

EIDER DUCK ᐱᐱᐅᐅ

SNOW GOOSE ᐅᐅᐅᐅ

CANADA GOOSE ᐅᐅᐅᐅ

SEAL ᐅᐅᐅᐅ

FOX ᐅᐅᐅᐅ

UKIAKSAK  
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SEPTEMBER

BELUGA WHALE ᐅᐅᐅᐅ

UKIAQ  
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NOVEMBER

DECEMBER  
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AUGUST

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OCTOBER

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NOVEMBER

# HUNT, FISH, GATHER

Lifeways in a Nunavut park

## AMAZON SPHERES

Jeff Bezos's corporate conservatory

## CIVIL SITES

The 2018 TCLF Landslide report

## THE "GLORIOUS MESS" OF NEW ORLEANS

Decoding Richard Campanella's city



# IN THE HUNT

A NEW PARK IN NUNAVUT, CANADA, IS MADE TO PROTECT  
INDIGENOUS HUNTING GROUNDS.

TEXT AND PHOTOGRAPHY BY BRIAN BARTH

## LEFT

The view from  
Kinngaaluk Territorial  
Park toward the hamlet  
of Sanikiluaq, in the  
Belcher Islands of  
Nunavut.

**I**N 1955, Johnny Appaqaq was born into the lively milieu of a seasonal hunting camp in the Belcher Islands, a sinuous archipelago of tundra and stone that winds through the southeastern corner of Hudson Bay. After the bay froze over each winter, his family traveled by dogsled onto the ice, where they would build an igloo and harpoon seals and beluga whales that surfaced for air in small areas of open water called *polynyas*, the winter oases of the Arctic.

One day, when he was eight, a plane arrived to take him away. “My father had let me know I was going to have to leave for school, just like my older brothers had. Even so, I cried a lot that day.”

Appaqaq, like most Inuit of his generation, was shipped off to a distant boarding school designed to strip away indigenous culture and replace it with Western modes of thought and behavior. Canada’s residential school system, known not just as a blunt tool of assimilation but also as a warren of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse, persisted in some parts of the country until 1996. Though Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission, charged with investigating and revealing this history, completed its mandate in 2015, healing those wounds remains a work in progress.



On a clear, near-freezing day last July, I joined Appaqaq in a meadow that sparkled with magenta rhododendron blossoms on an island a few miles from the one on which he was born. We stood near a small freshwater pond, from which a broad, rounded rock formation that was tufted with soft, buff-colored grasses—a sacred place known as Kinngaaluk—rose more than 100 feet above the water like an enormous sleeping bear. A small group had gathered to celebrate the establishment

of Kinngaaluk Territorial Park—the newest addition to the parks system of Nunavut, a Canadian territory that was returned to Inuit control in 1999.

The 3,300-acre park occupies a hilly, treeless peninsula located a few miles from the hamlet of Sanikiluaq, population 900, the only community in the Belcher Islands. Though crisscrossed by hunting trails and laden with archaeological sites, Kinngaaluk has no modern infrastructure.

**ABOVE RIGHT**  
The landscape architect Chris Grosset with Sanikiluaq resident Johnny Appaqaq.

**OPPOSITE**  
In July, fields of sand ryegrass (*Leymus arenarius*) emerge from dormancy.



Chris Grosset, a landscape architect with the indigenous consulting firm NVision Insight Group, who has assisted in planning Kinngaaluk, says the park is unique in Canada: The intent is to conserve the flora and fauna, but also to preserve a way of life that revolves around their use. The park will be managed for the express purpose of hunting and gathering—an attempt to keep Inuit traditions and lifeways alive, Grosset says.

Appaqaq tells me that passing the knowledge of harvesting wild food from his generation to Inuit youth may be the most direct path to healing what was broken during the era of assimilation. “I grew up quickly, and I lost some things along the way,” he says of his time in the residential school system. Then he paused: “Lost, but not forgotten.”

At Kinngaaluk, I’d joined Grosset, Appaqaq, and several other community members from Sanikiluaq who have assisted in the planning process for Kinngaaluk, and a dozen territorial officials from Iqaluit, Nunavut’s capital, who had come to give their approval for the new park. This involved

several days of deliberation over details such as outhouse locations, the design of polar bear-proof camping shelters, and which parts of the park *Qallunaat*—non-Inuit people—would be forbidden to enter without an Inuit guide.

It also involved a tour of the park by boat and ATV, including a stop for tea and a campfire at Kinngaaluk, the park’s namesake rock formation that is the highest point in the surrounding landscape. The remains of several sod houses lay scattered amid an expanse of Arctic wheat, native primrose, and mats of rhododendron, blueberry, and cranberry, the shrubs sheared flat to the ground by the cold and wind.

Appaqaq smiled as he told the group the origin myth of Kinngaaluk, a legend of a mean and grumpy man who once lived nearby with his family. The man’s wife, seeking to escape her miserable husband, scaled the cliff one day with their child in tow. When he attempted to retrieve her, mother and child leapt into the water, where they transformed into a beluga and its calf, never to be harassed again.



## PASSING THE KNOWLEDGE OF HARVESTING WILD FOOD TO INUIT YOUTH MAY BE THE MOST DIRECT PATH TO HEALING.

The man dove in behind them, but was not transformed into such a glorious creature. The lice on his scalp became sculpin, also known as scorpion fish, a rather bony and unattractive bottom feeder.

I was served beluga three different ways during the two days I spent on the islands—raw, smoked, and made into sausage. A pair of the whales was harvested in the waters off Kinngaaluk while I was there, a cause of buoyant chatter among everyone I crossed paths with, an example of the healing that Appaqaq described.

“I’m so excited,” he kept repeating as we discussed the park. “I’m so excited.”

**I**N THE LATE 1960S, the Canadian government encouraged—one could say forced—the groups of Inuit who had inhabited the Belcher Islands seminomadically for millennia to settle permanently in Sanikiluaq. In addition to the residential school system, summary execution of sled dogs was a primary means of preventing the Inuit from returning to their nomadic lifestyle.

Appaqaq says that when he returned to his family in his 20s, the round universe of nomadic igloo life had been transposed into the square confines of town life. He took a nine-to-five job in Sanikiluaq’s municipal office, which left little time for hunting and gathering. The first store in town, where I found goods ranging from peaches and frozen pizza to cell phone chargers and a single electric guitar perched on a high shelf, was established in 1968.

“Southern food,” as the locals call anything that has been flown in, is exorbitant—a pint can of diced tomatoes that I can purchase for little more than a dollar in Toronto costs \$6.75 in Sanikiluaq. Wild food, or “country food,” can be had for little more than the time it takes to go out and harvest it.

Appaqaq told me that most of the adult men in the community who aren’t employed full-time hunt on a daily basis. The food they harvest is typically shared. A couple of gunshots coming from the bay outside town signal that hunters are returning from a successful beluga expedition.



**TOP LEFT**  
A meeting between Sanikiluaq residents and territorial officials to finalize the park master plan.

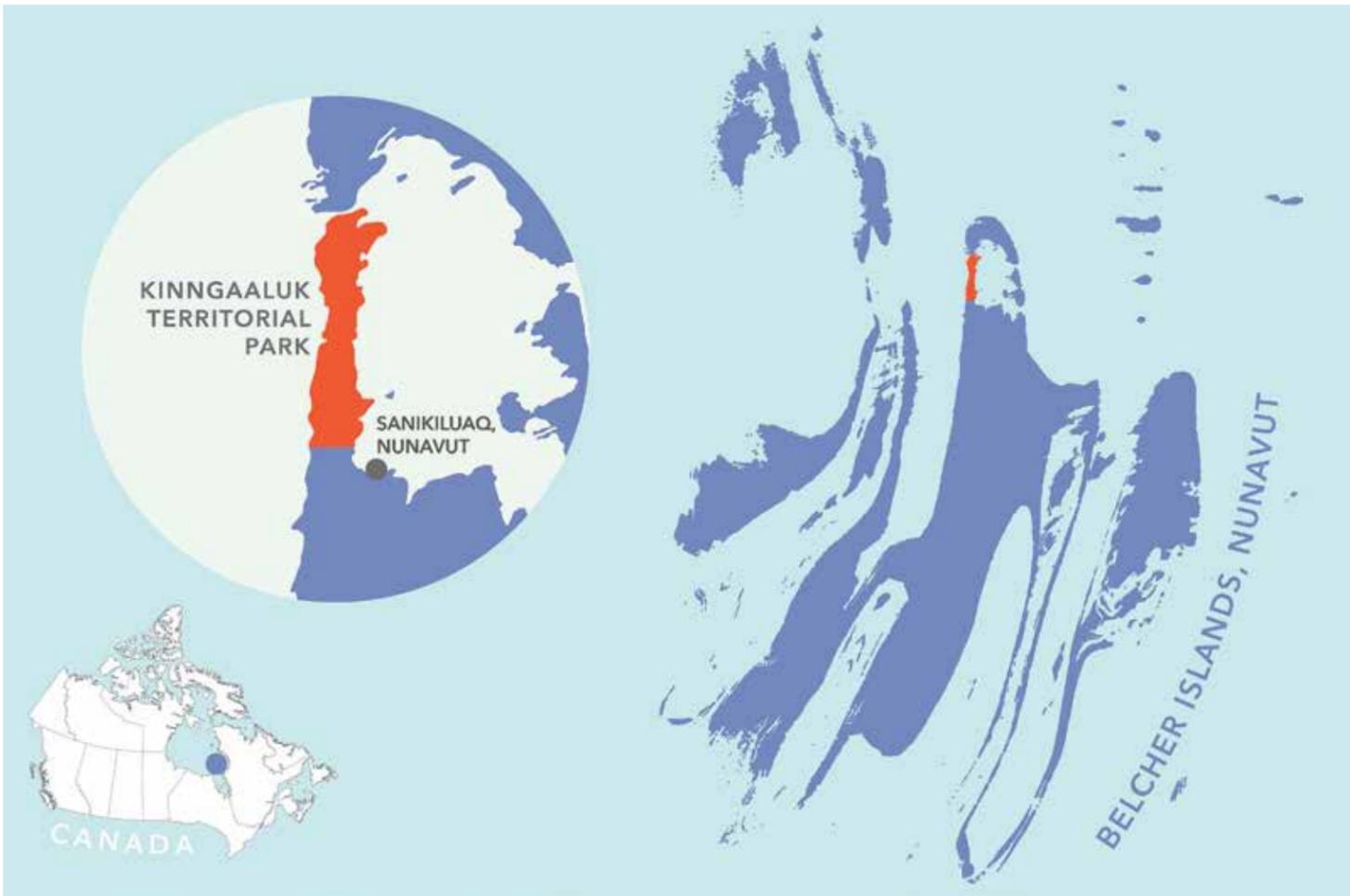
**OPPOSITE**  
Daniel Qavvik, Sanikiluaq’s conservation officer, looks across a sacred area called Kinngaaluk, the park’s namesake.

NUNAVUT PARKS/CHRIS GROSSET

“Everyone runs out of their houses and down to the beach to get a piece,” says Ashley Appaqaq, Johnny Appaqaq’s niece.

Another method for sharing the bounty: Facebook. The community’s private Facebook page serves as a village bulletin board, where one can post announcements about the youth throat singing circle or pictures of the snowmobile gasket

they’re looking to swap. As I sat in Ashley Appaqaq’s living room with a small family group, a post for smoked Arctic char popped up, which sent her cousin, Betsy Appaqaq, off on an ATV to fetch a piece before it was gone. Five minutes later, we were gathered around a piece of cardboard spread across the kitchen table, pulling the translucent pink fish flesh from the skin and tossing it into our mouths. It was delicious.



**N**VISION INSIGHT provides native-centric consulting in arenas ranging from federal policy to corporate strategy, and employs 30-plus staff from offices in Ottawa and Iqaluit. Grosset, a partner, is the firm's only landscape architect and is among its few nonindigenous members. He's spent nearly all of his 20-year career working in northern Canada.

There are significant differences between establishing a park in Nunavut and, say, Idaho, where there is a long history of national and state park systems. "The first step is to establish what 'park' means to them," Grosset says. "This concept does not exist in Inuit culture."

With a \$1 million (Canadian) projected budget to be spent over a 20-year horizon, Kinngaaluk Park will need to be whisper-light on infrastructure. Grosset, together with the Winnipeg-based firm HTFC Planning and Design, has sketched ideas

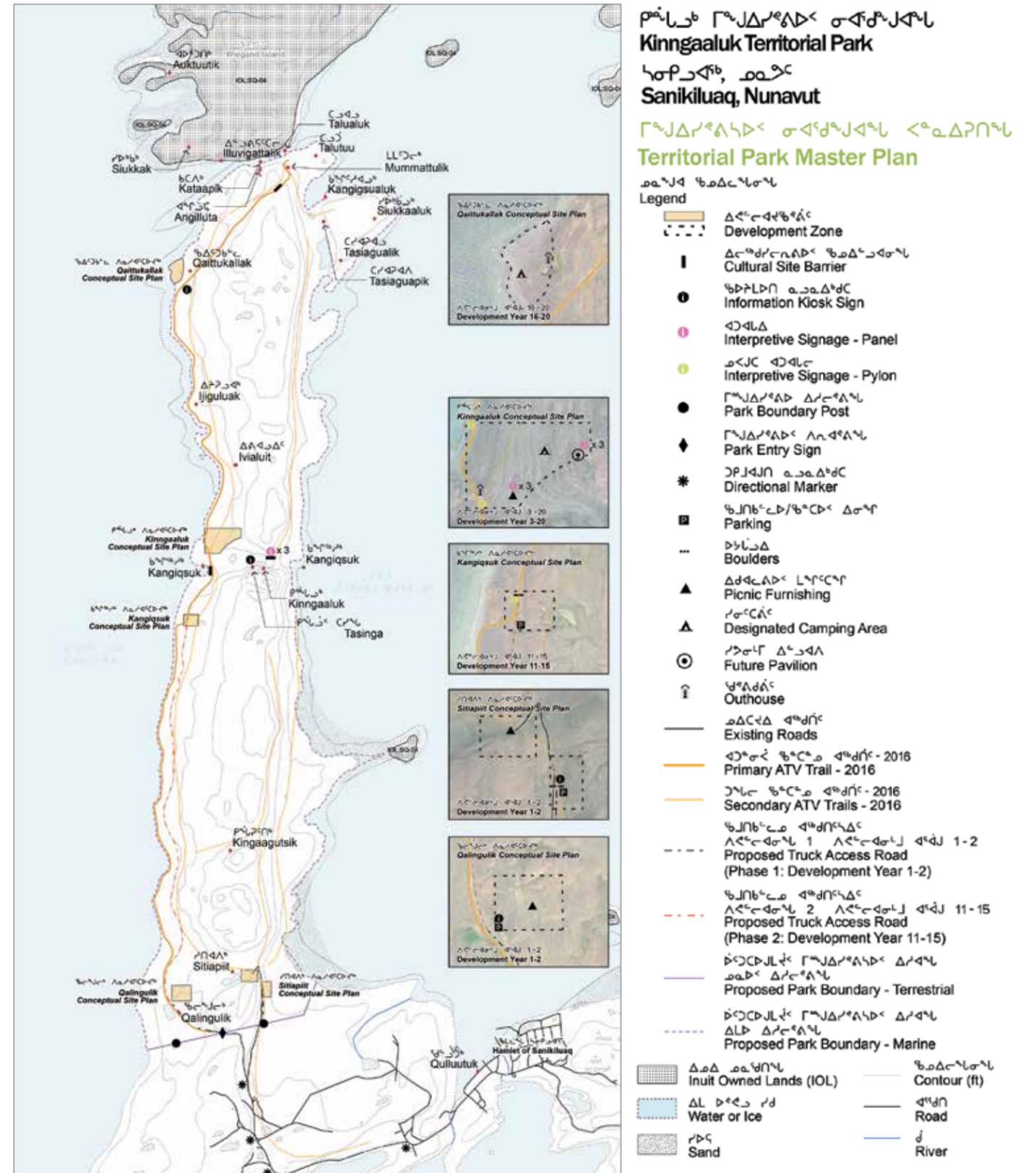
for camping shelters, picnic areas, and boardwalks to elevate ATV trails where they cross through sensitive habitats and cultural sites. A small pavilion, based loosely on traditional whalebone structures, will double as a gathering space for interpretive trips and as an outdoor classroom for local youth to learn the ways of the land from elders.

"The community wanted very simple buildings and minimal signage cluttering the landscape," Grosset says. "Because the landscape itself is so powerful, the intent is to keep all the infrastructure out of view at the main cultural sites."

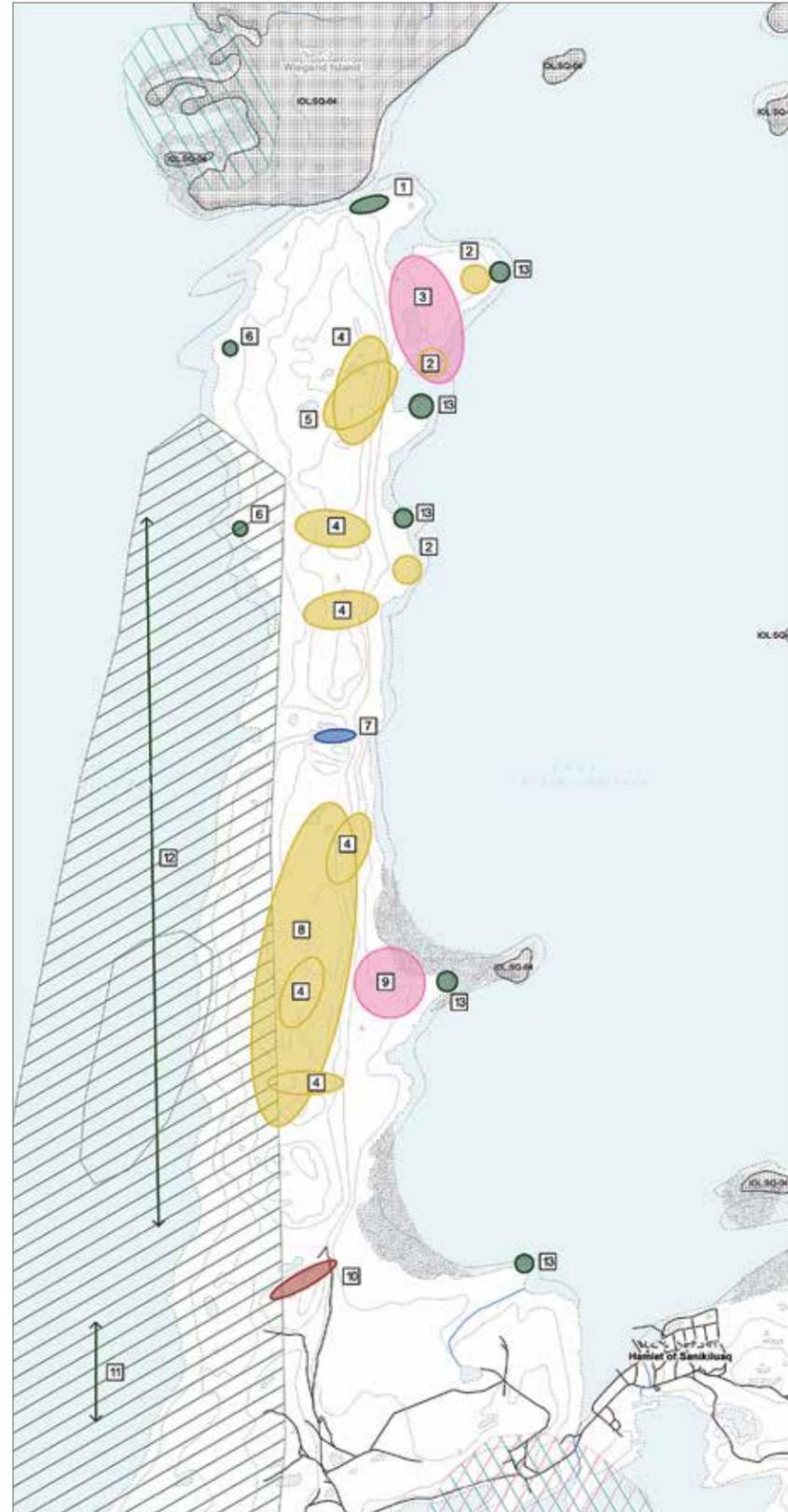
Grosset explained that working with northern indigenous communities is rarely about designing and building something tangible, not least because of the region's enormous funding and logistical challenges, but it's also a product of the cultural environment. Instead, the process is, in itself, an end.

**ABOVE** Sanikiluaq, in the Belcher Islands, is the southernmost community in Nunavut.

## TERRITORIAL PARK MASTER PLAN



# BIRD HABITAT



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Proposed Territorial Park for Sanikiluaq:  
Inventory of Park Resources

## ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Birds

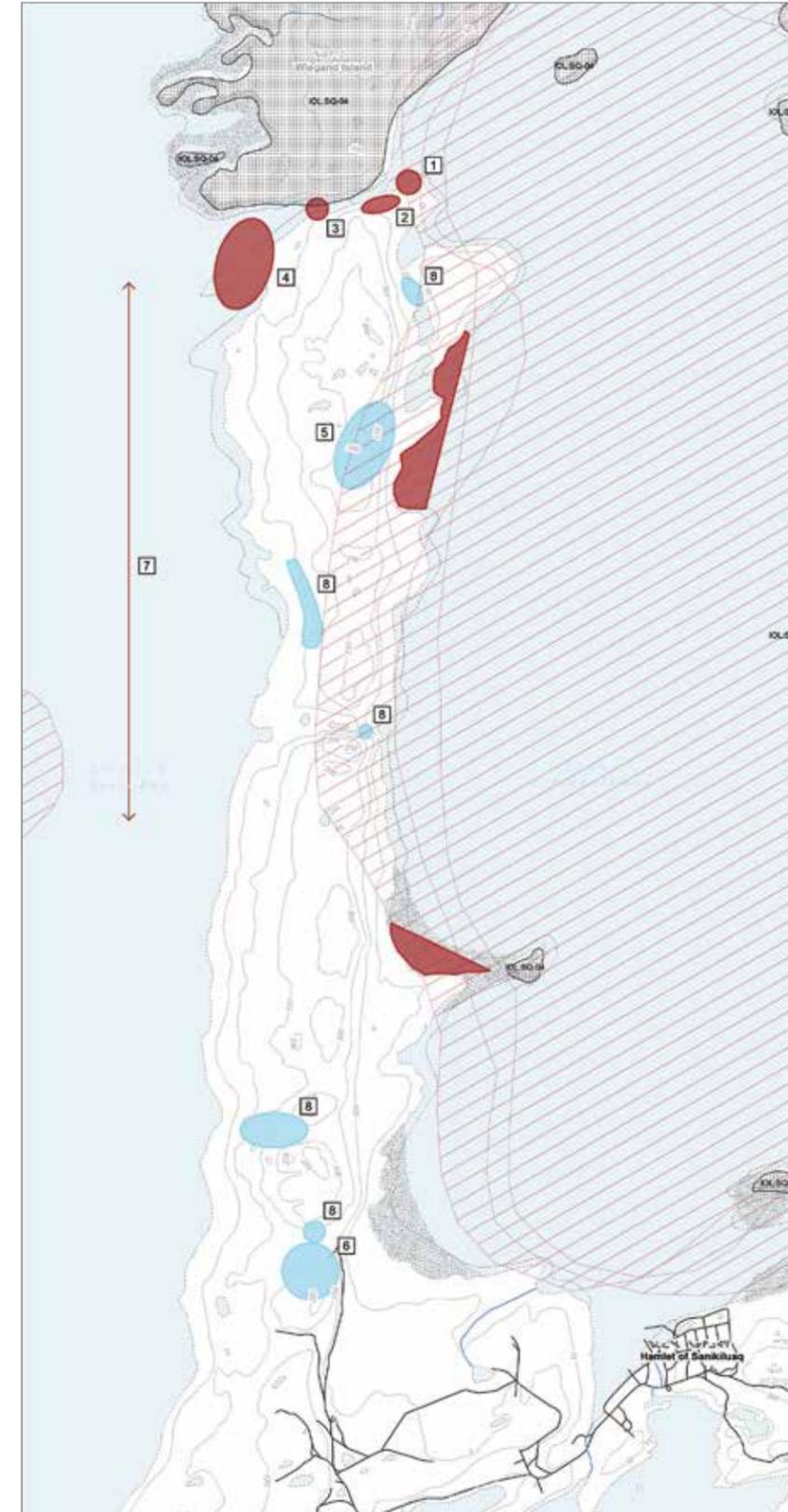
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Legend

- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Eider Duck
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Eider Duck
- \* ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ \* Eider Duck
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Canada Goose
- \* ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ \* Canada Goose
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Snow Goose
- \* ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ \* Snow Goose
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Ross' Goose
- \* ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ \* Ross' Goose
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Falcon
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Rough-legged Hawk

- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ (IOL)
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Sand
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Contour (ft)
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Road
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ River

NVISION INSIGHT GROUP/HTEC

# TERRESTRIAL & MARINE MAMMALS HABITAT



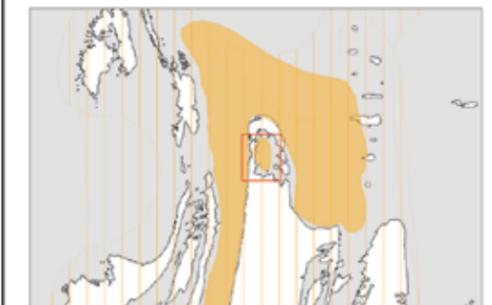
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Proposed Territorial Park for Sanikiluaq:  
Inventory of Park Resources

## ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Terrestrial & Marine Mammals

ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ • ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
Legend

- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Fox
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Beluga Whale
- \* ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ \* Beluga Whale

\* ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
\* Extents of Polar Bear & Ringed Seal

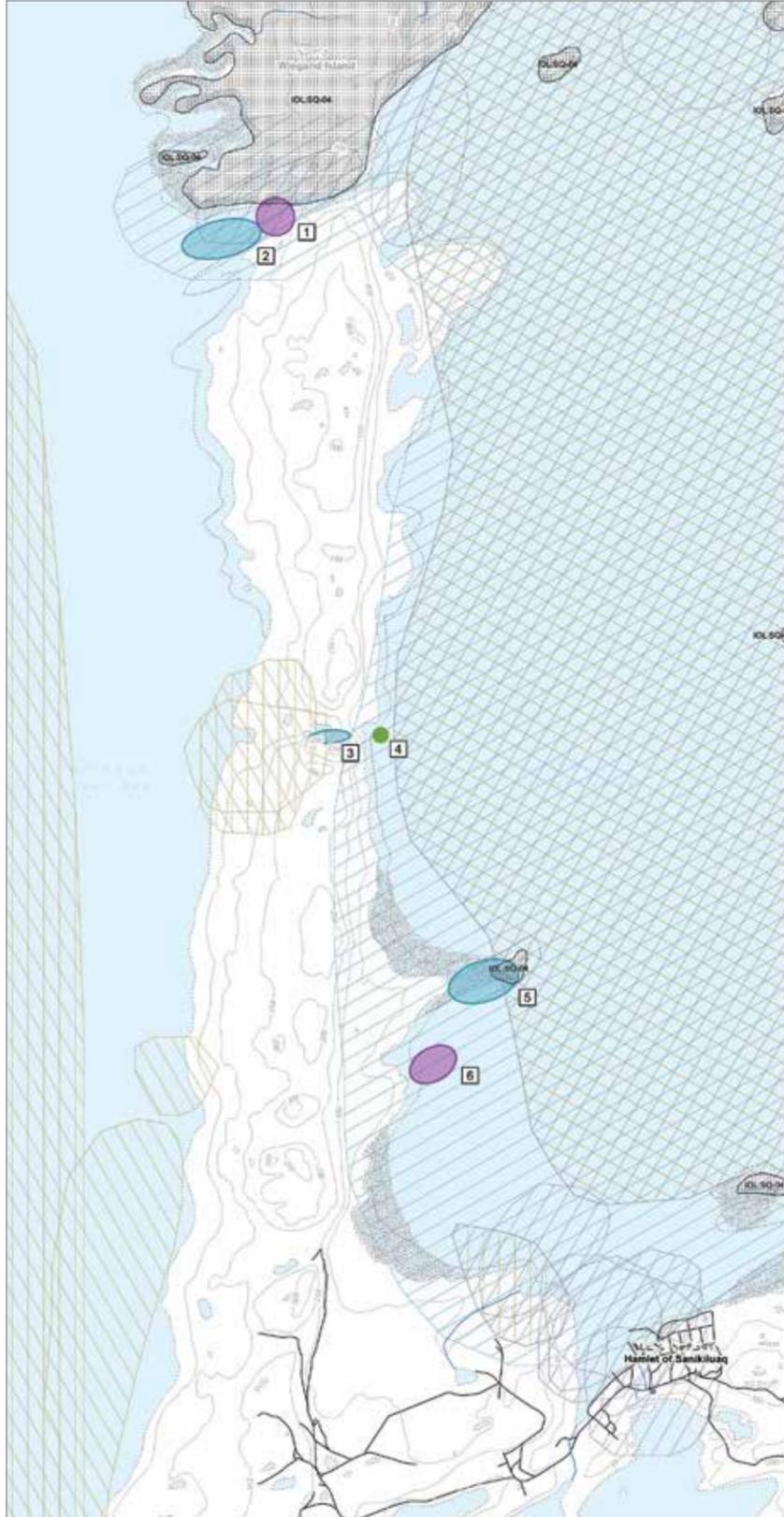


- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ \* Polar Bear
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ \* Ringed Seal

- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ (IOL)
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Sand
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Contour (ft)
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ Road
- ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ River

NVISION INSIGHT GROUP/HTEC

# FISH HABITAT



ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
 ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Proposed Territorial Park for Sanikiluaq:  
 Inventory of Park Resources**

## ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ Fish

ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Legend** \* ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
 \* Indicates data collected as part of the  
 Sanikiluaq Coastal Landscape  
 Resource Inventory

- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Cod**
- \* ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
 ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
 ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ
- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Sculpin**
- \* ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
 ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
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- \* ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Rainbow Smelt**
- \* ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Capelin**
- \* ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Atlantic Herring**
- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Fish Netting Site**

- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Inuit Owned Lands (IOL)**
- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Water or Ice**
- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Sand**
- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Contour (ft)**
- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Road**
- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**River**

NVISION INSIGHT GROUP/HTFC

# INVERTEBRATES & MARINE PLANTS HABITAT



ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
 ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Proposed Territorial Park for Sanikiluaq:  
 Inventory of Park Resources**

## ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ Invertebrates & Marine Plants

ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Legend** \* ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
 \* Indicates data collected as part of the  
 Sanikiluaq Coastal Landscape  
 Resource Inventory

- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Mussels**
- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Sea Urchins**
- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Seafood**
- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Seaweed**
- \* ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**\* Dulse**
- \* ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**\* Sea Lungwort**
- \* ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**\* Hollow-Stemmed Kelp**
- \* ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**\* Spiny Sour Weed**
- \* ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**\* Sea Colander**
- \* ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**\* Edible Kelp**

- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Inuit Owned Lands (IOL)**
- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Water or Ice**
- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Sand**
- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Contour (ft)**
- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**Road**
- ᑭᓄᑭᑦᑭᑦ  
**River**

NVISION INSIGHT GROUP/HTFC

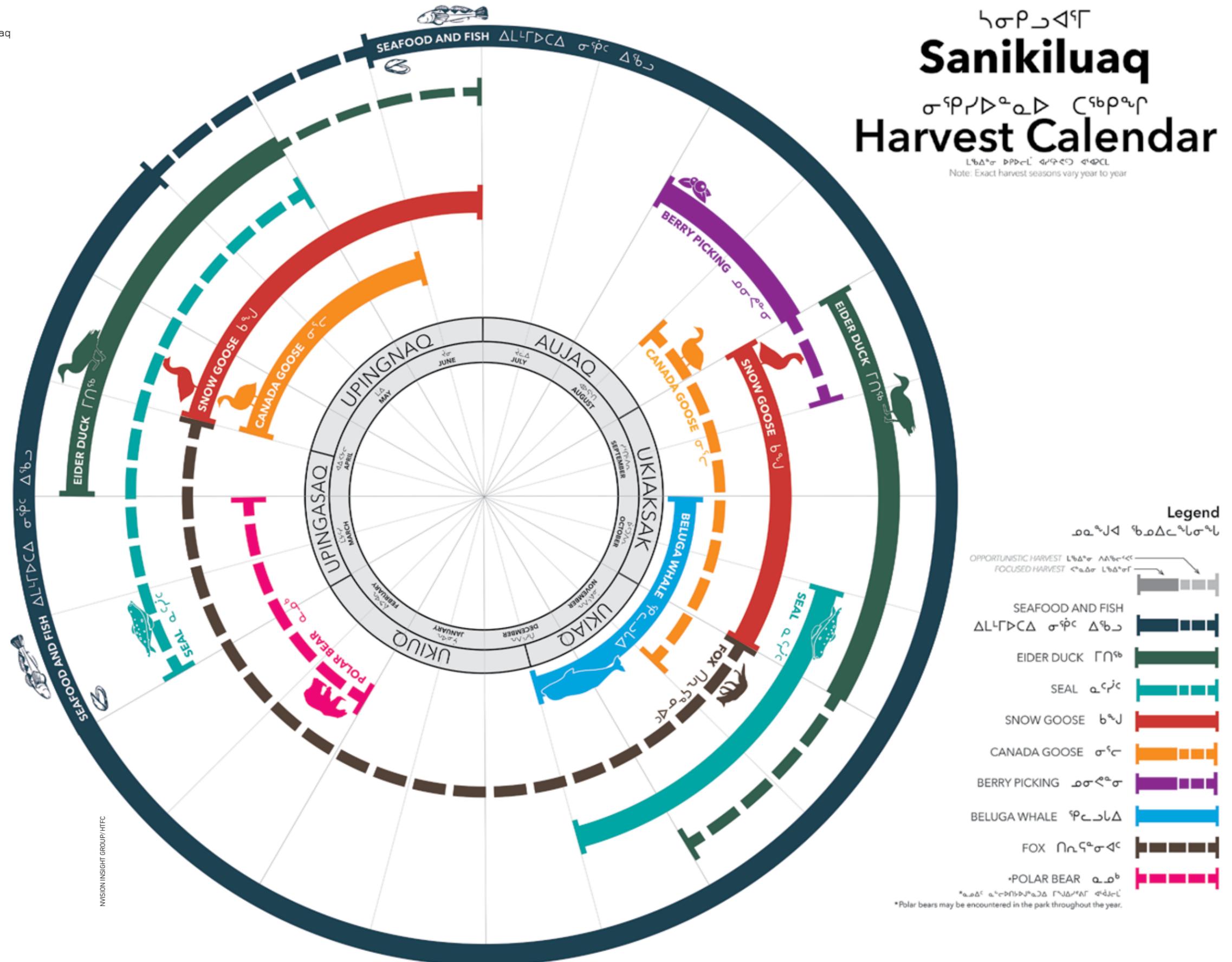


**LEFT**  
Steven Amagoalik, a Sanikiluaq resident, explains the use of traditional stone fox traps.

**OPPOSITE**  
The Inuit calendar has six seasons, named here with the foods that are available in the vicinity of Kinngaaluk Territorial Park during each one.

→ In the Belcher Islands, Grosset worked with the community for seven years just to determine the park boundaries. He spent three years compiling an inventory of cultural and natural resources, based on hundreds of hours of interviews with elders and expeditions with active hunters. The resulting plan orchestrates the landscape through zones and overlays that restrict the activities of non-Inuit visitors and dictate the placement of roads, trails, and structures. Preventing conflicts between seasonal harvesting activities and other park uses is a primary concern.

At Kinngaaluk, archaeological sites are seemingly everywhere—remnants from structures inhabited by both the Dorset (a group unrelated to the Inuit that was extinct by the 16th century) and the Thule (direct ancestors of the Inuit who migrated from what is now Russia). Grosset says that sod house foundations that were in use until the 1940s and stone traps used to catch Arctic fox until the 1960s dot the landscape, along with stone caches, cairns, and graves. Stone hunting blinds, some of them thought to be centuries old, are still in use today.



Interwoven with this historic fabric is a seasonal cycle of harvesting, which includes polar bear hunting and berry picking and the collection of kelp and driftwood—the latter a crucial firewood resource on these treeless islands. “The park is the community’s story,” Grosset says. “Protecting their resources and sharing with others how important harvesting is to them is the story they want to tell.”

**THE NUNAVUT** Land Claims Agreement, which sliced off the eastern half of the Northwest Territories to establish Nunavut, requires all significant development projects in the region, including parks, to be guided by an Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement to ensure that they proceed in alignment with Inuit interests. And it provides federal funds to do so.

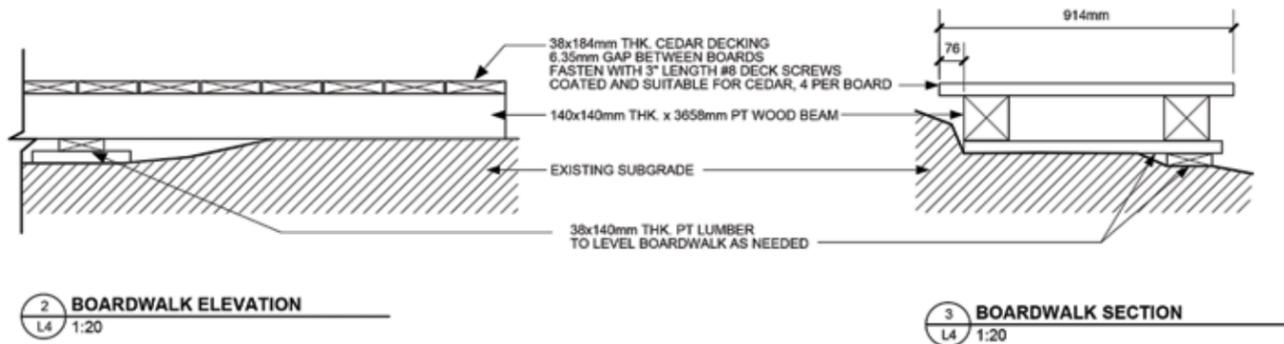
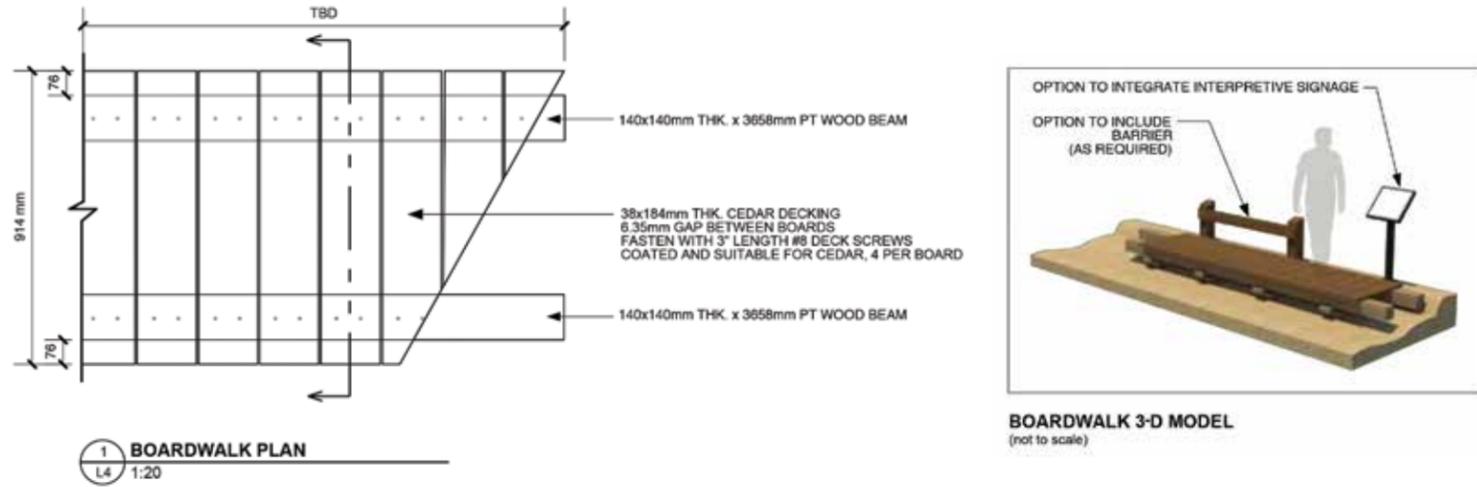
Grosset has been hired to implement this vision across all 13 of the territory’s parks, which are in various stages of planning and development currently. He also assisted in the planning and design of interpretive historic sites throughout Nunavut; collected oral histories of the Sir John Franklin expedition through the Northwest Passage in the mid-19th century—an alternative, Inuit-centric history, which will result in a book

and traveling exhibit; and worked with a group of Inuit men to design and build an elaborate plaza of stone and whalebones for their village, as part of a therapeutic program to help them heal from their residential school experience.

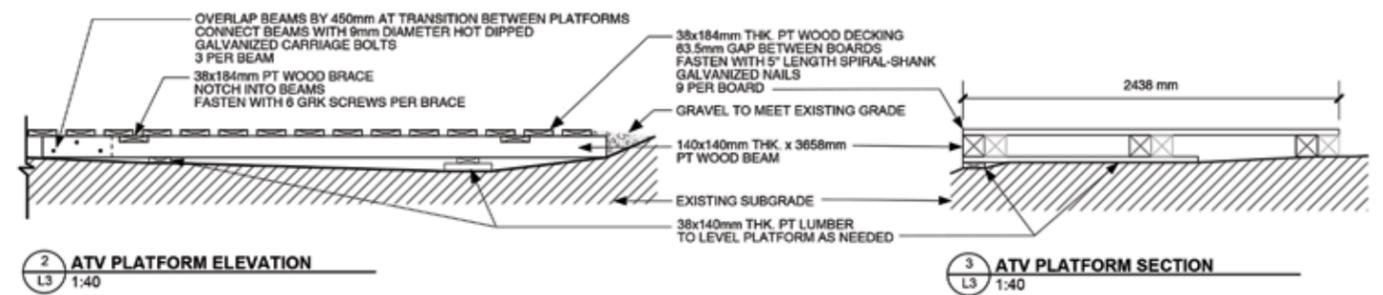
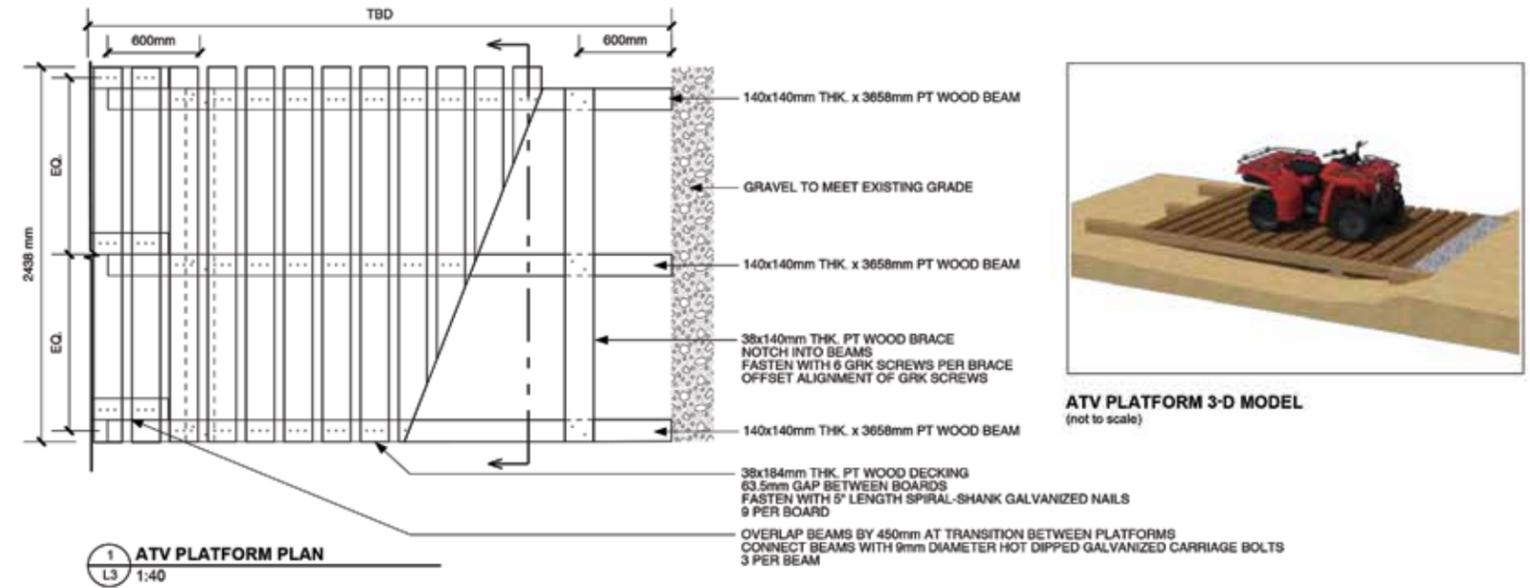
He says that all of his efforts emerge from a common gestalt: listening, more listening, and then, maybe, acting.



## BOARDWALK DETAILS



## ATV PLATFORM DETAILS



“One thing I see again and again is nonindigenous people, who are often very well-meaning, dropping into a community with a solution for this economic development problem or that environmental issue,” Grosset says. “I’ve had to learn to give myself a kick in the ass every time I find my mind wandering toward solutions, and work harder to listen instead.” His experience is that it takes months or years of working in a new community to establish open lines of dialogue. “Their culture is based on observation, not chatting. They think we talk way too much.”

His approach, in large part, is to train locals to do the work of landscape interpretation and analysis, “so that my presence eventually recedes into the background on each project” and so that, ultimately, his designs rest squarely on their worldview.

Grosset, who cofounded the Nunavut Association of Landscape Architects in Iqaluit (with Cameron DeLong, Marla Limousin, John Laird, and Richard Wyma) and the Reconciliation Advisory Committee within the Canadian Society of Landscape Architects, is outspoken in urging his peers to position themselves as agents of truth and reconciliation. At university lectures, he often shows students the Doctrine of Discovery, a 1493 papal decree that declared that European explorers had a God-given right to take land from “savages.” The impacts of the doctrine, he tells students, are part of daily life in Nunavut.

“When their land was taken, their cultural identity was pulled away with it. The two are inseparable. It’s a different perspective than in Western culture, where land is a commodity.”

NVISION INSIGHT GROUP/HFC

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**RIGHT**  
A small pavilion inspired by the design of traditional whalebone structures will host educational outings.



# “WHEN THEIR LAND WAS TAKEN, THEIR CULTURAL IDENTITY WAS PULLED AWAY WITH IT.”

—CHRIS GROSSET, NVISION INSIGHT GROUP

**I**N NUNAVUT, a territory the size of Mexico with a population of 38,000, nature's larder can seem bottomless. In addition to whales, Sanikiluaq hunters bring home seal, various bird species, and the occasional fox or polar bear. They also manage a herd of introduced reindeer. But, as Grosset explained to me, the availability of wild food is far from guaranteed.

Sanikiluaq hunters must navigate changing patterns in sea ice formation that slow, and at times prevent, harvesting activities and endanger their lives. Huge hydroelectric dams built on Quebec rivers that feed into Hudson Bay have altered salinity, causing mass die-offs of the Arctic eider, a duck with thick down that once lined the parkas and boots of the community and served as

the foundation for one of the only viable export industries the islands have known. The loss was detailed in the 2011 documentary *People of a Feather*, which drew a connection between the penthouses of Manhattan—a portion of Quebec's “clean” hydropower is sold to New York—and the plight of Sanikiluaq villagers.

Grosset has observed that wild food ceases to be a significant component of diet and culture when it's not easily accessible. “The food may be accessible in a faraway location, but if you don't have money to buy a snowmobile, or gas to put in one, your family is going to suffer,” Grosset says.

This is exactly the predicament that Kinngaaluk Park is intended to prevent.



**TOP**  
Sanikiluaq resident Steven Amagoalik and Heather Kolit-Carter of Nunavut Parks tour the proposed park site. Because of the threat of polar bears, locals never venture outside of town unarmed.

**OPPOSITE**  
The blossoms of arctic mountain avens (*Dryas octopetala*) emerge through a mat of arctic willow (*Salix arctica*).

When Grosset first arrived as a consultant in Sanikiluaq in 2010, the government of Nunavut had charged him with master planning a park to facilitate tourism as a form of economic development. He says that the emphasis quickly shifted, however, when a mining company began exploring for iron ore in the Belchers, and exploration permits were granted on land immediately east, south, and west of the hamlet. By 2015, the peninsula north of town where Kinngaaluk is located was the only easily accessible area remaining that wasn't identified for potential mining activity.

“Suddenly places they had always gone to hunt had drilling going on and helicopters buzzing around, which caused wildlife to move away,” Grosset says. “That really freaked out the community members. Many of them weren't really aware what areas the mining permits covered until I started putting up maps in the community hall.” Establishing a park became a means to prevent more iron exploration permits from being issued.

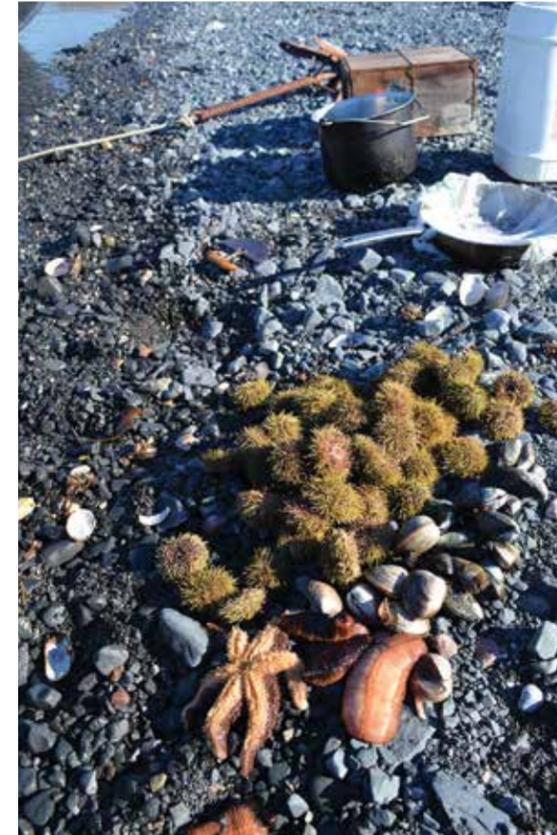
While providing opportunities for harvesting is the top priority of the park, residents I spoke with eagerly welcome tourism that aligns with that vision, such as ecoconscious hunting and fishing trips or educational outings where local guides share their knowledge of the land and folklore. The Belcher Islands, located far from the Northwest Passage where cruise ships are now becoming common, have virtually no tourist traffic currently. Establishing a park puts a green spot on the map, a first step in attracting the attention of outsiders.

Kinngaaluk Territorial Park has yet to receive formal approval by the Nunavut legislature—Grosset says that's expected in early 2019—though it has already garnered national recognition: The park master plan won a Canadian Society of Landscape Architects Award of Excellence for Planning and Analysis, Large-Scale Design in 2018.

In a small blue building next to the Sanikiluaq harbor, I met with Daniel Qavvik, the conservation officer for the islands (plus, he says, the



NUNAVUT PARKS/CHRIS BROSELET



**OPPOSITE**  
A group arrives by boat to Kataapik, a popular fishing destination for Sanikiluaq residents.

**LEFT**  
The day's catch: starfish, sea cucumber, urchins, and mussels.

**I**N A SENSE, the purpose of Kinngaaluk Park is not to create something new, so much as find a path forward on which the Inuit can live as they always have.

The final leg of our tour was a boat ride to the northern tip of the park's peninsula, a place called Kataapik, where non-Inuit will need special permission to visit. It's the site of an ancient camp that remains in use today for hunting, fishing, and, as Qavvik, our boat captain for the day, told me as we bumped ashore, "Sunday picnics."

environmental protection officer, fisheries officer, game officer, and parks officer). I asked Qavvik whether overuse of park resources was a concern. With a growing population in Sanikiluaq and the prospects of increased tourism and mining activities in the future, would a 3,300-acre park be big enough?

The taking of wildlife by non-Inuit is strictly regulated in Nunavut, Qavvik explained. As for locals, he shook his head and assured me this would not be a problem. "Before the federal government came to the North, the people sustained themselves from wildlife. It is our tradition to take only what we need."

On the gravel beach we happened upon an older couple, Annie Iqaluk and Peter Kattuk, who had a campfire going alongside a pile of freshly harvested sea cucumber, starfish, and sundry catch. The adventurous among us sampled the yellow innards of raw sea urchin. (I opted for the cooked mussels.) The couple said very little, but before we left, Kattuk rose and looked at me. "My mother and my grandmother are buried up there," he said, pointing to a rise above the water. Then he pointed back to himself. "My land." ●

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