

The prospect of a musk ox sports hunt had first been debated in Council in 1965. A submission had been made to Council that holders of general hunting licenses (Inuit in this case) be allowed to take a limited number of musk oxen. This submission was made after a 1961 census of the musk ox population of the Queen Elizabeth Islands by the Canadian Wildlife Service (Tener 1963) had concluded that the numbers had recovered enough to permit a limited harvest (NWTG 1967a).

It was suggested during this debate that if Inuit . . . were allowed to hunt themselves and take these animals, we could find the musk ox population becoming a serious threat" (Coun. Deb. 30 Sess. 1965:144). A later account of these proceedings by the NWT Game Branch (NWTG 1967a) put this view more substantially, if also more euphemistically,

. . . the complexities and possibly detrimental consequences resulting from the

proposed relaxation of musk ox protection were pointed out, and it was attempted to demonstrate that even adhesion to a quota was not adequate for a rational utilization program. It is imperative that the take of correct animals, in this particular case, the lone non-herd bulls within the limits of the quota, be assured. Concern was voiced whether this could be done by the eskimo . . . Furthermore, the enforcement of a regulated kill is not possible under the present circumstances. . . (NWTG 1967:2)

The suggestion that Inuit could not be relied upon to conform to a quota is surprising in view of the later statement in the same report that the Inuit "observance of the prohibition to kill musk oxen has saved this species from extinction. . . ." (Ibid.:5). The Council debated whether the sustainable yield that had been identified would not be better taken by trophy hunters than by Inuit; council members were made aware of what kind of construction could be placed upon such a policy,

I can foresee a lot of criticism if we permit the taking of musk oxen by sportsmen for the purpose of taking trophies and prohibiting eskimos. Yet when we look at this constructively and practically, considering the welfare of the eskimo people and what will be best to their advantage, I think possibly this might be the proper course of action.
(Coun. Deb. 30 Sess. 1965:144)

When the debate was resumed in the following year, attention became focused on the economic benefits that would accrue to Inuit,

. . . the eskimo people could act as guides and be the ones who would receive the benefits for the sports hunting. It was the

feeling that this would be a better system to provide more money to the eskimo and be of greater value to the eskimo people than allowing them to hunt the musk ox themselves.

(Coun. Deb. 32 Sess. 1966:435)

In 1967, the NWT Game Management Branch put in motion a project to develop the sports hunting of musk oxen from Resolute and Grise Fiord. The superintendent of Game visited the two communities to explain the project. In his report he proposed that "only old bulls who had outlived their purpose would be taken" (NWTG 1967a:2). These had been "expelled from the herds and would die anyway within a few years" (Ibid.:2). The meat would be given to Inuit as food. The recommendation that sports hunting should be promoted was not based purely on financial considerations alone but on the principle of game management" (Ibid.:2).

Those who developed this plan plainly saw musk ox hunting as a first stage in the development of sports hunting. An estimate of the cost of a fortnight's hunting was given as \$3,500: these "expenditures assume that seal, walrus, etc. can be included" (1967b:2). It appeared that "etc." referred to beluga and narwhal, for the plan also recommends that the Department of Fisheries be approached to negotiate their inclusion. This recommendation was accompanied by the assertion that "eskimos have offered (without being asked) (sic) to refrain from hunting those species" (Ibid.:5). Besides marine mammals, the plan proposed that "As there are substantial caribou populations on some islands it is recommended that

each hunter be entitled to bag one caribou, provided the meat remains with the eskimo. The take of wolves should be permitted" (Ibid.:2).

The official report states that "All eskimos of both settlements accepted the plan enthusiastically" (NWTG 1967a:3). Lyngé, who had been appointed to act as the interpreter for the Superintendent of Game, held the second Grise Fiord meeting himself, due to the sudden departure of the Superintendent, and when he found that the local people could not understand his (Greenlandic) Inuktitut he had to obtain his own interpreter. He eventually concluded that the people of both communities were "in agreement with the idea of establishing musk ox and polar bear hunting for white tourists as long as it means money to themselves" (Lyngé 1967:4), but the Grise Fiord hunters also were anxious to obtain a permit for themselves to kill a limited number of musk oxen for domestic consumption.

Freeman (1975) suggests that Inuit, at Grise Fiord at least, were less enthusiastic about the prospect of sports hunting than the Game Branch reports (NWTG 1967a, 1967b) suggested. Not only did they wish to have the option of hunting musk oxen themselves, but they criticized the plan on biological grounds. They pointed out that the "old bulls who had outlived their purposes" and had been "expelled from the herds" (NWTG 1967a) were only isolated for brief periods and were otherwise still socially functional and important. They also pointed out that such bulls would not make the best

trophies, as their horns tended to be broken or lost; the younger bulls dominant in the herds would be better suited for trophies. Moreover, they pointed out that the hunting season encompassed the rutting season when the meat of bulls, and particularly the old bulls, was inedible. Freeman suggests that the biological criticisms of the plan made by Inuit hunters have subsequently been vindicated by the field research of wildlife biologists.

The musk ox sports hunting proposal provoked considerable controversy amongst conservation interests in southern Canada (Lent 1971). Eventually, the plan was quietly dropped and a quota introduced for Grise Fiord hunters only (Jonkel and Smith 1975). However, in 1972 a motion to permit musk oxen hunting was reintroduced and approved. This approval did not provoke a comparable controversy, possibly because it was not accompanied by any concrete plans. In fact, there were no moves to introduce musk ox hunting until 1979, when musk ox quotas were extended to eleven settlements. In Sachs Harbour, one sports hunt was held early in the winter of 1979-80 and a few more are at present in progress (Land 1980 personal communication).

Polar bear was also perceived to be an important resource for sports hunting. A motion was put to the NWT Council in 1968 proposing that Inuit hunters who had obtained a polar bear tag should have the option of selling that tag to a trophy hunter. The hunter would be obliged to retain the services of the vendor of the tag and the hunt would have to be conducted

by dog team. It was estimated that the hunt would bring \$1,200 to the hunter rather than the \$200 he could expect from the sale of the skin. In support of this motion, it was suggested that,

The polar bears are going to be killed anyway. Does it matter who pulls the trigger? I say it matters very much. It might be \$1,000 more if it is a white finger.

(Coun. Deb. 37 Sess; 1968:251)

This proposal, essentially as described above, was finally approved by the Council in 1970. The number of hunters who elected to sell their tags over the first ten years of the hunt is shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Records of Polar Bear Sports Hunts 1970-79

<u>Settlement</u>	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	Total
Holman Island	-	-	4	1	2	-	-	2	3	3	15
Paulatuk	-	-	-	2	-	2	4	4	-	-	12
Resolute Bay	3	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Sachs Harbour	3	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Tuktoyaktuk	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	3
Coral Harbour	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Pond Inlet	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Cambridge Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
TOTALS	6	5	9	8	2	2	5	7	5	3	54

(Source: NWT Wildlife Service Records)

The issue of the polar bear sports hunt was discussed at an Inuit Resource Conference held at Baker Lake in 1973. There, it was resolved that the sports hunting programme should be phased out over the following four years, despite the position of the Commissioner for the NWT and the Superintendent of Game for the NWT that the hunt was in the economic interests of the Inuit (Curley 1973).

In a brief to the Minister for Northern Affairs (Ibid.) the president of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada stressed the cultural importance of the polar bear hunt, the recognition that to sell polar bear tags is "to sell our rights" (Ibid.).

The letter also pointed out that the economic advantages accruing to the hunter who sells his tags are ultimately not as high as the figures suggest. The hunter must enter the costs of maintaining a dog team and the appropriate equipment. It was furthermore suggested that the prohibition of the importation of polar bear hides into the United States, under the U.S. Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972, was influenced by the Canadian decision to permit sports hunting. The consequent depression in the value of polar hides disadvantaged those hunters who wished to retain their tags (Ibid.).

In the year, 1973, that the Inuit Resource Conference passed the resolution referred to above, a motion "Advertising the Eskimo Sports Hunting Program" was placed before the NWT Council. This motion urged that an intensive campaign be devised to promote sports hunting on the grounds that "Eskimo communities wish not only to continue the program but to

expand it" (Coun. Deb. 48 Sess. 1973:984). As Table 4 shows, hunters in only eight communities have sold their tags since the program commenced, and the level of sports hunting has declined since the period 1970-73. The average annual sports hunt of slightly more than five bears represents about one per cent of the total polar bear quota allocated to Inuit.

It is quite likely that polar bear sports hunting could yield substantial revenues though it is not certain that these would all accrue to Inuit hunters, who are dependent upon the tourist agencies that supply the hunters. As an example, over the winter 1979-80, four hunters from the Allen Island outpost camp decided to use their tags for sports hunting. The total amount of fees paid by the sports hunters to the tourist agency was \$42,000: of this the hunters together received \$4,500, from which they had to provide for guiding, services, accommodation, food and dog-team maintenance. The agency was responsible only for air fares (Trudeau 1980 personal communication).

The most extensive form of trophy hunting presently going on in the Inuit resource area is sports fishing. Unlike polar bear and musk ox, this has not been developed as a resource use of ostensible benefit to Inuit, but as a gradual extension north of the tree-line of an established type of sports fishing operation. In fact, some sports fishing lodges, such as that near the mouth of the Tree River, are 'outposts' of established camps south of the tree-line. The Tree River is so productive that fishermen can be flown in from the southern

base camp at dawn and will have obtained their quota and left by lunch time. Of the fifteen sports fishing lodges listed in the 1979 edition of the Explorers' Guide (NWTG 1979), only three are owned and operated by Inuit organizations; one of these three is a Hunters and Trappers Association (Paulatuk).

There is little doubt that individual sports fishing lodges can be profitable operations for individual owners. This obvious profitability has led the NWT Department and Tourism to look favourably upon this form of resource use. I was informed by an official of this department that for every pound of Arctic char eaten or taken away by sports fishermen, \$8.00 went into the local community, by comparison with the \$1.00/lb that an Inuit fisherman could expect if he were to sell his char to some local retail outlet (Hamburg 1980 personal communication).

I later discovered that this calculation was based upon the returns from the Koluktoo Bay Camp operated by the Pond Inlet Co-op. The Manager related that indeed, in 1979, about 8,000 lbs of char had been taken and \$65,000 had 'gone into the community'. But, of that sum, \$40,000 had been consumed by operational expenses, that is, had ultimately gone south for fuel and materials, leaving \$15,000 for wages to ten local men, and \$10,000 profit to the Co-op. In terms of the cash going directly to Inuit working in the camp, these returns represent less than \$2.00 for each pound of char taken (Hunt 1980 personal communication).

Sports fishing may conflict either with local Inuit

domestic usage or with commercial fishing operations. At present, a sports fishing or commercial operation would have to be allocated a commercial quota. From this point of view, such allocations are regarded as mutual exclusive. For example, the NWT Department of Economic Development and Tourism is presently deliberating whether to allocate the Amadjuak Lake, near Frobisher Bay, quota to a sports fishing or a commercial enterprise, both of which have been proposed by separate parties. Between 1976 and 1977, the Hunters and Trappers Association at Hall Beach operated a successful commercial fishery out of Hall Lake. In 1978, the quota was re-allocated to a sports fishery, which is being run by the Department of Economic Development and Tourism.

A fishing camp established in the Belcher Islands in 1965 was considered by the residents of Sanikiluaq not only to produce "negative environmental effects" and a "lack of economic benefits", but also to utilize an unacceptable proportion of a local resource which was already in short supply and becoming increasingly scarce in relation to the growing population (Sanikiluaq Ham. Coun. 1978:14-15). Inuit objections to sports fishing have also assumed more of a cultural than a practical nature. There is a marked general disapproval of the practice of throwing back unwanted fish. I encountered this whenever I discussed the subject with hunters; once caught, a fish should be eaten and not 'played with'. This disapproval of sports fishing as a form of resource use contributed to the rejection, by the Hunters and Trappers

Association of Eskimo Point, of a proposal by a fishing lodge operator in Manitoba to open a lodge in the area of the Keewatin, used by Eskimo Point hunters. This brought the following recommendation from the Travel Industry Association of the Northwest Territories:

Since the Hunters and Trappers Association has assumed the role of government in making final development decisions, would it not be wise to eliminate that segment of government as excess impedimenta? (TIA 1979:1)

It seems that sports fishing may be seen to conflict with Inuit land use at several levels. There may be the view that it is culturally unacceptable, the view that it reduces the volume of the resource available for local domestic use, the view that it excludes the possibility of commercial development of local resources. On the other hand, there are a few cases where sports fishing operations have been run successfully by Inuit and without provoking local conflicts. This leads to the general conclusion that conflicts are likely to arise when a form of resource use is introduced by an external agency which does not conform to the prevailing local perception of what are appropriate uses.

This variation in local perceptions is signified by the interest of Inuit in one place to establish a sports fishing or musk ox hunting enterprise, in another to set up a commercial fishery. None of these alternative uses is intrinsically incompatible with conservation, and it is conceivable that, at some date in the future, many more communities will come to

integrate these with their more traditional forms of land use. However, to introduce such enterprises now, without reference to local perceptions, would be to pre-empt the possibility of such development reaching fruition by precipitating the appropriation of the resources. This is most likely to happen with the sports fishing resources, as musk ox and polar bear quotas are effectively reserved to Inuit.

The Wilderness Preservation and Recreation Interest

This section will be chiefly devoted to an examination of the objectives of Parks Canada in the Inuit resource area, the methods used for attaining them, and the manner in which native land use is accommodated where it pre-dates the establishment of a national park. In doing this, I shall refer to past relations between Parks Canada and Indian groups using national parks in the territories. This will be supplemented with a consideration of commercial tourism as it uses wilderness areas, whether as just one stop on the itinerary of a package tour or as the entire milieu, for example, in a white-water canoe trip.

In Figure 3 I have suggested that both national parks and tourism share a parallel range of possible effects upon the environment, depending upon the intensity of the development or the density of visitors: they are differentiated in the diagram only in so far as national parks may be regarded as subsidized tourism, while tourism itself is purely a commercial matter. While national parks have been established

in the Inuit resource area for some time, tourism as business, or perhaps as big business, is fairly recent.

In the Inuit resource area, Parks Canada is the foremost exponent of the conservation interest I described earlier as the wilderness preservation and recreation interests. I stressed the concern with the subjective and intuitively apprehended qualities of natural landscape, with categories such as the sublime and the picturesque, over objectively comprehended natural conditions and processes, or the abstractions employed in understanding them. This predilection for a specific kind of wilderness atmosphere was often accompanied by a clearly expressed distaste for the industrial and urban scene, from the demoralizing influence of which the wilderness provides a refuge and a means of regeneration.

This view of the wilderness, which emerged a century ago, stands in marked contrast to that held by the early settlers. To them the wilderness was an abhorrent moral vacuum, inhabited by equally immoral savages: to be domesticated and converted respectively. The movement for wilderness preservation brought about an extraordinary reversal of this view; spiritual values were restored to the wilderness and it was civilization to which the moral opprobrium became attached. Unfortunately, this prelapsarian nostalgia did not extend to the contemporary inhabitants of the wilderness: instead, former savages have been mythicized to an image of 'ecological integrity' sometimes held up as an admonitory reflection upon the current practices of their descendants.

The outstanding political executant of this view of nature during the early twentieth century was James Harkin who, in 1912, became the first Dominion Commissioner for Parks. As well as being an adroit administrator, Harkin was an ardent admirer of Muir (see p. 88) and his copious memoranda displayed an impressive integration of the practical with the evangelical.

On the necessity of national parks:

The farther we have been from nature . . . the more we need to get back to the natural and even primitive life. Such a life allows man to resume his relationship with wild animals, a relationship as old as man himself and which every man takes pleasure in resuming. (Harkin 1918:104)

He saw parks as providing therapy for the,

. . . dangers that threaten, the evils which have been constantly increasing in industrial centres, are a degeneration in physical type, a degeneration in mental and moral quality. (Harkin 1915:5)

The ultimate purpose of national parks was to provide "opportunities for wholesome play" (Ibid.): he developed a "theory around what he called the 'play spirit' or 'play instinct' in man (Foster 1978:80) with parks offering opportunities for its expression which had been denied by contemporary life.

Harkin's position on aboriginal land use is indicated by his contribution to the establishment of Wood Buffalo National Park. Officials of the Department for Indian Affairs objected to the withdrawal of lands regularly hunted by Indians but Harkin, in 1916, suggested they furnish a "signed statement

from Indian hunters 'waiving any fancied rights they may or may not think they possess to hunt and trap in that area' (Foster 1978:115).

When Wood Buffalo Park was finally proclaimed, in 1922, Indians were allowed to continue hunting, with the exception of wood bison. Under the most recent revision of the Wood Buffalo National Park Game Regulations (P.C. 1978-3324), the list of prohibited species has lengthened to include four other ungulate species declared by Parks Canada to be rare or endangered species: elk, mule deer, white tailed deer and plains bison. Woodland caribou are similarly prohibited, though not declared rare or endangered; one moose per year is allowed to those permitted to hunt in Wood Buffalo Park. Not surprisingly, Indian hunting is now confined largely to trapping and shooting small game.

The current regulations also limit the number of those who may obtain hunting or trapping permits specifically for the Park; they also disqualify the holder of a NWT general hunting license from holding a park hunting permit. Such a permit enables one to apply for a trapping permit and for a registered trapping area. The Superintendent of the Park may refuse to renew either of these where "in his opinion, the holder did not, without reasonable excuse, engage in hunting and trapping furbearing animals in any year . . ." (Ibid.:24(1)). By adopting such regulations, Parks Canada has made it clear that it does not regard Indian land use as an appropriate activity within the Park, but one which must be reluctantly

tolerated, with lapses in usage taken as opportunities to progressively terminate it.

Wood Buffalo Park was the first to be established in the territories. Parks Canada's interest in this region was not resumed until the 1970's when a series of park reserves were established. A national park reserve is an area of land which has been withdrawn, by Order-in-Council, in expectation of its later becoming a full national park, a step which requires parliamentary consent. Four such park reserves are shown in Fig. 7, which indicates Parks Canada's interest in the NWT and the Yukon by showing these reserves, proposed future national parks, and other categories of conservation area coming under the mandate of this agency.

While the East Arm-Artillery Lake reserve was withdrawn under an Order-in-Council, the three other reserves, Auyittuq, Kluane and Nahanni, were withdrawn under a special amendment to the National Parks Act (1974). This amendment establishes the reserves, "pending a settlement in respect of any rights, title or interest of the people of Native origin" (Ibid.:11 (17)). In these reserves, the National Parks Act applies, "save for the exercise therein by the people of Native origin of the Yukon Territory or Northwest Territories of traditional hunting, fishing or trapping activities" (Ibid.:11(1)).

The other categories of conservation area shown on the map (5) are the most recent expression of Parks Canada's interest in the Inuit resource area (Parks Canada 1979). Two such categories are 'heritage landmarks' and 'heritage

waterways'; another is 'international heritage sites'. Recently, the terms 'natural resources' and 'cultural resources' have been subsumed under the collective description 'heritage resources', with Parks Canada assuming the leading national role in 'heritage conservation' (Ibid.).

The discretion permitted to park superintendents allows them to interpret, at the local level, rather general commitments to traditional land use made by the agency under the National Parks Act. The continuity and specific area of traditional usage have become the objects of such interpretation in the two northern national park reserves declared at the same time as the Auyittuq reserve. In the Nahanni reserve, Parks personnel have concluded that Indians have begun to hunt in areas not used before the establishment of the reserve and feel that it may have to be curtailed (Hunt, 1978). In Kluane, hunting has been prohibited within the reserve because ". . . most native people currently residing in the park area have not traditionally hunted or trapped within the park" (Superintendent's letter, Hunt 1978:20). Hunt suggests that "Apparently Parks Canada does not view hunting as forming part of the native culture that can subsist despite a one-generation lapse" (Ibid.). Ironically, the lapse in the Kluane area was caused by the declaration of the Kluane Game Sanctuary in 1942; the park reserve now covers most of the area originally designated as a sanctuary.

In 1976, Parks Canada commissioned the Council for Yukon Indians to provide them with a study of traditional hunting

areas and practices. The study (C.Y.I. 1978) was based on interviews with the older people and describes events upon the declaration of the Game Sanctuary.

People were forced to abandon hundreds of snares and traps and the equipment at their hunting camps. Spring, summer and fall hunting became extremely difficult as the Kluane people were squeezed between the Game Sanctuary on one side and Kluane Lake on the other.
(C.Y.I. 1978:4)

Over the last six years, Parks Canada has consolidated the operations and management of the Kluane national park reserve as though it were a full national park and has compiled a detailed set of alternative master plans for public consideration (Parks Canada 1978b). The Kluane Tribal Community responded with interest and optimism over the possibilities offered by the proposed park. It was seen as a,

. . . golden opportunity for developing the area not only in the park, but outside the park. Large herds of horses, lodges, emergency huts, hunting sites, road maintenance and building by Indian people, river tours could complement the horse trips and also could complement one of the four proposals by Parks Canada.
(Jacquot, 1978:3)

The Kluane Tribal Community supports the concept of wilderness preservation, but wishes to have the quiet movement of its people through the area recognized.
(Kluane Tribal Community 1978:2)

The Kluane Tribal Community recognizes that the day of the Big Game Hunt is dying. To facilitate this end, an alternative recreational experience should be substituted. We believe that photography of game complements the philosophy of the Park and under supervision would be an exciting yet harmless alternative.
(Kluane Tribal Community 1978:4)

The Kluane Tribal Community is in the process of formulating their land claims. They are aware that the enabling legislation for the Kluane reserve, provides for the continuance of their traditional land use and that the existence of the reserve itself is contingent upon the outcome of land claim negotiations. They are prepared to relinquish their interest in some of the more spectacular, and biologically productive, areas within the reserve in return for assurances that their land use would take preference over recreational use in other areas (Jacquot, personal communication). Since such assurances have not been forthcoming, they have reluctantly determined that they might have to claim lands presently enclosed within the park reserve (Ibid.).

The Kluane Tribal Community note that while six years of intensive planning effort has been spent in preparing a comprehensive master planning document for public consideration (Parks Canada 1978a), there has not been a comparable effort made to resolve the issue of their use of the reserve lands; native hunting was described as being "outside the terms of reference" (Ibid.:19) at this planning process. In this respect, it is noteworthy that, when in 1969 the Assistant Deputy Minister for Parks Canada came to the Yukon to deliver an extended and detailed speech, reassuring the people of the territory that their claims would be respected, these "claims" were mineral rather than aboriginal, and no mention was made at all of Indian use of the proposed park (Gordon 1969).

I think it is fair to say that Parks Canada's history

of relations with aboriginal people did not equip the agency to deal with the turn that events took after 1969, as aboriginal land claims gradually became a dominating factor, affecting government policies and programs in the Yukon and the NWT. In the year that the above-mentioned speech was made, the federal government formally acknowledged that aboriginal peoples may have grievances against the government, and established procedures for dealing with these (Chrétien 1969): in 1973, the federal government went still further in announcing its readiness to negotiate the surrender of aboriginal title for an agreed form of compensation (Chrétien 1973). Foster (1978) has clearly shown that, in the past, the agency has consistently regarded aboriginal land use as conflicting with the purposes of national parks. Not surprisingly, park managers did not accede to the notion that hunting should be permitted in an area which was committed to the objective of preserving natural conditions.

In coming to terms with these changing political circumstances, Parks Canada has adopted two approaches. One is to present national parks as part of a land claims 'package'; the other is to develop a new form of protected area suited to northern circumstances, the 'national wilderness park' (Parks Canada 1978b).

The national wilderness park notion was advanced after Berger (1977), in reporting on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, had recommended that a 'wilderness park' be established in the north Yukon. In 1978, Parks Canada circulated a

Parks Canada Policy Discussion Draft which included national wilderness parks as one of its topics (Parks Canada 1978b).

Shortly afterwards, the Minister for Northern Affairs, Mr. Faulkner, announced the withdrawal of a large part of the north Yukon, with a view to establishing a national wilderness park (Faulkner 1978b). In the same year, Agreement in Principle between the Canadian government and the Inuvialuit included a commitment to establish a national wilderness park in the sector of the withdrawn area used by Inuvialuit (ONC 1978). In this agreement in principle it was set out that the Inuvialuit would be guaranteed virtually the same hunting, fishing and trapping rights as they would receive in other areas where they could demonstrate traditional usage. The agreement also provides Inuvialuit to establish "small settlements" at "traditional coastal locations" (Ibid.:12(5)).

These provisions are both more precise and more liberal than those put forward in the Parks Canada discussion draft on national wilderness parks (Parks Canada 1978b). These do not include as explicit a definition of subsistence as that contained in the Agreement in Principle with the Inuvialuit; neither do they contemplate the establishment of settlements within national wilderness parks.

The discussion draft outlines the distinctive characteristics of the proposed new category of conservation area vis-à-vis national parks. These differences are largely of degree: national wilderness parks would be more protective of natural conditions and less developed for recreation.

The only real difference in kind would be the commitment that,

Native people would be guaranteed the right to continue traditional subsistence resource uses within parts of national wilderness parks where they have traditionally done so on a subsistence basis. (Parks Canada 1978b:82)

After the prospect of national wilderness parks had been widely discussed within the 'conservation community', this category of conservation area was excluded from the final Parks Canada Policy issued in the following year (Parks Canada 1979): instead, conventional national parks would be established in the Inuit resource area. The final policy on aboriginal land use is expressed as,

Guarantees will be provided so that *certain* traditional resource uses by local people will be permitted to continue in *parts* of national parks for one or more generations when such uses are an *essential* part of the local way of life and when no *alternative* exists outside the park boundaries. (Parks Canada 1979:41) (my italics)

In reference to other possible uses of the national parks, the policy states that,

An *appropriate balance* must be maintained between the *rights of the public to enjoy Canada's natural heritage*, the rights of local people to continue certain traditional uses and the requirements to protect the wilderness of the area. (Ibid.:37) (my italics)

The policy also offers a fresh slant on the function of Inuit land use,

Selected activities which are of cultural value in portraying to visitors traditional relationships between men and the land in

the park area as part of the park experience may be permitted.
(Ibid. : 42)

These statements leave considerably more room for interpretation and manoeuver than comparable statements in the Inuvialuit Agreement in Principle. There are no criteria put forward for determining whether a practice is an "essential part of the local way of life" or for deciding which "parts" of the national parks could be used by Inuit. Moreover, for the proposed national parks depicted in Figure 7 it would invariably be possible to demonstrate that "alternatives exist outside the park boundaries".

It is difficult to imagine how Parks Canada can reconcile the clear commitments made to the Inuvialuit concerning the national wilderness park in the north Yukon with the conditional quality of the provisions for Inuit land use made in the 1979 policy statement. It is interesting to note in this respect that the negotiators for the Inuvialuit do not consider themselves to be bound by the terms of the Parks Canada policy; they refer to the original proposals of Berger (1977) and earlier proposals for a wildlife range, rather than the precedents set by national parks elsewhere (Cournoyea 1979 personal communication). If a conservation area is eventually established in the north Yukon as part of a land claim settlement, it is quite conceivable that it will bear little resemblance to established national parks; nor need it, for the final settlement will be negotiated with the Canadian cabinet rather than with

Parks Canada.

Recently, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada embarked on a study of the proposals for new national parks made in 1978. In discussing the prospect of parks with Inuit in communities likely to be affected by these parks, two questions consistently cropped up: will hunting be allowed to continue? what are national parks for? Answers to the second question which would have been immediately comprehensible to southern Canadians could not be related to the frame of reference within which Inuit view the land and the animal resources. When this question was raised at the 1979 Annual General Meeting of the Kitikmeot Inuit Association (central Arctic), the delegate from Gjoa Haven commented,

These parks represent an alien concept of the land which is not the Inuit view. The two views may appear to be similar but they are basically different and cannot be put into practice in the same place without a conflict at some time in the future. If these parks are allowed, the land will be changed and eventually there will be no more room for Inuit.

(ITC 1979:12 - trans. P. Ittinuar)

In detailed discussions with the people of Pangnirtung over their views of Auyittuq national park reserve, it was sometimes said the reserve was regarded simply as another institution of the white man's world, like the police force or the school. Another comment, which the interpreter had difficulty in conveying, was the sense of "the land being changed" - not in any physical sense, but by the regular presence of non-Inuit.

In replying to the question, "what are national parks for", one must refer not only to wilderness preservationist principles, but also to the methodology employed by Parks Canada in selecting sites for future national parks. The notion of regional representation, referred to in Chapter 4, is central to this methodology. Canada has been divided into 37 'natural regions', examples of which would comprehensively represent the natural diversity of Canada. This process was described as a "melding of biotic, geographic and geologic information" (Parks Canada 1972:2), with a system of physiographic regions devised by Bostok (1970). There are twelve regions wholly or partially included within the Inuit resource area.

In the Canadian tundra, the biotic information does not lend itself to a regional differentiation corresponding to this physiographic division. As Beschel (1970) has pointed out, the critical factors affecting plant distribution operate at the micro-site level; certain patterns of vegetation recur throughout the tundra. The distribution of animals also bears little relation to this system of natural regions. Musk oxen occur in a discontinuous arc reaching from northern Ellesmere Island to the central tundra (Jonkel and Smith 1975). Wolves (Banfield 1974) and Arctic foxes (Macpherson 1969) are ubiquitous. The breeding grounds of snow geese are not predictable from this regionalization. In fact, biotic information has largely been ignored; it seems, because it does not conform to physiographic regions. As Upvaardy (1975) and

Dasmann (1973) recognized, the Canadian tundra is better left as a single biotic province.

The 'national park system plan' has become the official formula for presenting Parks Canada's objectives to the Canadian public. In presenting the agency's objectives to the NWT Council, the Assistant Deputy Minister for the Parks Canada said,

. . . our ambition is a system with a finite number of national parks, a system with one national park to represent each of the natural regions of Canada . . . In the north . . . ten of the regions are not yet represented and it is our ambition over time to represent those in the parks system. (Coun. Deb. 67 Sess. 1979:387)

Of the twelve regions wholly or partly within the Inuit resource area, seven contain existing or proposed national parks. Of the remaining five, three are wholly within the Inuit resource area. Thus, three more parks, and possibly another two, may eventually be proposed by Parks Canada in addition to those shown in Figure 6.

Though Inuit may not subscribe to the view that such regional representation to an extent justifies national parks, and thus contributes towards an explanation of 'what parks are for', there is an awareness that national parks can be a mechanism for protecting the environment against the effects of development. Since 1973, the people of Resolute Bay have repeatedly requested the Minister for Northern Affairs to establish a protected area of some sort on Somerset Island to protect animal populations and their habitat from the effects

of seismic exploration, which the hunters have observed on neighbouring islands, notably Bathurst and Melville Islands; in 1978, the Baffin Regional Council adopted a motion to request that Somerset Island become a park (Nunatsiaq News, Oct. 5, 1978). However, Parks Canada's work in the region has led planners to the conclusion that two other locations in the region qualify as "Areas of Canadian Significance", the Bylot Island - Pond Inlet area and western Brodeur Peninsula (Stirling et al. 1979), and any site proposed as a national park is likely to be selected from this pair.

In a similar vein, Inuit in other areas appreciate the protective function of national parks. Broughton Island would like to see the boundaries of Auyittuq park reserve extended to protect their coastal hunting grounds from the impending effects of off-shore oil exploration (ITC 1979). The national wilderness park contemplated in the Agreement in Principle with the Inuvialuit is seen as a means of preventing the construction of a pipeline along the Yukon coastal plain (Hunt 1978). The mayor of Pond Inlet refers to a possible national park in Lancaster Sound as a "defensive measure" (Allooloo 1979 personal communication) against the development proposed for this region.

However, it is doubtful if Parks Canada would be willing to enter into conflicts with development interests. The National Parks Act (1974, 6(2)) already provides for the alienation of park lands as a "right of way of an oil or gas pipeline". Upon announcing the six proposed new parks in the

territories, the Minister for Northern Affairs stated that "they are areas where competing resource interests are minimal" (Faulkner 1978a). The new Parks Canada Policy (1979) states,

It is the policy of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs to ensure that an inventory of the non-renewable natural resource potential of areas in the Yukon and Northwest Territories be compiled prior to their formal establishment of new national parks.

(Parks Canada 1979:39)

This attempt to anticipate conflicts with development interests, is a new policy for the agency. It is being actively pursued in Labrador, where a national park has been proposed in the Torngat Mountains region, an area which has historically been used by Inuit (Parks Canada 1977). Parks Canada has itself provided the funds for a geological survey of the area, which could of course lead to the development of mineral resources - which might have remained undiscovered had park planners not taken an interest in the area. Ironically, the single function of national parks which appears to be fully appreciated by Inuit is one which the agency is hesitant about performing unconditionally.

However, if Parks Canada were to respond to requests from Inuit to establish national parks as a protective measure for important hunting grounds, this response would be more likely to precipitate encounters between hunters and visitors than if parks were established in areas with a low intensity of Inuit use. On the possibility of such encounters, the Inuit

Tapirisat of Canada study of national parks commented,

While Inuit might find visitors disturbing, visitors might find the Inuit hunter equally disturbing. However much conservationists disagree with one another over exact definitions of what constitutes wilderness, most statements exclude certain activities which are essential to Inuit hunting. Therefore, it is difficult to accept that those who are advocates of wilderness preservation would find the use of snow machines and motor boats consistent with their expectation of wilderness character, and it is conceivable that many would object to *any* form of hunting.

(ITC 1979:40)

It is significant in this respect that the following statement, contained in the wilderness park discussion paper (Parks Canada (1978b) was deleted from the final policy (Parks Canada 1979):

The opportunity to protect critical habitat for renewable resources upon which local people have traditionally depended would be a selection consideration.
(Parks Canada 1978b:81)

Besides national parks, Parks Canada is responsible for the planning of two other categories of conservation area: Canadian Landmarks and Canadian Heritage Rivers. Canadian Landmarks are defined as "exceptional natural features and phenomena . . . natural wonders such as meteor impact craters, dinosaur fossil sites . . ." (Parks Canada 1979). At present, only one such Canadian Landmark has been proposed in the Inuit resource area, a group of pingos near Tuktoyaktuk. Canadian Heritage Rivers are those "that flow through essentially natural environments, their channels unobstructed, and their waters relatively unpolluted" (Ibid.:63). In the Inuit

resource area, the Coppermine river has been publicly discussed as future candidate for this designation. The current policy of Parks Canada does not contain any provisions regarding Inuit use for these two categories of conservation area.

Over the last few years, another kind of conservation area has emerged upon the international scene, World Heritage Sites (Bennett 1977). Under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, a Convention for the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage was signed by thirty-four nations in 1976. A World Heritage Fund was set up to cover the costs of amongst other things, drawing up a World Heritage List comprising those properties, cultural and natural, throughout the world which are considered to be of an outstanding universal value . . . " (World Heritage Committee 1977:1). So far, in the Inuit resource area, only one site has been nominated for inclusion on this list, Prince Leopold Island, the breeding ground for large concentrations of sea birds (Nettleship and Smith 1975). Parks Canada has assumed the responsibility for reviewing Canadian nominations to the list.

In Figure 2, I implied that both national parks and "wilderness tourism might share a similar range of environmental impacts in relation to the degree of development of the land for recreational purposes. In the figure, the two are differentiated in economic terms: wilderness tourism is a commercial enterprise; national parks are provided for out

of public funds.

I have already dealt with trophy hunting and sports fishing as two major tourist activities in the NWT. Here, I wish to consider several types of tourist activity which may utilize the same animal populations and habitats as are used by Inuit. Such recreations as hiking, canoeing, climbing and camping may be combined with such activities as bird-watching, or more recently, whale-watching (Sergeant and Hoek 1973). Tourists may be based in settlements from which they issue on short trips; they may spend their time at a 'naturalist's lodge', similar in other respects to a conventional fishing or hunting lodge; they may take part in packaged 'air tours', alighting at points of interest for a few hours or a day or so.

Tourists may also come specifically to see Inuit hunting, on what are termed 'trap-line tours', or they may be taken on polar bear hunts (Balmer and Crapo 1980).

Of these tourist activities, air tourism has increased most dramatically in recent years (St. Pierre 1974). Air tourism consists of package deals with airlines, aircharter companies and hotel operators being the major participants. The tourists will fly from one settlement to another and, increasingly, to areas such as Lake Harbour and Eureka where there are no established settlements or hotels but where the aircharter company operates a bunkhouse. This form of tourism does not contribute much to Inuit in the way of revenues. Of ten air tours currently advertized for the Eastern and High Arctic, four hotels owned by non-Inuit are listed on the

itineraries, two hotels owned by Inuit co-ops, four bunkhouses owned by air charter companies, while on two, the tourists are camping. There is no evidence that Inuit guides are employed on any of these tours, though one of them includes two unspecified boat trips (NWTG 1979).

A second type of tourism, also of increasing popularity, is participation in various forms of wilderness travel. This includes trail-skiing across the ice-cap of northern Ellesmere Island (NWTG 1979), extensive canoe journeys (NWTG 1980) and climbing the mountains in Auyittuq national park reserve. Though less expensive than air tourism, such activities cost a substantial amount when organized as a package (NWTG 1979), though considerably less if undertaken independently.

In 1978, the NWT government announced to a business organization, the Travel Industry Association of the NWT, that \$100,000 had been provided for a systematic study of the market (Balmer and Crapo 1980) and towards the support of the Travel Industry Association. To a gathering of the members of this association, an official of the Department of Economic Development and Tourism remarked that "... there is still some resistance to 'intruders' in the smaller communities and somehow that attitude has to be changed" (News of the North, Nov. 15, 1978). Those responsible for developing tourism are well aware of the attraction to tourists offered by the more remote Inuit communities, an attraction that was confirmed by the commissioned study mentioned above (Balmer and Crapo 1980). This study also recommended that the prospects for

organizing holidays in outpost camps be further investigated.

A good case can be made for saying that tourism, as described above, does not inevitably conflict with Inuit land use in a direct physical sense. Budowski (1977) discusses the effects of intensive visitor use on "fragile ecosystems" and concludes that in certain instances heavy recreational use can disrupt natural processes. The breeding grounds of colonizing species of waterfowl in the Inuit resource area might be considered vulnerable in this respect, but for the most part they are already enclosed within migratory bird sanctuaries and visitation is regulated accordingly. Elsewhere, the present levels of visitor use can hardly be considered to be less disturbing than hunting itself.

The kinds of recreational pursuits discussed above do not differ significantly from the things that visitors to a national park would expect to be able to do. Even a version of air tourism, with helicopters, has been contemplated by Parks Canada in its planning proposals for Kluane national park reserve (Parks Canada 1978a). But whereas in a national park a visitor might not expect to see hunting taking place and might feel justified in complaining if he does, he has less warrant to complain if he encounters Inuit hunting elsewhere. As tourism is promoted elsewhere than in national parks, Inuit to an extent retain the option to collaborate with these developments or not. It was pointed out above that this option was exercised with respect to a proposal to establish a sports fishing lodge near Eskimo Point. But

national parks in a sense institutionalize the "rights of the public to understand and enjoy Canada's natural heritage" (Parks Canada 1979) and their establishment introduces the possibility of Inuit land use having to be modified accordingly.

In the following section, I shall turn to the actual and potential effects upon Inuit land use of campaigns organized by advocates of another kind of 'rights', those of animals.

The Effect upon Inuit Hunting of Campaigns for Animal Welfare

In 1978 the Northwest Territories Council passed a motion that "This administration immediately explore and develop ways to counteract the current lobby of certain southern animal welfare groups" (NWT Coun. Deb. 64 Sess. 1968: 565). This motion was put forward with the assertion that this lobby "may and will destroy forever the southern fur industry and the livelihood of our northern people who choose to live off the land by fishing, hunting and trapping" (Ibid.).

During the debate, there were references to images of the Newfoundland seal hunt and of leg-hold traps "put on television by people who are beginning to say that animals have rights and you cannot kill them or use them for your livelihood" (Ibid.). It was suggested that the intensification of the campaign to end the Newfoundland seal hunt had affected the market for ringed seal, the major species traded by Inuit. However, a committee investigating the depressed sealskin market which coincided with the anti-sealing campaign attributed this also to the poor quality of skins resulting from

improper preparation. It was said that a high quality skin, which would always sell, would fetch \$30 while one of poor quality would bring as little as \$1.50 (Interpreter, November 1978).

Nevertheless, European traders feel that the anti-sealing publicity is the factor more responsible for the decline. There is a movement in Europe to ban the use of sealskins entirely (News of the North Sept. 25, 1978). These traders have urged the above committee to send representatives to the International Fur Fair to explain the source of ringed sealskins: however, there seems little evidence to suggest that the public who support the campaign will discriminate in favour of other species than harp whitecoats. In 1978, a British Government plan to cull 5,000 grey seal, "in the interests of the fishing industry", was officially abandoned as a result of a successful campaign against the operation (Guardian Weekly, Oct. 22, 1978).

In 1980, the leading animal welfare groups will not appear on the Newfoundland sealing grounds, but will concentrate on their efforts both to shame users of sealskins and to have legislation passed prohibiting the trade in sealskins. The United States Marine Mammal Protection Act (1972) is a particularly appropriate example of such legislation as it makes quite specific exemptions in favour of Alaskan native people while prohibiting the commercial trade and import of all marine mammal products. Alaskan native people are exempted when the mammals are taken for "subsistence purposes", defined

as use for "food, clothing, shelter, heating, transportation and other uses necessary to maintain the life of the taker . . .". Mammals may also be taken for "purposes of creating and selling authentic native articles of handicrafts and clothing . . ."; this is the only form in which non-edible parts of marine mammals may be traded.

While seal-hunting is particularly vulnerable to market fluctuations, whale hunting is less so: beluga are consumed within the NWT while only narwhal tusks are exported. Animal welfare groups have only recently begun to campaign against Inuit whaling but the strategy has been outlined. It has three main components: (1) the general claim that whales should not be killed because of their possession of a high form of intelligence, or of a moral sense of rights resembling human rights; (2) the particular claim that Inuit whaling has lost its traditional character or that Inuit no longer need to hunt whales, or that they waste much of the carcasses; (3) the proposal that greater revenues can accrue from 'whale-watching' than are presently realized through Inuit hunting.

The annual meetings of the International Whaling Commission provide opportunities for campaigners against whaling to affect the quotas and restrictions discussed by the Commission as well as to publicize their cause. The attention of the IWC was drawn towards what it terms aboriginal whaling in response to the Alaskan bowhead whaling issue (Martin 1977).

A group of conservation organizations urged upon the Canadian delegation that such "accommodations consider only

true traditional dependence" (Greenpeace et al. 1978:3). Other groups are less amenable to the idea of a controlled aboriginal whale hunt. Notions of species management and sustainable yield are dismissed as "arrogant and dangerous" (Dorsey et al. 1979:1). Cetaceans are not biologically or behaviourally comparable to other animal populations . . ." and should receive ". . . legal status as individuals with established rights and protections" (Ibid.:9).

Canada is to ". . . aid Inuit transition from whale hunters to expert guides, advisers, or leaders of tourist, naturalist or scientific expeditions." These are means by which ". . . whale-killing-oriented native societies can productively transfer their ancient connections with cetaceans to non-killing activities while still maintaining a sense of heritage and continuity of cultural meaning" (Ibid.:6-7). This transition ". . . falls fully within the context of native heritage as it can be maintained in the present world" (Ibid.: 8).

In this context I would like to consider the contribution of the Canadian Wildlife Federation, an organization not usually representative of the animal welfare movement. This will illustrate the way in which particular arguments *against* Inuit hunting may be commuted amongst divisions of the general conservation interest and then deployed with a convergent effect upon Inuit hunting.

The magazine, *International Wildlife*, published by the National Wildlife Federation (United States), has a Canadian

section inserted by its affiliated organization, the Canadian Wildlife Federation (CWF). Recently, the Executive Director of the CWF focused his attention in this section upon Inuit hunting, specifically whaling. Thus,

Historically, native attitudes towards wildlife have been "after we have taken what we want, you manage what is left".
(Brynaert 1980)

This unattributed quotation could be construed as a paraphrase of part of a declaration of "Inuit Policy on the Harvesting of Arctic Wildlife" provided a few years ago by the president of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (Arvaluk 1976). Paradoxically, Arvaluk's statement could conceivably be welcomed by those who consider that Inuit should share the use of wildlife populations. This policy was outlined to a Conference on Canada's Threatened Species and Habitats (Canadian Nature Federation, 1976), and in that context conveys a quite different sense,

. . . the rights of Inuit who depend upon the land and wildlife for their livelihood must be protected. Community hunter and trapper committees would be in charge of administering what we call the subsistence quota. What is left over, we have called the recreational and commercial quota, and it would be administered by government agencies. . . . Any Inuk (Eskimo) who does not qualify as one who relies upon game animals for his subsistence would be declared a recreational user and, as such, would have to take his chances along with other sportsmen. . . . (Arvaluk 1976)

The CWF article refers directly to the whale-hunting in Cumberland Sound (see pp. 55),

The Inuit people of Pangnirtung had disregarded the management advice presented to

them. This season, in defiance of the fisheries regulations, they exceeded their quota of beluga and narwhal by over thirty per cent. . . . It is worth noting that a portion of the catch of beluga whales is being used for inter-community trade, which is against the law . . . (Brynaert 1980)

There are slight adjustments of fact here. The beluga quota for 1979 was exceeded, but this was overlooked by fisheries officials when the Pangnirtung Hunters and Trappers Association undertook to see that there were no more transgressions. Two hunters who still defied the regulation were arrested and subsequently convicted (Williams personal communication 1980). The narwhal quota was not exceeded; it was in fact increased by fisheries authorities (Dowler 1980 personal communication). If the CWF were privy to the unpublished fact that the beluga quota was exceeded, they should also have known that inter-community trade in beluga from Pangnirtung was banned in 1979 (Ibid.). Nevertheless, the article continues with,

This situation leads us to the conclusion that what was once considered to be a subsistence fishery has now developed into a very profitable commercial operation.
(Brynaert 1980)

Campaigns by private conservation organizations against Inuit hunting place game and fisheries management officials, especially field officers, in equivocal positions. Field officers with whom I discussed this problem said, without exception, that they encountered the greatest problems in conveying to hunters the eventual consequences of such campaigns

being successful. It was said that the Pangnirtung hunters only agreed to the restrictions upon beluga hunting and trade because they had suffered more than any other group from the recent decline in the prices of sealskins (roughly 20% of the entire sealskin production is from Pangnirtung (Wong 1979)) and were thus in a position to appreciate the consequences of similar action with respect to beluga (Williams 1980 personal communication).

The pressure upon the International Whaling Commission to ban aboriginal whaling is to be re-applied at the 1980 meeting of the IWC (Reuters, July 11, 1979); the Canada Wildlife Federation intends to press further its "charges" (Brynaert 1980) that Inuit whaling has lost its legitimacy as a traditional activity. As these campaigns intensify, Inuit will come to rely more upon the defences presented by wildlife and fisheries management and enforcement officials, especially those in the field. Just as most Inuit hunters may not be aware of the content of these charges being laid against their hunting practices, or even consider such categories as, 'subsistence', 'commercial' or 'traditional' relevant to the ways in which they utilize their resources (ITC 1979), so they may not be aware of the efforts being made on their behalf by officials who are sympathetic to their needs and problems and who do not subscribe to the view that Inuit hunting can only be accepted if it conforms to certain romantic images. Some of the officials who are not in the field, and who support the principle that Inuit land use should be given

priority over other uses of the animal resource, often find it difficult to sustain this support when faced with evidence of high 'lost-to-kill' ratios for sea mammals or of incomplete usage of animal carcasses.

The Contribution of Science
to Conservation in
the Inuit Resource Area

Since 1945, scientists have played an increasingly significant role in conservation in the Inuit resource area. Much of the early work was done by government scientists and consisted of resource inventories which were later used in wildlife management. In addition, there has been a considerable amount of research by academic institutions and museums, which has been less immediately applicable in resource management.

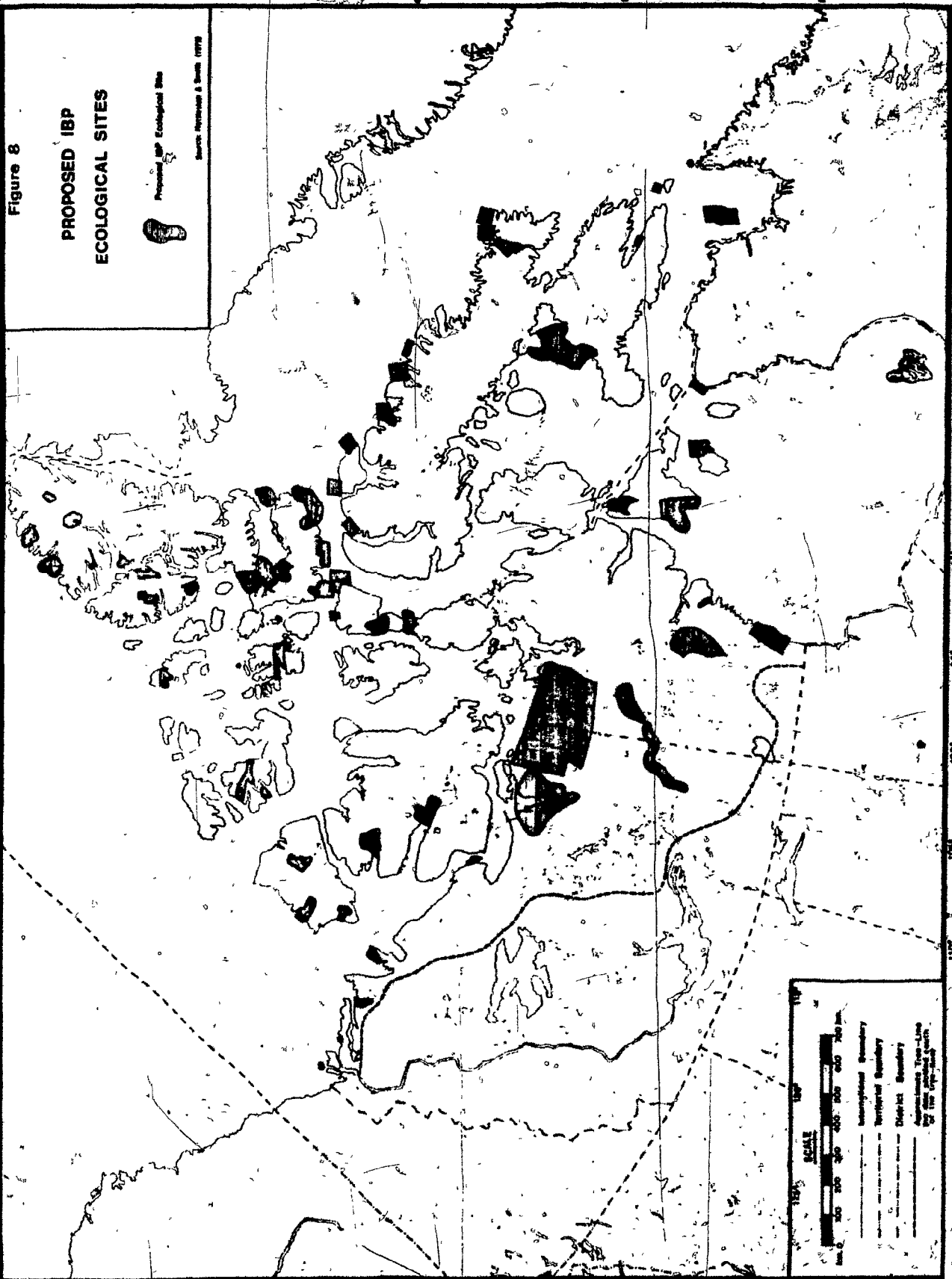
The scientists working for government agencies, such as the Canadian Wildlife Service, the Arctic Biological Station and the NWT Wildlife Service, could perhaps be compared to the "resource professionals" who provided the early impetus to the conservation movement in the nineteenth century (Burton 1972). As such, the results of their work are put to utilitarian purposes, in this case, wildlife management. A major example of such purposes is the application of field data to the estimation of sustainable yields, which then become the basis for setting harvest quotas.

A second major area of application of research data derives from the realization of field scientists of the possible effects of industrial development in the Inuit resource area.

Such an appreciation led to the establishment of the present system of migratory bird sanctuaries described earlier.

In the late 1960's, a large number of scientists familiar with the Arctic contributed to an inventory of "biologically important areas . . . which should be given a high degree of protection, special management or study" (Nettleship and Smith 1975). This inventory was conducted under the auspices of the International Biological Programme; the resulting areas are referred to as Ecological Sites and are shown in Fig. 8. One of these sites has since acquired legal status as a migratory bird sanctuary. This is Seymour Island, the only known breeding area for the ivory gull (Macdonald 1975). A second site, Polar Bear Pass on Bathurst Island, is the subject of a public discussion paper recently circulated by the Department for Northern Affairs (DINA 1979). The scientists who compiled the inventory do not contemplate the exclusion of any one category of use at the expense of others; in the utilitarian tradition, they recommend multiple uses so long as these are compatible with the conservation of natural conditions. On Inuit land use, the sites would protect the hunting and fishing resources of the native people as well as guarantee their traditional rights (Nettleship and Smith 1975).

A fairly new category of conservation area is the national wildlife area, the responsibility of the Canadian Wildlife Service and provided for by the Canada Wildlife Act (1973). A national wildlife area has been proposed in the area of the north Yukon, which has also been proposed as a national



wilderness park (see pp. 5-45).

The first two objectives of this national wildlife area are given as,

1. To protect major international wildlife populations and habitat from damage by human land use.
2. To conserve the wildlife resource base of the native Loucheaux and Inuvialuit people.

(Canadian Wildlife Service 1979:1)

The Canada Wildlife Act is a flexible instrument for both attaining objectives of conservation and adjusting to local conditions. Hunt (1978) quotes a 1966 policy statement by the Canadian Wildlife Service on the subject of native hunting,

Wildlife in the Territories should be managed so as to provide a sustained yield of those species that contribute to the subsistence of Native populations. So long as Native populations subsist in whole or in part on wildlife populations, this objective is secondary only to that of preventing the extinction of species.

(Hse. Comm. Deb. 1st Sess. 1966:3974)

Unlike comparable national parks policy statements, these of the Canadian Wildlife Service do not suggest that Inuit land use might have to be modified with respect to visitor use. Neither is there the suggestion that only certain kinds of practice, in certain areas, would be acceptable. In fact, there is no *requirement* in the Canada Wildlife Act that provision should be made for public recreation, as there is in the National Parks Act. Thus, in locations where a conservation area is seen as the most appropriate measure, there appears to be a potential for national wildlife areas

achieving the protection of animal populations and their habitats while at the same time serving the Inuit interest. However, as Hunt (1978) has observed, the *intent* signified by these public statements should be reinforced by stronger provisions in the Canada Wildlife Act itself.

To realize this potential for serving this mutual interest, an effective collaboration would have to be developed between Inuit hunters and scientists. This would apply not only to the management of national wildlife areas, but to wildlife management generally in the Inuit resource area. Reluctance on the part of Inuit to accept the strictures of game management derives both from an understandable aversion to having their land use practices regulated and from a suspicion of the motives of biologists as evidenced by their activities in the field. Some research programmes entail a considerable amount of destruction or harassment of wild animals. In the course of a study of dentition in caribou, 999 animals were "collected" (Miller 1974) in the Keewatin. Hunters from Holman Island complained to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline inquiry about 300 ringed seals killed in the course of studies of the effects of oil pollution (MVP 1976). The people in Pond Inlet are convinced that a snow goose netting and banding programme on Bylot Island was responsible for a subsequent decline in the snow goose population (Brody 1976). Often, Inuit do not see any evidence that biological inquiries serve any interests but those of the biologists: during a well-documented confrontation between Inuit and biologists in

the Quebec-Labrador region, a delegate representing the Northern Quebec Inuit Association questioned the relevance of population studies,

For, example, because of your studies, the Inuit of Labrador have now very little chance or power to hunt caribou, because the biologists are in the field, frightening the herd with aircraft and getting information for their own benefit, and not for the benefit of the people.

(McGill University 1977:18)

The motive being questioned here is not only 'science for the sake of science', but the apparent use of field data solely for restricting caribou hunting by Labrador Inuit. Yet, this was an extreme case. The delegate quoted above was referring to the proposal by the Newfoundland government that, to retard the rate at which George River herd was increasing, sports hunting should be introduced instead of raising the caribou quota for Labrador Inuit (Ames 1979 personal communication). In the Inuit resource area a certain kind of conflict, or 'credibility problem' seems to arise whenever wildlife management agencies conclude that certain animal populations are declining and impose hunting restrictions designed to arrest these declines. The controversy over the Kaminuriak caribou herd contains the essential ingredients of this problem. Surveys of the herd have shown it to have been steadily declining since the mid-1970's; at the same time its annual range has been contracting as it has tended to winter on the tundra rather south of the tree-line (Simmons et al. 1979) Though biologists have not always agreed amongst themselves

over the rate and extent of changes in mainland caribou populations (Parker 1971), there is a general consensus that current mortality rates are irreversibly leading towards the effective extinction of this herd (Simmons et al. 1979).

This herd is hunted by the Keewatin coastal communities to the south of Rankin Inlet and by people from Baker Lake. The Baker Lake area has over the last few years been intensively subjected to mineral exploration and hunters from this community assert that exploration activity is driving the caribou from the region, thus producing the appearance of a decline. In 1978 a temporary injunction was obtained on mineral exploration and a programme to monitor the movements of the caribou was initiated (Darby 1978).

The controversy came before the public when a wildlife biologist, speaking to a meeting of the Canadian Society of Environmental Biologists, "appealed to southern Canadians to pressure for greatly-reduced Inuit hunting of a Northwest Territories caribou herd to prevent it being exterminated" (Edmonton Journal, Jan. 5, 1979). Later in 1979, the NWT government invoked a 1960 Order-in-Council declaring caribou to be an endangered species by introducing a closed season during the spring calving period. The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada reacted by asserting the aboriginal right of Inuit to hunt caribou. One side sees the issue as one of rights, the other as one of arithmetic. Wildlife managers propose to resolve it by reducing mortality rates and perceive a limitation on hunting and wolf control as the most effective

ways to achieve this (Tundra Times, Feb. 28, 1979): hunters do not appreciate the scientific rationale behind these decisions and see them as an infringement of their traditional rights. An NWT government study of the controversy described this "Hunter's Viewpoint":

Imbedded in the rhetoric of northern politics is a description of the Inuit and Indian as natural conservationists who are proper custodians of their own wildlife resources. According to this scenario, the southern-trained wildlife manager is an unnecessary and frequently unwanted obstacle. The wildlife manager, on the other hand, commonly sketches the northern native as the myopic, selfish cause of wildlife population declines, and he cites a number of authors as witnesses (Banfield 1954, Kelsall, 1968). This clash of viewpoints is symptomatic of the fact that our conservation ethic, founded in Europe in the 16th century, is relatively new to the barren-ground caribou hunter. In the Keewatin, exposure to the European concept of wildlife conservation has been confined to the latter half of this century. Hunters who, until recently, could not significantly influence the future of a caribou population have difficulty accepting the suggestion that suddenly they have become poor stewards of a resource with which they have been living harmoniously for many centuries. Science is not part of the Indian or Inuit tradition. (Simmons et al. 1979:17)

By 1980, the atmosphere of crisis attending the hunting of the Kaminuriak herd spread to encompass the Beverly herd, which occupies the range immediately to the west. During the winter of 1979/80, the Beverly herd migrated further southwards into Saskatchewan than usual, becoming accessible to hunters by road, and was subjected to a kill reported between 14,000 and 16,000, in contrast to an average estimated kill

between 1972 and 1975 of 2,242 - for Indians and Inuit (Calef 1977).

In response to this, the Saskatchewan Wildlife Federation, an affiliate of the Canadian Wildlife Federation (see p. 176), comments,

. . . that the Indian people of Western Canada are suggesting that they have a traditional right to hunt on a commercial basis. Wildlife Federations across the nation are demanding that these special rights must cease and that all people be governed by the same laws. (Saskatchewan Wildlife Federation Press Release, April 23, 1980).

This press release, and related press coverage, reveal how the example of over-killing is described as being characteristic of native hunting in general and most reports took the opportunity to allude to Inuit caribou hunting, of the Beverly herd, which in fact is relatively slight. Thus, "This herd must face the slaughter again at Fond du Lac, Stony Rapids and Black Lake on its return to the North West Territories, there to be met by the INUIT from the Territories" (Ibid.). Most of the press coverage precipitated by the over-hunting of the Beverly herd mentions the hunting of the Kaminuriak herd in the same context, even though both issues are significantly different in content. This lack of attention to detail is reflected in the casual deployment of statistical population data, without the qualifications usually found at source. Table 5 contains a comparison between the official journals and the available sources.

Table 5

Comparison of Actual Caribou
Census Data and Press Reports

BEVERLY CARIBOU HERD

<u>Before Figure</u>	<u>Now Figure</u>	<u>Source</u>
160,000 1974	100,000 1980	News of the North, June 20, 1980
160,000 1974	90,000 1980	News of the North, June 27, 1980
210,000 1971	100,000 1980	Globe and Mail, Aug. 4, 1980
160,000 1974	100,000 1980	Globe and Mail, Aug. 19, 1980

Official Census Estimates

159,000	1967	Thomas 1969
164,000	1971	Rippin 1971
124,000	1974 (Most recent)	Maschenko 1974

KAMINURIAK CARIBOU HERD

<u>Before Figure</u>	<u>Now Figure</u>	<u>Source</u>
200,000 N.D.	44,000 1980	News of the North, June 20, 1980
100,000 N.D.	44,000 1980	News of the North, June 20, 1980
250,000 N.D.	35,000 1980	News of the North, June 27, 1980
150,000 1955	35,000 1979	International Wildlife, July-Aug. 1980
100,000 1950	44,000 1980	Globe and Mail, Aug. 19, 1980

Official Census Estimates

120,000	1954	Banfield 1954
149,000	1955	Loughrey 1955
63,000	1972	Parker 1972
44,000	1976	Hawkins and Calef 1976
45,000	1977	Heard 1977

Coupled with the repetitive use of such terms as "wanton slaughter", the reports present a cumulative image of native hunting as wasteful and unbridled killing unrelieved by any sense of responsibility and sanctioned by out of date treaty legislation. This is the intention of the affiliated Wildlife Federations in a coordinated campaign against native hunting, also expressed in the treatment of Inuit beluga and narwhal hunting (see p. 176). In 1979, the combined Federations, at their annual conference, confronted the Minister for Northern Affairs with a "demand to end Indian wildlife rights because of alleged atrocities and abuses" (Dimensions, April/May 1979).

While tactics such as these are likely to exacerbate the conflict, the strategy devised by the NWT Wildlife Service is based in the conviction that a resolution could only be reached through a collaboration between wildlife scientists equipped to appreciate problems on a regional scale and the Hunters and Trappers associations using the resource at the local level. In pursuit of such an accommodation, the agency has embarked upon an intensive campaign in the Keewatin region to develop mechanisms for joint caribou management.

This has met with success to the point that the Inuit position has shifted from sole reliance on aboriginal rights to one of questioning the accuracy of the agency's population estimates. One community, Eskimo Point, has determined to disprove the agency's estimates by conducting its own caribou census of the Kaminuriak herd (Edmonton Journal, March 20, 1980). Inuit may object not only to the conclusions reached by

wildlife managers, but also to the kind of conservation measures that are applied once a problem is identified. Brody (1977) provides examples of the intricate hunting rules devised by the Elders of south Labradorian Inuit communities, where the people were more concentrated in settlements and more exposed to Euro-Canadian influences than those in the north of Labrador. There were places where rifles could not be used and periods of the year when the use of rifles was prohibited. These, purely conservational, regulations were integrated with complex but comprehensive rules for sharing the quarry resulting from combined hunts. Both these sets of rules were devised to anticipate conflicts perceived to be imminent as Inuit became more concentrated within settlements and less mobile. Such rules did not apply in the northern and more isolated communities of Labrador, but hunters from there were obliged to observe the rules when they moved to southern settlements.

Not only is there a feeling amongst Inuit that they are being deprived of opportunities to solve conservation problems in their own way, but there is also exasperation at their knowledge of natural systems being discounted in devising the solutions that are presented to them. Brody (1975) refers to the extraordinarily detailed vocabulary developed by Inuit for describing the natural world; a vocabulary that is not simply instrumental, pertaining to hunting, but esoteric and unconfined, reflecting a curiosity about things as extensive as that expressed in the practice of western science.

Freeman (1978) compares processes of data acquisition and handling between Inuit and "formal" scientists,

The ultimate inductive handling of the data may not be very different in the case of the formal scientist and the folk scientist, and often the largest difference between the two is that the folk scientist controls a larger data base in respect to two important characteristics: firstly a long time series of observations, and secondly, data sets of a wide-ranging and supplementary nature that somehow have bearing on the outcome that is to be predicted.
(Freeman 1978:3)

A caribou calving ground survey planned for 1980 along the north Foxe Basin coast of Baffin Island illustrates how the knowledge and techniques of Inuit hunters and wildlife managers may be applied to their mutual benefit. Hunters have compared their accounts of a gradual northward drift of caribou over the last thirty years. They have also described how these caribou do not return to a traditional calving ground each spring but tend to calve at certain altitudes on the slopes bordering the many inlets along this coast. In consequence, the aerial survey has been designed to search only those altitudinal zones which potentially may be used for calving, rather than spending considerably more time on a grid search of the whole region - the more conventional method for such surveys (Allen, 1980 personal communication).

A second source of conflict between Inuit hunters and conservation agencies and organizations arises not so much over the number of animals that may be killed but over allegations of wasteful hunting practices. There are two senses in

which such waste may occur: first, high lost-to-killed ratios may attend the hunting technique, and second, carcasses may be only partially used.

The higher lost-to-killed ratios are encountered in the case of sea mammals. The highest rates are associated with dependence upon rifles rather than traditional methods such as harpoons and lances or modern methods employing nets (Smith and Taylor 1977). Delegates to the International Whaling Conferences have drawn attention to the fact that in Greenland, where a hunter is required to harpoon a narwhal or beluga before shooting it, the harvests are substantially more efficient than in Canada, where there is no such legal stipulation (IWC 1978).

Land (1976) describes the effect of rapidly increasing ivory prices on the hunting of walrus and narwhal. He cites several cases where a hunter has taken a number of animals but has only a small amount of meat in addition to the ivory. He notes the logistical problems entailed in moving large quantities of meat back to settlements and the lack of incentive for taking back more than is required to meet local domestic needs. This issue was raised by a delegate to the 1973 NWT Hunters and Trappers Conference at Pond Inlet. He pointed out that hunters did not possess large enough boats to bring meat back and there was not enough freezer space in the settlement to accommodate it (ITC 1974b).

Land (1976) proposes that one response to the problem should be the expansion of intersettlement trade in country

foods (see p. 40). It is interesting to see that whereas Land sees this as a means of contributing to the resolution of the issue of under-utilization, the Canadian Wildlife Federation implies that "inter-community trade", (see p. 42 signifies that hunting should no longer be considered legitimate!

I suggested above that the efforts of some conservation organizations to have Inuit hunting either stopped altogether, or limited to the use of pre-contact techniques, place officials whose job it is to manage animal populations for Inuit hunting in something of a defensive role with respect to Inuit land use. They find themselves acting as intermediaries relaying the significance of events taking place outside the Inuit resource area. Thus, at the 1978 London Conference of the International Whaling Commission, a representative of the, Greenpeace conservation group said in an interview that "It is clear that the Canadian Eskimos are vastly overhunting belugas and narwhals in two major areas - Cumberland Sound and the Quebec coast of Hudson Bay and Hudson Strait" (CP London 553 09-07).

Apart from the fact that this statement is only slightly accurate (see p. 55) the difference in interpretations, and consequent recommendations for action, of more or less the same data strongly suggests that it is in the Inuit interest to collaborate with wildlife management agencies to the extent that they will support the principle of exclusive Inuit use against competing claims.

But, as Simmons et al. (1979:5-69) suggest, the "rhetoric of northern politics" is not presently disposed to accept such accommodations. To accept the principles of wildlife management appears to be too much like compromising the traditional principles regulating Inuit land use. In the concluding Chapter, I shall compare the efficacy of such an accommodation with a strategy of attempting to perpetuate Inuit hunting by the enshrinement of Inuit hunting rights in law.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

In the introductory chapters, two questions were raised. Is conflict between Inuit and conservations interests inevitable? Where it occurs, what courses of action would be most effective for Inuit in defending their interests? In response to these, the following three conclusions are drawn and will be discussed further below:

(1) That conflict may be invariable but is not inevitable.

It is practically inevitable when characteristic forms of conservational land use accompany the introduction of conservation measures and precipitate political conflict. It is avoidable when a conservational problem is ecological.

(2) It is in the Inuit interest to adopt, or adapt, the principles informing wildlife management practice in dealing with ecological conservation problems. It is against the Inuit interest to insist upon the exercise of hunting rights in such contexts, as this has the effect of politicising the problems and preventing their resolution in ecological terms.

(3) Conflict which is inevitable, and which results from the introduction of conflicting resource uses, can only be dealt with arbitrarily and therefore, the most effective defense of the Inuit interest is achieved by Inuit assuming political responsibility for wildlife management.

In this concluding chapter, I shall deal first with the question of the 'inevitability' of conflict between Inuit and conservation interests and then with courses of action open to Inuit in defending their interests.

The range of adaptive problems currently confronting Inuit were discussed in Chapter 2. These were dealt with as problems deriving directly from the practice of hunting throughout the Inuit resource area and resulting from changes in the demographic, technical, and economic conditions that affect such practices. The approaches adopted by Inuit in dealing with these problems suggest that the cultural significance of hunting is considerably more important than the economic significance, to the extent that the majority of hunters spend substantially larger sums of money on equipping themselves for hunting than they could possibly hope to retrieve by selling the proceeds. This contrasts with the views of those non-Inuit who insist on applying economic criteria in their assessments of Inuit resource use and who thereby ignore, and sometimes expressly repudiate, the cultural importance of hunting. It is clear that the changes that Inuit voluntarily embark upon in their hunting practice are adopted with a view to ensuring the continuity of this cultural significance.

Some of the adaptive problems facing Inuit hunters are primarily social and economic in content and can only be resolved within Inuit society; others are amenable to resolution by the application of conservation measures - whether such

remedial measures are a derivation from traditional Inuit practice, or are the product of wildlife management principles. In this sense, the conservation measures that presently apply to Inuit hunting can be characterized in terms of whether they contribute to the resolution of these intrinsic problems or whether they serve some ulterior purpose.

For example, conservation measures that are designed to balance hunting pressure with sustainable yields may contribute to the resolution of such intrinsic problems. By contrast, conservation measures which impose standards for what is acceptable 'domestic' or 'traditional' usage, and which do not refer to the arithmetic of conservation, are impertinent to the most immediate problems confronting Inuit, and beg the question of which interests they in fact serve.

This question may be extended to address those conservation measures that are introduced in the NWT and are not obviously concerned with the regulation of Inuit resource usage. One may ask; if they do not refer directly to Inuit hunting, do they provide some form of environmental protection from the impact of industrial development and therefore afford indirect benefit to Inuit? If they do not, then they can be presumed to represent some other interest related to conservation.

These other conservation interests were examined in Chapter 4. It was shown that the objective of the wilderness preservation and recreation interest, the sports hunting interest and the animal welfare movement can only be attained

at the expense of Inuit resource use; they are, from the Inuit perspective, gratuitous. Their effects are various, ranging from complete prohibitions on hunting to reduced access to hunting grounds or the circumscription of hunting practices; but they are all to some degree appropriative and just as these interests have not managed to develop any form of acceptable compensation for these effects so they must, in the end, be obliged to rely upon persuasion, coercion or some form of unilateral action in advancing their claims upon Inuit resources.

In Chapter 4, consideration was also given to what was termed the scientific conservation interest where the effort to protect natural conditions was not necessarily accompanied by any pre-conceptions about forms of usage compatible with protection. In this sense scientific conservation is politically neutral.

The practice of wildlife management ostensibly belongs to the scientific conservation interest. However, it was shown, in Chapter 5, that in the history of the NWT this political neutrality has been practically impossible to sustain and the government agencies responsible for wildlife management are now ineluctably immersed in political controversies such as those surrounding the hunting of the Kaminuriak and Beverly Lake caribou herds.

It is ironical that both these issues, though the subject of heated debate in Inuit communities throughout the NWT and even in the House of Commons, are in fact examples of the intrinsic ecological problems confronting Inuit and

as such have practically no political content.

The political content is injected from two sources. Conservation organisations, as shown in Chapter 5, may make political capital by converting ecological problems to political issues. This politicisation enables them to affect the outcome. Second, Inuit themselves may politicise the issue by insisting on their aboriginal right to hunt without any form of restriction. Thus, by resorting to a defense based upon aboriginal hunting rights, Inuit may prejudice their own case by increasing the likelihood of an arbitrary outcome.

I have suggested that in the case of purely political conflicts precipitated by the introduction of competing resource uses, such arbitration is unavoidable. In such situations, I suggested that Inuit have three courses of action in defending their interest. One, they may take judicial action by asserting aboriginal rights. Two, they may accept offers of accommodation and attempt to continue their hunting within the prescribed limits. Three, they may attempt to assume political control of conservation in the Inuit resource area. The second course of action is dealt with first.

The discussion in Chapter 5 demonstrated that the intent to accommodate Inuit resource use is generally conditional upon that usage conforming to received ideas about the techniques of hunting, traditional, and the disposal of the quarry, subsistence. Though those Inuit families living in the remoter outpost camps may qualify under such accommodations,

it is likely that the majority of Inuit hunters would be disqualified, mainly on grounds of their practices. Moreover, as shown in Chapter 2, Inuit resource use is undergoing significant changes at present and prescriptions laid down now about what is acceptable might foreclose certain adaptive routes. Upon the evidence examined in Chapter 5, it would seem that this course of action is the least attractive of the three proposed.

The historical review of aboriginal hunting rights presented in Chapter 3 suggested that they were a relatively weak means of defending aboriginal interests in hunting resources. They are sensitive to pressure from conservation interests and liable to ambiguous interpretation in the courts. It is not entirely cynical to conclude that hunting rights are the consolation prize in the contest between the colonial and the aboriginal societies. Indeed, in the last resort, native peoples lack the power to enforce such rights and they are dependent for this upon judicial and public opinion in the dominant society.

It is certainly arguable that aboriginal hunting rights were the creatures of the treaties for before these were negotiated aboriginal usage was self-evident and not in need of the kind of support offered by the possession of 'rights'. It was shown in Chapter 5 that such rights became gradually redefined as 'privileges' as the dominant society underwent a re-evaluation of the resources which had formerly been regarded as marginal. The sequence of events examined in Chapter 5

suggests that a further redefinition is taking place whereby hunting is becoming no longer the subject of privilege, but is becoming a 'commodity', in the less commercial sense of 'amenity'. Amenity conveys a sense of public ownership or right of access - as Parks Canada (1979) puts it, "the public right to enjoy". This progression has hardly been in the Inuit interest; it suggests that the most favourable situation would be a reversion to the period when Inuit hunting was regarded as the self-evident form of resource use.

However, while Inuit have been affected by these changing perceptions of their resources and their hunting of these resources which has taken place since the period of treaty negotiations discussed in Chapter 2, they have not yet formally surrendered their rights. They are thus in a position, in the current round of land claim negotiations to either proceed to a settlement which enshrines their rights, or one which extinguishes their rights in favour of establishing Inuit control over the practice of conservation.

In the final analysis the choice rests between enshrinement of rights and assumption of political control; the two are mutually exclusive and cannot both be exercised. For Inuit to obtain political control from the agencies presently exercising it, the basic principles of wildlife management would have to be accepted (it was suggested above that such an acceptance was also in the Inuit interest in resolving their ecological resource use problems). Such an acceptance would probably entail the modification of the hunting rights

from 'unrestricted access to the resource' to exclusive access of what is determined to be the sustainable yield. Such a modification would endow Inuit usage with prior usage over other interests.

Political control would provide Inuit with discretionary power over the kinds of appropriative uses which, in Chapter 4, were shown to be associated with divisions of the collective conservation interest. It would equip Inuit to distinguish between those interests which are supportive of Inuit hunting and those which are appropriative and to act accordingly in defending their interests. Finally, it would have the opposite effect to the politicising of ecological conservation problems noted above: it would tend to convert political issues to ecological problems.

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APPENDIX I

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Library of Parliament, Ottawa, Ontario.

National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.

Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.
Division of Economics and Social Research, Files
Parks Canada, Files

Canadian Wildlife Service, Ottawa, Files.

Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, Ottawa, Files.

Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, Ottawa, Files.

Baffin Regional Inuit Association, Frobisher Bay, Files.

NWT Council, Yellowknife, Files.

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APPENDIX II

Hunting Practices, Usage, and
Regulatory Status of Major Animal
Populations Hunted by Inuit

This appendix serves as a reference base on Inuit hunting practices, primarily for the discussion contained in Chapter 2. Details are provided of the changes that have occurred in these practices both as a result of the acquisition of equipment such as firearms and motorized transport and as a result of involvement in external trading economy based upon trapping.

Also included are details on the regulatory status of the species listed. This is intended to convey an impression of the official wildlife management view of the vigour of animal populations with respect to Inuit hunting.

The animals listed in the appendix are selected for their importance both to Inuit hunting and as species receiving special attention from conservation interests. Since, for wildfowl and fish, there is a general similarity of hunting practice and method of disposal, these are treated as two groups without specific differentiation. In total, thirteen species and species groups are listed:

Caribou (Rangifer tarandus)
Musk ox (Ovibus moschatus)
Polar Bear (Ursus maritimus)
Wolf (Canis lupus)
Arctic Fox (Lagopus arcticus)
Ringed Seal (Phoca hispida)

Bearded Seal (Erignathus barbatus)
Walrus (Odibenus rosmarinus)
Narwhal (Monodon monoceros)
Beluga (Delphinapterus leucus)
Bowhead (Balaena mysticetus)
Wildfowl
Fish

Caribou

Two races are hunted by Inuit in the Northwest Territories, barrens caribou and Peary caribou. Peary caribou are concentrated in the higher Arctic islands and related to the barrens caribou concentrations on the mainland through a series of intergrades inhabiting the intervening islands (Manning 1960). While Peary caribou is the less densely distributed and has less clearly defined migratory patterns (Miller et al. 1977), the barrens caribou frequently engages in regular and extensive migrations between winter ranges in the boreal forest, where it may be hunted by Indians, and summer ranges on the tundra (Kelsall 1968). Some populations of barrens caribou may remain on the tundra throughout the year, notably the Melville Peninsula and Baffin Island populations. Inuit hunt all five of the major migratory populations using the Canadian tundra: the Porcupine, Bluenose, Bathurst, Beverly and Kaminuriak herds (Calef 1977).

Hunting Practices

Before acquiring firearms, Inuit would hunt caribou either by stalking and shooting them with arrows, an individual and comparatively unproductive method, or by spearing migrating herds at river crossings, a community activity (Balikci 1964). In the Keewatin, Inuit would trap caribou in trenches cut into snowdrifts (Welland 1976). Caribou hunting has become considerably more efficient with the acquisition of firearms both by increasing the ease and range at which they can be killed

and by lengthening the period during which they can be hunted.

Usage

Present use is confined to the meat and domestic use of skins. On this study, I encountered evidence of interest in exporting freshly frozen caribou antlers to certain countries in the orient where they are used in aphrodisiacs. This trade has become established with reindeer (the antlers are similar) and yields considerably more income than the sale of the meat.

Though the sale of caribou meat is generally forbidden, there have been a few recent examples of market hunting under permit. In 1972-73, 200 caribou were taken from Paulatuk and sold through a government operated outlet in Inuvik (Bissett 1974). Over the last two years a 'country food store' has been set up in Frobisher Bay by the NWT Wildlife Service. This store receives caribou from Igloolik and Hall Beach. The supply is controlled by the allocation of 'commercial quotas' by the Wildlife Service: these are felt to be the amount that a local caribou population can sustain in addition to local domestic use - which is not subject to quotas. The commercial quotas for Igloolik and Hall Beach are 100 each: two other Eastern Arctic Communities, Baker Lake and Repulse Bay, have been allocated identical quotas, but neither community makes significant use of all these locations.

Official Status

Though caribou are hunted widely, and in certain areas commercial usage is permitted, the species was twenty years

ago declared to be "in danger of extinction" by a federal order-in-council (P.C. 1960-1256). This order-in-council was not actually invoked until 1979, when the NWT Wildlife Service used it to restrict Inuit hunting of the Kaminuniak herd, which recent censuses have shown to be declining. This herd is hunted from four Keewatin communities, and wildlife officials have expressed the view that increasing intensity of Inuit hunting over the last decade or so is the primary factor contributing to the decline of this herd.

One response to this evidence of decline has been to restrict hunting during the spring calving period. Another, advocated by Inuit members of the NWT Legislative Assembly, has been to introduce wolf bounties as part of a predator control programme. In expectation of increasing pressure on this herd in the future, the NWT Wildlife Service is contemplating the development of an intensive harvesting scheme for the Coats Island caribou population (Gates 1980).

Coats Island, in northern Hudson Bay, contains an indigenous caribou population which is entirely hunted from Coral Harbour, approximately 100 miles away on Southampton Island. This herd is the only caribou population in the NWT which has a total hunting quota attached to it, whether disposed of domestically or commercially. This quota presently stands at 300, though the average harvest from 1970 to 1976 was only 105 (Ibid.).

Records of this population, maintained since 1965, show that numbers have on two occasions declined sharply over one

winter period. The conclusion has been that these declines are due to weather and ice conditions rather than an absolute shortage of forage. Despite this, recent surveys of the caribou and their forage have indicated that the population may imminently exceed the carrying capacity of the range (Ibid.). The proposed scheme envisions an immediate harvest of 900 animals, about 65% of which would be males over 2 years of age. As more detailed information on population structure became available in subsequent years, the corresponding structure of the harvests could be adjusted with increasing sophistication to maximize the yield from this population.

Such an approach marks a significant departure from the simple allocation of quotas. In discussions of this scheme, wildlife officials remarked that its success could stimulate the introduction of similar intensive management schemes, perhaps in Southampton Island itself or in Melville Peninsula, where caribou have increased considerably in recent years (Calef (1977)).

It has been suggested that 300 animals, of the total harvest of 900, be reserved for the residents of Coral Harbour, while the rest might be traded to those communities in the Keewatin likely to obtain less caribou as a result of the decline of the Kaminuriak herd or the hunting restrictions which have been proposed in response to that decline. Coats Island caribou weight twice as much (200 lbs carcasse) as mainland caribou (Gates 1980) and at 600, the total weight would be 120,000 lbs., 31% of the total weight of the average harvest of the Kaminuriak herd taken by Inuit (Calef 1977).

A caribou management project on this scale is without precedent in the NWT and is significant in two respects. First, it embodies the proposition that surpluses may be traded to regions of shortage. Second, that a wild herd should be managed in conditions approaching husbandry.

Musk Oxen

This species does not migrate to the extent that caribou does. The total Canadian population is distributed in relatively discrete ranges occupied by small herds drifting seasonally over an area which will encompass both summer and winter habitats in close proximity (Tener 1965).

Hunting Practices

Before firearms became available, one of the more effective hunting techniques employed dogs to aggravate a closely packed herd until musk oxen would detach themselves in order to pursue hunters, who would then use lances (Balikci 1964). Not only did this technique enable the hunter to reach close quarters with individual musk oxen but it circumvented the problems posed by the habit of surviving musk oxen of remaining beside those killed, a habit which could necessitate the killing of the entire group (Wilkinson 1974).

Usage

Wilkinson (1974) concluded that by and large, Inuit have not depended upon this species as much as upon seal or caribou. This, he attributes to its generally low density. The only

areas where musk oxen have provided a significant addition to the hunting economy are where caribou are deficient, notably Grise Fiord.

The hide is less useful for clothing and sled pellets than caribou hide and it is only recently that alternative uses have emerged which make musk oxen an economically more attractive species. A complete, mounted musk ox hide fetches a considerable sum in the tourist and luxury markets. Quiviut, the winter undercoat of extremely fine wool, has a high value as a basis for wool. In Grise Fiord, techniques have been developed for combing quiviut from hides in quantities large enough to realize up to \$400 from a hide, close to what a hunter might expect from selling a musk ox for meat (Bergman 1979 personal communication). The collection of quiviut is the objective of an ongoing project to domesticate this species, at Fort Chimo, Quebec. Though domestication has proved to be a practicable objective and the consequent collection of quiviut a viable enterprise, this pilot project has still to overcome certain managerial and marketing problems (Bellaar Spruyt 1979 personal communication).

In the late 1960's, the NWT Wildlife Service investigated the prospects for the sports hunting of musk oxen. The controversy surrounding this proposal will be discussed in more detail in the context of Chapter 5.

Official Status

The musk ox population on the Canadian mainland was given complete protection in 1917; that in the Arctic islands

was given similar protection in 1926. This prohibition was imposed after half a century of intensive exploitation of musk ox populations, on the mainland to provide for the trade in hides, in the islands to provide for the support of exploration parties (Tener 1965).

Recent surveys have shown substantial recovery of musk ox populations, in some cases strong enough to recommend harvest quotas. A total quota of 252 has now been allocated among 11 Inuit settlements, with Sachs Harbour receiving 150 and the remainder between 3 and 24. Quotas may be used domestically or commercially.

Polar Bear

The distribution of polar bears is related to that of ringed seal, their major prey. In winter, bears may be found throughout the sea-ice areas of the Arctic: the males may be occupied with hunting, the females with denning - with dens concentrated in several core denning areas throughout the region. In spring and early summer, the bears are gathered first on the fast ice near the floe edge, later on the floating pack. After the pack has melted, bears may be found along the coasts and occasionally some distance inland (Stirling and Smith 1975).

Hunting Practices

Before the acquisition of firearms, bear hunts would frequently be initiated when bears came close to winter sealing villages. The hunter would chase the bear with dogs, which

would harry it until the hunter was able to use his lance. Brice-Bennett (1976) points out that, during that period, hunting generally could only support two or three dogs per hunter. With firearms, hunting became more productive, larger dog teams could be maintained and polar bears pursued further. Nowadays, most polar bear hunting is done with motor toboggans, though Inuit operating sports hunting are obliged to use dog teams.

Usage

Polar bear hides command a high, though variable price on the luxury fur market. In the late 1960's the NWT Wildlife Service investigated the prospects for the organized sports hunting of polar bear, and a limited programme was initiated. This programme has since been the focus of a considerable amount of controversy, which will be discussed more fully in the context of Chapter 5.

Official Status

At present, the NWT polar bear harvest is controlled by a quota and tag system with only Inuit allowed to receive tags. The quota system was introduced in 1967 after export permit records for polar bear hides had shown an increase during the previous decade from 400 to 600 hides traded. This increase was attributed to a rising demand for hides coupled with increasing use of motor toboggans (Miller 1978). The quota when introduced was 400; it has since steadily increased to the present level of 573 bears.

Wolf

The distribution of wolves is linked to that of their principle prey species. In much of the Canadian tundra region, this is caribou, but in some areas musk oxen or Arctic hare may be important.

Hunting Practices

Long-range rifles have made wolves increasingly accessible to hunters. Most wolf hunting takes place in winter, incidental to caribou hunting (Brody 1976a).

Usage

Wolf is regarded as a furbearer, with its value determined largely in external markets. During the spring of 1979, this value was extraordinarily high, as much as \$300 a pelt and several instances were recorded in the field of hunters going out specifically on wolf hunts.

Official Status

There are no restrictions on Inuit hunting wolves. Recently, wolf control has been proposed as a conservation measure designed to arrest the decline of the Kaminuriak caribou herd. At the February, 1980, session of the NWT Council, Inuit members representing the communities which customarily use this herd called for the introduction of a wolf bounty in the NWT.

Arctic Fox

This species is ubiquitous throughout the Inuit resource area, both on the land and on the sea-ice. Its diet is

catholic, including small mammals, birds and their eggs in summer, the remains of polar bear and wolf kills in winter, and ringed seal pups in their whelping dens in the spring (Stirling and Smith 1975). Its abundance varies according to cycles associated with lemming and snowy owl populations (Macpherson 1969).

Hunting Practices

Before contact, foxes were not a major quarry of Inuit, though they may occasionally have been caught in stone or ice traps (Farquharson 1976). During the trading era, fox-trapping became the principal source of cash income (Usher 1971). During the inter-war period, when fox-trapping was most intensive and widespread, the most successful trappers maintained large dog-teams and in consequence were obliged to provide large quantities of dog food.

Usage

Arctic fox pelts are disposed of through the traditional trading outlets in the Inuit communities.

Official Status

Even in areas where fox-trapping is consistently most intensive, for example Banks Island (Usher 1971), fox populations have maintained themselves. There are no restrictions placed upon the level of the harvests.

Ringed Seal

This ubiquitous species is a year round resident of the

Inuit resource area. For most of the year, its habitat is the land fast ice and those deeply indented coastlines with a greater variety and persistence of fast ice habitats provide for the densest concentrations of ringed seal. After break-up, the seals remain on the floating pack as long as that lasts, and subsequently take to the open water (Smith 1973). From year to year, the distribution of seals is closely related to annual changes in ice conditions (Stirling and Smith 1975).

Hunting Practices

In many areas, ringed seal is the mainstay of Inuit hunting - particularly in the Baffin region (Wong 1979). Though in the past ringed seal hunting was largely confined to the winter and early spring, it nowadays takes place throughout the year.

Before the use of firearms, seal were primarily hunted at the breathing holes they maintained in the fast ice. This practice was most efficient when undertaken as a concerted effort by a number of hunters simultaneously watching a group of proximate holes. It was associated with winter villages on the sea-ice; usually the largest gathering of the Inuit yearly cycle (Graeburn 1969). This practice required great patience during periods of extreme cold and, at Holman Island at least, was not considered to be very productive (Smith 1973).

In the spring, basking seals would be stalked on the ice surface. For this form of hunting, rifles are considered to be more efficient than the harpoons formerly used (Brice-Bennett 1976). More productive than either of these two

methods is the hunting of seals along the floe edge. Small wooden boats are taken to the edge on sleds and are used to retrieve the seals. As the edge breaks up further, seals may be hunted on the floating pans; at this season, hunting success is closely related to off-shore ice conditions (Kemp 1976)..

"Once the ice has dispersed, ringed seals are hunted from motor canoes in the open water. Hunters must shoot from close range so as to retrieve the seals before they sink. Loss through sinkage is highest in July but begins to decline in early August as the seals begin to accumulate fat reserves (Smith 1973).

The adoption of firearms and motor boats has facilitated the extension of the seal-hunting season throughout the year and over a wider variety of habitats than was permitted by previous techniques.

Usage

Since the early 1950's, the sale of ringed seal pelts has come to provide an increasingly important proportion of hunters' incomes, particularly in the Baffin region (Mansfield 1978). Prices for pelts fluctuate considerably, partly in response to trends in clothing fashions, partly as a result of campaigns to end the spring hunt of harp seal pups off the Newfoundland coast (Wenzel 1978). Besides bringing hardship to seal hunters, such fluctuations affect harvest levels and complicate the process of seal management (Jelliss 1978).

Official Status

Surveys of ringed seal populations and Inuit hunting have

indicated that harvests everywhere are below sustainable yields, though there are some reservations expressed over the catch in certain south Baffin Island localities (Smith 1973).

Bearded Seal

The overall distribution of this species is thought to correspond to that of the ringed seal (Mansfield 1967), though there may be local differences which are crucial for hunting. Where ringed seal occupy the fast ice which is closer to the shore, bearded seal may be found closer to the floe edge or may prefer floating pack ice (Davis et al. 1980). Though about as ubiquitous as the ringed seal, this species is far less numerous.

Hunting Practices

Bearded seal may be taken at the floe edge, where they may maintain breathing holes, on floating pack, or in the open water. The techniques vary amongst Inuit communities. At Repulse Bay they are usually taken while basking on the sea-ice, at Peilly Bay while basking or at breathing holes (Brice-Bennett 1976). At Broughton Island, they are less available during the basking season and are taken during the summer in open water or in winter at the floe edge; at Cape Dorset they may be taken from polynias in winter (Kemp 1976). At Resolute Bay, they are taken at the breathing holes maintained in the thin ice which forms across cracks in the fast ice (Riewe 1976). Encounters with this species tend to be incidental (Brody 1976a) and this variety in technique may be taken to

reflect this, as well as regional differences in ice conditions.

Usage

As a rule, this species is not traded but is retained for domestic use. The hide is used for making the soles of waterproof boots, harpoon lines and dog team traces (Freeman 1969/79).

Official Status

The bearded seal harvest is not subject to quotas, though fisheries management officials have expressed concern over the hunting loss that may occur through sinkage. This loss is higher than that for the ringed seal as bearded seals are less buoyant (Smith and Taylor 1977).

Walrus

In winter, walrus are found on the floating pack ice and occasionally at the floe edge. During the open water period, large concentrations are hauled out at traditional coastal sites. The major walrus populations are found in the eastern Arctic, with major concentrations in northern Foxe Basin, southern Baffin Island and around Southampton Island (Mansfield 1958).

Hunting Practices

As walrus sink almost immediately upon being killed, hunting techniques must employ a means of rapid retrieval. In northern Foxe Basin, hunters will go out with dog teams when the pack ice drifts close to the floe edge. The walrus are

taken on the floating pans or in the leads between them (Brody 1976a). Hunters from Southampton Island take canoes to the floe edge and shoot and harpoon walrus from them (Freeman 1974/75). Summer hunts are conducted from peterhead boats and whaleboats. In deep water, the walrus are wounded with rifle fire and then harpooned. Wherever possible, they are herded to shallows with small calibre rifle fire where they are killed with heavy rifle fire and retrieved with boat hooks or drag hooks (Freeman 1969/70 and 1974/75).

Usage

Early in the twentieth century, a period of intensive commercial exploitation of walrus followed upon the decline of bowhead whale stocks (Mansfield 1973). With the later intensification of fox-trapping, the demand for walrus meat as dogfood increased and until quite recently the expectation of a good trapping season would lead to an increased walrus harvest (Kemp 1976). With the increasing use of motor toboggans, such a usage has declined, but recent increases in the value of ivory have led again to a commensurate intensification of walrus hunting. The ivory may be sold to other Inuit communities for carving rather than being exported in the raw state. In 1979 the Co-op at Pond Inlet paid up to \$200 for a pair of tusks from Igloolik (author), representing a 50% increase over prices obtained in 1977 (Davis et al. 1980).

Official Status

The commercial hunting of walrus was banned in 1928



(Mansfield 1975). Walrus Protection Regulations, issued in 1959. (P.C. 1959-807), pursuant to the Fisheries Act, limited the harvest to seven walrus per hunter to be used only as "food for himself, his family or his dogs". A new set of such regulations are now in draft. The individual quota has been reduced to four per hunter, with four settlements accepting total quotas, regardless of the number of walrus hunters living there (Draft Walrus Protection Regulations, Fisheries and Marine Service).

Narwhal

This species is concentrated in eastern Arctic waters. There, the major wintering grounds appear to be in Davis Strait (Davis et al. 1980). From these waters, a smaller group migrates through Hudson Strait, and may reach as far as Repulse Bay, while a far larger concentration moves through Lancaster Sound and spends the open water season in the waters to the south of Bylot Island and Admiralty Inlet (Mansfield et al. 1975).

Hunting Practices

The major narwhal hunting communities are Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay in north Baffin Island. In this region, the hunters make use of motor canoes to hunt narwhal along the cracks which develop in the retreating ice front and amongst the pans floating off the floe edge (Brody 1976a). They may also be hunted in winter where they have been trapped in confined open water areas by fresh sea-ice, or at the floe edge (Kemp 1976).

Usage

The skin is eaten as muktuk. Usage of the meat has declined with the decrease in dog teams. Recently the value of the tusks carried by male narwhal has increased appreciably. The ivory is less suitable for carving than walrus ivory and the configuration of the tusks is their major attraction. Davis et al. (1980) report that tusks may fetch up to \$450 apiece.

Official Status

The narwhal harvest is completely governed by quotas. The total allowable harvest is 472, divided amongst 18 settlements, of which two, Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, are each allocated 100 narwhal. The quota for the remaining communities varies between 10 and 50 (Narwhal Protection Regulations 1979).

Beluga

In spring, the Arctic archipelago is penetrated from the east and from the west by discrete beluga populations, which move inwards with the retreating ice front. The western population migrates as far as the Beaufort Sea where it concentrates in large numbers in the waters of the Mackenzie River Delta (Sergeant and Hoek 1974). In the east, one group moves through Lancaster Sound, another through Hudson Strait (Sergeant and Brodie 1975). Another appears to winter within Hudson Bay (Sergeant 1973). During the summer months, beluga gather in dense concentrations in coastal shallows and estuaries.

Hunting Practices

Most beluga are hunted in summer, though they may be taken at the floe edge in winter when this is accessible (Kemp 1976). During the summer, beluga are most accessible when gathered in shallows; there, they may be shot or harpooned and retrieved with drag hooks. A more efficient but less popular practice is netting. During the 1960's a Beluga fishery based on netting was successfully operated from Whale Cove (Smith and Taylor 1977).

Usage

Around the turn of the century, European whalers turned their attention to beluga as the stocks of bowhead whales declined, but most of these operations were shortlived (Graburn 1969, Davis et al. 1980). A fishery was established at Churchill in 1947 and the catch between 1950 and 1960 averaged 450 per annum (Sergeant 1968). Oil was extracted from the beluga and the carcasses shipped to mink farms in the Prairie Provinces.

For a period, the meat and muktuk from the beluga taken in the Whale Cove netting operation were canned at a fish plant in Rankin Inlet and distributed to other settlements, but this did not prove to be an economic enterprise. In 1970, this operation was halted upon the discovery of high mercury levels in beluga meat (Smith and Armstrong (1975, 1977)). However, it has subsequently been established that mercury in the form discovered is not likely to produce the effects associated

with mercury poisoning (Eaton 1979).

Official Status

With one exception, fisheries' officials do not feel that beluga populations are being harvested in levels exceeding sustainable yields (Sergeant 1978, personal communication). Exception is the population using Cumberland Sound in the summer months, which has been traditionally hunted from Pangnirtung. This same population provided whales for a commercial fishery operated in Pangnirtung by the Hudson Bay Company until the mid-1950's. Following its closure, local harvests fell until the development of local and then inter-settlement trade in muktuk. The success of this trade led to an increase of harvest levels to an estimated 22% of the local population, considerably higher than the sustainable yield. A local quota approximating 5% of the population is now in effect.

Bowhead Whale

Similarly to the narwhal and beluga, two stocks of bowhead migrate into the Arctic archipelago from wintering grounds in the north Pacific and north Atlantic oceans (Sergeant and Hoek 1974). In addition a small population may winter in Hudson Bay (Ross 1974). While the western population moves along fairly regular and well-defined paths, the migratory routes of the eastern populations are less conspicuous and less is known of their summer movements.

Hunting Practices

Ross (1975) records that Inuit whaling took place before the arrival of European whalers. The technique employed harpoons and floats, used from kayaks. With the onset of European whaling, Inuit were taken on as crewmen and later rewarded for their services with whaleboats. With these, they operated as contractors, supplying whales to the ships. Inuit whaling declined with the decline in the bowhead population and in demand from the whalers. Though the bowhead population has since recovered to a certain extent (Mansfield 1971), there has not been a corresponding resumption in Inuit whaling - though there are occasional reports of kills in the eastern waters (Brice-Bennett 1976, Brody 1976a).

Usage

Though amongst Alaskan Inuit, bowhead whaling assumes great social and economic importance (Worl 1978), there is no comparable tradition amongst Inuit in Canada. An exception may be the Inuit of Alaskan descent who now reside in Canada. In 1980 hunters from the community of Aklavik in the Mackenzie Delta applied for a permit to hunt three bowhead whales in the forthcoming summer (author).

Official Status

Bowhead whales are regarded internationally as an endangered species. In Canada, they may only be hunted under permit. In recent years there have been no applications until the, above, request from Aklavik.

Wildfowl

With the exception of ptarmigan, the species regularly hunted by Inuit are migratory. The most important species are snow geese and Canada geese, with eider ducks, oldsquaw and other waterfowl such as loons of lesser importance. In some areas, seabirds are taken, the most significant being murre and to a lesser extent fulmars and guillemots. Both the birds and their eggs may be taken.

Hunting Practices

A traditional family affair is the spring goose hunt, taking place shortly after the arrival of the flocks. During the same period, eider ducks may be hunted at the flow edge. Not all wildfowl are hunted in the spring; moulting geese may be taken in the late summer (Farquharson 1976) and ptarmigan may be taken throughout the year.

Usage

The meat and eggs of birds are consumed domestically. Tuck (1961) points out that, before the acquisition of firearms, Inuit were considerably more dependent upon murre, which, together with their eggs, could be gathered with relative ease.

Official Status

Under the Migratory Birds Convention Act (1917) a closed season applies in the NWT which should effectively prohibit the spring and summer hunting of migratory birds. However, in many localities, this hunting has continued on the

understanding that a limited number be taken for domestic use only (Allison 1977). None of the species regularly hunted by Inuit is regarded as being in danger of extinction.

Fish

Of the species listed in Table 1, three are of major importance to Inuit: Arctic char, lake trout and whitefish. Arctic char may occur as discrete population in landlocked lakes, or they may undertake migrations between sea and freshwater habitats. Lake trout and whitefish are confined to lake and river systems.

Hunting Practices

Until gill nets became widely available, Arctic char would be taken while running, either in tidal pools or specially built weirs, where they would be speared with leisters. All three species would also be caught by jigging through the fall ice. Though both these practices continue to a limited extent, the most productive technique nowadays is the use of nets, either during the spring or fall sea-runs for char, or set under the winter ice for all species.

Usage

Amongst Inuit, the preference is for Arctic char, with lake trout and whitefish consumed only in those areas without access to this species, for example Baker Lake. There have been several attempts to develop large-scale commercial char fisheries. The fishery at Cambridge Bay is a marginal success

while those at Frobisher Bay, Netsilling Lake and Rankin Inlet have either failed or have yet to prove their feasibility (author).

Official Status

While there are no restrictions upon the domestic harvest of fish, commercial harvests are regulated by quotas which are placed on the water bodies where the populations reside or where they concentrate for regular migrations.