

**SEEKING COMMON GROUND /
TROUVER UN TERRAIN D'ENTENTE**

Politics of National Park Establishment
in the Torngat Mountains, Arctic Canada

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Abstract

Establishing national parks is not an innocent “conservation” practice; it is, fundamentally, a culturally defined, political one, and one that reflects the distribution of power within human societies. The present thesis proposes to approach the study of national park establishment in multinational Canada from the perspective of political geography. I look at national park establishment in northern Canada with special attention to the interactions between politics and territory, and how both interact with culture in the creation of a collective identity.

I base my observations on a case study from the Torngat Mountains, in Nunavik and Nunatsiavut, and I show that provincial and federal national parks in Québec and Canada serve an array of purposes beyond the sole intention of protecting the environment. My analysis shows that Canadian parks are imbued with societal values that contribute to their establishment as an intercultural space, and symbols of Canadian unity and identity. In contrast, Québec’s parks are not valued as an intercultural space, but as a geopolitical tool that protects and proclaims the province’s territorial integrity and national status.

I emphasize the link between national parks and cultural issues by comparing them with similar institutions: national museums. The Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa and the “Musée de la civilisation” in Québec city clearly expose Canada’s and Québec’s cultural politics. National parks – or at least some of them – appear as one component of the cultural politics of different communities of Canada, one that supports competing and/or converging nationalist projects at the regional, provincial and federal levels of administration. In the long run, the new and future national parks of the Torngat Mountains might affect the integrity of Québec’s territory, or that of Inuit cultural identity.

Résumé

La création de parcs nationaux ne relève pas uniquement d’un besoin universel de « conservation ». En tant que pratique culturellement biaisée, elle est le reflet du partage du pouvoir entre différentes sociétés. Le présent mémoire de maîtrise se penche sur la question de la création de parcs nationaux dans un État multinational tel le Canada, d’une perspective de la géographie politique. L’interaction entre des phénomènes tels le territoire, la politique et la culture, ingrédients essentiels de la création d’une identité collective, sont mis en parallèle avec la création de parcs dans le Nord du Canada.

Les conclusions de ce mémoire s’appuient sur une étude de cas portant sur les Monts Torngat, au Nunavik et au Nunatsiavut. Il y est démontré que la vocation environnementale des parcs nationaux provinciaux et fédéraux n’est pas nécessairement une considération primordiale à leur établissement. Les parcs nationaux canadiens sont plutôt appréciés pour leur valeur sociétale, en tant qu’espaces interculturels symbolisant l’unité et l’identité nationale canadienne. Les parcs nationaux québécois ne sont pas valorisés en tant qu’espaces interculturels, mais plutôt en tant qu’outils géopolitiques protégeant et annonçant l’intégrité territoriale et le statut national du Québec.

Le lien entre les parcs nationaux et la culture nationale est mis en évidence par une comparaison avec une institution similaire : le musée national. Au Musée des civilisations d’Ottawa et au Musée de la civilisation de Québec, les politiques culturelles canadiennes et québécoises sont exposées clairement. Sous cet éclairage, les parcs nationaux – ou certains d’entre eux à tout le moins – apparaissent ainsi comme faisant partie des politiques culturelles des différentes communautés, en ce sens qu’ils appuient des projets nationalistes qui convergent ou divergent à l’échelle régionale, provinciale et fédérale. À long terme, les parcs des Monts Torngat pourraient ainsi avoir un impact sur l’intégrité du territoire québécois, ou encore celle de l’identité culturelle inuit.

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Table of Abbreviations

| | |
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| CMC | Canadian Museum of Civilization |
| DIAND | Department of Indian and Northern Affairs |
| DPEP | Direction du patrimoine écologique et des parcs |
| ITK | Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami |
| JBNQA | James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement |
| KRG | Kativik Regional Government |
| LILCA | Labrador Inuit Land Claim Agreement |
| MCQ | Musée de la civilisation (Québec) |
| NG | Nunatsiavut Government |
| NILCA | Nunavik Inuit Land Claim Agreement |
| PIBA | Park Impact and Benefit Agreement |
| PNK | Parc national de la Kuururjuaq |
| SEPAQ | Société des établissements de plein air du Québec |
| TMNP | Torngat Mountains National Park |

INTRODUCTION. THE POLITICS OF NATIONAL PARKS

*Parks are not an end of themselves
but rather a means towards an end.*
(Dearden and Rollins 2003: 9)

To most of the public, national parks are innocuous manifestations of the government's will to protect the environment. Indeed, the philosophical justification of national parks is "to leave them unimpaired for future generations." How to explain, then, that park establishment has frequently resulted in the displacement of local and indigenous communities? Establishing national parks is not an innocent "conservation" practice; it is, fundamentally, a culturally defined, political one, and one that reflects the distribution of power within human societies (English & Lee 2003: 54).

The present thesis proposes to approach the study of national park establishment in multinational Canada from the perspective of political geography. Following Nogué and Vincente (2004), I adhere to a political geography conceived of as a geography of power, of an economic, ideological, cultural and political power capable of organizing and transforming territory, at every level, following specific interests and action strategies that are often hard to discern. I look at national park establishment in northern Canada with special attention to the interactions between politics and territory, and how both interact with culture in the creation of a collective identity.

Thus, I explore the cultural politics of national parks in seeking to answer the question whether these parks really respond to the needs of the Inuit, whose land is subjected to park development. I will base my observations on a case study from the Torngat Mountains, in Nunavik and Nunatsiavut, and I will show that provincial and federal national parks in Québec and Canada serve an array of purposes beyond the sole intention of protecting the environment. This is best exemplified by the label "national"

given to these parks. The analysis presented in this thesis shows that Canadian parks are imbued with societal values that contribute to their establishment as an intercultural space, as symbols of Canadian unity and identity. In contrast, Québec's parks are not valued as an intercultural space.

The cultural politics of national parks is assessed through a minor case study of the national museums in Ottawa and Québec city, since both institutions – national parks and national museums – were and are established for basically the same purpose. They are mediators of heritage meant for the conservation and enjoyment of the national treasures, and both institutions sustain or foster a certain national consciousness. National parks – or at least some of them – thus appear as one component of the cultural politics of different communities of Canada, one that supports competing and/or converging nationalist projects at the regional, provincial and federal levels of administration.

Considerable literature already exists on the inclusion of Aboriginal peoples in land management and on the importance of recognizing Aboriginal rights (see, for example, Lane 2006; Negi & Nautiyal 2003; Harmon & Putney 2003; Poirier & Ostergen 2002; Morrison 1993; East 1991). There is little, however, on the cultural and political impacts of today's Aboriginal-friendly park development. Echoing English and Lee (2003), I express my concern for the "homogenization of landscapes and cultures." Hence this essay, in which I identify some of the values of the new and future parks of the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula that might have unanticipated or unwanted long-term effects on the actors' territorial or cultural integrity.

The Torngat Mountains National Park and the "Parc national de la Kuururjuaq"

The geographical area under consideration is a peninsula shared by the provinces of Québec and Newfoundland-and-Labrador. This triangular peninsula between the Ungava Bay and the Sea of Labrador bears no official toponym. It has been named in two

different ways: either “Québec-Labrador” peninsula (Makivik 1992), or “Ungava-Labrador” peninsula (Makivik 1995). I find the latter name more accurate, since it refers to the two bodies of water surrounding the peninsula.¹ Canada’s newest national park was established on this peninsula in December 2005, as a result of a land claims settlement with the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA). The area protected covers approximately 9,600 square kilometers of rugged terrain, treeless mountains and deep fjords on the northern tip of Labrador. The park will be co-managed by Parks Canada, Makivik Corporation (the ethnic body representing the Inuit of Nunavik), and the newly created governmental body for the Inuit of Labrador, the Nunatsiavut Government (Nunatsiavut, “Our beautiful land” in Inuktitut; it is also the name of the claim settlement area).

In the present constitutional set-up, Canadian provinces also have authority to establish protected areas. While Québec, with its large francophone majority, is legally classified as a province like any other province, it is a distinctive province of Canada, for it represents the “Québécois” nation. Québec is thus committed to maintaining and developing both a system of protected areas and a national identity. Québec “national” parks extended to Nunavik at the turn of the 21st century. In 1992, Québec had reserved for park consideration an area of approximately 4,400 km² around the *Kuururjuaq* (“Koroc River”) watershed, which takes its source in the Torngat Mountains. At present time, the establishment process of the “Parc national de la Kuururjuaq” is well under way, with a first round of public consultations just completed (March 15-16, 2007). The Kativik Regional Government (KRG) – the Inuit controlled supra-municipal body that administers the 14 Inuit communities of Nunavik – and the “Direction du patrimoine écologique et des parcs” (DPEP) of the “Ministère du développement durable, de l’environnement et des parcs” hope to inaugurate it in 2008.

In both cases, negotiations for land ownership, resource management and self-government were on-going, suggesting a concentration of geopolitical interests which

offers a unique opportunity to examine the creation of park land in an Inuit environment at similar place and time by provincial and federal agencies. The main objectives of this thesis is to reveal the complex and intricate set of motivations for park creation in Inuit environment, and to show how this resembles the treatment of national issues in national museums. In the next chapter, I will review and discuss the literature that supports the premises of my approach, which I present in the same chapter. I assumed that the values given to national parks have a corollary motivation when it comes to park establishment. I thus attempt to identify the main values that are bestowed upon Canada's and Québec's national parks, and this requires exploring different scales of analysis.

In Chapter 2, I present the prehistory and history of land use and occupancy for the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula. I describe the spatial continuity of land use, and historical evolution of land rights in the area. Today's land use results from age-old patterns, and today's land rights reflect the colonial history of the Ungava-Labrador peninsula. Over time, however, the Inuit managed to preserve an intrinsic link with the land that is reflected in the importance given to traditional harvesting of resources. National parks on the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula acknowledge Inuit land use and formalize the diverse occupancy of the area. This raises the following questions: Do these parks respond to the needs of the Inuit? What does it mean to label them "national?"

In Chapter 3, I outline the history of Canadian and Québécois national parks as well as I explore a number of sources, including the parks' establishment process, in order to expose their purpose. This section confirms the premises discussed in Chapter 1. Narrowing my analysis, I identify the most salient values attributed to the national parks of the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula, and I discuss what I believe could be conflicting values among the different groups – Canadian, Québécois, and Inuit. In order to understand each group's interests, and to assess the probability of conflict on the long term, I propose a fourth chapter where I expose Canada's and Québec's cultural politics

through the narrative of nationhood and depiction of Aboriginal peoples presented in the governments' sponsored national museums of Ottawa and Québec city. The main threats posed by conflicting park values on the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula address the long term territorial integrity of a possibly sovereign Québec, and the long-term “cultural” integrity of the Inuit of Labrador.

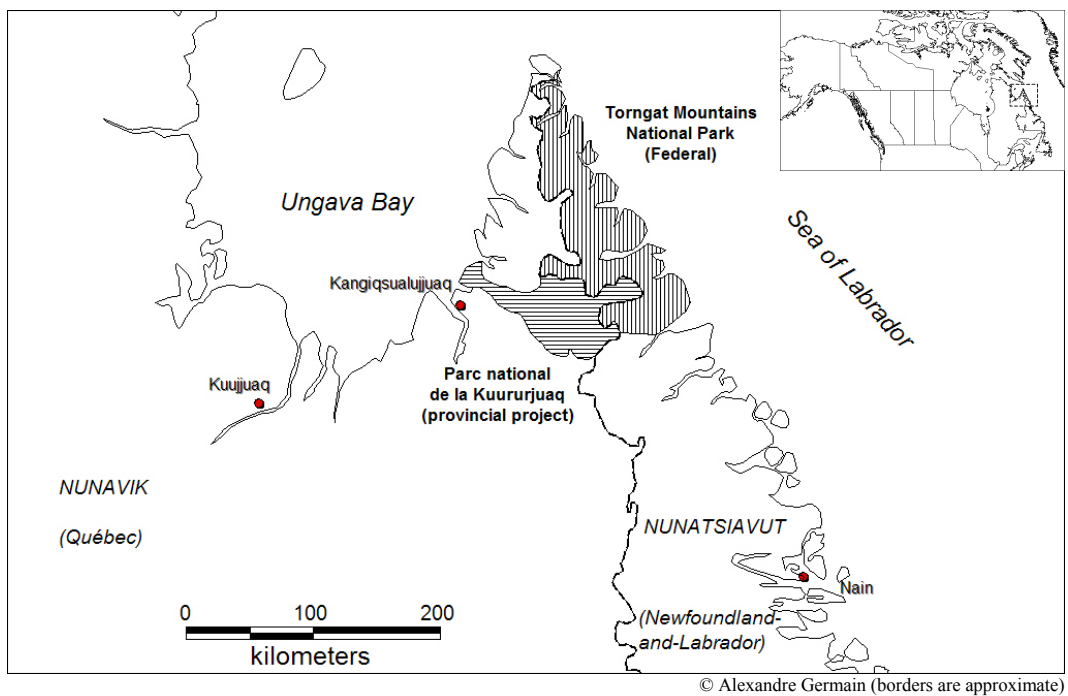


Figure 1. New and future parks on the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula

CHAPTER 1. NATIONAL PARKS AND THE NATION: TOWARDS THE FULL VALUE OF PARKS

In the introduction to this thesis, I stated a number of premises that need to be validated. To summarize: 1) national parks are culturally defined; 2) national parks reflect the distribution of power within human societies; 3) Canada is a multinational state; 4) there are competing and/or converging nation building projects in Canada; and, 5) national parks contribute to the construction of a collective national identity. Moreover, the national park idea, Western in its origin and contemporary manifestation (Ramutsindela 2004), is foreign to Inuit culture. The next sections (1.1 to 1.5) discuss and interpret the literature supporting each of these premises. The following sections (1.6 to 1.9) present the approach and methods used in this study.

1.1 National parks are culturally defined

I understand the concept of culture in its anthropological sense, as a “whole way of life” (Mackey 2002: 67), and not only as “the intellectual side of civilization” (*Oxford English Dictionary*). Culture is rather a “collective effort to survive”, a way of giving meaning to the world surrounding a community, and of informing its internal and external relationships (Courville *et al.* 1998: 142). As West and Brockington noted (2006: 169),

protected areas are not just... sites rich in biological diversity but also rich sites of social interactions and social reproduction. By social reproduction we mean the maintenance and replication of social practices, beliefs, and institutions that would have been considered ‘culture’ in anthropology in the past.

National parks are, fundamentally, a culturally defined manifestation of a desire to protect the environment for various purposes, and the ‘nature’ one encounters in a park is necessarily apprehended through his or her cultural lens. According to this understanding of culture, the natural park idea, as it was crystallized in the creation of Yellowstone

National Park in 1872 by an Act of Congress in the USA, is a culturally defined idea. In the Yellowstone model, humans are not part of the natural processes. Therefore, humans must be kept outside of parks, to be allowed in only temporarily, for the enjoyment of the aesthetic values of nature – that is, for recreation. In the clear distinction between ‘nature’ and ‘culture’ that national parks generally imply (see Ramutsindela 2004), national parks originate from the Enlightenment ideal. For the appreciation of the aesthetic values of nature that they promote, national parks owe to the Romantic ideal. This explains why parks are widely perceived as a Western creation (Ramutsindela 2004: 16; Negi & Nautiyal 2003: 169; Heyes 2002: 150); this is also why parks and protected areas, as governmentally managed restricted areas, are foreign to the Inuit, whose history does not relate to these views and values.

1.2 National parks reflect the distribution of power within human societies

Perhaps the most obvious demonstration that national parks reflect the distribution of power within human societies lies in the fact that, under motives that refer to culturally defined models of conservation, parks have so often resulted in the eviction of local people (for examples from different parts of the world, see Pathak & Kothari 2003; Ramutsindela 2003; Poirier & Ostergen 2002; Stevens 1997a; Stevens 1997b; Olwig 1995; Morrison 1993; West & Brechin 1991). In every case there are strong central governments imposing their priorities over weaker local interests, even if well intentioned. For this reason, some scholars have noted the colonialist model and the colonial legacy of national parks. In the specific case of South Africa, for instance, Ramutsindela (2003: 43) observed that the creation of national parks served the intentions of the British colonial power to transform self-sustaining local peoples into an industrial labor force by rendering hunting illegal. Stevens (1997b: 31), more generally, remarks that,

During the first half of the twentieth century, national parks became instruments of colonial rule in many areas of Africa and Asia. It was common for indigenous peoples to be evicted from their lands by the establishment of parks in India and Africa, a practice that has continued as one of many vestiges of colonialism in these regions in postcolonial times.

Canada has also had its episodes of evictions for national park establishment (Morrison 1993, Barrett 2003). It seems important to mention, however, that national parks need not result in the eviction of local residents for them to be of colonial legacy. Shultis (1997) described how and why the model quickly spread throughout the “New World” polities, as a catalyst of national identity (this matter will be discussed in section 1.5). In addition, national parks reflect the distribution of power at levels other than the “national” versus local. Different actors have influenced national park site selection and management practices throughout history.

As Dearden and Berg pointed out for the case of Canada, entrepreneurs have long been the one major force of park establishment and management. Their legacy of is reflected in the recreational and economic values still bestowed upon parks. The entrepreneurs’ influence started to erode with the rise of environmental consciousness. Environmentalist groups, in the aftermath of World War II, progressively replaced the entrepreneurs as a major force promoting national parks and influencing their management, marking a shift from a ‘recreationist’ to a ‘conservationist’ perspective on park management.

The then-conservationists valued biodiversity above anything else, and in their view humans were a threat to biodiversity (Andrade 2003: 172), showing their western conception of protected areas. They had some influence in Canada and this explains the difficult relationship between Parks Canada and Aboriginal peoples in recent history. Conservationists in some parts of the world ignored the complex reality of resource management and tried to impose their views on local and national actors. Because they promoted the exclusion of humans from protected areas, the conservationists appeared in

the eyes of many local communities and indigenous peoples as perpetrators of colonialism. Even the conservationists' subsequent recognition of the cultural values of protected areas, because it was sometimes too simplistic and logically self-referential, did not completely rectify their relationship with the indigenous peoples (Hay-Edie 2003).

Dearden and Berg (1993) also noted that the conflicts between conservationists and aboriginal peoples in Canada have progressively given way to a greater importance of aboriginal interests in park establishment and management. The growing popularity of discourses emphasizing the need for local control over natural resources and the need to redress past wrongdoings towards aboriginal peoples support this trend (see Gray & Colchester 1998).

1.3 Canada is a multinational state

It is not my intention to discuss extensively the concept of nation, on which there is already a great deal of scholarly literature (e.g. Anderson 1983; Smith 1991). I adhere to the definition of "nation" given in the *Dictionary of Human Geography*: a nation is "a community of people whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity rooted in an historic attachment to a homeland and a common culture, and by a consciousness of being different from other nations" (Smith 2000a: 532). In other words, a "nation" is a people with a common culture and an attachment to a homeland, which translates into a political project. In the case of Canada, this definition grants different groups the status of a "nation," although the boundaries between groups are easily blurred. This clarification about the "nation" is important because of a common discourse that tends to conflate the idea of nation with that of the state. A common idea among the public is that all citizens of a state are members of the same nation. Indeed, as Herb and Kaplan noted (1999: 3):

One state may contain several groups that define themselves as separate from the dominant majority, or one nation may extend far beyond the boundaries of an existing state. In this relationship between nations and state identities, is a bond based

on territorial institution such as in the USA equal to a bond based on the legacy of an ethnic community? In both cases, territory is an integral part of identity, but scholars disagree whether both should be considered 'nations'. The complexity of this question also lies in the fact that such territorial identities occur at a variety of scales.

This confusion in Canada about the meaning of "nation" and its relationship with the state might be fueled by the reluctance on the part of the federal government to recognize the country's multinational character. The Inuit, for instance, when it comes to dealing with the federal government, refer to themselves as a "nation" (Moss 1996: 5-6). Similarly, Aboriginal groups in Canada are often designated as the "First Nations."

The recent debates surrounding the adoption of a motion recognizing the "Québécois" nation by the House of Commons in Ottawa also illustrate this reluctance.² The government of Québec, on the contrary, affirmed its recognition of the Aboriginal nations living on the territory of the province by a motion of the National Assembly in 1985.³ The government of Québec expressed its intention to negotiate with the Aboriginal peoples on a "nation to nation" basis (Gourdeau 1994). Whether Canada is multinational or not is a contentious issue because of its political implications. Some would prefer to say that Canada is "multicultural." It is nonetheless a matter of fact that the Inuit and the "Québécois," respectively, "are bound together by a sense of solidarity rooted in an historic attachment to a homeland and a common culture." In addition, both Inuit and Québécois negotiate with the federal government for increased political autonomy. Thus, and although not always explicitly recognized by the democratic institutions, Canada is a multinational state.

1.4 Nationalism in Canada

Nationalism is not only a feeling of belonging to the nation; it is also a political ideology which holds that the nation should be granted sovereignty over its homeland. In this sense, it claims, according to the doctrine of self-determination, that the nation has a

natural right to governance over its own affairs. Nationalism takes a variety of forms, from the official *state nationalism*, appealing to “national unity” and “national interests,” to various forms of *sub-state nationalism*, such as *irredentist*, *anti-colonial*, or *ethnic nationalism* (Smith 2000b: 533). Nationalism is thus not only about “separatism,” as it is often equated in Canada; it is also a strategy to secure the state’s unity, or, for national minorities, a means to attain, within the state, greater autonomy based on certain ideals of social justice.

Nationalism, as a political ideology, needs to be carried out through discourse, and is thus found in the official “narratives of nationhood,” or in the common “myths” about the nation. In every one of them, “the land” is a catalyst for real or idealized feelings of community. For Williams and Smith (1983: 502), nationalism is a struggle for the control of land and is a mode of constructing and interpreting social space. They note that “the land” is intrinsic to the very concept of a *national identity*, which shapes and reshapes people’s relations with each other and the environment. Thus, nationalism, as an ideology, emphasizes the link between a group of people and a certain territory (Jones *et al.* 2004: 31); and it can operate at a variety of scales (*Ibid.*: 98).

1.4.1 Canadian Nationalism

Kymlicka observed that for many commentators, in order for Canada to function, there must be a strong sense of identification with it as a political community, “an identification that stands over and above the more particularistic sub-group identities” (Kymlicka 2003: 376). The idea that Canadians must develop a strong sense of collective identity finds its origin in the ideal of the nation-state – an entity in which the territory of the nation and the territory of the state are congruous. This idea still reigns as the primary goal of the modern world: “States need an identity to ensure that their populations remain loyal to them” (Herb & Kaplan 1999: 3). Unfortunately, the territorial regions of ‘nation’

and 'state' do not necessarily correspond. A solution to this problem is frequently sought in "nation-building" projects at the state level.

The construction of a pan-Canadian identity has required dramatic changes in Canada's self-image and traditions. These changes started to take place in the 1950s in the wake of French Canadian nationalism, the main example of sub-state nationalism in Canada. It is apparent in various important decisions: adoption of a new flag (1967), a new national anthem (1980), new holidays, a new constitution (1982), as well as the adoption of official bilingualism (1969), and a multiculturalism policy (1988). An unexpected result of these changes was the increase among Canadians of British origin of self-identification with Canada rather than any other sub-state or ethnic identity. These changes also succeeded in instilling a pan-Canadian identity among immigrant groups, and among some Aboriginal communities.⁴ Most strikingly, however, these changes have failed at their main goal, which was to strengthen Canadian identity among the Québécois. It actually had the contrary effect. For this and for other reasons, one of the main challenges facing Canada today is learning how to accommodate internal diversity while maintaining a stable political order (Kymlicka 2003: 368).

In response to the constant, old and new, challenges to Canadian unity, a nationalist discourse has developed. The "North" is certainly the most salient feature of Canadian collective identity; it is part of the Canadian psyche. Citing three other scholars, Kaufmann and Zimmer (1998: 496) concluded that "the naturalistic emphasis of the Laurentian Theorists in historiography, the Group of Seven in art, the Confederation poets in literature and Canada First in politics gave the nation's identity a strongly northern/wilderness component that is still powerful today." In a famous electoral speech in 1958, John Diefenbaker, former Premier of Canada, declared his vision of "a new Canada, a Canada of the North". The persistence of the northern "myth" also derives from the work of influential authors such as William Morton (1972), Morris Zaslow

(1988), and Sherrill Grace (2001). The importance of the North for the Canadian identity is now widely acknowledged (e.g. Symons 1981; Coates & Morrison 1989, 1992; Grace 2001; Hulan 2002), as is its importance for Canadian nationalism. The North – or a certain idea of the North that crystallizes the ideal of pristine wilderness – has constantly played a symbolic role in unifying the different, heterogeneous parts of the country (Shields 1991: 8; Kaufmann & Zimmer 1998: 503; Berger 1966: 12).

The North is not the only symbol of Canadian unity. It is, however, a major symbol of geographic unity, of unity through space. For a coherent narrative, one also needs historical unity – or unity through time, that is, a common history. There is a need to expose the link between “the land” and the diversity of people that inhabit it in order to make up for the diversity of their histories. According to Mackey’s analysis (2002), the Aboriginal people, as they are presented in official discourses today, occupy this “linking” role on a temporal basis. In these discourses, the Aboriginal people represent Canada’s heritage and past, “providing a link between the settlers and the land and helping to negotiate the rocky terrain of creating Canada as ‘Native land’ to settlers” (Mackey 2002: 39, 77).

Symbolically, the inclusion of the Aboriginal people in various narratives of Canadian history also marks the reconciliation of Euro-Canadians with the land that they invaded and devastated (Mackey 2002: 90). These narratives,

highlight Canada’s pluralism within a linear narrative of Canada’s past, present, and future [...] [R]epresentations of the land, and the relation between the nation’s population and the land, help to define the past, present, and future characteristics of the nation itself. [...] In 1990s’ Canada such images which combine nature and nation remain ubiquitous, although now they are coupled with images of cultural pluralism which do not simply include but highlight Canada’s Aboriginal peoples and multiculturalism (Mackey 2002: 71-72).

Overall, the Canadian nationalist discourse has developed a narrative that uses the land as a geographical expression of unity, and its several cultures as a basis for historical continuity. However, it is not the only nationalist discourse in Canada.

1.4.2 “*Le nationalisme québécois*”

Québec nationalism, although similarly concerned with territorial integrity (Lasserre & Lechaume 2003), has not developed a discourse that seeks to cement all its parts together (for a notable exception, see Hamelin 2002 and 2005). Official and popular narratives in Québec exhibit different features and relate to the land in a different way. Interestingly, the North has also been erected as a myth of Québécois national identity.

The geographic expression of Québécois “North”, however, differs from the Canadian one and is limited to the immediate north of the St. Lawrence lowlands. Initially, in the nineteenth century, the North was promoted as a *terre promise* (“promised land”) – primarily by promoters of colonial expansionism, and then by authors – where French Canadians could regenerate and thrive (Morissonneau 1978, 1985). Surrounded by Anglo-protestant societies on its eastern, southern and western sides, *le mythe de la terre promise* offered assurance of survival to an insecure French Canadian society. Courville (1998) however, while acknowledging the existence of such a northern myth in Québec, suggests that the St. Lawrence River, as a population axis, played the main role in forging a Québécois collective identity. Indeed, the North beyond Abitibi, Lac St-Jean and Côte-Nord became part of the Québécois imagination only recently (1960-70s), and mainly as a reservoir of resources that would guarantee the wealth of the nation (Shields 1991: 61; Lasserre 2003).

Today, the Québécois government is facing the same challenge as the Canadian one in that it has to deal with an increasingly diverse society. This will force Québec to review its nationalist discourse. The results of the latest provincial elections (March 26, 2007) confirm this idea.⁵

1.4.3 Inuit Nationalism

It is not common in the English language to identify Native people's quest for recognition and their desire to end the colonial relationships as being nationalistic. It is more common in the French language (see, for example, Trudel 1995). At the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), Moss presented a paper on "Inuit perspectives on treaty rights and governance," in which she asserts that:

Inuit statements about the relationship of Inuit to Canada and their place in the world often identify Inuit as a people in the political and legal sense, that is, as possessing the equal rights of peoples under international human rights including the right to self-determination. In English, Inuit have referred to themselves collectively as a 'nation' or a 'nation of people' with a distinct language, culture, society and homeland encompassing most of Arctic Canada (Moss 1996: 5).⁶

Further, the Inuit "appear likewise to support that the correct approach to interethnic peace is not to repress national or ethnic identities but rather to recognize their equal rights to survive and determine their political future" (Moss 1996: 12).

Moss also reports that Inuit leaders, on numerous occasions, stated that the Inuit do not want to exercise their right to self-determination outside Canada: "[The] Inuit in Canada wish to join Canada as a distinct yet integral part of Confederation and in a way that explicitly recognizes the place of Inuit as a people in Canada with an inherent right of self-government" (Moss 1996: 20). She adds that Inuit see themselves as Canadians, an integral and uniquely original part of Canadian society. Attachment to Canada, however, takes on various forms. For some, it is a political "fact of life" that has to be accepted. For others, attachment to Canada is an attachment to the land rather than the state. Inuit attachment to Canada should not obliterate the fact that their claim is nationalistic. In order to regain power over their own affairs, the Inuit have sought recognition through other means than separatism:

From an Inuit perspective, the exercise of treaty making through land claims process and through self-government agreements is regarded as an important means of reasserting control with respect to land, resources and Inuit way of life in general.

It is also seen as an essential process of including Inuit within Confederation as a people and as partners in Confederation (Moss 1996: 27).

Inuit nationalism is thus about treaty making. As demonstrated, there are in Canada various expressions of nationalism. Canada performs state nationalism, while Québec and the Inuit perform different forms of sub-state nationalism. The next section will clarify the role of national parks in relation to this.

1.5 National parks sustain national identities

Nationalism, because of its reliance on “the land,” is also a form of territorial ideology that seeks to redefine political space into a historical territory (Williams & Smith 1983: 504; Nogué & Vincente 2004: 115). Three geographic entities – also key concepts of geography – serve this purpose of creating a common, historical territory imbued with symbolic significance for the nation: place, landscape, and territory (Jones *et al.* 2004). Whereas the Inuit might have a deeper sense of “place” when it comes to interpreting their relationship with the case study area, most of the public relates to national parks from a “landscape” perspective. The concept of landscape refers not only to the physical environment, but also to the meaning and values ascribed to it by individuals or communities. Indeed, landscapes are defined by our vision and interpreted by our minds (Meinig 1979: 3). It is now widely acknowledged in the scholarly literature that nations tend to view particular landscapes as representing the values and essence of the nation (see Jones *et al.* 2004: 92). As Kaplan notes (1999: 35), national spatial identities include a primordial attachment to “the land,” a “discursive landscape,” and a “territorial memory” suffused with the culture of the people. For Nogué and Vincente (2004: 117), landscapes and landscape-symbols play a determining role in the expression of collective identities. The “national” landscape, as Larsen puts it (2005: 297), has material-symbolic complexity that serves four basic ideological functions in the makeup

of national identity: 1) it gives *unity* to people and place, 2) it provides this unity with a *unique* character, 3) it provides people and place with a common *origin*, and 4) it *naturalizes* that unity and that origin.

The national landscape tends to present the actual state of affairs as a unity that is the outcome of a linear and almost purposive process, a historical destiny, and not as a partly unforeseeable historical process of fragmentation and break-up. It tends to disguise the actual conflicts and contrasts in the national setting... (Larsen 2005: 297)

Kaufmann and Zimmer (1998: 485) show concern for the way in which the public role of landscape-symbolism is contingent on particular cultural and political contexts. They develop a distinction between two ways of conceptualizing the relationship between landscape and national identity, two ways that work simultaneously in the case of Canada and Switzerland. They call these two ways the “nationalization of nature” and the “naturalization of the nation”. The first portrays particular landscapes as expressions of national authenticity. The second rests upon a notion of geographical determinism that depicts specific landscapes as forces capable of determining national identity. Kaufmann and Zimmer (1998: 496-7) argue that the *divergence* between the nationalist ideal of ethno-cultural unity and the polyethnic composition of the two societies of Canada and Switzerland provided the impetus for a bigger emphasis on the “naturalization of the nation.” In their opinion, the North, in Canada, was and still is seen as a symbolic landscape capable of “naturalizing” the nation.

National parks play a role in the creation of a collective, national identity, because they are landscapes that become mediated at the national level. Paasi (1996: 35-6) notes that “territorial units” acquire a specific identity through the process of “institutionalization.” By institutionalization, he refers to the process during which specific territorial units – on various spatial scales – emerge and become established as parts of the regional system in question and the socio-spatial consciousness prevailing in society. National parks are part of the institutionalization process attributing an identity to

the region; they are also a discursive landscape in the process that Sörlin (1999) describes as the “articulation of territory”:

Landscape features, be they mountains or rivers, man-made monuments or technological artefacts (roads, bridges, lighthouses, etc.), have been reproduced socially and culturally through text genres, art forms, media, museums and schools... Articulation of territory has also been carried out through social practices such as tourism. The result of these processes are symbolic and mental landscapes that are deeply embedded in the image and self-understanding of nations and regions (Sörlin 1999: 103).

Indeed, as Runte (1979: xii) stated, “the search for a distinct national identity was the initial impetus behind scenic preservation.” This prompted the United States government to create the first national parks (Runte 1979; Grusin 2004: 4; Olwig 1995: 394). Shultis (1997) mentions that the national park model quickly spread to Canada, Australia, and New Zealand because of the presence of common cultural, social, economic and political conditions. He notes that national parks were utilized by New World politicians and intelligentsia to increase their country’s national pride and status. Similarly, recent nationalist leaders in Western Europe have been particularly sensitive to the needs to protect and conserve the environment (Williams & Smith 1983: 513). National parks played such an important role in the construction of a national identity that indigenous minorities of Latin America have denounced the establishment of national parks as a “semiotic colonization” of their land (Andrade 2003: 174-5).

Considering the above, and knowing that an overlap in exclusive spatial identities is likely to generate conflicts (Herb & Kaplan 1998: 5), establishing national parks, in the context of a multinational Canada, necessarily raises questions of cultural/national diversity management, and calls for a clearer understanding of the motivations leading to such decisions.

1.6 The Full Value of Parks

An increasing awareness of the cultural and political aspects of protected areas, discussed above, has been matched by efforts to widen the understanding of protected areas' values with the aim of adapting their management to the needs of the local, often indigenous or culturally non-dominant, communities. The most comprehensive attempt to grasp the diversity of values attributed to parks and protected areas spurred from the works of the Task Force on Non-Material Values of Parks, set up by the World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA), a global volunteer network of protected area professionals coordinated by the World Conservation Union (IUCN). The purpose of the Task Force was to identify, define, and provide guidelines for the inclusion of nonmaterial values in the management practices of protected areas (see Harmon & Putney 2003). In the scope of the present thesis, identifying the values of parks will hint at the motivations leading to their creation.

Putney (2003: 5) identifies three broad categories of values of protected areas – material, intangible, and intrinsic – and notes that different societies and different segments within society approach protected areas in different ways (see Figure 2). The intrinsic values of parks are defined in opposition with the instrumental values (Harmon 2003: 20), either material or intangible. These intrinsic values refer to the parks' natural features taken independently from their cultural attributes (*Ibid.*); in the absence of a protected area, they refer to the “indivisible whole” that links traditional peoples, community, culture, spirituality, nature, and territory (Putney 2003: 5). Once a park is established, its intrinsic features are accorded additional instrumental value (Harmon 2003: 20).

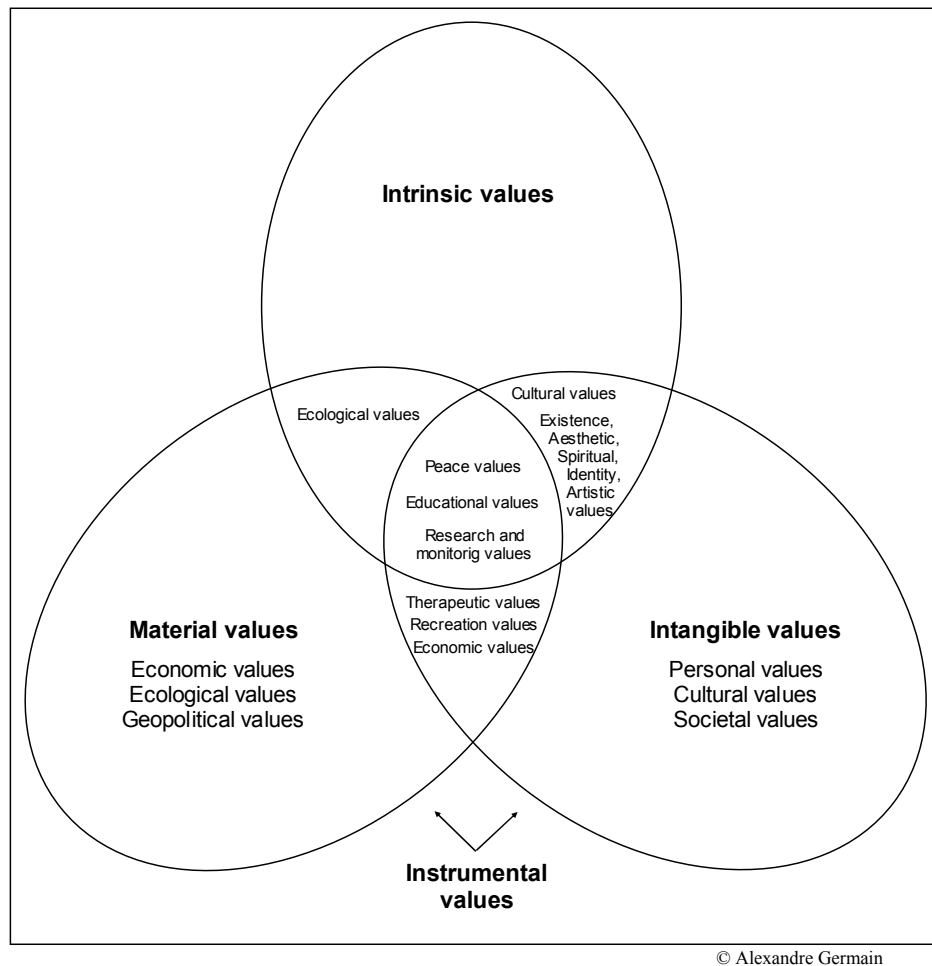


Figure 2. Schema of the values of protected areas

According to Putney (2003), the material values of parks are economic and ecological. However, one aspect of park establishment is control over a territory, and for this reason, I would add that there are also geopolitical values to parks. Intangible values refer to “that which enriches the intellectual, psychological, spiritual, cultural, and/or creative aspects of human existence and well being.” They can be separated into three overlapping categories: personal, cultural, and societal. The personal values include the psychological, therapeutic, recreational, spiritual, existence, artistic, and aesthetic benefits of visiting protected areas. The cultural values include those that link people together, such as the spiritual and identity values of parks. The societal values are those that help

Table 1. A list of the values of protected areas and their definitions

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Intrinsic values</i> | Features of the physical environment and/or holistic cultures |
| <i>Instrumental values</i> | Values conferred to the physical environment |
| <i>Material values</i> | Economic, ecological, and geopolitical values |
| <i>Intangible values</i> | Personal, cultural, and societal values |
| <i>Economic values</i> | The economic benefits of protected areas |
| <i>Ecological values</i> | The maintenance of ecological integrity |
| <i>Geopolitical values</i> | The practice of <i>human territoriality</i> |
| <i>Personal values</i> | Those values appreciated by the individual |
| <i>Cultural values</i> | Those values linking people together |
| <i>Societal values</i> | Those values linking cultures together |
| <i>Research and monitoring values</i> | “Natural” areas as benchmarks for the study of the environment |
| <i>Recreational values</i> | The qualities of an area that stimulate the mind, body, and soul |
| <i>Spiritual values</i> | The qualities of an environment that inspire reverence to the sacredness of nature |
| <i>Identity values</i> | The sites that link people to their landscape through myth, legend, or history |
| <i>Existence values</i> | The satisfaction, symbolic importance, and willingness to pay for the protection of natural and cultural landscapes held ‘sacred’ |
| <i>Artistic values</i> | The qualities of nature that inspire human imagination in creative expression |
| <i>Aesthetic values</i> | Appreciation of the harmony, beauty, and profound meaning found in nature |
| <i>Educational values</i> | The qualities of an environment that foster respect for nature and other humans |
| <i>Peace values</i> | The functions of an area that foster regional stability across boundaries or between cultures |
| <i>Therapeutic values</i> | The potential of an area for enhancing physical and psychological well-being |

(Adapted and modified from Putney 2003)

linking cultures together, such as educational and peace values. Consideration of the whole range of values is most likely to emerge in a co-management model that brings together different groups of users. This full consideration is a growing trend in democratic countries, where parks are increasingly valued for their societal benefits and presented as intercultural spaces (Putney 2003).

1.7 Parks as intercultural spaces

Most problematic to the “intercultural-ness” of parks is the question of unequal power between cultural groups. Ellen Lee (2004) discusses this problem in the epilogue to *Northern Ethnographic Landscapes* (Krupnik *et al.* 2004). She remarks that the culture of the indigenous communities associated with the protected landscape is often very remote from the dominant and usually governing cultural group. If the indigenous group has some influence on the way their traditional land is used, it is invariably within the parameters set by the dominant culture or government (Lee 2004: 403). The ways of managing of the dominant group – by identification (of the area), evaluation (of the values), protection and management, and interpretation – are now a reality for the indigenous groups. Lee (2004: 403) points to the importance of examining each step of this process to understand how it might affect the indigenous group. She also mentions the difficulties of identifying the values given to parks, because their interpretation varies according to culture, gender, and individual perceptions. This is why it is important to be aware of the *layering* of values and the potential conflicting values, not only at the group level, but also between members of the same group (Lee 2004: 404).

1.8 Multiscale Analysis

In order to expose the layering of values, I adopted an approach from political geography defined by Lasserre and Gonon (2002) as *l'approche multiscalaire*

(“multiscale,” or “multiple scale analysis”), an approach that was first described by Lacoste in 1976 (1985). The central object of multiscale analysis in geography is “territory,” within which “scale” appears as an *object of analysis* (rather than an *object of inquiry*, see Brown & Purcell 2005). Every phenomenon has both a historical and a spatial dimension and, therefore, can be observed territorially. The manifestation of a phenomenon at a certain scale emerges from the interaction of phenomena at a number of scales, or, in other words, every phenomenon is the result of an interplay of dynamics at different scales. This explains why political geography and geopolitics have progressively abandoned the “state” as the only object of their analysis, in recognition of the fact that political actions emerge from a variety of scales (Claval 2005). Shifting the scale of analysis is key to the global understanding of phenomena. Shifting scale, however, requires the observer to re-conceptualize the problem under observation according to the scale of analysis.

This thesis is about Québec and Canada’s national parks in Inuit environment. Establishing national parks is a dynamic process that affects territory; it reflects in a variety of scales. In order to understand these effects, I identified four scales of analysis that I believe are the most relevant ones: the local, the regional, the provincial, and the federal. True understanding of the motivations for park establishment will emerge from an assessment of the full value of parks for each of these scales.

1.9 Methods

For the first main objective of this thesis (to reveal the motivations for park establishment), I chose to explore the values assigned to the new and future parks by different actors at each of the four aforementioned scales of analysis. At the local scale, there are the community members and the town councils of Kangiqsualujjuaq and Nain; at the regional scale, there are the regional governments of Nunavik and Nunatsiavut; at

the provincial scale, I focused on the Québec government and its DPEP; and at the federal scale I looked at the Canadian government and its park agency, Parks Canada. These scales of analysis encompass three national groups – Canadian, Québécois, and Inuit – that are all interested in preserving their culture as much as their land.

For this reason, I explored the purpose of parks through the spectrum of park values, and from a variety of sources: park establishment processes, impact studies, public hearings, master plans, park agreements, and other status reports. I also interpreted the history of Canada's and Québec's national parks, and I looked at their respective policies and legislations. I completed these sources with material from different semi-formal interviews with key-informants at Parks Canada and the DPEP.

At the local scale of analysis, I performed informal interviews and administered questionnaires to a sample of the community members. I also performed semi-formal interviews with representatives of the local authorities. At the regional scale of analysis, I performed semi-formal interviews with representatives of the Nunatsiavut Government, Makivik and KRG. I attended the Fourth Seminar of the International Ph.D. School for the Study of Arctic Societies in Kuujuaq in May 2006, during which I heard a number of influential community members from Nunavik. In addition, I looked at the relevant scholarly literature and the documentation emanating from the regional governments.

For the second main objective of this thesis (to show the resemblance with the treatment of national issues in national museums), I expanded my analysis to Canada's and Québec's cultural politics by interpreting their respective narratives of nationhood and depictions of Aboriginal peoples in national museums dedicated to the national history. To this end, I visited the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa and the "Musée de la civilisation" in Québec city. I identified the main themes of the permanent exhibitions, and analyzed their treatment through the spatial organization of the exhibition halls.

CHAPTER 2. LAND USE AND OCCUPANCY IN THE TORNGAT MOUNTAINS

The name of the Torngat Mountains derives from the Inuktitut *Tuurngait* (sg. *Tuurngaq*), which refers to powerful spirits that the *angakkuit* (sg. *angakkuq*, the Inuit shaman) could invoke for help, and which were later perceived, because of the influence of Christianity, as evil manifestations (Saladin d'Anglure 2007). In this chapter, I focus on land use and occupancy from prehistory until the present. According to archeological data, the Inuit of the Ungava Bay and Labrador Coast formed a territorially united cultural group exercising exclusive use of the area for most of the time until European contact. In the contemporary period, two distinct Inuit peoples live on lands valued by a variety of users and administered by the south. I thus divided this chapter into two periods – the Inuit and Canada periods.

2.1 The environmental setting

The Torngat Mountains dominate the northern sector of the Ungava-Labrador peninsula. These mountains are 1.8 billion years old (Kativik 2005: 34). Continuing processes of orogeny, weathering, flooding, upheaval, and glaciations have shaped them.

The environmental setting of the larger region, comprising the whole Ungava-Labrador peninsula, has a great diversity of landscapes and ecological systems. Even though most of the peninsula lies south of the 60th parallel, it is considered to have an arctic environment. While significant stands of trees are found within protected inland valleys, such as the Koroc and George River in the southwestern sector near Ungava Bay, the entire coastal zone and highland region is treeless. This is particularly true for the northeastern sector, of extremely rugged topography, where the deep, steep-sided fjords of the Labrador coast can penetrate far inland, and where the highest peaks of the Torngat Mountains are found. Mont d'Iberville (Mount Caubvik for Labradorians), on the crest of

the watershed between the Labrador Sea and the Ungava Bay, reaches 1652 meters (5420 feet), making it the highest peak of eastern Canada.

The northwestern sector, in the Ungava Bay, is not as severe, but the land rises quickly. Further south, the topography lowers gradually in elevation and becomes less rugged, and forms a plateau that averages 600 meters. The many lakes, river systems, and structural valleys provide the physical conditions around which travel and migration routes have developed.

The sea ice and open water conditions of the coastal zone, islands and offshore waters form the other major environment of the peninsula. The coast of the Ungava Bay is most affected by a northward current, whereas the Labrador coast is affected primarily by the southward flowing Labrador current. The tip of the peninsula, the Killiniq area, is strongly influenced by the convergence of currents and marine conditions from the Labrador Sea, Ungava Bay and Hudson Strait. Many localized environments defined by the conditions of sea ice or open water, often related to the presence and abundance of resources, are found as a result of a combination of general and tidal currents that interact with the position of offshore islands and vary depending on the configuration of the shorelines and the depth of waters.

2.2 The Inuit Period

The Inuit period of the Torngat Mountains is a period when traditional means of subsistence were dominant. During this period, the Inuit exploited all the habitation zones (Saladin d'Anglure 1984: 480), although our knowledge of the prehistoric period is still limited (Makivik 1992). It starts about 4000 years ago when Paleoeskimos – referred to as the Pre-Dorset adaptation – arrived from Baffin Island in Eastern Nunavik. The Pre-Dorset adaptation lasted for almost 2000 years. The whole area of the peninsula was then comprised in a large “Ungava-Labrador primary cultural area” (Makivik 1992:

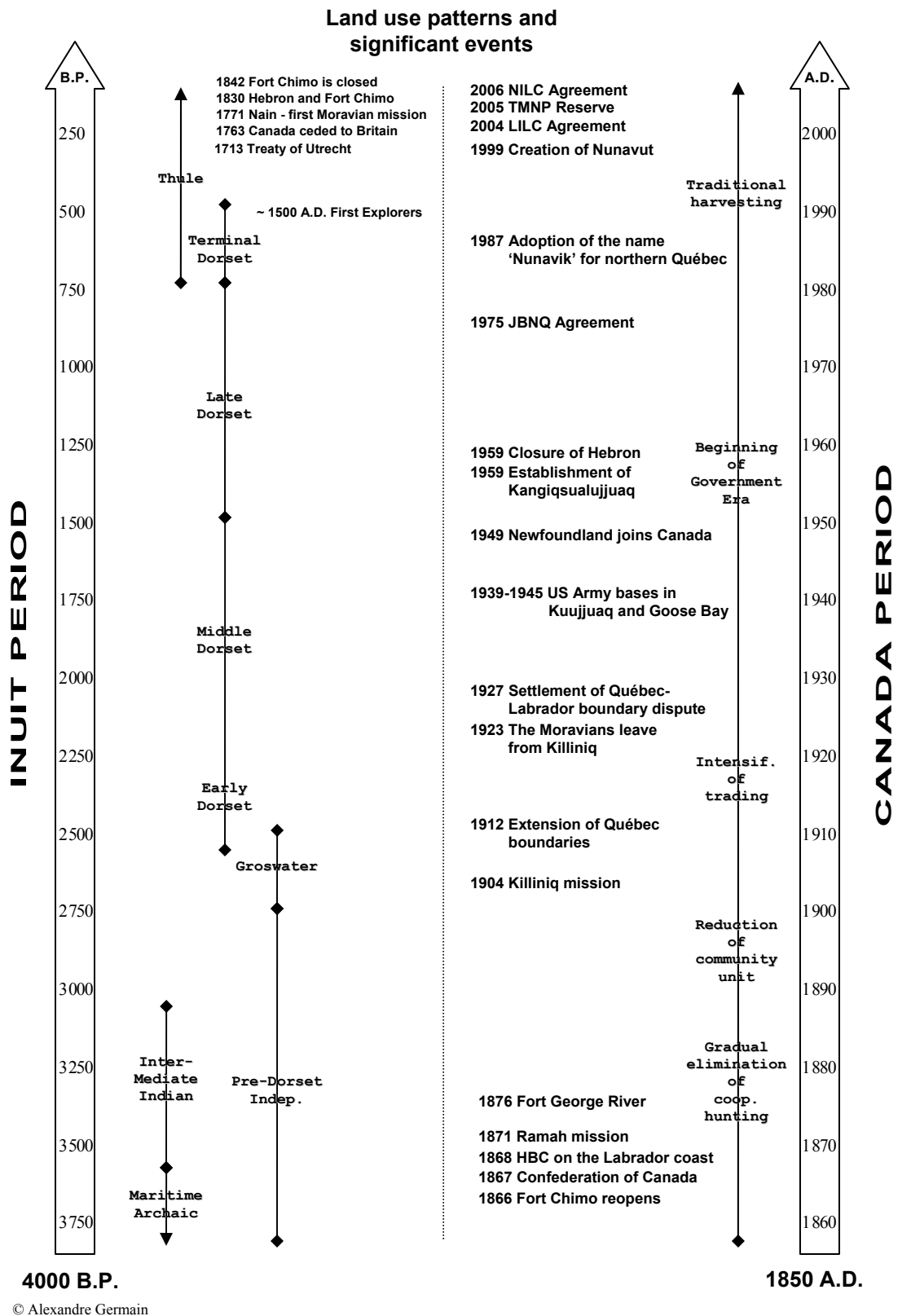


Figure 3. Prehistoric and historic land use and important dates for the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula

21-23). Approximately 2200 years ago, the Dorset adaptation appeared – as either an *in-situ* evolution or the result of a wave of immigration. The Dorset culture lasted until the arrival of the Thule adaptation, which spread eastward from Alaska and reached the Ungava around 800 B.P. (Makivik 1992) and the coast of Labrador slightly later (Taylor 1984). It is unclear whether the Dorset adaptation vanished, merged, or was absorbed by the Thule adaptation, but it is clear that present-day Inuit from both Labrador and Nunavik are the direct descendants of the Thule culture (Taylor 1984; Makivik 1992; Loring 1998, Richling 2000).

The Thule culture used *umiait* (sg. *umiaq*, large open skin boat), *qajait* (sg. *qajaq*, kayak), and *qamutiit* (sg. *qamutiq*, dog sled). It had a well defined settlement pattern based on larger and more permanent winter camps with well defined house types. The general picture of Thule culture is one of larger communal groups with well-established bounds of social structure. The Thule adaptation in the area of the Torngat Mountains emphasized the harvest of marine resources including large baleen whales especially at Killiniq and in the immediate areas. The reliance on large whales was supplemented by: 1) a seasonal cycle of harvesting small marine mammals in open-water, along the floe-edge, in small natural ice-free areas, and at breathing holes, 2) coastal and inland fisheries, 3) hunting for ducks and small game, and 4) collecting eggs, seaweed and berries (Makivik 1992: 24). This ability to survive required a functional technology, a social network, and an active system of environmental knowledge. The Thule social network functioned in a way that family structures were recognized in terms of, but not bound to, specific territory (Makivik 1992: 25). It is the Thule culture, or neo-Inuit culture, that gave rise to the more recent traditions and practices that characterize the contact period, in response to the increasing level of contact between Europeans and Inuit.

2.2.1 Early Contact and Culture Change

The historical period of the Torngat Mountains starts with European contact. Jacques Cartier, although not the first explorer in the area, is probably responsible for a persistent perception about Labrador as he wrote that this land looked like “the land God gave to Cain”. Early contacts (between early 1500s and 1650), however, had little if any impact on Inuit land use in northern Labrador and northeastern Ungava. Land use practices reflected the later stage of Thule culture (Makivik 1992: 28; Kaplan 1980). Some European goods reached the area but, as it is noted in the *Inuit of Nunavik Statement of Claim to Labrador*:

there is no indication that these materials created a demand strong enough to alter significantly traditional patterns of movement or land use. [Between 1650 and 1770, however,] there are indications that trade intensified to the point that it may have directly changed the way in which Inuit used the northern territory of the Québec-Labrador [*sic*] Peninsula, especially towards the end of that 120 year period (Makivik 1992: 29).

The presence of fishermen and French traders in southern Labrador initiated a southward displacement of Inuit along the Labrador coast and incidentally stimulated an eastward migration from Ungava Bay. This explains the trade relations and kinship connections between the Inuit who formerly lived on the northern coast of Labrador and the Inuit of northern Québec (Taylor 1984: 509).

2.2.2 The Beginning of Colonialism

From the 1700s onward, the British presence was constantly increasing. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 granted exclusive land rights to the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) and denied the French claims. At the beginning of the British colonialism, starting in 1763, the Inuit were showing growing hostility towards European presence (Taylor 1984: 511). The governor therefore sought the assistance of the Moravian missionaries from Greenland, who had already manifested their desire to come to Labrador.

In southern Labrador, British trading posts opened. Some of the employees married Inuit women, giving rise to a permanent and ethnically distinct population referred to as Settlers, which increased rapidly in numbers and expanded steadily northward during the nineteenth century (*Ibid.*). As mentioned earlier, the Thule social network functioned in such a way that family structures were recognized in terms of, but not bound to, specific territory. The Inuit occupied the territory with a three level system (Saladin d'Anglure 1984: 477). The basic level was the actual site, particularly winter camps, occupied by a family unit. The second level was made up of a network of camps in close relationship with each other. This network formed a "local band" that occupied what Taylor (1984: 513) calls a "territorial unit". When the Moravian missionaries arrived in Labrador, there were at least twelve local bands in the area of the Torngat Mountains, the majority of them on the Labrador coast.⁷ The map in Figure 4 shows the location of local bands on the coast of Labrador. Finally, at a third level, there are regional bands, which include several local bands whose members intermarry and share linguistic features.

2.2.3 The Moravians and the Hudson's Bay Company

In 1769, the British Board of Trade granted the Moravians the right to occupy 100,000 acres of land in Labrador, hence the establishment of the Nain mission in 1771. This provided, for the first time, a source of contact between Inuit and Europeans within the geographic area of the Torngat Mountains. The missionaries wanted to establish the Inuit in Christian settlements, which would replace their nomadic way of life. However, they also believed that the Inuit should retain many of their traditions. The Mission envisioned that the Inuit community would remain economically independent from Europeans, and this meant continuous reliance on local resources, hence great mobility.

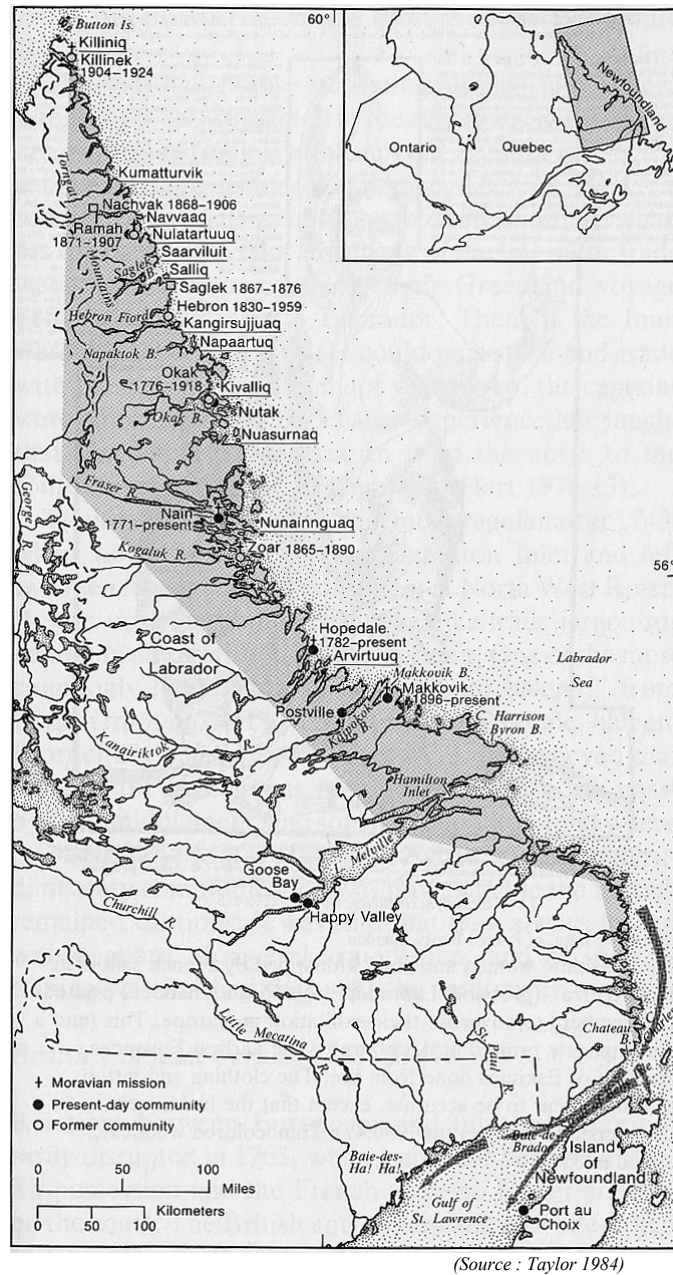


Figure 4. Local bands along the coast of Labrador, around 1771

The Moravians thus favored winter settled communities living off stockpiled food gathered during the rest of the year. They also attempted to isolate the converted, Christian Inuit from the “heathen” ones. Moravians in Nain soon realized that the high degree of mobility of their converted Inuit was an obstacle to their mission, and thus decided to expand. According to Loring (1998: 55), the objectives of this expansion were:

1) to extend the influence of the Moravian mission to areas where the Inuit could move in response to social and ecological factors; 2) to counter the necessity for Inuit to travel down the Labrador coast to intercept European traders and fishermen; and, 3) to establish a “buffer” for the Christian Inuit from their heathen relatives in the north. Permanent land grants to the Moravians influenced land use in two ways: the creation of “settled” Inuit with a seasonal land use pattern, and a confinement of the heathen to the northern part of the peninsula, which reinforced the geographic separation and redefined the boundaries of the once larger cultural area (Makivik 1992: 30).

Europeans had at the time a lesser influence on the Ungava Bay. The Moravians sent a party, headed by Kohlmeister and Kmoch, north along the coast and down around the peninsula, all the way to the Koksoak River, in 1811. On their way, they stopped over in *Kangiqsualujjuaq* (“the very large bay”) and named the river there in honor of George III, King of England. They recorded their trip in a book published in London in 1814. The Moravians asked the HBC, who held rights for the area, for the permission to establish a mission in the Ungava Bay, but their request was rejected. Instead, the HBC established the trading post of Fort Chimo on the Koksoak River in 1830, and established Fort Siveright in 1838, 16 km inland from the mouth of the George River. Both posts were closed in 1842, due to communication and provisioning difficulties. Fort Chimo was reopened in 1866, when steamboats remedied this problem.

With the arrival of the Moravians trade slowly gained in importance in the Ungava-Labrador peninsula. Concurrently, the population of the northeastern portion of the peninsula – a heathen one – decreased by almost fifty percent, down to approximately 200 people in 1861 (Taylor 1984: 513). This depopulation resulted from out-migration to the Hebron mission (established in 1830) and other Moravian stations to the south, as well as to the Ungava where HBC had trading posts at Fort Chimo and Fort Siveright. The years following the middle of the nineteenth century brought important changes. This

marks the end of the Inuit period and the beginning of the Canada period, in which the Ungava-Labrador peninsula persisted for some time as a last frontier of Inuit sovereignty (Loring 1998).

2.3 The Canada Period

The Confederation of Canada in 1867 marks the beginning of a territorial evolution leading to today's Canada. Prompted by the Americans' purchase of Alaska, Canada purchased Rupert's land and the Northwest Territories from the HBC soon after Confederation. The Rupert's Land Act of 1868 authorized the British Crown to take over the lands of the Hudson's Bay Company, and then transfer them to the Dominion of Canada, but the lands were not transferred until 1871. Only an undefined strip of land along the coast of Labrador was set aside for the British colony of Newfoundland.⁸ While these decisions, taken in far away locations, had little if any direct impact on the Ungava-Labrador peninsula, trade and fisheries were steadily increasing and moving northwards.

The relative isolation of the Moravian mission stations ended in the 1860s when Newfoundland cod fishermen started frequenting the northern coast of Labrador in greater numbers. The Moravians opened missions in Saglek Bay and Nachvak Fjord in 1867 and 1868. These two attempts were unsuccessful, and were immediately replaced by HBC posts (Fort Lampson in Saglek Bay, 1868-1874, and Nachvak, 1868-1906). The Moravians successfully opened a mission in Ramah Bay in 1871, which lasted until 1906. In Ungava, the HBC established Fort George River in 1876, closed it in 1915 and reopened it from 1923 to 1952. Trading – and trading companies – slowly imposed itself on the economic and land use decisions of Inuit, restricting them to smaller and smaller territorial units. The increase in the number and distribution of trading posts superimposed a new configuration of land use activities. The long distance movements were discouraged and competition between traders “forced” land use patterns to become

more restricted to the territory defined by the “sphere of influence” of each particular trading post (Makivik 1992: 32).

Scientific interest for the Arctic was also increasing. The first International Polar Year took place in 1882-1884. A meteorological station was established at Killiniq, and an ethnologist from the Smithsonian Institute, Lucien M. Turner, spent a year at Fort Chimo. In his report, Turner (1979: 12) identified the major regional bands of the Québec-Labrador Peninsula. From interviews, he described a regional band ranging from Leaf Bay to the Atlantic coast of Labrador. Its people would call themselves the *Suqinirmiut*, “those that dwell on the sunny side”. This was evidently a Fort Chimo perspective, as Taylor (1984: 520) mentions that the ethnonym is not generally known on the Atlantic coast. However, it is possible that the “heathen” Inuit of the Labrador coast, who found themselves receding north during Moravian expansion, were part of this wider regional band. What has probably occurred, then, is a progressive separation of the Inuit of Labrador and Ungava due to commercial competition and missionization. This process of separation has crystallized with the establishment of a mission and trading ventures at Killiniq in 1904.

2.3.1 A Significant Change: the Establishment of Killiniq Mission

The establishment of mission and trading ventures at Killiniq, also known as Port Burwell, is the event that had the strongest and most continuing impact on the utilization of the coastal and inland areas of the peninsula by the Inuit of Nunavik (Makivik 1992: 33). In both prehistoric and historic times, a community was located on an island about 300 meters from Québec mainland, which is now part of Nunavut. The Moravians established a mission there in 1904, at the same place where a small commercial fishery operated from 1896 to 1904 and where the Anglicans had a mission since 1902.

In 1905, an agreement between the Anglicans and the Moravians divided the missions' territory, with Moravians having rights to the Labrador coast and the Anglicans having rights throughout Ungava. Makivik (1992: 34) puts forward that "this division tended, to some degree to restrict the movement of Inuit between "Anglican Ungava" and "Moravian Labrador"." In 1916, the HBC established a post at Killiniq, which was a center for both subsistence and commercial harvesting. As well, seasonal camps were established along both coasts, and the inland of the whole Ungava-Labrador peninsula was exploited. When the Moravians closed their mission in 1923, many of the Inuit attached to the Moravian church relocated to Hebron. This left Killiniq "open" for settlement by the Anglican Inuit of Ungava (Makivik 1992: 35). The closing of the HBC post in 1939 lead to another out-migration that changed the land use patterns. Nevertheless, five families continued to live at Killiniq and the area kept being used by Inuit from other communities.

2.3.2 Culture Change in the First Century of the Canada Period, a Summary

The decline in the number of large sea mammals during the 19th century contributed to an increase in the reliance of the Inuit on seals and terrestrial resources. This, along with new hunting strategies, caused a gradual elimination of cooperative hunting practices and large cohesive village settlements. In addition, the archeological material from the late 19th century suggests that the intensification of trading provoked a gradual shift from subsistence to trapping economy (Kaplan 1980: 653). The expansion and competition of missions and trading posts in the northern sector of the peninsula, which demanded individuals' loyalty, further enhanced the reduction of the community unit (Kaplan 1980: 657).

Partially responding to these conditions three categories of settlements developed on the north coast in the late 19th century: those following Mission teachings, those trapping and fishing for the Company, and those with limited contacts with either

European group. Nineteenth century settlements shifted away from once productive whale and walrus hunting areas, principally at the *sina* [floe-edge], to coastal and inner fiord regions, where both terrestrial and marine resources could be exploited. [...]

The elimination of a cooperative economy and the development of alliances to particular resident European groups brought about a breakdown in economic and social ties within the north coast Eskimo community. Exchange networks were no longer necessary, interaction with neighboring communities was discouraged, and within settlements economic exchange was between an individual hunter or trapper and a European. Settlements distributed along the north coast during the late 19th century became increasingly economically and socially isolated from one another (Kaplan 1980: 657)

Commercial competition and missionization intensified in the first half of the twentieth century. The Inuit of the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula, once the last corner of Inuit sovereignty, were definitively incorporated into the larger Christian world, and into the colonial structures of Canada and Newfoundland. The opulent trade market of the 1920s brought irreversible technological changes among Inuit (firearms replaced bows and arrows, *umiait* were abandoned). Although economic factors seem to have dominated Inuit life since regular contact with Europeans, another fundamental aspect of Inuit social life changed radically: traditional shamanism and the accompanying rituals and belief system (Saladin d'Anglure 1984: 503). The Inuit were Christianized, a process through which the *Tuurngait* were demonized and partly driven out of "their" Mountains.

2.3.3 The Demonization of the Tuurngait and Their Departure

The *Tuurngait* are non-human beings with various powers. Their presence is recorded in most of the Arctic regions, but their forms and manifestations vary from one place to another. It is inadequate to classify them in clear and distinct categories in a scientific manner (Ouellette 2002: 113-115). Generally, the *Tuurngait* were described as the auxiliaries of the *angakkuit* (the shamans), a belief that persists in Labrador today (Interview with Anonymous, Nain, July 2006; Boutcher 1985). The *Tuurngait* are described as having a potential for positive or negative influence. Various sources,

however, mention the *Tuurngait* of the Torngat Mountains as evil beings (Etook 1975; Ouellette 2002; Heyes *et al.* 2003; Weetaluktuk 2007; Saladin d'Anglure 2007). The many contemporary interpretations and perceptions of the *Tuurngait* are also due to the specificities of the area's conversion to Christianity. Everywhere, this conversion provoked the extinction of shamanism. Almost everywhere, however, the shamans' auxiliaries (the *Tuurngait*) remained. They do not constitute a mystical link with the environment anymore, but they stayed as a part of the contemporary reality (Ouellette 2002: 124-125).

Two ethnologists (Lucien M. Turner and E.W. Hawkes) of the late 19th- early 20th century have recorded stories about the spirits of the Torngat Mountains. Heyes *et al.* (2003: 32-33) report these stories. They involve greater spirits such as *Sedna*, an "Inuit goddess of the sea and all marine creatures," *Superguksoak*, "having authority over the land and the animals," and her husband *Torngak*,⁹ an "evil spirit ruling over the sea and sea animals, whose malicious nature is the result of the loss of his two children." Jobie Weetaluktuk (2007), through the stories of Tivi Etok (also spelled "Etook"), gives a more contemporary and tangible account of the presence of *Tuurngait* in the Torngat Mountains.

Tivi Etok grew up in the area of George River, but his father had hunted in all the land from Payne Bay, through Leaf Bay, Chimo and George River (Etook 1975: 7). He traveled the land around George River and as far as Hebron in Labrador. When he got older, his family moved to *Navvaaq* (Nachvak), and then to *Kuururjuaq* (Koroc River). Tivi says he was born "too late to live the way the old people had lived, [but] still grew up using the hunting equipment and the hunting techniques of the Eskimo people" (Etook 1975: 7). Tivi says there used to be *Tuurngait* everywhere in the Torngat Mountains, although these were not the only kind of non-human beings in the area. Tivi specifies that "we don't mention *Tuurngaq* so often now, but now we know about Satan and evil

border of the Province of Québec was extended to incorporate the entire District of Ungava, except for the islands adjacent to the mainland (for more details, see Hastings 1983). After World War I, the federal government increased its presence in the Arctic by establishing RCMP detachments. Their responsibilities were broad, including the issuance of relief to those in need (the Inuit).

This involvement of the Canadian Government in the Arctic is described as a period of “welfare colonialism” (for more details see, for example, Marcus 1995). Since the Inuit did not fall under the Indian Act of 1876, the federal government issued the bill to the Québec Government. Québec, however, refused its responsibility over the Inuit and appealed to the Supreme Court. A judgment of 1939 ruled in Québec’s favor. It is only in the early 1960s that Québec showed interest in the northern reaches of its territory.

2.3.5 The Rise of Government in Labrador Affairs

Early in the 20th century, the government of Newfoundland, which was granted responsible government in 1855 (surrendered in 1934), started to increase its presence in Labrador. The boundaries between Labrador and Canada were clearly defined by a decision of the Imperial Privy Council in London in 1927 (the Newfoundland interpretation of “coast”, extending to the crest of the watershed, prevailed over Canada’s and Québec’s interpretations; for more details see Dorion (1963)). In 1942, the HBC, facing financial difficulties, closed all its posts on the coast of Labrador. The government of Newfoundland undertook the task of supplying the communities and reestablishing the diversified economy that had previously existed (Brice-Bennett 1977: 107).

In 1949, the colony of Newfoundland joined Canada. The following years mark a turning point in the history of the coast of Labrador (Brice-Bennett 1977: 109). Similarly to what happened when the United States established a military base in Goose Bay in 1941, the construction of military radar installations in Hopedale in 1951 created a

movement of Inuit from the north. These people were attracted by the opportunity for wage employment, and sought to escape the difficult situation of living off the trade of undervalued local resources (fisheries, furs, and seal and cod liver oil). This was interpreted as a manifestation of an inevitable trend towards a full-time employment economy.

At the Labrador Conference, organized in 1956 by the Government of Newfoundland, the authorities decided to continue subsidizing the harvesting of local resources, but, following the proposal of Rev. F.W. Peacock, the community of Nutak was closed and its 140 inhabitants relocated to other Labrador communities. Nutak was located on a nearby site of the former Okak mission, which had closed in 1919 after a serious epidemic of Spanish influenza, and where the HBC had opened a post. With the closure of Nutak, 130 miles separated Nain and Hebron, and the closure of Hebron seemed inevitable.

2.3.5.1 The Closure of Hebron

The decision to close Hebron was made at a Mission Field Conference at Hopedale in August 1958. Without being consulted, the 36 families of Hebron were to be relocated in 1959. As Carol Brice-Bennett noted (1977: 111), the people at Hebron judged their security in terms of the abundance of seals and fish. Neither they, nor the former residents of Nutak, wished to leave their homes for employment in the south. Moreover, contrary to the relocation of the Nutak families, the resettlement of Hebron families was marked by confusion and lack of organization.

The original plan was to settle 20 families at Makkovik, ten at Hopedale, and six at Nain. However, housing was not available in these communities in 1959, even though the Hebron families had already moved into tents and used their houses for packing cases and fuel. Postponing relocation was thus impossible, and the government managed to provide

housing for 20 families, the remainder having to stay at Hebron for the winter. Since there would be no storekeeper and no nurse in Hebron, these families decided to leave on the last steamer in October 1959. By the summer of 1960, there were “little Hebron” villages added to Nain, Hopedale, and Makkovik. Nain became the northernmost community of Labrador. In 2001, 1159 people were living in Nain. Although the use of the Nutak and Hebron areas by their former resident persisted in the decades following their relocation – despite the disappearance of cod from coastal Labrador – land use of the northern stretch of the coast of Labrador has been significantly affected.

2.3.6 State Interventionism and Southern Models of Governance

With the rise of welfare colonialism and its intensification after World War II, there was growing concern in Ottawa about the sustainability of the Inuit occupation of the Arctic. This matter was especially important since the absence of inhabitants in the Arctic could de-legitimize Canada’s sovereignty over the area (see Marcus 1995). The Department of Indian Affairs (now the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, DINA) took over the responsibility for developing a sustainable market economy in the Arctic and decided to establish a co-operative system among Inuit communities. A first coop was established at George River in 1959, followed by the coop of Port Burwell (Killiniq) in 1960 (for more details see, for example, Mitchell 1996). Saladin d’Anglure (1984: 506) notes that state intervention was greatly extended in the decade following 1960. This year marks “the end of a way of life centered on hunting, fishing, and the fur trade, the end of snowhouses for permanent winter occupation, the end of summers spent in traditional hunting camps, and also the end of missionary predominance in schooling and health care”.

2.3.6.1 The Establishment of Kangiqsualujjuaq

The closure of the HBC posts at Port Burwell (Killiniq) in 1942 and at George River (Kangiqsualujjuaq) in 1952 provoked an out-migration from the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula towards Fort Chimo, where the American military base was offering waged employment. There were nonetheless five camps remaining near Kangiqsualujjuaq (see Kativik 2005: 125). In 1958, the DINA carried out a study on the economic potential of the area: *Ungava Bay: a Resource Survey*. This study proposed the establishment of local cooperatives based on resource extraction and transformation. It was thought that timber and Arctic char from the George River were valuable sources of trade at Kangiqsualujjuaq. Exchanges would be possible with Killiniq where seal was plentiful, but wood scarce.

In early 1959, two employees of DINA made the trip to Kangiqsualujjuaq, where the families of the five camps had gathered under their request. At that time, the Inuit were seriously thinking about leaving the area, because of the scarcity of game (Bonnière 1964). Instead, as Tivi Etok recalls, the Inuit “were told that they would have to congregate at Kangiqsualujjuaq” (Weetaluktuk 2007: 193). They left their camps, and the George River Coop was established in the summer of 1959. This was the first coop of the Arctic, followed a few months later by the Killiniq Coop. According to Willie Emudluk, the actual site was preferred to another one at the mouth of the Koroc River because of plane and boat accessibility, the proximity of timber, and the properties of floating logs, which cannot be stored in salt water for extended periods (Heyes *et al.* 2003: 21-22)¹².

In 1961, the site was renamed “Port-Nouveau-Québec” by the Government of Québec, a name that was abandoned in 1975. In 1962, eight houses and a federal school were erected at Akilisakallak. Timber was logged in winter upstream on the George River. The Inuit became loggers. In 1966, there were 157 people and about 30 houses. In 1967, a provincial school was set up, and in 1975, the village of Kangiqsualujjuaq was

incorporated as a municipality. In 1978, most of the residents from Killiniq (about 50 people) were relocated to Kangiqsualujjuaq. An attempt was made in 1985 to establish a new settlement north of Kangiqsualujjuaq, at Taqpangayuk, but it was abandoned because of a lack of governmental support. In 2004, 776 people were living at Kangiqsualujjuaq.

In the mid-1990s, Makivik published a *Composite Land Use for the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula, 1920-1995* (1995). This collection of maps, based on interviews with elders from Kangiqsualujjuaq, shows that both coasts of the peninsula were used extensively year round, all the way down to Okak Bay. Today, however, use of the northern coast and inland of Labrador is limited because of distance and the high cost of fuel. Moreover, the Inuit do not rely on country (traditional) food as much as before, even though it is still an important part of their diet and identity (Wenzel 1991; Stairs & Wenzel 1992).

2.3.7 Modern Treaties and Inuit Self-Governance in Québec and Labrador

In the *Royal Proclamation* of 1763 that followed the cession of Canada from France to Britain, the whole territory beyond the 13 Colonies and the newly established Province of Québec was defined as “Indian Territory.” Throughout the course of history, the British Crown, and later, the Government of Canada, negotiated treaties with Aboriginal groups in order to gain rights over the land. The Government of Canada negotiated the “numbered” treaties, from 1 to 11, between the 1871 and 1929. They cover most of Ontario and the Prairies. However, Aboriginal people had never ceded their rights over the entire province of Québec, the Atlantic provinces, most of British Columbia and most of the Northwest Territories. The desire to exploit the resources of the Arctic combined with Aboriginal peoples’ growing awareness of their rights, gave a new impetus for land-claim negotiations, in the form of comprehensive agreements

between Canada and the Aboriginals. The Supreme Court decision in *Calder et al. vs. the Attorney General of British Columbia*, in 1973, recognized the existence of Aboriginal title in Canadian law, and the government announced its intention to settle Aboriginal land claims.

In Québec, the provincial government's hydroelectric mega-projects in James Bay prompted land claims negotiations with the Cree. These negotiations were extended to include the whole northern portion of the territory, thus bringing the Inuit to the negotiation table. In 1975, the Cree, the Inuit, and the governments of Québec and Canada signed the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA). This was the first of Canada's modern treaties.

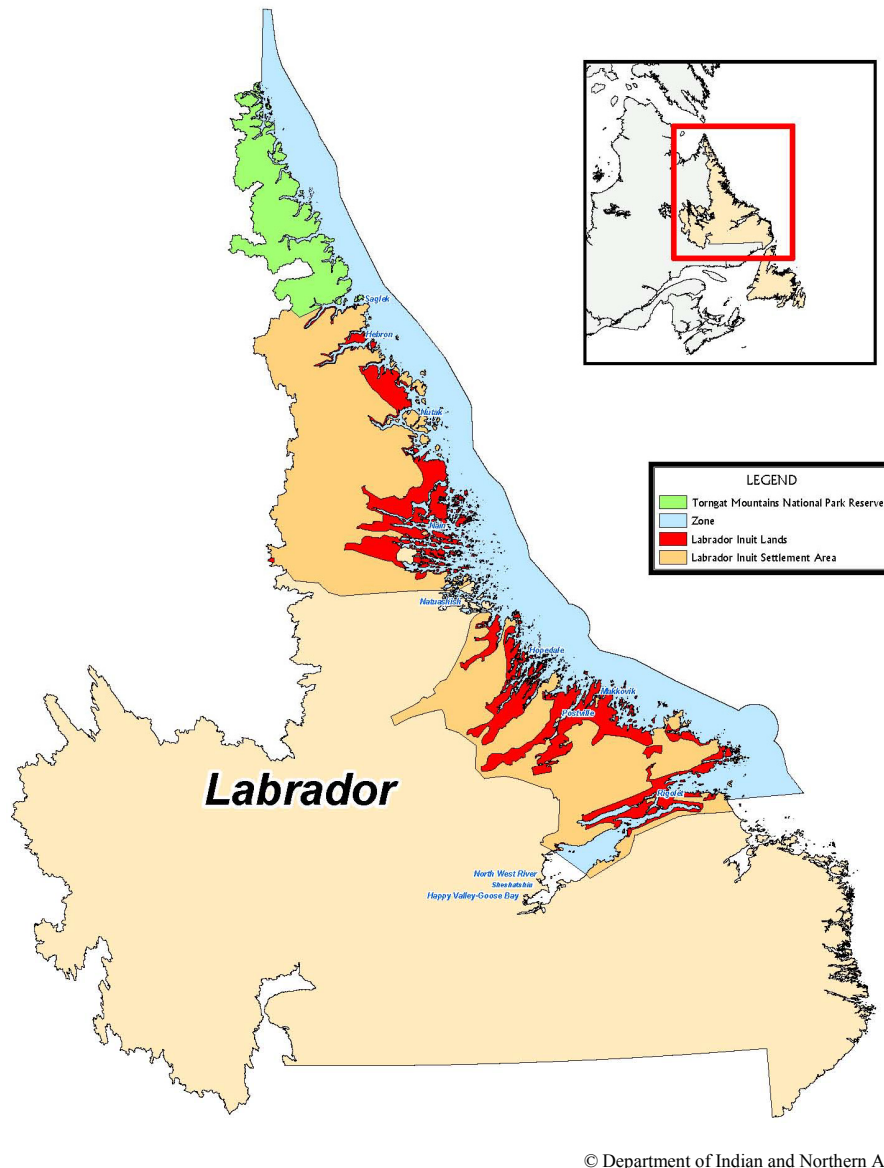
The primary purpose of comprehensive claims is to resolve legal ambiguities in regards to land rights. In the case of the JBNQA, it involved relinquishing the Aboriginal title. In return, the Inuit were granted rights that include ownership of certain pieces of land, harvesting rights, participation in land and resource management, financial compensation, resource revenue-sharing, and economic development measures. Following the JBNQA, the land was divided in three categories (see Figure 7). Category I lands (8,152 square kilometers), usually where the villages are located, are owned by Inuit and managed by landholding corporations. Category II lands (81,596 square kilometers), usually located around the villages, come under provincial jurisdiction, but the Inuit have exclusive hunting, fishing, trapping and outfitting rights. Category III lands (910,711 square kilometers) are Québec public lands (Crown land) where Inuit and non-Inuit may hunt, but the Inuit exercise certain harvesting rights and participate in the administration and development of the territory north of the 55th parallel. To this end, a supra-municipal body under Inuit control, the Kativik Regional Government (KRG), was established in 1978. That same year, the Makivik Corporation was established to

In Labrador, negotiations for a comprehensive land claims agreement started in 1977. It took 27 years for the Labrador Inuit Association, the Government of Newfoundland-and-Labrador, and the Government of Canada to reach an agreement. On December 6, 2004, the Labrador Inuit Land Claim Agreement (LILCA) received Royal Assent. Except for any Aboriginal rights that the Labrador Inuit may have in lands and waters in a defined area of northeastern Québec and adjacent marine areas, the Agreement constitutes a final settlement of the Aboriginal rights of the Labrador Inuit in Canada. Within a settlement area of 72,520 square kilometers of land and 48,690 square kilometers of ocean, the Inuit of Labrador acquired ownership over 15,800 square kilometers of land (Figure 8). They agreed upon the creation of the TMNP, over an area of 9,600 square kilometers.

The LILCA also includes clauses for an ethnic form of self-government. Following the new Constitution, which came into effect with the Agreement, two levels of government were established: the Nunatsiavut Government, with jurisdiction primarily over Inuit at a regional level, and five Inuit Community Governments. The Constitution also provides for the establishment of Inuit Community Corporations for Inuit who live elsewhere outside the Labrador Inuit Settlement Area.

2.4 Conclusion: Continuity in the Torngat Mountains

I presented the evolution of land use and occupancy in the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula for the reason that national parks formalize certain types of land use, and a certain type of occupancy (rights to the land). Accordingly, national parks are a matter of concern in the negotiations for land claims; it was the successful LILCA and NILCA only that allowed for the establishment of the TMNP. In recognizing Inuit land use within treaty negotiation, national parks in claim settlement areas are thus an expression of *continuity*.



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Figure 8. Claim settlement area and categories of land for the LILCA

I demonstrated the geographical and historical aspects of continuity in land use and occupancy for the area. Geographically, there has been a continuous use of the land and its resources by the Inuit for the past 4000 years. Thule culture gave rise to the more recent traditions and practices that characterize the contact period. Subsequent to European arrival, land use practices have changed considerably – but nevertheless remained – because of commercial, religious and political wars of influence, but also

because of the fluctuation of resources available. Inuit have always adapted to their changing environment, and they continue to do so presently.

For the Inuit people, the living resources of the Arctic not only sustain them in an economic sense, they provide a fundamental basis for social identity, cultural survival and spiritual life; for them, there is a strong spiritual and cultural bond between humans and the natural world (Nuttall 2000). Stairs and Wenzel (1992) also stress the importance of the land – the territory and its living components, human and animal – when they define Inuit identity as “ecocentric.” Dorais (1997) shows how the relevant features of contemporary Inuit identity – kinship, religion and language – are subsumed in their connection to the land (*nuna*) and land-oriented activities (*maqainniq*). These, in turn, are “perceived to be the most complete manifestation of Inuit [cultural] identity” (Dorais 1997: 88-89).

Historically, there has been a continuous increase in European and Euro-Canadian presence and influence in the North. The result has been an ever-increasing interventionism by foreign institutions in the Arctic, accompanied by a growing dependency of the Inuit on these institutions (Mayes 1978). Today, national parks in comprehensive claim agreements acknowledge the age-old relationship of the Inuit with the land by allowing them to pursue their harvesting activities and by empowering them on the park’s management board. Will modern treaties and Canadian and Québécois national parks constitute a rupture in historical continuity? Because national parks formalize both land use and land occupancy over a certain area, it is necessary to analyze the national parks’ purpose and objectives.

CHAPTER 3. THE PURPOSE OF NATIONAL PARKS

National parks are the most recent stage of the land use and occupancy for the area of the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula. In light of the previous chapter, it is important to be aware of the needs of the Inuit, and to look at the reasons why these parks are labeled “national.” In this chapter, I explore the purpose and objectives of the new and future parks, from federal, provincial, regional and local perspectives. I begin by quickly outlining the establishment processes for the new and future parks of the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula. Following this, I will provide historical background for the understanding of the purpose of national parks in Québec and Canada, and I will analyze the discourse of parks agreements, acts, policies, impact and feasibility studies, reports, and other sources.

3.1 Establishing Parks on the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula

Establishing a national park is a costly process, particularly when it is done in remote areas. Not one, but two contiguous parks will likely cover approximately 50% of the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula. It has to be worthwhile for the federal and provincial governments, who cover the costs of both establishing and managing the parks. Canada’s national park establishment process is described in the *Guiding Principles and Operational Policies* of 1994 (Parks Canada 1994: 26-29). It is a five-step process: 1) identifying representative natural areas; 2) selecting potential national parks, with consideration for cultural heritage and Aboriginal rights; 3) assessing national park feasibility, with public hearings and boundary adjustments; 4) negotiating national parks agreements, where provincial governments and/or Aboriginal peoples have constitutional rights to the land; and 5) establishing a national park in the legislation, through an amendment to the National Park Act.

In Québec, the first two steps are similar, although the criteria for selecting parks are different. Once an area is selected, liaison is made with the supra-municipal body for including the future park in the region's master plan. The DPEP then initiates data acquisition for the publication of a status report summarizing all the information available on the park area. Once the status report is completed, the DPEP prepares a provisional master plan for public hearings. The DPEP adjusts its recommendations according to the report on the public hearings. An administrative process follows, leading to the inclusion of the new park into legislation by an amendment to the Parks Regulations (not to the Parks Act). Finally, the park's master plan is prepared. Although quite different, the two approaches are similar. Québec, however, has developed a different partnership with the Inuit.

Parks Canada's interest in the Torngat area dates back to the early 1970s. After meetings held in the communities of Labrador in 1977, the project was abandoned in order to let LIA prepare its land claims negotiations (Stix 1982). In the mid-1980s, LIA set up working groups in every community to discuss the TMNP establishment. Parks Canada Feasibility Study started in late 1992, in collaboration with LIA and the government of Newfoundland. It was completed in 1996. The Feasibility Study was conclusive, and opened the way for further negotiations between LIA and the province, between the province and the federal government, and between LIA and the federal government.

In 1998, the province exempted the park area from mineral claims. In 2000, LIA and the province signed a Memorandum of Understanding on interim measures to protect the land. Brian Tobin, then Premier of Newfoundland, stated that "This understanding between government and the LIA shows that both sides are committed to the resolution of land claim and self-government agreements" (Government of Newfoundland-and-Labrador 2000). In the following years, while negotiating its land claims, LIA negotiated

a Park's Impact and Benefit Agreement (PIBA) for the TMNP, the draft of which was supported by over 90 per cent of Labradorimiut (Interview with Toby Andersen, former negotiator for the LILCA, August 2006).

The PIBA was signed on January 21, 2005, in Nain, and on the same day the province signed a Land Transfer Agreement with the federal government. The TMNP Reserve (approximately 9600 square kilometers) was officially inaugurated on December 1, 2005, when the LILCA received Royal Assent. Exactly one year later, the NILCA received similar assent, and a new PIBA with the Inuit of Nunavik was signed in Kuujuaq, thus giving the TMNP Reserve full park status. These two PIBA are intended to ensure that the management of the park respects and reflects Inuit rights and interests and provides for continued use by Inuit of the National Park, to provide a framework for a cooperative management and planning, and to address any matter connected with the park that might have a detrimental impact, or could confer a benefit, on Inuit.

Québec's interest in the Torngat Mountains and Koroc River dates back to the early 1980s, and was first expressed in *Pitsiataugik* (Québec 1985). In 1992, Quebec reserved an area of 4295 square kilometers including nearly the entire Koroc River watershed, an area that, at the request of the community, was later expanded to cover 4417 square kilometers. Following the Sanarrutik Agreement and the Agreement concerning the development of parks in Nunavik of 2002, KRG was in charge of writing a status report, which it completed in December 2005 (Kativik 2005). This report includes significant cultural and historical background. The DPEP prepared a provisional master plan, where it states that the purpose of the park is to protect representative portions of natural heritage, and to ensure that the Inuit actively participate in protecting, developing and managing the territory (Québec 2007). A subsequent agreement with KRG will detail these responsibilities.

The DPEP and the Kativik Environmental Advisory Committee (KEAC) co-held public hearings in Kangiqsualujjuaq in March 2007, where KRG and Makivik showed support for the park. The Naskapi were there and asked for the designation of a sacred area within the park, on the basis that they used the area in the past. Parks Canada was also present, since wishes and actions for a better collaboration between the two parks were repeatedly expressed. Once the park will be established – the objective is 2008 – KRG will be in charge of the management of the PNK.

Parks Canada sits on a significant number of the negotiation tables for land claims agreements. In this context, Parks Canada developed a strong relationship with LIA on the basis of mutual benefits. Land claims negotiations create a context in which national park establishment becomes “the good news story” of land claims agreements (interview with Brendan O’Donnell, Senior Advisor on Aboriginal Affairs, Parks Canada, November 2006). The cooperative management board established after the PIBA allows Parks Canada and the Inuit to keep working together in a strong partnership. In addition, Parks Canada agreed to nominate Inuit candidates exclusively for its share of the board members, a premiere in Canada. Concurrently, Parks Canada remains visible in the community as an employment provider.

In contrast, the DPEP’s strong emphasis on natural heritage irritated their Inuit partners (KRG and Avataq), who think Inuit cultural heritage should be given more importance (Interviews with Michael Barrett, Assistant Director of the KRG Department of Renewable Resources, February 2006; Johnny Adams, former Chair of KRG, May 2006; Anonymous, Avataq Cultural Institute, January 2007). As a result, the Inuit insisted to have a stronger say, and were devolved some responsibilities in park development and management. Instead of a strong partnership, similar to that of the TMNP in which the Inuit join the structures of park development and management, the Inuit of Nunavik and

the government of Québec preferred to work out a collaboration with complementary but separate responsibilities.

3.2 A Brief History of Canada's National Parks

Retrospection on the history of national parks helps understanding their past and present purpose. The early history of Canada's national parks is intimately linked with that of the USA, which served as a model. Shultis (1997: 191) explains that when the USA created its first national parks, it was at a certain stage in its cultural development where it was searching for a national icon. Shultis (1997: 202) notes that:

In the mid- to late-nineteenth century, a number of changing social attitudes and values within the middle and upper classes consolidated to form the national park concept. [...] The concept of the national park was able to diffuse so quickly because of the presence of common cultural, social, economic and political conditions in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States.

Even though national parks were attributed nationalist values, early parks were rather created as a result of some entrepreneurs' economic interest. The mineral hot springs close to Banff railway station were reserved for public use in 1885, thus marking the beginning of Canada's national park history. Additional national parks were gradually established. With only a few exceptions, the 14 national parks established before the 1930s were all on frontier land in Western Canada. The following eight parks created between 1936 and 1970 were in Québec and the Atlantic provinces. With the exception of Wood Buffalo National Park (1922), northern Canada remained largely unrepresented.

With the increasing pace of oil and gas exploration in the Beaufort Sea and High Arctic Islands in the 1960s, the federal government proclaimed its commitment to "balanced development" by protecting the North's fragile environment and the aboriginal-based renewable resource economy. In 1972, Jean Chrétien, then Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), who was in charge of park establishment, sponsored a bill to establish Kluane, Nahanni, and Auyuittuq national

parks in the Northwest Territories. At the same time, Parks Canada published its first System Plan identifying 39 terrestrial natural regions, with the long term agenda to make Canada's system truly national in scope by siting a national park in each natural region.

However, Jean Chrétien's bill met with opposition from the northern aboriginal peoples, particularly Inuit (Fenge 1993: 23). Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), the pan-Canadian Inuit organization, objected to the establishment of Auyuittuq National Park. They claimed that the Inuit were not offered compensation for the loss of their land. In response, the federal government agreed that the National Parks Act should include the designation of "national park reserve," to be applied to areas subject to outstanding comprehensive land claims by aboriginal peoples. Only with the settlement of a claim could a park reserve become a true national park. In the meantime, however, Parks Canada would manage it as a normal park. That is, with a conservationist approach that excluded human use.

Before the 1970s, the Aboriginal peoples had virtually no influence on park establishment and decision-making. Furthermore, they were evicted from their lands (Morrison 1993). The attitude of Parks Canada began to change as the values and aspirations of Aboriginal peoples seeped into Canadian politics. As Peepre and Dearden (2003) note, this process was aided by the public hearings for the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry headed by Thomas R. Berger. In his report, Berger proposed a new type of park, a 'wilderness park', a recommendation that is now an acknowledged milestone in the debate that connects Aboriginal peoples with national parks (Peepre & Dearden 2003: 330).

To capitalize on increased public interest in the North, Hugh Faulkner, Minister of DIAND, announced early in 1978 a public consultation program on five proposed national parks. This announcement was quickly followed by a land claim Agreement-in-Principle between the federal government and the Inuvialuit of the Beaufort Sea region.

The following year, the federal Cabinet approved extensive amendments to the Parks Canada Policy. As Fenge points out (1993: 24), many of these amendments seemed designated to make national parks more attractive to northerners and relevant to conservation management needs of the Arctic and sub-Arctic environments. The 1979 Parks Canada Policy defined a new relationship between local people and national parks, and, if the parks were to be “established in conjunction with the settlement of land claims of native people,” embraced the concept of joint management with Aboriginal people (Parks Canada 1979: 40). The federal government firmly maintained the position that it and it alone must hold title to the land in national parks. Hence, the federal government pursued the northern national park initiative at the same time as it negotiated modern treaties with northern aboriginal peoples (Fenge 1993: 25). The first land claims agreement to include provisions for the establishment of a national park is Inuvialuit Final Agreement, in 1984.

The 1979 National Park Policy also acknowledges preservation, rather than use, as the main purpose of parks. The National Parks Act Amendments of 1988, the Guiding Principles and Operational Policies of 1994, the Parks Canada Agency Act of 1998, and the Bill C-27 in 2000 have all indicated that ecological integrity should be Parks Canada’s first concern in national parks. Concurrently, the amendments of 1988 and 2000, and the National Park Policy of 1994 (p.25) recognized the importance of traditional resource harvesting to Aboriginal peoples. An Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat reporting directly to the CEO was also set up in 1998.

As a result of the aforementioned changes, the Panel on Ecological Integrity noted that more than 50 per cent of the land area in Canada’s national park system has been protected because of Aboriginal peoples’ support for conservation of their lands (Parks Canada 2000, cited in Peepre and Dearden 2003: 324). However, the identification and selection of areas for national parks is still done using natural criteria identified by Euro-

Canadian scientists (English & Lee 2003: 49). This allows for diverging views: the Aboriginals want to protect their land for harvesting and for other cultural values, while Parks Canada seeks to complete its network of parks by representing a natural region (Peepre & Dearden 2003: 337; Seale 1997). Parks Canada, however, pursue objectives that exceed the sole protection and representation of the natural environment.

3.2.1 The Purpose and Objectives of Canada's National Parks

The National Parks Act makes it clear: parks are “hereby dedicated to the people of Canada for their benefit, education, and enjoyment, subject to the provisions of this Act and Regulations, and the parks shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.” This purpose statement makes it clear that parks are dedicated to both the public (“enjoyment”) and the maintenance of ecological integrity (“unimpaired”).

Parks Canada is in charge of both the establishment and the management of national parks. Dearden and Rollins (2003) mention that the “maintenance of cultural/traditional attributes” is not a management objective for national parks. However, Parks Canada (1998: 112) identified the following benefits of national parks: environmental protection and conservation, recreational opportunities, economic development and tourism, education, *sense of history*, spiritual sanctuary, and *national unity and identity*, making it clear that it seeks to maintain, or create, some cultural attributes.

This is also not to mention the geopolitical interest of “occupying” the land on the northernmost fringes of the country: in 1984, when Canada’s sovereignty in the Arctic was outwardly challenged by the unexpected cruise of an American icebreaker along the Northwest Passage, Canada responded with the establishment of the Ellesmere National Park Reserve (Bella 1987: 151).

Finally, after the tabling of the Report of the Panel on the Ecological Integrity of Canada's National Parks, there were blatant declarations "making ecological integrity central in legislation and policy." However, the Parks Canada Policy (1994) and the *State of the Parks Report, 1997* (Parks Canada 1998), make extensive use of the rhetoric of heritage, suggesting that cultural benefits of protected areas are of major concern for Parks Canada.

3.2.1.1 Parks Canada and the Canadian Collective, National Identity

Parks Canada is committed to the commemoration of Canada's natural and cultural heritage. Tilson (1997: 120-1) noted that for the first time in 1979, the Parks Canada Policy attempted to merge the concepts of natural and historical conservation. The Policy states that the "protection of heritage resources," by preserving their "ecological and historical integrity," is Parks Canada's first consideration. In 1993, Parks Canada was shifted from its older home of the Department of the Environment to reside in the Department of Canadian Heritage, where it stayed until it became a separate agency in 1998. Now, Parks Canada reports to the Minister of the Environment, and its current Policy dates back to 1994.

The Parks Canada Policy of 1994, *Guiding Principles and Operational Policies*, abounds with assertions about Canadian identity. Michel Dupuy, in his "Message from the Minister", declared that Canadians are motivated to make protection of natural areas and commemoration of historic places a high national priority:

Such areas and sites represent the very essence of our identity as a people. They characterize the way we see ourselves and how others see us as a nation. Through our efforts, we demonstrate to the world a thoughtful, caring attitude towards the national and international treasures of nature and culture so richly bestowed to Canadians.

In the Foreword, it is stated that this document "explains how the federal government, within the context of Parliamentary approvals, carries out its national

programs of natural and cultural heritage recognition and protection.” The Preface starts with a discussion on “Canadian Identity and Heritage,” where it is declared that:

As Canadians we appreciate the beauty of the natural environment and the richness of our history. These elements contribute to an understanding and collective sense of Canada’s national identity as well as a shared sense of pride. They unify us as a people yet express our national diversity... We share this rich heritage through national historic sites, national parks and park reserves, heritage railway stations, historic canals, marine conservation areas, heritage rivers, federal heritage buildings and historical markers.

These national symbols contribute to our Canadian identity in many ways. They depict a diversity of cultures and natural environments. They are national symbols... They are tangible links not only with the past and the present but with the future. Heritage places provide a window to the world and showcase our global responsibilities in ensuring a continued protection and representation of a heritage that has both national and international significance...

Protected heritage areas can demonstrate the interdependence of humans and the environment, and provide enhanced educational and interpretative opportunities. As a result, Canadian heritage values should increasingly be recognized as part of a nationally unifying ethic.

Further, Parks Canada makes it explicit that sustainable tourism must be based upon “providing education and recreation opportunities which foster a sense of Canadian identity” (1994: 14). In its Guiding Principles, the Policy reasserts Parks Canada’s commitment to “ensure long-term ecological *and* commemorative integrity of heritage areas” (my emphasis, p.16). It specifies that “heritage areas are designated and managed for their intrinsic and symbolic values, and for the benefit of the public” (p.16). The National Park Policy, included in the *Guiding Principles and Operational Policies*, proposes a distinction between natural and cultural heritage when it asserts that “national parks protect environments representative of Canada’s natural heritage” (p.24). However, a key statement of the Guiding Principles (p.17) stipulates that, “People and the environment are inseparable. Protection and preservation of natural and cultural heritage take account of the close relationship between people and the environment.” Indeed, the National Parks Policy (p.24) acknowledges that “many national parks contain areas which have cultural and historic significance.” These will be managed according to the

“Cultural Resources Management Policy.” The idea that national parks are of “national” (thus cultural) importance is confirmed in the *State of the Parks Report, 1997* (Parks Canada 1998), where, in the Introduction to *The State of the National Parks* (p.11), it is declared that:

A refuge for plants and animals, and a haven for the human spirit, Canada’s national parks are vital to our collective identity. They preserve yet celebrate the natural magnificence of our country for all to understand, appreciate and enjoy.

Parks Canada’s commitment to ecological integrity is revealed only 12 pages later. Further in the same document, the findings of a survey by the Angus Reid Group are mentioned: Canadians rank national parks third as an important symbol of Canada, after the flag and the national anthem (Parks Canada 1998: 93). Moreover,

Parks Canada can play a role in helping [Canadians] to define what it means to be “Canadian.” These special places [cared by Parks Canada] are increasingly promoted as knowledge and learning centers where young Canadians of all origins can gain an understanding of Canada’s heritage, its conservation and its importance to their Canadian identity. (Parks Canada 1998: 94)

John Shultis (1997:200) noted that national parks were first established to increase the country’s national pride and status. He cites the Canadian Institute, which suggested in 1892 that “The establishment of national parks will conduce to the fostering of patriotic spirit and be a means of increasing interest in Canada abroad.” This impression among the educated public persists more than a century later. Harvey Locke, Vice-President of the Conservation Branch at the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society and President of The Wildlands Project, who wrote the foreword to the most comprehensive academic review of Canada’s parks and protected areas (Dearden & Rollins 2003), concludes with this statement:

It is time for a new national dream, one that embraces wilderness and wildlife as a central part of Canadian civilization. Our artists, from Emily Carr and the Group of Seven to modern Haida and Inuit sculptors and printmakers, have intuitively honoured wilderness values, but we must do more as a nation. We need to invest some of our vast creativity and financial resources in a national effort for wildness. Such a course would distinguish us globally, satisfy us ethically, and enrich us spiritually. Canadians will not be a truly great people worthy of this great land if we

squander the opportunity to lead the world in this most fulfilling and altogether fitting way.

In light of this, national parks administered at the federal level by Parks Canada are clearly geared towards maintaining, if not creating, national identity and unity. Among the broad range of values attributed to Canadian national parks, the societal, cultural and identity values appear prominently in the appreciation of the Canadian government. Thus, are Québec national parks truly “national”? And what do these parks mean to the Inuit who accepted to have them on “their” territory?

3.3 A Brief History of Québec’s National Parks

Four of Canada’s national parks are situated in Québec: La Mauricie, Forillon, Mingan Archipelago, and Saguenay St. Lawrence Marine Park. Each of them has been established as a result of determined efforts on the part of the federal government (Lothian 1987). Indeed, title to the land in Canada’s national parks is exclusively federal. Thus, provincial governments, who hold title to Crown land within the province, are required to transfer the jurisdiction of these lands to the federal government. The government of Québec, concerned with its “territorial integrity”, has always been reluctant to do so. Most of Canada’s natural regions in Québec are still unrepresented in Canada’s park system, a situation that is not likely to change considering Québec’s ambition to establish its own network of parks.

Under the Canadian Constitution, natural resources fall under provincial jurisdiction. Accordingly, Québec – as are other provinces – is responsible for assigning public lands for conservation purposes, and has legislative power to establish parks. In 1894 and 1895, the government of Québec created its first two parks, the “Parc de la Montagne Tremblante” and the “Parc des Laurentides,” respectively. The intentions of the Québécois government were different from those of Canada and the USA when they

established their first parks (Québec 1984: 12). These first Québécois parks were not designed to preserve integrally the area they encompassed, and they did not preclude industrial use of natural resources.

Yves Hébert (1997) explains that in the late 19th century, two cultural trends were opposing each other: on the one hand, the Anglo-Saxon movement for conservation; and on the other hand, the French Canadian movement for a geopolitical expansion through agricultural colonization. Hébert (1997) suggests that a small group of businesspersons and politicians who wanted to protect their own interests created the first parks in Québec. These interests conflicted with the French Canadian geopolitical interest. As a result, no other park was established before the 1930s, when tourism stimulated park development for economic reasons. A third and fourth park were created in 1937 and 1938 (“Parc de la Gaspésie” and “Parc du Mont Orford”), which had more in common with the American and Canadian parks. Six years later, however, the government permitted mining and logging in the “Parc de la Gaspésie.” After 1939, the concept of national park was abandoned, to be replaced by Hunting and Fishing Reserves. About 40 of them were created in the following 40 years. Other departments established different kinds of protected areas. The incongruity of this network spurred reorganization, which materialized with the adoption of the first Québec Parks Act in 1977.

The 1977 Parks Act aimed at insuring the protection and development of Québec natural heritage. The Act provided a legal framework, rendered possible the establishment of a planned network, prohibited industrial use and hunting, and imposed public consultation:

The Parks Act marks a turning point: henceforth, Québec will be able to establish a network of parks, much as other Western countries have done. Its parks will be designed exclusively to protect its natural heritage and fulfill the recreational needs of its population. The Québec government, in consultation with the public, will create parks in accordance with a law which becomes the frame of reference for all parks (Québec 1984: 19).

The history of park establishment north and south of the 50th parallel follows two different courses. South of the 50th, high human pressure on the environment prompted the government to act quickly (Interview with Raymonde Pomerleau, Project Coordinator at DPEP, February 2006): 14 parks were created between 1980 and 1986. North of the 50th, the first and still the only park, the “Parc national des Pingualuit,” was established in 2004, and will open officially in September 2007. The government had agreed in the Supplementary Agreement 6 of the JBNQA to establish this park prior to November 1979. Even though it took so long for the first park to be established in the north of the province, the “Direction du patrimoine écologique et des parcs” (DPEP)¹³ had been interested in the north from its early days.

Park development in the South was facilitated by the existence of previously established protected areas of different sorts. In the North, there were none. Thus, a working group was set up in 1982 with a mandate to identify potential sites for park establishment north of the 49th parallel. They published a report, *Pitsiataugik... “Que l’on protège,”* in 1985 (Québec 1985). In 1989, 18 sites were formally identified, and eventually set aside in 1992. That same year, the government revealed its action plan entitled “La nature en héritage” (Québec 1992), where it confirmed its intention to establish parks in the North, in consultation with the public. The Cree and Inuit affirmed their support of this plan providing that their right to hunt and fish, as stipulated under the JBNQA, was respected. In 1995, it was agreed that all park projects on the territory of the JBNQA would undergo environmental and social impact studies. The current “Master Plan for Land Use in the Kativik Region” (north of the 55th parallel) approves the 12 sites identified for park development in Nunavik. KRG adopted this plan in 1998, thus marking the support of the Inuit for the establishment of parks in Nunavik.

The involvement of KRG in park development in Nunavik has been ever increasing since then. As part of the “Partnership Agreement on the Economic and Community

Development of Nunavik” of March 2002 (Sanarrutik Agreement), Québec agreed to transfer to KRG eight million dollars over a five year period for the establishment of three parks, and to transfer additional sums for the management of the Pingualuit park. The practical details of park development in Nunavik, as stated in the Agreement concerning the development of parks in Nunavik, are formalized in the “Agreement Concerning Block-Funding for the Kativik Regional Government” (Sivunirmut Agreement) of March 2004. Since then, every park in Nunavik must be the subject of a special agreement between Québec and KRG. KRG thereby became the tier party in charge of park management in Nunavik.

More generally, the government had recognized the poor management and low appreciation of its park network, and decided in 1999 to transfer its management responsibilities to a tier party, the “Société des établissements de plein-air du Québec” (SEPAQ). In its 2005-6 annual report, the SEPAQ declared that it had achieved its mandate to raise the conservation and education levels of Québec parks to international standards (SEPAQ 2006: 14). In December 2001, the government made another significant move for enhancing the quality of its park network by amending the Park Act. The amendment introduced the notion of biological diversity in park definition and abolished the previous distinction between recreational and conservation parks, as described in the first Park Act of 1977. In addition, this amendment took into consideration that the establishment and management standards of Québec’s parks correspond to the “national park” criteria of the IUCN. In order to create a more attractive product, the amendment stipulated that all parks in Québec will be labeled “national” (Québec. *La Loi sur les parcs*. [Online] Webpage visited April 15, 2007. <http://www.mddep.gouv.qc.ca/parcs/cadre/loi.htm>).

3.3.1 The Purpose and Objectives of Québec's National Parks

According to the Québec Parks Act, a “park” is:

Parc: un parc national dont l'objectif prioritaire est d'assurer la conservation et la protection permanente de territoires représentatifs des régions naturelles du Québec ou de sites naturels à caractère exceptionnel, notamment en raison de leur diversité biologique, tout en les rendant accessible au public pour des fins d'éducation et de récréation extensive.¹⁴

More specifically, the mission given to parks by the government of Québec reads as follows:

Assurer, pour le bénéfice des générations actuelles et futures, la protection [des parcs] dans une perspective de développement harmonieux des secteurs économique, culturel, social et environnemental (Québec 2002: 15).¹⁵

The Québec Parks Policy of 1982 stated three objectives that still determine the selection principles and management practices of Québec national parks. These objectives are: 1) “to ensure the preservation and the utilization of representative or exceptional features of Québec's natural heritage;” 2) “to contribute to fulfilling the need for recreational areas;” and 3) “to involve the people of Québec in the development and the utilization of their parks” (Québec 1984: 23-25). Stronger emphasis on biological diversity was added following the amendment to the Park Act in 2001. In terms of heritage, the Parks Policy (Québec 2002; 2003) clearly asserts the need to protect both the natural and cultural heritage of parks. The cultural heritage of parks is defined as follows:

Le patrimoine culturel des parcs nationaux du Québec témoigne de l'ensemble des formes d'occupation du territoire, tant par les Autochtones (prélèvement des ressources pour la subsistance et les pratiques ancestrales, utilisation de pistes et de cours d'eau pour les déplacements, etc.) que par les populations régionales (patrimoine religieux et maritime, activités de villégiature, etc.). Le patrimoine culturel fait aussi référence aux traces des activités d'exploitation des ressources naturelles ayant été auparavant menées sur le territoire (exploitation forestière, minière, etc.) (Québec 2002: 23).¹⁶

The Parks Policy also notes the differences between the southern and northern parks. Most notably, it acknowledges the important Aboriginal cultural heritage of northern parks, and recommends its development:

Bien que le patrimoine culturel fasse déjà partie intégrante de l'offre éducative de tous les parcs québécois, il doit se voir accorder une place encore plus importante dans les parcs créés en milieu nordique et en régions isolées, étant donné l'importance de l'héritage culturel des populations autochtones qui vivent en périphérie de ces aires protégées. Sachant que les patrimoines culturel et naturel se fondent, chez ces communautés, à l'intérieur de nombreuses traditions menacées, l'offre éducative d'un parc peut contribuer à valoriser et à maintenir vivantes certaines traditions propres à la culture autochtone. Cette dernière est également appelée à occuper une place croissante à l'intérieur de l'offre éducative des parcs nationaux du Québec méridional (Québec 2003: 16).¹⁷

The purpose and objectives of Québec's parks, similar to those of national park systems in Canada and other Western countries (conservation and enjoyment), are stated and repeated in the Act and its policies. However, the policies and the literature make no explicit link between Québec's parks and the construction of a national identity. There is, nonetheless, some concern for the national interest, but it takes another form.

3.3.1.1 Québec's National Parks and International Recognition

Although there is no explicit link between Québec national parks and Québec national identity, there is nevertheless an intention to instill among the population a feeling of belonging towards its national parks. In its annual report, SEPAQ (2006: 25) mentions its use in the past years of a marketing offensive aimed at creating such a feeling. However, it calls for an "appropriation" of parks – incidentally of the whole territory – rather than suggesting their meaning for the national identity. Québec national parks, in terms of identity, pursue other political goals: they aim to increase Québec's visibility in the international tourism market, associate the ideas of "Québec" and "nation" in the park users' minds, and give Québec the standing of a nation "like any other" nation.

SEPAQ's corporate plan for the past six years "prévoyait également le positionnement de Parcs Québec comme un réseau de parcs nationaux afin d'en accroître la fréquentation et la notoriété au Québec et à l'étranger" (SEPAQ 2006: 15). The concern with international standards is high and repeated on several occasions.

Ce n'est donc pas sans raison que les visiteurs étrangers reconnaissent un réseau de parcs nationaux qui se compare avantageusement aux autres parcs au Canada et dans le reste du monde et qui constitue aussi un motif supplémentaire de découvrir le Québec (SEPAQ 2006: 7).¹⁸

SEPAQ (2006: 14) thus declares that “Les parcs sont plus que jamais à un niveau comparable aux grands réseaux de parcs nationaux en matière de conservation et d'éducation.” The Park Policy shows the same concern for international standards, and situates its mandate in an international effort for biodiversity preservation (Québec 2002: 15-16). Apart from the ecological, economic and recreational values, the government of Québec seems to appreciate the geopolitical value of national parks. Québec is concerned with meeting international standards, which provide international recognition, and Québec wishes to protect its territorial integrity by avoiding the transfer of Crown Land to federal jurisdiction. In doing so, Québec affirms its desire to deal on a “nation to nation” basis with Canada, and maintains a maximum of autonomy and authority over its territory.

3.4 Regional Perspectives: the Inuit and National Parks

The Inuit were at first firmly opposed to the development of national parks on the land they inhabited, and over which they had never surrendered their right. They saw it as an impingement on their sovereignty. However, the new dispositions of the 1979 Parks Canada Policy on cooperative management and aboriginal rights to harvest traditional resources contributed to change their appreciation. Since the Inuit, especially in the Northwest Territories, were in the process of negotiating land claims agreement, they aimed to provide themselves with a significant degree of control over as much land as possible. As Terry Fenge explains (1993: 26), owning land was of course the surest means of exercising that control, but the Inuit of Nunavut envisaged that the Crown – the federal government – would insist upon owning the lion's share of the land.

In this light, the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN, replaced by Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. after the agreement) stressed the need for Inuit to attain rights to cooperatively manage, with the federal government, all land and natural resources throughout the settlement area, regardless of land ownership. Thus, Inuit hoped, the establishment of co-managed national parks would ease the larger task of negotiating and designing institutions to jointly manage Crown land in Nunavut, outside of national parks. Moreover, Inuit negotiators appreciated that if they controlled the use of land, wildlife and natural resources – what really mattered to them – through co-management regimes in national parks, they need not necessarily own the land in question. In this sense, “As ‘friendly’ and, for all intents and purposes, permanent land-use designations, appropriately sited national parks could allow Inuit to concentrate their likely-limited land selections elsewhere” (Fenge 1993: 26). Accordingly, TFN suggested that Impact and Benefit Agreements be negotiated for each national park to be established within the claim settlement area.

The Inuit of Labrador, who were the last Inuit group to reach a comprehensive claim agreement in Canada, benefited from this experience. However, this strategy for greater control of land has not been employed by the Inuit of Nunavik, since park legislation and comprehensive claim policy were too restrictive at the time of their negotiations. The Inuit of Nunavik envisioned park development later, and for other purposes.

3.4.1 The “Nunavik National Parks”

None of Canada’s national parks are situated in Nunavik. However, when the NILCA was signed in 2006, what was once the Torngat Mountains National Park Reserve attained full park status. Since 1992, the Inuit of Nunavik had an overlap claim over a portion of northern Labrador where the TMNP was to be established. That same

year, Parks Canada refused to include Makivik as a partner in the park feasibility study, following the indication by the provincial government of Newfoundland-and-Labrador that it did not recognize Makivik's claim. A court judgment of 1998 (Makivik Corp. vs Canada) confirmed that the park could not be established until the settlement of Makivik's claim. At this point, Makivik understood the geopolitical value of the TMNP.

Since Ottawa alone holds title to national parks, a park in northern Labrador would exempt Makivik from having to negotiate with Newfoundland-and-Labrador's government, who never accepted Makivik's claim. The TMNP became a key to a successful NILCA, and Makivik negotiated a Park Impact and Benefit Agreement that allowed them to sit at par with the Nunatsiavut Government and Parks Canada on the Cooperative Management Board of the park. For the Nunavimmiut, the TMNP was first seen as an obstacle, and then as a facilitator for the negotiation of their overlap claim (Interview with Brendan O'Donnell, Senior Advisor on Aboriginal Affairs, Parks Canada, November 2006). It is too early to know what values they give to the TMNP, apart from the geopolitical facilitator that it represents. In Nunavik, however, provincial "national" parks are being established, with clearly stated goals.

As early as 1994, Makivik, KRG and the Kativik Regional Development Council (KRDC) submitted a paper on *Tourism in Nunavik*. From their perspective,

The development of tourism represents an essential vehicle for Inuit to undertake viable and lasting economic ventures which, over time, could lead to the much needed accumulation of capital in the north. For that matter, Nunavik's main tourism asset – its deeply Inuit culture, vast lands and unspoiled waters, its Arctic environment – are there to stay.

For this reason, Makivik, KRG and KRDC (1994: 4) recommend that the Québec government officially recognize Nunavik as a separate tourism region, that it seeks to enhance Nunavik's specific identity, and that the principle of establishing provincial parks in Nunavik be accepted by all parties. Because of the region's cultural and climatic specificity, the authors stress the importance of delegating park management to the

regional authorities, a concept affirmed in the JBNQA (Makivik *et al.* 1994: 28). There is a clear concern among the authors for the need “to ensure a specific regional identity and image” for Nunavik (Makivik *et al.* 1994: 30-32).

In 1996-7, works for the establishment of the “Parc des Pingualuit” started, in collaboration with KRG. The strong focus on natural heritage by the DPEP did not meet the expectations of the Inuit organizations, who felt Inuit culture should be featured prominently. Because of this dissatisfaction, the Inuit negotiators for the Sanarrutik Agreement (2002) made sure that substantial responsibilities for park establishment and management would be devolved to KRG.¹⁹ KRG will make sure that Inuit traditional knowledge has an important role in the description of reserved lands, that the social and cultural aspects receive attention, and that local employment is fostered (Barrett 2006; Kativik. *Nunavik Parks*. [Online] Webpage visited April 15, 2007. <http://www.krg.ca/en/rrd/parks.htm>). Along with these concerns, Nunavik also seeks to increase its visibility at the provincial, federal and international levels. In the *Master Plan for Land Use in the Kativik Region* (Kativik 1998), the intention to create a network of “parcs nordiques” would have “pour effet d’augmenter la visibilité de la région Kativik” (northern parks would enhance the visibility of the Kativik region).

Thus, the Inuit authorities of Nunavik appreciate the TMNP for its geopolitical value in a different way that they appreciate the geopolitical value of Québec’s national parks. Adding to these parks an identity value that could foster the region’s specific identity, the Inuit see the parks as part of a broader strategy to increase the visibility of Nunavik, and to create lasting economic ventures. Increasing visibility is not only meant to generate money through tourism; it is also part of a strategy to “put Nunavik on the map,”²⁰ with the likely effect of increasing “national” (in Canada) and international awareness of Nunavik, and recognition of the right to self-determination for the Inuit of

Nunavik. This recognition is especially important in the eventuality of a separation of Québec from Canada.

There are no “Nunavik national parks” yet, but the context in which Québec’s parks are developing in Nunavik make it a possibility. Indeed, Johnny Peters, Vice-President Renewable Resources at Makivik, used this expression to designate Québec’s national parks in Nunavik, at the KRG meeting on Renewable Resources, held publicly in Kuujjuaq, April 30, 2006.

3.4.2 Parks in Nunatsiavut

Through the settlement of its land claims agreement (LILCA), the Inuit of Labrador gained the power to make laws and regulations in relation to the establishment, use and operation of protected areas in Labrador Inuit Lands. The LILCA also provided for the establishment of the Torngat Mountains National Park. The Inuit of Labrador were interested in the creation of the TMNP for a few reasons. First, feeling the need to secure Inuit harvesting rights and Inuit involvement in the management of natural resources, the Labrador Inuit Association, seeing the limited amount of land allowed by Newfoundland for Inuit ownership, was encouraged to follow TFN’s negotiation strategy (explained in section 4.4). The presence of the TMNP, co-managed according to a Park Impact and Benefit Agreement (PIBA), allowed the Inuit to concentrate their land ownership negotiations on other portions of the claim settlement area (Rowell 2006). Moreover, including the park into the LILCA forced the government of Newfoundland-and-Labrador to transfer the land to Ottawa before the completion of a thorough assessment of the mining potential of the area (Andersen 2006).

Second, the TMNP reveals itself as a major asset for the marketing of Labrador for tourism (Nunatsiavut Government 2006). Through the PIBA, the Inuit made sure they would be privileged in terms of reaping the benefits of the exploitation of this “renewable

resource.” For the Inuit, it is crucial that tourism in the TMNP honor Inuit knowledge and special historical and cultural relationship with the land. In the *Partnership for a Better Future* (Nunatsiavut Government 2006: 8), it is stressed that “The foundation of the relationship between Parks Canada and LIA was built on the strength and mutual respect of a shared long term vision for this park.” Interestingly, the Inuit seem to rely a lot on Parks Canada to develop this major aspect of tourism in Nunatsiavut. Indeed,

Parks Canada promises to honour through the shared vision of having Inuit culture, tradition and knowledge at the forefront in the establishment and management of the park. Inuit stories and the Inuit relationship to the land will shape visitors’ experiences of the land and its people (Chip Bird, in Nunatsiavut Government 2006: 10-11).

And, emphasizing the fact that “the Torngat Mountains National Park Reserve will become one of the jewels of the Canadian National Park System,” it is further added that,

This entire organization [Parks Canada] is committed to working with the Labrador Inuit towards the shared vision of honouring Inuit customs, traditions and knowledge. Together with Inuit knowledge, experience and traditions, Mr. Bird concluded, “We can become a powerful team” (Nunatsiavut Government 2006: 11).

Not only, then, was the TMNP used to secure Inuit involvement in the management of resources in Nunatsiavut, it was also seen as a way to build a new partnership with Canada.

For William Andersen III, former President of LIA and new President of NG, the TMNP is essentially an economic opportunity (Interview with William Andersen III, former President of LIA and new President of the Nunatsiavut government, July 2006). For others (Interviews with Anonymous, Nunatsiavut government, July 2006; Judy Rowell, former LIA negotiator for the LILCA and TMNP Superintendent, July 2006), it is an opportunity for the Inuit to reconnect with their land and their Inuit neighbors of Nunavik, through the co-management board and other activities taking place in the park. For example, the 2006 Nunatsiavut Government’s Youth Division summer youth camp was held in the TMNP (Parks Canada 2006: 2). In the end, the TMNP holds symbolic

value in the sense that it is seen by the leaders of Nunatsiavut as a way of rewarding Canada for the settlement of their land claims:

The Torngat Mountains National Park will be an investment made by Labrador Inuit, the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador and the Government of Canada. An investment made possible through understanding, trust, compromise and mutual respect. And a recognition that the Torngat Mountains National Park is a fitting symbol of the overlapping values that bind us all together as Canadians. Truly a gift to us all (Nunatsiavut. *Our Land, Parks and Protected Areas*. [Online] Webpage visited April 15, 2007. <http://www.nunatsiavut.com/en/torngat.php>).

Apart from the geopolitical value of the TMNP for the Inuit of Labrador, the park is appreciated for its societal value, for what it symbolizes for the Inuit and Canadians. In addition, there are hopes that the park will stimulate pride among the Inuit and honor Inuit knowledge and special historical and cultural relationship with the land. The TMNP is thus appreciated, as well, for its cultural and identity values.

3.5 Local Perspectives

Local involvement in park planning and establishment is a relatively new phenomenon in Canada's park history. After the far from brilliant expropriations of the late 1960s and the somewhat autocratic ways of park designation of the early 1970s (Barrett 2003), the Parks Canada Policy of 1979 aimed at defining a new relationship with the local people. In addition, the first Parks Policy in Québec (1982) affirms the government's commitment to work hand in hand with the public. In the southern fringes of Canada, the population is more dense and stakeholders can be many spread out over small portions of land. Local communities share the land with the larger community in many interdependent ways, and the latter should have an appropriate say on land use at the local level. In the north, however, the population is scarce and stakeholders are few. The view of the local community, of which the members' mobility and reliance on the land can be high, should thus be given particular importance.

3.5.1 Nain

In Nain, the closest community on the Labrador coast, the TMNP represents an important economic opportunity. It is expected that tourists will stop in Nain on their way to the park. Parks Canada, which holds office in Nain, will invest in the construction of a Community Center in which will be incorporated the TMNP's interpretation center (Interview with Judy Rowell, former LIA negotiator for the LILCA and TMNP Superintendent, July 2006). However, the town Council is not involved whatsoever in anything related to the park.²¹ It is difficult to estimate the community's support of the park in the public hearings held in 1995-1996, since these were held in every Inuit community of Labrador. Moreover, my own survey (n=60) in July 2006 shows that very few people were even aware that public hearings had been held. In spite of this, people were familiar with the national park concept, and they unanimously supported the establishment of the TMNP.

Mining activity has become important in and around Nain because of the discovery of the Voisey's Bay nickel ore. This has increased people's awareness of the need to protect the environment from excessive mining development. Many have thus expressed their support for the establishment of the park in reaction to mining development and the threat it represents to the environment. This feeling was already present at the time of the public hearings, as it is recorded in the TMNP Feasibility Study Newsletter of May 1996 (Parks Canada *et al.* 1996: 5). Thus, in Nain, people in general primarily appreciate the environmental value of the TMNP, while entrepreneurs – a minority – appreciate its economic value.

3.5.2 Kangiqsualujjuaq

Kangiqsualujjuaq, although the closest community, was not consulted on the matter of the TMNP establishment. When Parks Canada approached the community in 1993, the

idea of a national park in the vicinity of the community was rejected (Interview with Maggie Emudluk, former Mayor of Kangiqsualujjuaq and Chair of KRG, April 2006). The TMNP, as part of the Labrador Inuit settlement area and part of Newfoundland and Labrador, required consultation of the populations of Newfoundland and Labrador only. Kangiqsualujjuamiut, however, are being involved in the establishment process of the “Parc national de la Kuururjuaq” (PNK).

At the time of my fieldwork, in April-May 2006, the park establishment process was not yet completed and public hearings had not yet occurred, although the process had started four years earlier. Both the Town Council and the Qiniqtiq Landholding Corporation were actively involved in matters relating to the park, and were in touch with KRG and Makivik, who were responsible for making liaison between the community and the government or the mining companies. In Kangiqsualujjuaq, the leaders’ main concern was for economic opportunities, either offered or restricted – mining-wise – by the park. The leaders preferred to keep quiet on the park issue, since, in their opinion, it could stir unrest in the community. They expressed concern about the lack of understanding by many community members of the concept of a park, and did not want people to start rumors. My own survey (n=48) showed that nearly seven out of ten supported the park idea; one out of ten opposed the idea, and the others did not want to take a stance. Indeed, the park concept was not fully understood, and some people feared the disruption of animal migration patterns. Very few others mentioned they would prefer a mine to a park, since it would create more jobs and generate greater revenues for the community.

In the public hearings for the PNK, held in March 2007, the community members showed support for the park, although not explicitly (Interview with Stéphane Cossette, Project Coordinator for the DPEP, March 2007). They can appreciate its economic value, and since it protects a portion of their “ancestral land,” they expect the park to strengthen Inuit control over access to the area by hunting and fishing outfitters.

3.6 Conclusion: the Value of Parks in Nunavik and Nunatsiavut

The establishment processes for the new and future parks of the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula show that the governments of Québec and Canada have developed different partnerships with the Inuit of Nunavik and Labrador. On the one hand, Québec delegates establishment and management responsibilities to the KRG. On the other hand, Canada integrates the Inuit of Labrador into its park's administration structures by creating a cooperative management board for the TMNP.

Although similar in length, the history of national parks in Québec and Canada had evolved separate paths until the late 1970's when Québec adopted a park legislation similar to Canada's. The government of Québec, however, does not appreciate its parks for the same set of values as Canada. Most strikingly, as suggested by discourse analysis of the National Parks Act, of Parks Canada Policy, of the *State of the Parks Report*, 1997 (Parks Canada 1998), and of other sources, Canada appreciates its parks for societal, cultural and identity values, and gives them an important role in assuring national unity and identity: "They unify us as a people yet express our national diversity..." (Parks Canada 1994). A similar analysis of Québec's discourse, in contrast, suggests that the province primarily appreciates the geopolitical value of its parks, in terms of territorial integrity and international recognition of the Québécois nation: "les visiteurs étrangers reconnaissent un réseau de parcs nationaux qui se compare avantageusement aux autres parcs au Canada et dans le reste du monde" (SEPAQ 2006).

.At the regional, Inuit level, interviews and analysis of primary sources suggests that the NG appreciates the TMNP for its geopolitical as well as its societal, cultural and identity benefits, for it symbolizes "the overlapping values that bind us all together as Canadians." Interviews and analysis of primary sources also suggest that the Inuit of Nunavik appreciate the PNK for its geopolitical and identity values, and as a tool for an

economic development that would provide visibility, autonomy, and a specific identity to Nunavik, since “des parcs nordiques auraient pour effet d’augmenter la visibilité de la région Kativik” (KRG 1998). Finally, the local needs and perceptions – ecological protection and economic opportunities – are different but not incompatible with the motivations at higher levels.

In a context where multiple cultures interact, Lee (2004) stressed the importance of looking at the layering of values in order to identify the potentially conflicting ones (see section 1.7). The geopolitical value of the TMNP is a connecting one, as it acted as a facilitator for land claims negotiations, to the satisfaction of each party. In Québec, the geopolitical value of parks is well transposed into a “nation to nation” approach that Québec tries to impose on the federal government, while implementing it with the Inuit. Unlike the case of the TMNP, however, this does not create the conditions for connecting geopolitics between the Inuit of Nunavik and the government of Québec, since the Inuit associate a political goal – autonomy – with the identity value they give to the PNK.

In Canada, the Canadian and Nunatsiavut governments appreciate the TMNP for its societal, cultural, and identity values. While the societal value of the park is a connecting one, the cultural and identity values refer to different cultures and identities. Whether or not these values are conflicting, as much as the whys for conflicting geopolitics in Québec, needs to be discussed in light of Canada’s cultural politics.

CHAPTER 4. NATIONAL MUSEUMS AND NATIONAL PARKS: DIFFERENT MEANS, SAME PURPOSE

Raymond Montpetit (1995) explains that exhibitions are a spatial medium with the specific function of situating things in space and giving objects and meanings a place. The cultural objects and values found in exhibitions are made visible, which allows them to be assimilated. They thus contribute to building a mental image of a space to which we belong. To this end, displays obey the logic by which the organizers and holders of an exhibition convey a message. As Montpetit points out (1995: 44), “Exhibitions are very much part of a cultural policy which sets out their major objectives within broader targets and goals that go well beyond the mere study of the objects themselves.” Exhibitions in national museums help define and transmit to a community ideas and values that are necessary for that group to maintain its self-image. Museums are involved in the induction of knowledge and the reproduction of social values (Kaplan 1999). Interestingly, they share these functions with national parks, and, indeed, Parks Canada’s mandate is largely curatorial.

Like parks, exhibitions bring distant elements within reach and present them as the heritage of all; they broaden the scope of “our” heritage and give “us” access to it. Museums in their contemporary form are a manifestation of the democratization of knowledge and access to resources. Their purpose is to preserve the national treasures and to render them accessible to the public. Much like parks, museums are a place for the education of the public, a place for the enjoyment of all, and a place to show off what the society’s values are. Museums, like parks, are the guardians of “our” heritage.

Museums are a Western creation, and their role in nation building burgeoned in the 19th century as emerging polities were impelled to identify their national “selves” (Kaplan 1999). National museums are an attempt to forge unity from diversity. In the past, as in the present, the ruling elites recognized the need to construct a new national

consciousness among the competing groups and beyond conflicting loyalties within their borders (Kaplan 1999: 60). As preservers and mediators of heritage (Gendreau 1999), museums sustain the national consciousness (Kaplan 1994), and play a role in the nation's politics (Arpin 1999). Thus, like national parks, museums are culturally defined and reflect the distribution of power within societies. For Ruth B. Phillips (2006), museums reflect the national political culture, and the sponsoring of exhibitions by the state can only happen if the representation is seen to serve the state's ideological needs. For all of the above reasons, national parks and national museums have much in common.

In the 1960s, the wind of cultural change brought about by globalization increased the Western democracies' interest in culture as a domain of state interventionism. Christine Tarpin (1998) demonstrates how the governments of Québec and Canada have both followed this trend. During this period, museums received an important part of the state's investments in culture. Because museums sustain a collective memory and foster a national identity, the governments of Québec and Canada have each developed separate, at times conflicting, museum policies and institutions. The Canadian Museum Policy stressed the need to highlight Canada's national identity and unity in a way that did not satisfy Québec's government, who accused the federal government of confusing national unity with national uniformity (Tarpin 1998: 81). By preserving and presenting its own heritage, the government of Québec affirmed its desire to be the protector and promoter of Québec's identity. In 1980, after long deliberations, the decision to create the "Musée national de la civilisation" in Québec city was made public. Two years later in Ottawa, the federal government announced its intention to create the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

In this chapter, I propose to explore issues that relate to the governments' strategies and motivations for park establishment in the Aboriginal North. These issues are best

seen in the place and importance given to the Aboriginal peoples and to the land in the museums' permanent exhibitions. For this purpose, I ventured into the national museums of both Québec and Canada: the "Musée de la civilisation" (MCQ) in Québec city, and the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) in Hull, facing Ottawa's Parliament Hill.

4.1 Time, Space, and Nation in the Canadian Museum of Civilization

In 1982, plans were unveiled for the construction of new buildings for the National Museum of Man, renamed the Canadian Museum of Civilization in 1986, which opened in 1992. Douglas Cardinal, an architect of native ancestry, created an original and innovative design for these new buildings, which evoke the "eroded landforms and streambeds of post-glacial Canada." Cardinal, in a design statement made public shortly after he had been chosen, commented on the development and building of the nation, as if it was a gift to the land:

Canadians, with their roots in several different cultures, now are evolving a new culture. Their cultures are merging and a greater understanding and appreciation are becoming part of Canada's national character. (Cardinal 1989: 17, cited in Mackey 2002: 75)

The government chose a site on the Québec side of the Ottawa River, adjacent to Parliament Hill. Phillips and Phillips (2005: 696) suggest that this building is a key component of "a reconfigured monumental landscape that articulated the Trudeau government's strong federalist stance in relation to the continuing threat of Québec separatism."

In their presentation of the CMC, MacDonald and Alsford (1989: 1-3) stress the importance this museum plays "in assuring the vitality of Canadian culture." They mention that in seeking to define Canada's unique cultural identity, "we" must appreciate what "we" have inherited, and have the will to cultivate a collective memory.

This collective memory, of the many people and cultures in the Canadian mosaic, is institutionalized in many forms. Canada being a nation of immigrants from diverse

backgrounds, there is a national tendency to look to public institutions to preserve and interpret our past experiences. Museums therefore have a unifying role. [...]

A national museum of human history is part of that symbolization [of national identity]. It helps define cultural identity and the country itself. It stimulates pride amongst Canadians in their own culture. It announces to the world that Canada is a nation with special and unique characteristics. It reflects the ways in which various peoples, bringing their own cultures, have met the challenges of the land, by shaping it and by shaping themselves to it (MacDonald & Alsford 1989: 3).

Indeed, the Museum Act of 1990 stipulates that the CMC “plays an essential role... in preserving and promoting the heritage of Canada and all its peoples throughout Canada and abroad and in contributing to the collective memory and sense of identity of all Canadians.” The CMC’s Coat of Arms is an interesting syncretism of Inuit, Haida, Algonquian, and Euro-Canadian symbols completed with a motto in Latin: *Multae culturae una patria* (Multiple Cultures, One Homeland).

Two of CMC’s permanent expositions dedicated to the “national” history reflect this acknowledgement of the multiple cultures in Canada: the First Peoples Hall and the Canada Hall. These two halls present Canadian history from separate perspectives – one Aboriginal, one Euro-Canadian – but are meant to show our “interrelated history” (McMaster 2002).

4.1.1 The First Peoples Hall

Designed to comply with the 1992 recommendations of the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples, the First Peoples Hall opened in 2003 after ten years of work. The exhibition was realized in partnership: two staff curators, one Aboriginal and one non-Aboriginal, worked in collaboration with an advisory committee of 15 Aboriginal members from across Canada. The Hall highlights aspects of Aboriginal identity and relationship to the land, from the original habitation of the North American continent to present-day society. The Kitigan Zibi Circle of Elders, which represents the Aboriginal group claiming traditional ownership of the site, issues the welcoming word to

the hall. The exhibition is divided in four consecutive sections. In the first section, text panels proclaiming, “We are diverse” appear alongside a collection of various artifacts from different places and times. Across, a series of individual text panels read as follows: “We celebrate our long history in this land”; “We celebrate our work, our creativity, our creations”; “We celebrate our differences, our similarities, and our survival as Aboriginal people”; “We have not forgotten the land”; “We have an ancient bond with the land”; “Our bond with the land is forged in knowledge”; “Our bond with the land is forged in centuries of hard work”; “Our bond with the land is forged in the prayers, offerings, and dances that hold our connections with other living beings of the earth”; “We speak of our bond with the land in the things we make, in the memories of our Elders and in the voices of our own experience.”

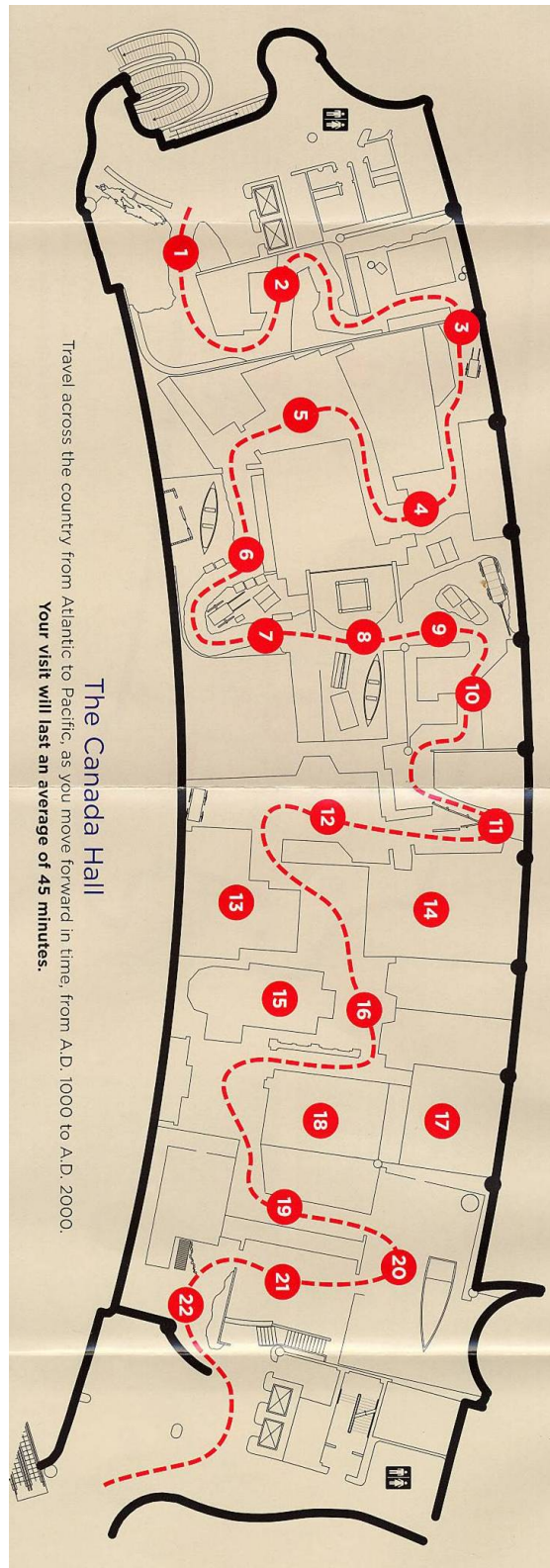
In the next section, “Ways of Knowing”, a video entitled *Relationship to the Land* gives the keynote messages: “The land owns us, we don’t own land”; “Until land claims are settled, we’re trespassers... in our own way of life”; “We are the memory of the land” (Phillips & Phillips 2005: 700). The third section of the hall, “An Ancient Bond with the Land”, presents a directive path across Aboriginal ancient lifestyles from the northeastern seaboard westward across Canada. As if the Canadian journey started in the North, in the remote past, and, as it evolves in space westward through the Maritimes, the St. Lawrence River, the Great Lakes, the Prairies, and the Rockies, it also evolves upwards in time towards the European arrival. This leads to the fourth and final section devoted to “The Arrival of Strangers.” Again, text panels and objects are organized in a sequence along a linear path across time presenting the enormous changes that have been forced on Aboriginal peoples throughout the course of the five centuries of contact with settler society (Phillips & Phillips 2005: 701). At the end of this last section, a message by the Aboriginal elder and statesman George Erasmus lets the visitor understand that the Aboriginal peoples hope the next 500 years will be different, and better. Overall, the most

striking feature of this exhibition is the importance of the land to the Aboriginal people, made evident throughout each of its sections. This suggests an important link between identity and the land, a matter of high relevance in the peculiar context of land claims in contemporary Canada.

4.1.2 The Canada Hall

The Canada Hall opened at the time of the CMC's inauguration in 1992. Similar to the third section of the First Peoples Hall, the Canada Hall offers a journey across Canada along a path that is geographically and chronologically directive (Figure 9). Starting 1000 years ago on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean where the Norse established the first European settlement, the exhibition takes the visitor on a journey simultaneously through space and time.

The first three sections of the Canada Hall (numbers 1 to 3 on Figure 9) cover the first 750 years of settler history in Canada by presenting the Atlantic Coast, where Vikings, Basque and Portuguese fishermen and whalers, and finally Acadians, established themselves. It is followed by nine sections (numbers 4 to 9) dedicated to the "Central Regions," for the period 1750 to 1870. The visitor walks through the Seigniories, the New France Square; in 1763, it is the Fur Trade, and it goes on with the Métis, the Timber Trade, the Farming Frontier, the British Military, the Maritime Shipyard, and an Ontario Street. The following seven sections (numbers 13 to 19) cover the Canadian Prairies from 1870 to 1920, presenting a Canadian Pacific Train Station, a Grain Elevator, an Orthodox Church, a Ukrainian Print Shop, a Union Hall, a Chinese Hand Laundry, and the "Oil Patch." These are meant to emphasize Canada's multicultural nature and, before entering the last stretch, Canada's Multicultural Policy is praised. The last sections are



(Source : Museum of Civilization, Ottawa)

Figure 9. Plan of the Canada Hall

dedicated to the Pacific Coast, 1920-1970, and to its different communities, as a Gateway to the Pacific. The exhibition finishes in the Canadian North, 1970-2000. This section, called “Northern Visions,” features the Wildcat Cafe in Yellowknife.

In the Canada Hall, the importance of the land is not explicitly and repeatedly stated as it is in the First Peoples Hall. The land is still, however, of major importance to the narrative. Lacking common history, the different peoples of Canada are instead presented as sharing a land that forms the basis of a narrative that conflates and superimposes geographical and historical evolution. As Eva Mackey (2002: 75) puts it, “In these narratives, the land plays a central role in unifying diverse cultures and peoples. Cultural diversity is not erased, but through the ‘challenge of the land,’ Aboriginal peoples, French and British colonizers, and newer immigrants, all become Canadian and progress together into the future.”

4.2 Time, Space, and Nations at the Musée de la civilisation

The MCQ opened in 1988 following a decision taken in 1980 and an amendment to the provincial “Loi sur les musées nationaux” of 1984. As Roland Arpin (1992: 15) explains,

This decision resulted from the convergence of a number of factors. On a political level, nationalist sentiment in Québec had grown considerably since the 1960s. Collective memory, the return to sources, the search for roots, the intensification of the constitutional debate, and the presence in power of a government which advocated sovereignty for Quebec all helped make Quebecers more aware of their history.

The original idea was for the creation of a “Musée de l’Homme d’ici”. In the 1960s and ‘70s, Québec’s society experienced major transformations due to national and international influences and activity. Accordingly, “des intellectuels, des politiciens et une partie de la population québécoise redéfinissent l’espace culturel québécois et manifestent le besoin et l’intérêt de se donner des instruments de développement culturel

mieux adaptés à l'entrée de leur société dans la modernité" (Arpin 1998: 9). Museums are a fragment of this broader interest for culture, which responds to two important social changes: a rapid change in the type of immigration, and a renewed interpretation of Québec's history, culture, and sociology among the intellectual elite. This, coupled with the modernization of the provincial institutions, constitutes the backdrop of the idea for a "Musée de l'Homme d'ici." After long deliberations, the concept was expanded to a "Musée de la civilisation" that, according to the "Loi sur les musées" of 1984, must: 1) make known the history and various components of our civilization, notably the material and social culture of the occupants of Québec and of those who have enriched it, 2) ensure conservation and development of the ethnographic collection and other collections representative of our civilization, and 3) ensure Québec's presence in the international network of museological manifestations.

The site for the construction of the MCQ buildings was chosen to symbolize the meeting of history and modernity. The MCQ's contemporary architecture integrates in a harmonious way the landscape of the oldest quarter of North America, below the well known "Château Frontenac" that dominates the Cap-Aux-Diamants in Québec city.

The title for the Québec Museum Policy of 2000 is interestingly suggestive: *Vivre autrement... la ligne du temps*. In this policy, the government formulates its concern for questions, among others, of accessibility, education, and international standards. This policy comes under Québec's Cultural Policy of 1992, in which the government stresses the importance for the people to affirm their cultural identity, while commenting on the need to strengthen the dialogue with the other cultures within and outside the province. These broad principles guide the MCQ's mission. Similarly to the CMC in Ottawa, the MCQ hosts permanent exhibitions that are meant to present Québec's peoples and history. The equivalent of a "Canada Hall" is found in "Le temps des Québécois," while the Aboriginal peoples are presented in "Nous, les Premières Nations."

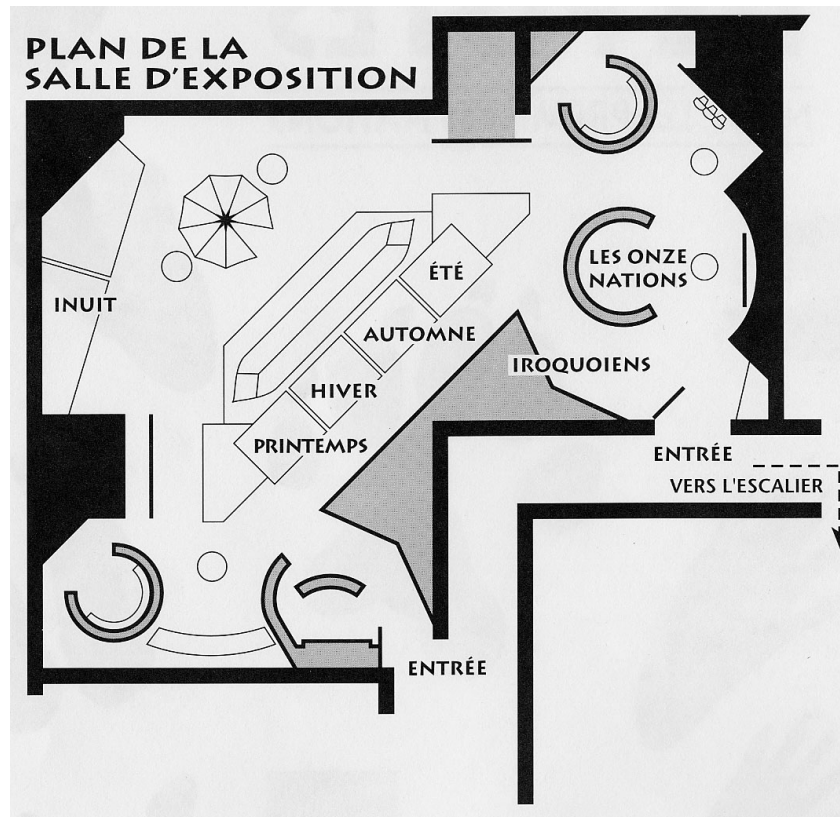
4.2.1 Nous, les Premières Nations

“Nous, les Premières Nations” opened in 1998. Its content results from the collaboration of several different partners: DIAND, the “Secrétariat aux affaires autochtones du Québec,” the “ministère des Ressources naturelles et de la Faune,” and the “ministère des Affaires municipales et des Régions.” In addition, an Algonquian curator was hired, and representatives of each Aboriginal group were consulted. Hydro-Québec, whose relationship with the Aboriginal peoples is ambiguous, sponsors the exhibition and welcomes the visitors.

The exhibition is divided into a number of sections without a clear order (Figure 11). These sections tackle issues of identity, economy, political power, land, and communications. In a section near the entry, the 11 Aboriginal nations of Québec are presented with special emphasis on their diversity. Their communities are located on a map following the traditional cartographic representation: dots on a map of the physical environment. Issues of territory and autonomy are approached through the illustration of traditional ways of life, with an interesting display of objects grouped by seasons, and explained in their contemporary manifestation with audio-visual material. For example, in a corner of the exhibition, three televisions show an Innu family fighting for its right to access its traditional hunting ground, where hydro-electric development is taking place, and where workers only are allowed.

On the MCQ’s website, it is explained that the exhibition’s design illustrates the Museum’s contemporary approach towards Aboriginal issues. The exhibition is also meant to present the Aboriginals as “modern peoples, whose identity is made up of references to the past, but also and most importantly of questions tied to the present and the future.”²² It is unclear whether the exhibition really succeeds in doing so. It definitely inspires curiosity and interest in Aboriginal cultures, but at the same time it fails to

connect the Aboriginal experience to Québec's history. Ethnologists more than historians set up "Nous, les Premières Nations," and one will get very little sense of history when visiting this hall. It is as if time were suspended somewhere between the past and the present, with no real sense of continuity.



(Source : Musée de la civilisation, Québec)

Figure 10. Plan of "Nous, les Premières Nations" exhibition hall

4.2.2 *Le temps des Québécois*

"Le temps des Québécois" was inaugurated in 2004, with the collaboration of the National Film Board of Canada and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. It proposes "a new way of writing the history of Québec" (MCQ, *Le temps des Québécois*. [Online] Webpage visited April 15, 2007. <http://www.mcq.org/fr/mcq/expositions.php?idEx=w250>). Various scholars were consulted, mainly the historians Jocelyn Létourneau and Patrice Groulx, to present this synthesis of 400 hundred years of history revolving around the destiny of the people of Québec.

This exhibition is more directive than “Nous, les Premières Nations.” It takes the visitor on a journey through time, along a clear path (see Figure 12). A welcoming area with audio-visual material emphasizes the diversity of the people who contributed to shape contemporary Québec. This introductory sentence from the MCQ’s webpage (*Le temps des Québécois*. [Online] *Ibid.*) summarizes the idea:

Ils sont nombreux, les Québécois, hommes et femmes, célèbres ou anonymes, autochtones, francophones, anglophones ou allophones, catholiques, protestants ou juifs, qui ont relevé la tête, retroussé leurs manches, lutté, créé, entrepris, bâti, fondé, travaillé, récolté pour façonner le Québec d’aujourd’hui.

A twofold timeline from Nouvelle-France to contemporary Québec forms the backbone of this exhibition. The visitor walks along this timeline and discovers some of the major events of Québec history. In a first stretch of time, one walks along the pre-Confederation part of Québec history (1524-1840), commencing when “France Encounters the Amerindian World in 1524,” and then traverses two “bloc de temps”: “New-France, A New Society,” from 1608 to 1760, and “Negotiating Cohabitation,” from 1760 to 1840. These are separated by the “pivotal event” of 1760-1763 when Nouvelle-France was ceded to Britain. The timeline is scattered with historical interpretations that present nuanced interpretations of history. The pivotal events are described and interpreted with careful and insightful comments by historians in short videos. The different “blocs de temps” exhibit ethnographic and historic material. A second pivotal event concludes this first stretch of time: the “*Patriote* uprisings” of 1837-38, which lead to the Union Act of 1840. The visitor then enters a third “bloc de temps” covering the 1840-1960 period, called “The Beginnings of Modern Quebec.”

A second stretch of timeline starts with “The Birth of Quebec,” with the Confederation of Canada in 1867. This progressively leads to a third and last pivotal event, the election of the Lesage government in 1960, marking the beginning of the “*Révolution tranquille*.” This pivotal event introduces the last “bloc de temps” for the

period from 1960 to present-day Québec. Above this timeline of Québec history is superimposed a timeline with some of the most significant events of world history, meant to “help situate Québec’s place in the world.”

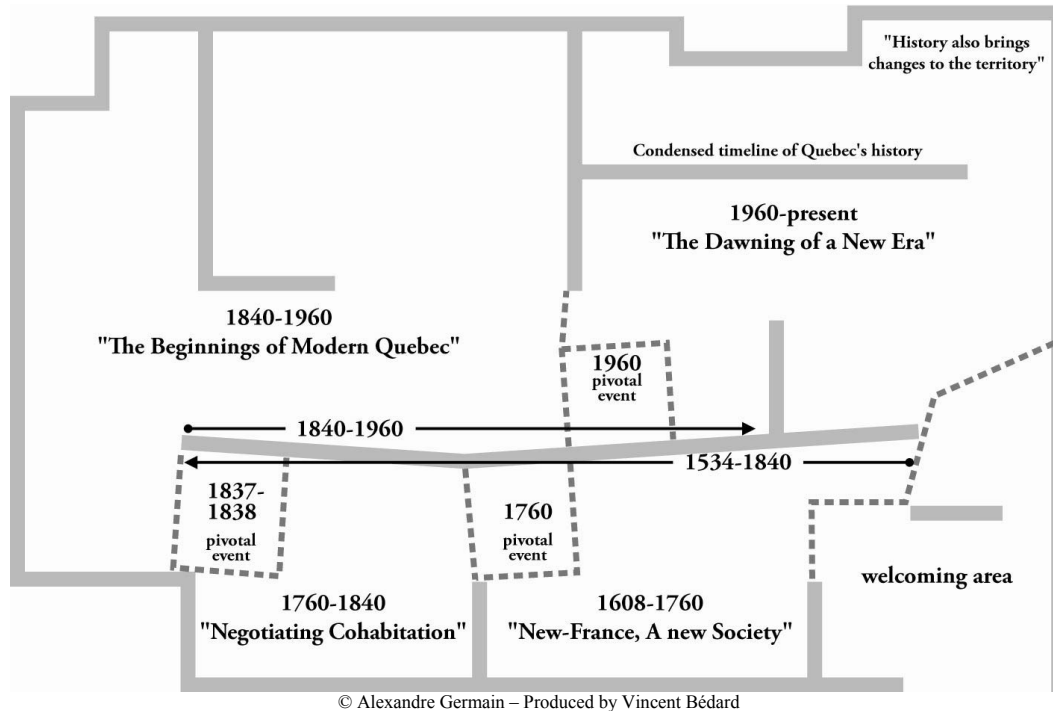


Figure 11. Plan of "Le temps des Québécois" exhibition hall

Most strikingly, this exhibition makes very little, if any, reference to the land where Québec’s history is taking place. Almost ironically, in a separate room, when the exhibition appears to be finished, a telling statement presents a series of maps showing the territorial evolution of Québec: “L’histoire s’inscrit aussi dans le territoire. History also brings changes to the territory.” This points to the difficult issue of “territory” in Québec history, an issue that the designers of this exhibition decided not to tackle. The MCQ decided to present the territory of Québec in a separate exhibition to be inaugurated in the fall of 2007. Finally, “Le temps des Québécois” also indicates the importance given to legitimizing the “nation” of Québec from a historical perspective, by situating it in time, on a backdrop of international changes. Whether this is a successful way of creating a bond between all members of Québec’s society remains an open question.

4.3 Conclusion: Proclaiming the Nation

National museums, as mediators of heritage, play an important role in the nation's cultural politics. Their purpose – conservation and mediation of the “national” heritage in order to define and proclaim the nation to the public – is similar to that of national parks, and they are attributed similar instrumental values – societal, cultural, identity values. The treatment of history, values and objects at the CMC shows clear concern for integrating and merging Canada's several cultures into a unique national identity. To overcome the difficulties of incorporating the Aboriginal peoples, the CMC staff opted for the promotion of “our interrelated” history. Accordingly, two parallel histories of Canada are mediated in distinct but complementary exhibitions. As a result, these two histories form a whole. The superimposition of time and space, of territorial and temporal evolution, although arguably inaccurate in presenting a coherent, linear history, succeeds in binding together peoples of multiple cultures through “the challenge of the land.”

The treatment of history, values and objects at the MCQ, in contrast, shows clear concern for announcing to the world the birth of the Québécois nation. In “Le temps des Québécois,” the MCQ staff, lacking the territorial legitimacy of the state, emphasized the historical legitimacy of Québec's claim to the status of a nation, so much so that the land disappears from a narrative that praises a common history. By founding the Québécois nation on the basis of a common history, the MCQ makes no attempt at incorporating the Aboriginal peoples. Accordingly, in “Nous, les Premières Nations,” the Aboriginal peoples are presented with an ethnographic approach suggesting a separate experience and timeless perspective. In contrast, the CMC is given a unifying role for which emphasis on “our” common land forms the basis of a Canadian national identity that includes Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals, early settlers and late newcomers, into “a nation with special and unique characteristics.”

CONCLUSION

Park establishment on the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula offers a clear example of two different approaches to park development in Canada, and of different ways to value these protected areas. The current political situation in Canada, where different expressions of nationalism color the political landscape, generates a context in which national parks are instrumentalized for purposes other than the “conservation” and “enjoyment” of nature. Furthermore, Canada’s and Québec’s mainstream communities maintain an “imagined” connection with a national homeland (Anderson 1983) that needs to be created and sustained in “national” institutions such as national museums and, perhaps not incidentally, national parks. The specificity of each nationalist project influences the way in which the representative institutions of Québec, Canada, Nunavik and Nunatsiavut create and value these parks.

For the Inuit of Nunavik and Nunatsiavut, the TMNP and the PNK acknowledge an age-old relationship with the land, of continuous use and occupancy. These parks are also the most recent manifestation of a historical trend: the increasing presence of foreign institutions in the North, once European and now Euro-Canadian. In order to legitimize this occupation, the governments of Québec and Canada have developed different discourses or relationships that incorporate – or not – the northern lands and the Inuit into their “imagined community.” These discourses are an expression of the government’s cultural politics, and they are most salient in national museums.

According to my observations, the development of national parks by Québec and Canada reflects these governments’ respective cultural politics: both of Canada’s national museums and national parks are attributed societal values – to merge Canada’s several cultures into a unique national identity ; and both of Québec’s are attributed geopolitical values – to meet international standards in order to actualize the Québécois nation. Thus,

Canada's and Québec's national parks not only reflect, but form one component of the country's cultural politics.

Indeed, the history of national parks and national museums indicates that both institutions were established for the same purpose. Museums and parks are meant for conservation and enjoyment of the national treasures. They are mediators of heritage, and the museums present the nation's natural heritage as much as the parks present the nation's cultural heritage. And, as a matter of fact, both institutions sustain a certain national consciousness by intervening in the nation's cultural politics.

Everything about the Canadian Museum of Civilization, from its location to its architecture, its policies and its presentation of heritage, shows Canada's concern for integrating and merging Canada's several cultures into a unique national identity. History is presented from two perspectives, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, with an emphasis on "our" interrelated history. The potential difficulties of this interpretative task are avoided by elaborating a narrative of nationhood praising a common land.

The societal, cultural and identity values attributed by the government of Canada to its national parks, and the kind of partnership developed with the Inuit of Labrador show the same concern for integrating and merging Canada's several cultures into a unique national identity. The need to maintain national unity and sustain the national identity is repeatedly stated in the park policies, status reports, and other sources. The discursive value of landscape allows for such a political usage of national parks. It confirms Kaufmann and Zimmer's (1998) thesis on the "naturalization of the nation."

At the Musée de la civilisation in Québec city, the museum's location, architecture, policies and presentation of heritage show Québec's concern for legitimizing the Québécois nation from a historical perspective. It announces to the world the birth of a modern Québec. In Québec's practically territory-less narrative praising a common

history, there is no place for the Aboriginal peoples, who are presented as separate nations in a different exhibition.

The government of Québec, seeking national status for its people, preferred to develop its own network of national parks. Its park policies, reports and legislation show concern for international standards that the Québécois nation, implicitly, have a duty to fulfill as a modern nation. It thereby constitutes a geopolitical affirmation of Québec's identity. Further, it manifests the government's desire to preserve the province's territorial integrity by keeping at a distance the federal national parks held in sole title by the Canadian government.

In Nunavik, the public and ethnic governing bodies, KRG and Makivik, appreciate Québécois parks for reasons similar to the government of Québec. The land claims agreements prevail over the Québec Parks Act. Thus, the Inuit maintain their rights, and no transfer of title to the land is required. In addition, the Makivik and KRG acquired sufficient responsibilities in park establishment in order to mediate the cultural heritage of parks in a way that fits their needs. These needs are, among others, to increase Nunavik's visibility in the Canadian and international scenes, and to increase the economic sustainability of the region. In the eventuality of a separation of Québec from the Canadian federation, these gains could prove to be useful. Thus, in seeking a common ground with the Inuit, Québec developed a complementary partnership that poses a potential threat to the very territorial integrity that the Québécois government wishes to preserve.

While Québec's partnership with the Inuit of Nunavik reveals potentially conflicting geopolitical strategies regarding national parks, the societal value of Canada's national parks allows for connecting geopolitics. Furthermore, its role in the land claims agreement symbolizes the reconciliation of the Inuit with the Canadian government. However, both Inuit and Canadian governments appreciate the TMNP for its cultural and

identity values, which may eventually enter into conflict. Most probably, the Inuit wish to foster and sustain a cultural identity that, as for most Aboriginal peoples of Canada, has been distressed by colonial experience. The settlement of land claims and the strong partnership developed with Parks Canada suggests that this colonial experience should be over. This partnership, however, implies that the Inuit must join Parks Canada and conform to a Canadian model of governance, rather than developing their own model. In addition, Canada's cultural politics and political usage of parks are aimed at "merging" several cultures into a unique national identity. How much could the Inuit and Canadian cultures merge together? To quote Phillips and Phillips (2005: 703), who were critiquing the CMC First Peoples Hall, "We have yet to discover whether two bodies can occupy the same space, or whether they will have to find their parallel and separate path." It is too early to assess, but time will tell if, by reaching a common ground, the TMNP – and other aspects of the land claims agreement – poses a threat to the "cultural integrity" of the Inuit of Labrador.

Notes

¹ I find the use of “Québec-Labrador” for this peninsula inappropriate, because I think it refers more precisely to the whole peninsula comprised between the Gulf of St. Lawrence River and the James and Hudson’s Bays. This latter peninsula was known as “Labrador Peninsula” in the past.

² Not only were a number of politicians opposed to the motion, but a poll by *Léger Marketing* has shown that 77% of Canadians outside Québec were opposed to this recognition, while in Québec, opposition reached 29%. Aboriginal peoples took the opportunity of this debate to claim their right to be recognized as nations too (Hélène Buzzetti, “Oui à la nation... Autochtone”, in *Le Devoir*, Nov. 30, 2006).

³ The 10 nations that were first recognized by the National Assembly of Québec are the Abénaquis, Algonquin, Attikamek, Cree, Huron, Innu, Inuit, Micmac, Mohawk, Naskapi. The Malécites were later recognized as a nation in 1989.

⁴ For example, Joseph Kusugak, when President of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), the pan-Canadian Inuit organization of Canada, declared that “In accepting Canada, we shouldn’t have to worry about losing our identity or believing in ourselves any less. Inuit are more than First Canadians, Inuit are Canadians first.” (*Press release “First Canadians, Canadians First”*, ITK [Online]. Webpage visited Feb. 4, 2007. <http://www.itk.ca/media/2004/press-archive-20041018.php>.)

⁵ For example, the headline of the newspaper *Le Devoir*, March 30, 2007 is “*La souveraineté peut-elle survivre?*” (“Can sovereignty survive?”).

⁶ The Inuit, except for the odd politician, most probably never refer to themselves as a “nation”. They do refer to themselves as a “people”, however (see the aims and objectives of ITK at <http://www.itk.ca/corporate/aims-objectives.php>). In fact, a nation is a people with a political project; that is the case for the Inuit of Canada. The use or non-use of the term “nation” can be part of a political strategy.

⁷ This estimation comes from the reconstructed information about the distribution of Inuit population in the winter of 1772-1773, as recorded by Moravian missionaries (Taylor 1984: 513). On the Ungava Bay side of the peninsula, Jens Haven, also a Moravian missionary, recorded three local bands west of Killiniq (Saladin d’Anglure 1984: 476).

⁸ The boundary of the “Coast of Labrador” was finally defined in 1927 by decision of the Privy Council in London.

⁹ Most probably, Heyes *et al.* mean *Torngaksoak*, not *Torngak*. For precisions, see Boucher (1985), and – surprisingly – Heyes *et al.* (2002: 32). Heyes *et al.* are imprecise, unfortunately.

¹⁰ *Iquiagoulouc* and *Ekeagualuk* are other spellings for *Ikiiraluq*.

¹¹ It would be interesting to discuss this event in relation with the conversion of the Inuit to Christianity.

¹² I suggest critical selection of the information from this source, since contradictions, misinterpretations and incomplete information appears at a few occasions.

¹³ The division in charge of parks planning and establishment changed name and department in several occasions. From 1979 it was hosted by the “ministère des Loisirs, de la Chasse et de la Pêche”; in 1996 it moved to the “ministère de l’Environnement et de la Faune”; in 1999 to the “Société de la faune et des parcs”; in 2004 to the “ministère des Ressources naturelles”; and

finally, in 2005, it moved to the “ministère du Développement durable, de l’Environnement et des Parcs”. It is affiliated to the “Direction générale du développement durable” and bears the name of the “Direction du patrimoine écologique et des parcs”.

¹⁴ “Park: a national park with the primary objective to protect, for conservation purposes, representative portions of Québec’s natural regions, or exceptional natural sites, particularly for their biological diversity, while rendering them accessible to public for education and recreation purposes.” (Translation by Alexandre Germain.)

¹⁵ “Ensure, for the benefit of today’s and future generations, the protection of parks with concern for harmonious development of the economic, cultural, social and environmental spheres.” (Translation by Alexandre Germain.)

¹⁶ In summary, this citation states that the cultural heritage of parks refer to all forms of use and occupancy, by Aboriginal peoples, local populations, or companies.

¹⁷ This citation suggests that the cultural heritage of parks is of particular importance in the North, because of the presence of Aboriginal peoples. It wishes that the promotion of Aboriginal cultural heritage will contribute to the sustainability of their cultural practices.

¹⁸ It is not a surprise if foreigners discover a network of parks that compares with Canada’s and the rest of the world’s...

¹⁹ Interviews with Michael Barrett, Assistant Department Director of the KRG Department of Renewable Resources, in February 2006, and by Johnny Adams, signatory of Sanarrutik for KRG, in April 2006.

²⁰ This is the expression used by George Berthe, Corporate Secretary at Makivik, at the 4th IPSSAS (International Ph.D. School for the Study of Arctic Societies) Seminar in Kuujuaq, on May 26, 2006.

²¹ I walked in twice at the Town Council Office and asked to talk to the person in charge of the TMNP file. Twice, I have been told that the Town Council was not involved.

²² “L’aménagement de la salle évoque des gens modernes, dont l’identité est constituée de références au passé, mais aussi et surtout de questions liées au présent et à l’avenir” (MCQ, *Nous, les Premières Nations* [Online]. Webpage visited April 15, 2007. <http://www.mcq.org/fr/mcq/expositions.php?idEx=w251>).

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Appendix – Ethics Approval



Research Ethics Board Office
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Research Ethics Board I **Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Humans**

REB File #: 198- 0406

Project Title: Occupying and managing the land: National parks in the Torngat Mountains, Quebec-Labrador Peninsula

Principal Investigator: Alexandre Germain

Department: Geography

Status: Master's student

Supervisor: Prof. George Wenzel

Granting Agency and Title (if applicable): NSTP

This project was reviewed on 18 APRIL 2006 by

Expedited Review ✓
Full Review

Catherine Lu, Ph.D.
Acting Chair, REB I

Approval Period: 26 APR 2006 to 25 APR 2007

This project was reviewed and approved in accordance with the requirements of the McGill University Policy on the Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Human Subjects and with the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct For Research Involving Humans

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- *All research involving human subjects requires review on an annual basis. A Request for Renewal form should be submitted at least one month before the above expiry date.
 - *If a project has been completed or terminated and ethics approval is no longer required, a Final Report form must be submitted.
 - *Should any modification or other unanticipated development occur before the next required review, the REB must be informed and any modification can't be initiated until approval is received.

cc: Prof. G. Wenzel