



Arctic and International Relations Series



Arctic Indigenous Economies



CANADIAN STUDIES CENTER

UNIVERSITY of WASHINGTON

The Henry M. Jackson
School of International Studies



INTERNATIONAL
POLICY INSTITUTE

UNIVERSITY of WASHINGTON

The Henry M. Jackson
School of International Studies

Canadian Studies Center
Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies
University of Washington, Seattle

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Preface

The Arctic has long been a site of global economic activity, particularly during the years of the whaling industry and fur trade. Today, in what has been referred to as a post-land-claims environment, traditional livelihoods are integrated with Arctic Indigenous-owned businesses to create a uniquely Arctic economic model. While the Arctic has historically been treated as a resource for the benefit of domestic and global economies, increasingly those who call the region home are defining a distinct economic model and determining how they will interact globally. How Arctic Indigenous people organize economically is a new frontier in international relations and one this issue of *Arctic and International Relations* addresses.

This issue is comprised of three parts: reports from the delegates from the Fall Quarter 2016 symposium dedicated to Arctic Indigenous economies; transcripts of video-taped interviews with the delegates; and policy pieces written by the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies International Policy Institute Arctic Fellows, University of Washington (UW) graduate students.

PART 1

On November 10, 2016, delegates from Inuit Nunangat (Inuit region in Canada) participated in an all-day workshop held at UW titled Arctic Indigenous Economies, sponsored by the Korea Maritime Institute and hosted by the Canadian Studies Center/Arctic and International Relations. Presentations included “Business in the Arctic: An Impossible Dream,” by Jean-François Arteau, avocat émérite, Kesserwan Arteau; “Avataa Explorations and Logistics, Kuujuaq, Nunavik, Québec,” by Charlie Watt, President, and Christine Nakoolak, Executive Director; “Makivik Corporation, Nunavik, Québec,” by Andy Moorhouse, Vice-President, Economic Development Makivik Corporation; “Co-Management of New and Emerging Fisheries in the Canadian Beaufort Sea,” by Burton Ayles, Canada Member, Canada/Inuvialuit, Fisheries Joint Management Committee; and, “Tourism Nunatsiavut,” by Sean Lyall, Minister, Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism, Nunatsiavut. These presentations have been revised for inclusion in this issue.

Drs. Young-kil Park, Director, Polar Policy Research Center, Korea Maritime Institute, and Reşat Kasaba, Director of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, provided welcoming remarks; Jeehye Kim, Researcher, Polar Policy Research Center, Industry Intelligence and Strategy Research Division, Korea Maritime Institute, an overview of South Korea’s Arctic policy and the role of the Korea Maritime Institute in the Arctic; James Hill, Consul General of Canada, Seattle, the keynote lecture; and Professor Don Hellmann, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, the concluding remarks.

PART 2

A five-part video series was produced in conjunction with the workshop. Each of the participants was interviewed by one of the International Policy Institute Arctic Fellows. The transcripts from the series make up Part 2 of this issue. The videos are available on the *Arctic and International Relations Video Series* website: <https://jsis.washington.edu/arctic/research/arctic-and-international-relations-series/videos/>.

PART 3

Part 3 includes the policy papers by the International Policy Institute Arctic Fellows. The Fellows are UW graduate students whose research interests include the Arctic, including students from the Jackson School of International Studies, School of Law, School of Marine and Environmental Affairs, the College of Education, and the Museology Program.

Their policy papers are the result of research conducted by the Fellows in a Fall Quarter course, JSIS 578: Arctic Indigenous Economies in Inuit Nunangat (Canada) and the Circumpolar World, and presented at a final course symposium in early December. Under the larger rubric of Arctic Indigenous economies, these papers cover a wide range of topics, including climate change and resource management, diplomacy and international relations, and the role of the arts in northern economies and international relations. Four of the Fellows are also studying Inuktitut, the Inuit language, as reflected in the titles of their papers and their conceptual understanding of the issues.

We hope that you enjoy reading these short policy option papers by our Arctic Fellows. For many, this was their first introduction to understanding the role of the Arctic in international affairs; for a few, the Arctic has been their focus of study for some time. In all cases, the students came up with innovative ways to consider new ways of thinking about international relations as a result of Arctic Indigenous involvement.

A special note of thanks is due to UW faculty who served as respondents at the final course symposium: Harry Stern, Applied Physics Laboratory; Tom Leschine, School of Marine and Environmental Affairs; Katie Bunn-Marcuse, Burke Museum; Nives Dolsak, School of Marine and Environmental Affairs; Jessica Thompson, College of Education; Margaret Willson, author, *Seawomen of Iceland: Survival on the Edge* (2016); Robert Anderson, School of Law; Manish Chalana, Department of Urban Planning and Design; Scott Montgomery, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies; Don Hellmann, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies; and Vincent Gallucci, Aquatic and Fishery Sciences and Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies.

We also wish to thank Jeehye Kim for her tremendous support in arranging the workshop and Dr. Young-kil Park, Director, Polar Policy Research Center, Korea Maritime Institute; Jordan Habenicht, International Studies Major, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies (2016), and International Policy Institute Arctic Fellow (2015–16), for bringing together many of the presenters at this workshop; Dr. Joanne Muzak, copyeditor, and Monique Thormann, Director of Communications, Jackson School of International Studies, for their expertise; Tamara Leonard and Kristi Roundtree from the Center for Global Studies and East Asia Center, respectively, for their support and consultation; Alessandro Leveque from UW Creative Communications for his design expertise; and Monick Keo for her assistance in everything undertaken at the Center.

The Canadian Studies Center, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, was established in 1987 as a U.S. Department of Education National Resource Center on Canada with the Center for Canadian-American Studies at Western Washington University. The Canadian Studies Center, a member organization of University of the Arctic, oversees the Arctic and International Relations initiative in the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies and serves as the hosting unit for UW's Canada Fulbright Chair in Arctic Studies and the interdisciplinary minor in Arctic Studies (a partnership between the Jackson School and the School of Oceanography).

Arctic and International Relations Series is the outcome of a partnership between the Canadian Studies Center/Arctic and International Relations and the International Policy Institute in the Jackson School of International Studies (supported by funding from Carnegie Corporation of New York), and UW's Future of Ice initiative. The series is dedicated to translating scholarship into policy options to enhance understanding of the Arctic as a unique region in international affairs including the important role of Arctic Indigenous peoples in policy shaping for the region.



The Korea Maritime Institute, established in 1984, is a national policy research institute sponsored by the Korean government. The goal of the Korea Maritime Institute is to pursue development and innovation to establish national policies in the fields of marine and polar affairs, fisheries, and shipping and ports. The Korea Maritime Institute engages in joint research activities with prominent overseas universities, research institutes, and international organizations, thereby promoting Korea's status in the international community and enhancing domestic policy capacity. The Korea Maritime Institute is a member of University of the Arctic and publishes *The Arctic in World Affairs*.

The November meeting and this issue of *Arctic and International Relations* was made possible thanks to an Agreement on Academic Cooperation between the Korea Maritime institute and the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the UW to build breadth of collaboration across Arctic-related issues and provide both educational and research outcomes for all activities and cooperative ventures. The Canadian Studies Center serves as host for the Agreement. Support funding was also provided by the East Asia Center, the Center for Global Studies in the Jackson School and the Global Business Center, Foster School of Business (from the Office of Postsecondary Education, International and Foreign Language Education Office, U.S. Department of Education); and the International Policy Institute in the Jackson School.

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Welcoming Remarks

REŞAT KASABA

Director, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington

In May 2014, the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies and Korea Maritime Institute signed an Agreement on Academic Cooperation. Through this Agreement, we made a shared commitment to host annual meetings, build breadth of collaboration across Arctic-related issues, and provide both educational and research outcomes for all activities. In November 2015, we hosted our inaugural meeting focused on the twentieth anniversary of the Arctic Council. This meeting culminated the publication of our second issue of *Arctic and International Relations Series* on the Arctic Council at twenty, featuring key scholars in the field and the heads of three of the Permanent Participant organizations.

This year, the program has expanded to include the School's new International Policy Institute. The goal of the Institute is to make research accessible to policymakers and practitioners. The International Policy Institute Arctic Fellows with us tonight – graduate students from across schools and departments at the University of Washington – are attempting to understand how Arctic Indigenous economies are distinct from Southern economies and how that distinction is contributing to international relations more broadly.

The Jackson School is the only school in the contiguous states that offers a minor in Arctic Studies (with the School of Oceanography) with a strong focus on Arctic Indigenous internationalism, making our program truly unique in the world. Over one hundred students have taken our Arctic courses since 2014. In Fall Quarter 2016, ten UW students are enrolled in a course in Inuktitut, the Inuit language, with renowned language expert Mick Mallon and former Language Commissioner for Nunavut Alexina Kublu. Twice weekly these students Skype in to Iqaluit, Nunavut (Canada's Inuit territory), for instruction. There is no other school in the contiguous states that offers language training in the Inuit language. We are very proud of this achievement.

A key vision of the Canadian Studies Center and the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies is to build relations with our neighbors to the far north so that we can train and build networks between our young people and increase educational capacity and understanding. We are delighted that the Korea Maritime Institute is also so dedicated to this goal to building north, south, and global relations toward addressing some of the most critical issues facing our world today. I want to thank Dr. Young-kil Park and Jeehye Kim for their partnership with us and their dedication to educational collaborations, and to welcome all of you tonight, particularly our guests from the Arctic region who have spent several days traveling to make it here.

Keynote Address

JAMES K. HILL

Consul General of Canada, Consulate General of Canada, Seattle



As many of you will know, Canada's North covers one-third of our territory and is home to more than one hundred thousand people, more than half of whom are Indigenous. For Canadians, the North captures our imagination like no other part of our country. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has spoken to the strength and resilience of Northern peoples and is making the Arctic a priority for our government. His commitment was expressed last March (2016) in Washington, DC, through the U.S.–Canada Joint Statement on Climate, Energy, and Arctic Leadership, and today, I would like to describe how Canada is approaching these critical issues.

MINISTRY OF INDIGENOUS AND NORTHERN AFFAIRS ACTIVITIES

First and foremost, as Arctic nations – as the president and prime minister jointly declared – our shared future depends on the people who have made the North their home. As such, our Minister of Indigenous and Northern Affairs, Carolyn Bennett, is consulting across Canada, from coast to coast to coast, about the best approach for the North. She has surrounded herself with some of Canada's most competent experts, including scientists and those who bring traditional knowledge to the table.

On August 5, 2016, Minister Bennett appointed Mary Simon as the Minister's Special Representative responsible for leading an engagement and providing advice on the development of a new shared Arctic leadership model. Mary Simon is a remarkable Inuit leader who helped create the Arctic Council twenty years ago.

The Minister's Special Representative is meeting with a wide range of partners, including territorial governments; Indigenous governments and First Nations, Inuit, and Métis representative organizations; land claim organizations and co-management boards; nongovernmental organizations; youth and youth representative organizations; scientists (e.g., marine, climate); researchers and research organizations; and industry.

Mary Simon is engaging with territorial governments to seek innovative ideas for setting conservation goals. The Minister's Special Representative is also supporting a collaborative approach to advancing a shared Arctic leadership model. Given the constitutional standing of comprehensive land claim agreements (treaties), engagement with land claims organizations will be central to this process.

Why Do We Need a Special Representative?

Canada is an Arctic nation. As the Government of Canada plans for the future of the Arctic region, it is important to ensure the many interests and uses of the Arctic are considered, particularly for those that make it their permanent home. Throughout the coming months, Ms. Simon is seeking the views of Northerners and other stakeholders on the future conservation and sustainable development of the North.

As the Minister's Special Representative, Ms. Simon will recommend options for new goals for marine and terrestrial conservation in the Arctic; summarize the anticipated benefits of the proposed new targets for Arctic environmental health and the well-being of Northerners; provide guidance on approaches regarding the implementation of identified

goals; and summarize related Arctic issues raised by partners during the engagement, including social, economic, and environmental considerations.

Through the engagement, the Minister's Special Representative is seeking input on these six themes:

1. A vision for a sustainable Arctic
2. Goals for Arctic conservation
3. Sustainable development
4. Northern benefits and jobs
5. Implementation of terrestrial and marine conservation measures in a manner consistent with land claim agreements
6. Implementation strategies.

For Minister Bennett, socioeconomic development for Northern peoples is her main goal. This means opportunities for children, improved mental and physical health, building resilience, and the preservation of language and culture; these are universal values. Turning those ideals into actionable policy measures is always the challenge, but it is one that the Canadian government is confronting with renewed vigor.

A SHARED US–CANADIAN APPROACH

Complicating matters further is that the challenges facing the Arctic continue to shift and evolve, particularly as a result of climate change. For example, as the Arctic attracts increased economic activity, as its resources are increasingly sought after, navigation routes open, and ecosystems become increasingly fragile. How do Canada's responsibilities also change? What role can and should our partnerships play?

We see the North as an essential part of our future and a place of extraordinary potential. In March 2016, when Prime Minister Trudeau was hosted in Washington, DC, by President Obama, the two leaders announced a new partnership to understand the opportunities and address the challenges in a changing Arctic. They announced the four following goals.

Conserving Arctic biodiversity through science-based decision making. To achieve this we will work directly with Indigenous partners, state, territorial, and provincial governments. We will play a leadership role in engaging all Arctic nations to develop a pan-Arctic marine protection area network.

Incorporating Indigenous science and traditional knowledge into decision making at all levels of government. For example, in a recent environmental assessment process for a major energy project in Howe Sound, BC, the Squamish Nation conducted its own environmental assessment and published its own conditions; and the proponent paid strict attention. The initiative of the Squamish Nation is helping governments and businesses make better decisions.

Building a sustainable Arctic economy, including shipping, fishing, and oil and gas exploration and development, to establish a shared science-based standard for considering the lifecycle impacts of commercial activity in the Arctic.

While not specifically mentioned at the time, tourism will increasingly become another important element of sustainable economic development. The *Crystal Serenity* cruise liner traversed from Seattle to New York City through the Northwest Passage this year, calling at Canadian Arctic communities, among others, along the way. More commercial activity in the region is highly likely; local communities, experts, and officials in both the United States and Canada will need to continue collaborating closely to ensure any rise in economic activity in the region is sustainable and responsible.



Supporting strong Arctic communities. This means including innovative renewable energy and efficiency alternatives to diesel, and advancing community climate change adaptation. Canada is proud to be recognized as a world leader in the development of innovative clean energy, water treatment, and environmental remediation products and technology to advance economic opportunities for Arctic communities. We certainly aim to continue driving innovation in these key areas along with our American partners.

CLIMATE CHANGE

I would also stress that to address the challenges we face, Canadian foreign policy is dedicated to inclusion and consultation. We are profoundly troubled by the negative effects of climate change, which are disproportionately felt in the Arctic, and in the Pacific Islands where sea-level rise (due to melting ice) presents a clear threat. This is a powerful example of our interconnected world, and a stark reminder that we are in this together.

Mitigating these consequences is possible only if all countries act seriously and effectively, notably to meet the targets set at United Nations Convention of Parties 21. In October 2016, Canada ratified the Paris Agreement and announced the price we will put on carbon pollution. By 2022, this will be fifty dollars a tonne, and this is just the beginning.

In September 2016, Canada also participated in the first White House Arctic Science Ministerial in Washington, DC. International collaboration, together with Arctic Indigenous peoples, in science and decision making, was recognized as essential to advancing research in the Arctic.

ARCTIC COUNCIL'S TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY

In this same spirit of collaboration, I would like to talk about the Arctic Council, the Indigenous permanent participants, and the eight sovereign countries that have been working for twenty years as one. The Arctic Council is a model for non-partisanship and cooperation. It is the product of collective diplomacy. We are celebrating its twentieth anniversary this year.

Canada and our Arctic neighbors are committed to protecting the North. We are joined by twelve other countries with Observer status, as well as the European Union. Canada welcomes and values the contributions of these observers.

The Ottawa Declaration on the Establishment of the Arctic Council was signed twenty years ago. As a result of the work of the Arctic Council, partnerships have been built with Indigenous peoples. We need this knowledge and we always have. The Arctic Council has signed two binding agreements between eight Arctic states: one on search and rescue in 2011, and one on oil pollution preparedness and response in 2013. Landmark studies on environmental pollutants, shipping, tourism, safety and search and rescue, conservation of biodiversity, oil pollution response, human health, Indigenous languages, and, of course, climate change have been undertaken by the Council's working groups. Presently, the Arctic Council is completing the Framework for Action on Enhanced Black Carbon and Methane Emissions Reductions. And the Arctic Economic Council has been created.

Perhaps the greatest accomplishment is that we have laid a strong foundation for the greater challenges ahead.

Diplomacy and cooperation are essential in the Arctic. The North is not a place for military confrontation or buildup. Canada needs to work with all of our partners, even those we fundamentally disagree with. It makes no sense, for example, for Canadian and Russian scientists not to be working together on research of common interest. Collaboration in

the Arctic would not change the profound disagreements Canada has with Russia's unacceptable actions in Ukraine and Syria. Although not an easy path, it is precisely through Canada's policy of renewed engagement that we can face the world's difficult challenges.

Our government will build stronger relationships with all Arctic states, and we look forward to working with the next Arctic Council chair, Finland, who will build the UN Sustainable Development Goals into its chairmanship program.

ARCTIC ECONOMIC COUNCIL

Given the focus of this conference, I would be remiss not to at least highlight two economic initiatives. The first, which I briefly mentioned previously, is the Arctic Economic Council – an independent organization charged with promoting business-to-business exchanges and responsible economic development in the Arctic. The Arctic Economic Council serves as a conduit for sharing best practices, industry standards, new technologies, and other information for businesses across the region, ranging from multinationals to Aboriginal Economic Development Corporations.

The Arctic Economic Council held its first meeting just over two years ago, in September 2014 in Iqaluit, Nunavut, and is currently chaired by Tara Sweeney of Alaska. Its four working groups cover maritime transportation, infrastructure (with a focus on telecommunications/broadband), responsible resource development, and Arctic stewardship, and will result in actionable recommendations to boost trade, investment, and collaboration.

As the Arctic Economic Council continues its work, the region's economy should grow responsibly and for the benefit of its residents.

ARCTIC CAPABILITIES GUIDE

I would also like to highlight an important tool being developed by the Canadian government to help support local businesses and the Northern economy. We will soon be publishing what we have called the *Canadian Arctic Capabilities Guide*, a tremendous resource detailing more than 130 companies that are already active in a number of business lines the Canadian Arctic. Industries covered include ice and ocean technologies and services, clean-tech, cold climate manufacturing, Northern infrastructure engineering and design, Northern transportation and logistics services, Arctic maritime, Northern mining equipment and services, harsh environment oil and gas equipment and services, harsh climate information and communications technology and Arctic earth observation, Arctic aerospace and defense, Northern cultural, creative, and specialty food industries, and Arctic research and education.

The guide is intended to promote and facilitate business and trade for these companies, and hopefully its success will generate more economic opportunities for Northern employers and employees alike. I am confident that the next edition of the guide will include even more Northern businesses – and who knows? – perhaps even a business that can trace its roots back to this conference here today.

CONCLUSION

I hope in sharing elements of Canada's vision for the Arctic and its efforts in support of the region's economic development that you take away two key points. One, Canadian policy embodies a collaborative approach to ensuring the region develops responsibly. Two, Canada's priority is that those who live in the Arctic not only have agency in their own future, but that they directly benefit from the economic growth and positive changes we're all hoping to see take place.

With that, I will leave you with a quote from long-time Canadian activist Sheila Watt-Cloutier: “If you want to know how healthy the world is, come to the Arctic and feel its pulse.”

I look forward to a future of responsible development of the Arctic and I thank you all for having an interest in today's discussion.

Thank you.





Part 1: Arctic Indigenous Economies Workshop Presentations

Business in the Arctic: Where to Begin?

JEAN-FRANÇOIS ARTEAU

DEFINING THE ARCTIC

Multiple Arctics

The Arctic is most commonly referred to as the northernmost part of our planet. It is a region that covers over 5.6 million square miles, includes disparate geological features, and is inhabited by peoples from a multitude of cultures. Images of a grandiose but distant and isolated Arctic have captured imaginations for centuries: cold temperatures, Northern Lights, the midnight sun, icebergs, majestic animals, resilient people. In reality, a single, clearly defined Arctic does not exist. The Arctic is too large, diverse, and elusive to be encapsulated by a single definition. In fact, there are multiple Arctics – Arctics with varied geographies, peoples, resources, industries, and needs. This diversity is part of why working with a truly inclusive range of Arctic scenarios is so difficult – and so crucial.

The Canadian Arctic

Canada's Arctic makes up one-third of the country's landmass and is home to more than one hundred thousand people, but this huge geographical area is still most commonly thought of in the same terms that Canadian pianist Glenn Gould used in his 1970 film, *The Idea of North*: "Like all but a very few Canadians," remarked Gould, "I've had no direct confrontation with the Northern third of our country. I've remained, of necessity, an outsider, and the North has remained for me a convenient place to dream about, spin tall tales about sometimes, and, in the end, avoid."¹

Inuit – Inuktitut for "the people" – are Indigenous people, the majority of whom inhabit Canada's Arctic. In 2011, according to Statistics Canada, 59,445 people identified as Inuit. They represented 4.2 percent of the total Indigenous population. Almost three-quarters of Inuit in Canada live in Inuit Nunangat (Inuit homelands), which stretches from Labrador to the Northwest Territories (NWT) and comprises four regions: Nunatsiavut, Nunavik, Nunavut, and the Inuvialuit Region. And about 16,000 Inuit live outside Inuit homelands.²

Nunatsiavut, which is in Northern Labrador, has a population of 2,325 Inuit. In fact, Inuit represented 89.1 percent of the total population of Nunatsiavut. Nunavik, in Northern Québec, is home to 10,750 Inuit. Inuit living in Nunavik account for 89.1 percent of the total population of this region. The Inuvialuit region in the Northwest Territories has a population of 3,310 Inuit, which accounts for 57.6 percent of the total population of this region. Nearly half (45.5%) of the total Inuit population, 27,070 Inuit, live in Nunavut – the largest landmass and biggest Inuit population within Inuit Nunangat. Within Nunavut, Inuit represented 85.4 percent of the total population of the territory.

While Inuit represent only 0.2 percent of the total Canadian population, there's a very high concentration of Indigenous people in Inuit homelands relative to other provinces. Therefore, in Nunatsiavut, Nunavik, Nunavut, and the Inuvialuit Region, the Inuit culture is predominant – which significantly influences how to conduct business in the Arctic.

¹ *The Idea of North* was the first of Gould's *Solitude Trilogy* (1967–1977), and was originally broadcast as a radio documentary on the CBC show *Ideas* in 1967. It was made into an experimental film directed by Judith Pearlman in 1970.

² Statistics Canada, "Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: First Nations People, Métis and Inuit," National Household Survey 2011, catalogue no. 99-011-X2011001, 2013, <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-011-x/99-011-x2011001-eng.cfm>. All demographic information in this section comes from this Statistics Canada source.

ECONOMIES OF THE CANADIAN ARCTIC

Economic Indicators

The Northern Economic Index (NEI) is an important part of the Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency's Report on Plans and Priorities.³ The Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency (CanNor) was established in 2009 with the goal of helping to develop a diversified, sustainable, and dynamic economy across Canada's three territories:⁴ Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut.⁵ The NEI serves not only as a measure of the state of economic development in Canada's territories, but also as a performance indicator for CanNor's Economic Development Program.

Here are a few figures from the latest Northern Economic Index (up to 2015). In 2015, largely due to the slowdown in the mining sector as a result of low commodity prices, the total number of people employed in the territories decreased for the second year in a row, bringing the unemployment rate to 9.5 percent, which was higher than the national rate of 6.9 percent. However, significant differences can be seen amongst the territories. The same year, the unemployment rate in Nunavut was 15.9 percent; in the Northwest Territories it was 8.3 percent; and in the Yukon it was 6.3 percent. This pattern has been consistent since 2011.⁶

Despite the higher than average unemployment rate, the weekly earnings in the territories are some of the highest in Canada, with those in the Northwest Territories being the highest in the country due to the high wages associated with the diamond mining sector. Partly due to the major projects development sector as well as the large public sector, average earnings have been steadily growing in the North.

Own-source tax revenues, those raised directly by local governments, are an important indicator for the territories, as they are a gage of the fiscal health and self-sufficiency of territorial governments and its ability to provide services to its population. Own-source tax revenues, however, are a fraction of total territorial tax revenues, as the territorial economies do not yet generate enough tax revenues to be self-sufficient. Consequently, the Government of Canada provides an annual unconditional transfer to territorial governments to help them fund essential public services in the North. Territorial own-sourced revenue peaked in 2010–11, and fell in the next four of five years, due to both declining territorial revenues and increasing federal transfers. In fact, mineral exploration peaked in 2011 and fell off in the subsequent three years largely as a result of declining commodity prices. Similarly, the trade deficit across the North peaked in 2011: imports outweighed exports, which created a trade deficit. Although still lower than the peak, trade deficits have started to climb in 2013 and 2014.

Economic Development

What are the driving forces of economic development in the Arctic? The Northern economy is dominated by the government sector and natural resources development. In 2015, public administration accounted for a significant percentage of GDP in all three territories.⁷ It was the largest contributor to Nunavut's economy at 19.5 percent as well as to the Yukon's economy at 23 percent of the GDP. It was second in NWT, accounting for 14.5 percent of the GDP.

³ Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency, "Northern Economic Index," last modified November 21, 2016, <http://www.cannor.gc.ca/eng/1387900596709/1387900617810>.

⁴ As per the Constitution of Canada, there are many differences between provinces and territories. What we have to keep in mind here is that the Government of Canada has specific responsibilities – namely, financial – towards territories. Also, territories cannot raise their own taxes and have their own income tax rules.

⁵ Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency, "CanNor: What We Do," last modified November 7, 2016, <http://www.cannor.gc.ca/eng/1381320711612/1381320727939>.

⁶ Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency, Northern Economic Index, last modified November 21, 2016, <http://www.cannor.gc.ca/eng/1387900596709/1387900617810>.

⁷ Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency, Northern Economic Diversification Index 2015, last modified November 21, 2016, <http://www.cannor.gc.ca/eng/1388762115125/1388762170542>. All information in this section comes from the Northern Economic Diversification Index 2015.

In Nunavut, the mining, quarrying, and oil and gas extraction sector experienced a contraction in 2015, falling to 17.5 percent from 17.9 percent in 2014. In NWT, mining, quarrying, and oil and gas extraction remained the largest sector despite the fact that, at 22.9 percent, this sector dropped from the previous year, and from its five-year high of 26.9 percent of the GDP in 2011. The construction sector, however, has grown substantially since 2012 in NWT, increasing from 5.9 percent of the GDP in 2011 to 14.1 percent in 2015. This growth can be attributed to both private and public infrastructure investments, including the construction of the Gahcho Kué diamond mine and the construction of an all-weather road to Tuktoyaktuk. In the Yukon, the mining sector experienced a contraction as well, seeing its share of GDP drop to 11.6 percent in 2015 from 19.1 percent in 2014. As a result, the real estate sector surpassed the mineral extraction sector.

While commercial fishing, hunting, and trapping do not account for a significant percentage of territorial GDP, they remain an important part of Northern culture, combined with the traditional subsistence economy. Tourism, arts and crafts, and film and sound industries are similarly valued, but their importance does not translate into a high percentage of the GDP.

Emergent Northern Economy

Despite a recent decrease in exploration, development opportunities in mining, oil, and gas resources in the North have generally increased and are expected to continue doing so as the warming climate facilitates access to the North. Similarly, fish stocks in the Arctic Ocean are expected to be more accessible. Overall, we see a very high economic dependence on natural resources in the North, making it subject to “boom and bust” cycles. We can see the need for diversification. Expanding the tourism and knowledge sectors, including the development and testing of cold climate technologies and environmental research, might be a solution for the North.

DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Several significant regional and governmental plans propose to diversify and grow Northern economies. As these plans demonstrate, territorial and regional governing bodies play an active role in elaborating strategies to develop their economies.

Yukon

The Pathways to Prosperity project (2005–2025), developed by the Government of Yukon and detailed in a 2006 discussion paper, aims to create “a vision that will set the stage for the creation and implementation of strategic, long term initiatives.” As the discussion paper explains, “The optimal pathway to prosperity will be one that recognizes global forces and trends, addresses sustainable economic development opportunities, and takes into account the key advantages Yukon and its people possess. These advantages include mineral wealth, spectacular scenery, geographical location, and skills and adaptability.”⁸

Northwest Territories

The NWT Economic Opportunities Strategy was released in 2013 to support and promote diversification of the economy. “The work to develop the NWT Economic Opportunities Strategy has highlighted two universally consistent sentiments in the people it has engaged: optimism and a need for action.” The NWT has also created a number

⁸ Yukon Economic Development, “Pathways to Prosperity: An Economic Growth Perspective,” discussion paper, April 2006, 3, 11, <http://www.economicdevelopment.gov.yk.ca/pdf/pathways.pdf>.

of more sector-specific strategies, including *Tourism 2015: New Directions for a Spectacular Future* and the 2004 NWT Arts Strategy.⁹

Nunavut

In Nunavut, work is underway to review and renew the Nunavut Economic Development Strategy, which was launched in June 2003 and reached the end of its ten-year life in the spring of 2013.¹⁰ The Government of Nunavut also released *Tunngasajji: A Tourism Strategy for Nunavummiut* in 2013.¹¹

Nunavik

In Northern Québec, Makivik Corporation and the Kativik Regional Government released their *Plan Nunavik: Past, Present and Future* in 2010 as a basis for development discussions with the Government of Québec regarding the region of Nunavik.¹² The *Parnasimautik Consultation Report*, released in 2014, was the result of a large-scale consultation project throughout Nunavik to develop a comprehensive vision for sustainable development that builds on *Plan Nunavik*.¹³ It was prepared by the Makivik Corporation, the Kativik Regional Government, Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services, Kativik School Board, Nunavik Landholding Corporations Association, Avataq Cultural Institute, and Saputiit Youth Association.

Nunatsiavut

The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador released its five-year Northern Strategic Plan for Labrador in 2007, which detailed plans to enhance the health and well-being of their Inuit population.¹⁴ The provincial government committed to investing more than \$250 million over five years to support the goals outlined in the plan, which included new and existing Labrador initiatives. Approximately \$55 million was allocated to new initiatives, including the Sectoral Diversification Fund to the Torngâsok Cultural Centre for the ongoing restoration of the Moravian Mission Complex in Hebron; a Poverty Reduction Strategy to enhance the Air Foodlift Subsidy, where funding was used to extend the air freight subsidy during the marine shipping season to the north coast and communities of Black Tickle, Norman Bay, and William's Harbour; and the OKâlaKatiget Society from the province's Innovation Enhancement Program to construct a new building to house an advanced media center.

The Nain Research Centre, established in April 2011 to support the knowledge needs of a healthy and prosperous Nunatsiavut and dedicated to action-oriented research, launched SakKijânginnatuk Nunalik: The Sustainable Communities Initiative to develop best practices and provide support and guidance for enhancing community sustainability in Nunatsiavut. Phase 1 of this initiative involved community workshops (held in January and June 2012) to understand community priorities, challenges, and opportunities, while Phase 2 explored innovative and holistic approaches and solutions in response to Phase 1 findings.¹⁵

⁹ Northwest Territories, *Tourism 2015: New Directions for a Spectacular Future* (Industry, Tourism and Investment, February 2011), http://www.iti.gov.nt.ca/sites/www.iti.gov.nt.ca/files/tourismplanbrochure2015_20110223.pdf; Northwest Territories Arts, "NWT Arts Strategy," accessed March 8, 2017, <http://nwtarts.com/nwt-arts-strategy>.

¹⁰ See the *Nunavut Economic Development Strategy Renewal (NEDS2) 2014–2024* website for updates: <http://neds2.ca/>. Consultations are now being held in every Nunavut community, and a new report and partial results are expected in fall 2017.

¹¹ *Tunngasajji: A Tourism Strategy for Nunavummiut*, prepared by Nunavut Minister of Economic Development & Transportation Peter Taptuna, May 2013, <http://www.nunavut.ca/files/07%20GN%20Tourism%20Strategy.pdf>.

¹² Kativik Regional Government and Makivik Corporation, *Plan Nunavik: Past, Present and Future*, 2nd ed. (Westmount, QC: Avataq Cultural Institute, 2012), <http://parnasimautik.com/plan-nunavik-past-present-and-future/>.

¹³ Makivik Corporation et al., *Parnasimautik Consultation Report: On the Consultations Carried out with Nunavik Inuit* (November 2014), <http://parnasimautik.com/>.

¹⁴ Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Executive Council, Labrador and Aboriginal Affairs, "Premier Launches Northern Strategic Plan for Labrador," news release, April 20, 2007, <http://www.releases.gov.nl.ca/releases/2007/exec/0420n04.htm>.

¹⁵ Nain Research Centre, "SakKijânginnatuk Nunalik: The Sustainable Communities Initiative," accessed March 7, 2017, <http://nainresearchcentre.com/the-sustainable-communities-initiative/>.

CHALLENGES TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE ARCTIC

As we know, the Canadian Arctic is different from any other geographical region of the country; this difference also applies to economic development in the region: nothing is the same in the Arctic. Innovative solutions must be found to deal with the Arctic's specific context, which also brings specific challenges. So, what are some of the challenges to economic development in the Arctic?

Infrastructure

It is widely recognized that a lack of infrastructure, such as transportation systems, telecommunications, as well as municipal infrastructure, hinders economic development in many communities. For Arctic communities, transportation links within the region and beyond are predominantly by air, since marine transport is not possible all year around. Air transportation is extremely expensive and costs will increase with the rising price of fuel.¹⁶ While modern public infrastructure can contribute to a stronger economy and a cleaner environment, Northerners also need efficient infrastructure to move their goods to markets in Southern Canada and other parts of the globe.¹⁷

Financial Services

Furthermore, financial services outside the larger communities are lacking and not always adequate to support business financing.

High Cost of living

The various factors described throughout this article contribute to the high cost of living in the Northern communities, which in turn impacts economic development. For example, food in Nunavut costs twice as much as Canadian average.

Employment

Consequently, economic development and employment opportunities are lacking in many areas of the North, especially in smaller, isolated communities that lack capacity, infrastructure, and economies of scale to support business sectors.

Climate Change

Climate change, including warming and/or thawing permafrost and more frequent and extreme weather events, has implications for all stages of resource development projects, including planning, operation, and closure. Climate warming also presents an additional challenge for Northern development and infrastructure design.¹⁸

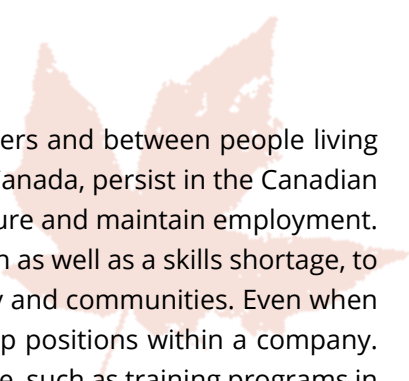
Socioeconomic issues

Economic development opportunities such as resource extraction are often highlighted as an opportunity to create employment for Northerners and improve socioeconomic conditions. However, in practice, this is not always the case, if Northerners are not well-positioned to take advantage of these opportunities. There is a need for the identification, assessment, management, and reduction of negative health, social, cultural, and environmental impacts of resource development projects and related activities. Some socioeconomic issues, such as intergenerational trauma, mental

¹⁶ John Christopher and Eleanor Fast, "The Arctic: Transportation, Infrastructure and Communication," publication no. 2008-08-E, Parliament of Canada, October 24, 2008, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/content/lop/ResearchPublications/prb0808-e.htm>.

¹⁷ Government of Canada, Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians, *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future* (Ottawa, 2009), <http://www.northernstrategy.gc.ca/cns/cns.pdf>.

¹⁸ D.S. Lemmen et al., *From Impacts to Adaptation: Canada in a Changing Climate 2008* (Natural Resources Canada), <http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/environment/resources/publications/impacts-adaptation/reports/assessments/2008/10253>.



health, addictions, and inequalities between Indigenous peoples and other Northerners and between people living in more isolated, remote communities and those in the larger hubs and in Southern Canada, persist in the Canadian Arctic. These challenges can impact educational outcomes and make it difficult to secure and maintain employment. And while there are already low education attainment rates in many areas in the North as well as a skills shortage, to obtain waged employment, Northerners are sometimes required to leave their family and communities. Even when they do obtain employment, Northerners may lack the education needed to move up positions within a company. Furthermore, there is not always adequate and culturally appropriate support available, such as training programs in Inuktitut. As a result, many workers are hired from Southern Canada; and these workers “fly in” and “fly out,” which, in turn, creates additional problems for Arctic communities.

Governance

Governance is a key aspect of economic development in the Arctic as there is a strong correlation between the economic structures, the social, cultural, and physical health of the population, and good governance. Indeed, good governance involves making economic decisions that take into account the consequences of these decisions for the community.

One of the challenges for territorial and regional governing bodies is balancing the varying and at times conflicting interests, needs, and perspectives of multiple stakeholders in order to support and promote economic development while ensuring community well-being and involvement, cultural security, and environmental sustainability.

CONCLUSION

In these challenges lie opportunities for the private sector. Building infrastructures, offering solutions adapted to a changing environment, lowering food prices, or providing adequate financial services are all occasions for innovation that can bring change. This is why the first step for companies that want to do business in the North is to understand the needs of the regions and explore how their services or products might bring solutions to the challenges Northerners face.

There are multiple opportunities to make business in the Arctic. However, as the context is totally different from what we see elsewhere in Canada, it is important to know the Arctic before trying to make business. Companies need to develop a true and frank relationship with the communities and sign partnership agreements. For business to succeed, one must know the Arctic and respect Inuit peoples and Northerners.

Avataa Explorations and Logistics: Mindful Business Practices

NADINE FABBI

In Conversation with Charlie Watt and Christine Nakoolak

AN OVERVIEW OF AVATAA

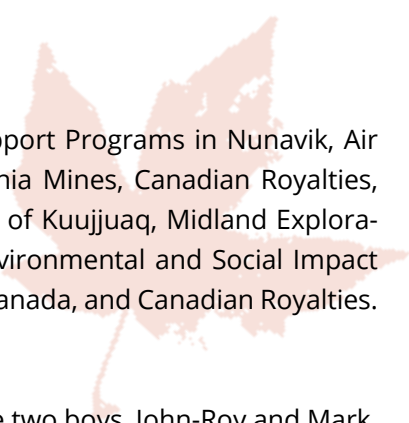
Avataa Explorations and Logistics was founded in 2011 in response to contract opportunities for natural resource development in Nunavik, the Inuit region in Northern Québec. At that time, there was a lot of activity, especially with exploration in and around Kuujuaq, so Charlie Watt and Christine Nakoolak felt it was time to create Avataa. Avataa provides transport, exploration, and industry-specific logistics for the mining industry. Their services include remote workforce camp and catering; air, land, and sea transportation logistics; vehicle and equipment rentals and supplies; and environmental services. Avataa also provides logistics and services for the mining industry, such as diamond drilling, underground construction, and tug and barging. Avataa's mission is to create positive economic impacts for Inuit in Nunavik, the Nunavimmiut, by creating jobs and providing training opportunities, especially to the younger Inuit generation, via the contracts it is awarded.

Christine and Charlie chose the name Avataa, which translates to “the surroundings,” a global meaning for their environment. They wanted their company to have relevance in Inuttitut, the Inuit language, for the work they intended to do, which was anything outdoor related.

The Avataa office is based in Kuujuaq with a local staff that ranges from seven to twenty employees, depending on the season. It also rents Sinittavik Lodging Facility and Core Logging and Cutting Facilities for the provision of camp management services. For example, Avataa often provides camps for twenty to thirty laborers using insulated tents and custom-designed wood-tent structures. Natural resource exploration is a complex, multi-step, multi-year process; in the early stages, an exploration company will visit the region to look for prospects. That company will need to set up meetings with local governments, obtain various permits and authorizations, find laborers, and mobilize camps for the laborers and other company members. Avataa provides all of these services (and more) to exploration companies. In the off-season, Avataa offers consulting, project management, and assistance in social and environmental impact studies.

Avataa is accredited by Makivik Corporation as a “Nunavik Inuit Enterprise.” (Makivik is the Inuit corporation established in 1975 to administer funds from the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement to the Inuit beneficiaries.) Under Impact and Benefit Agreements between mining companies and Makivik, Nunavik Inuit Enterprises are to be granted preferential treatment when bidding on contracts to provide goods and services in Nunavik. As a Nunavik Inuit Enterprise, Avataa is pursuing opportunities with the two existing mines in Nunavik: Glencore's Raglan Mine and Canadian Royalties' Nunavik Nickel Pro.

Avataa has been awarded contracts from many sectors. The company is committed to providing the best service possible, and as a result, its reputation for delivering high-quality service has been increasingly recognized with contracts from a large number and vast range of clients. Between 2012 and 2015 Avataa has been awarded contracts from Makivik Corporation, Kativik Regional Government, Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services, Isuarsivik Treatment



Center, Kativik Municipal Housing Bureau, Northern Village of Kuujjuaq, Hunters Support Programs in Nunavik, Air Inuit, Oceanic Iron Ore Corporation, Canadian Royalties, Midland Explorations, Virginia Mines, Canadian Royalties, EON Geosciences, BluMetric Environmental Inc., Nayumivik Landholding Corporation of Kuujjuaq, Midland Exploration, Osisko Gold, Dahrouge Geological, Eon Geosciences Surveying, SNC-Lavalin, Environmental and Social Impact Assessment for the Raglan South Nickel Project, Heritage Canada, Natural Resources Canada, and Canadian Royalties.

AVATAA FOUNDERS: CHARLIE AND CHRISTINE

Charlie Watt was born and raised in Kuujjuaq, Nunavik, Québec. He and Christine have two boys, John-Roy and Mark. Charlie's first language is Inuktitut. His second language is English. He graduated from high school in Kuujjuaq and went to Montréal to attend college. Prior to founding Avataa, Charlie worked with the Kativik Regional Government in the finance department and Makivik Corporation in their economic development department. He served as Vice-President of the Kativik School Board and Treasurer of the Regional Anguvigak (Nunavik Hunters, Fishers and Trappers Association). Following his passion for smoking Arctic char, he started a company called Iqaluppijiat Arctic Char Products. In addition to founding and serving as President of Avataa, Charlie camps, hunts, and fishes for subsistence; flies airplanes; dog sleds; does woodworking, and practices meditation. Charlie saw Avataa as an opportunity to start business that involves being outdoors, which is important to him and indeed to Inuit culture. He also saw the company as a good opportunity to create and keep economic opportunities in the region and to create employment for Inuit.

Christine Nakoolak Watt was born in Manitoba and raised in both Nunavut and Nunavik. Like Charlie, her first language is Inuktitut. She also graduated from high school in Kuujjuaq and attended college in Montréal. After college, Christine worked for the municipal government in Kuujjuaq, the Kativik Regional Government, and the Nayumivik Landholding Corporation of Kuujjuaq. She is actively involved with Pauktuutit, the national voice of Inuit Women.¹ She is particularly active in one of their pilot projects to mentor Inuit women in business. Pauktuutit received federal grants through the Indigenous and Northern Affairs Office to promote Inuit women in business, and established a mentorship pilot project to encourage women to venture into entrepreneurialism with proper support and development strategies. As one of the very few women in business in Nunavik, Christine was invited by Pauktuutit to join its strategic committee. Christine also recently co-founded a non-profit organization called Transformational Life Skills Nunavik, which has hosted several Dynamic Mindfulness Program workshops to train local and regional, social, and school workers in stress resilience skills. Christine's experiences in local, municipal, and regional offices has helped shape her knowledge of the regulations surrounding natural resource development and enhance industry connections.

AVATAA AS A NUNAVIK INUIT ENTERPRISE

As mentioned above, Avataa is able to take advantage of Impact and Benefit Agreement between Makivik and the two operating mines in Nunavik. Impact and Benefit Agreements are designed to offset the negative impacts of mining to a community with benefits such as employment and training. As a result of these agreements, Makivik Corporation created a registry of Inuit-owned businesses to aid the mining companies in locating qualified Inuit suppliers.² Avataa Explorations and Logistics and its subsidiary, Avataani Environmental Services, were the first two Inuit businesses to qualify and be registered as Nunavik Inuit Enterprises.

Charlie and Christine use this opportunity to create positive economic impacts for the Inuit who live in Nunavik by providing employment and promoting economic development opportunities. For example, Avataa maintains its

¹ For more information on Pauktuutit, see <http://pauktuutit.ca/>.

² See Makivik's NIE Directory at <http://www.makivik.org/corporate/nie-directory/>.

head office in Kuujjuaq, promotes products and services in Nunavik, represents partnerships in local, regional, and national levels of government, and recruits and trains an Inuit workforce. Avataa ensures that partnerships are based on honesty, integrity, transparency, and respect. As Charlie and Christine put it, “Our partnerships are also based on mutual respect of each other’s cultures. It is important that each partner have the same goals to work harmoniously, create a positive atmosphere of camaraderie be open, transparent, and fair.” Furthermore, Avataa strives to create awareness in the mining and exploration industry about Inuit culture and the people who live in the region through these partnerships.

AVATAA PARTNERSHIPS

Avataani Environmental is a partnership between Avataa Explorations and Logistics and Sanexen Environmental Services Inc. Sanexen is a contractor and consultant specializing in the environmental management of contaminated site remediation and water main rehabilitation; their team of scientists also performs studies and assessments related to other environmental issues. Sanexen has been demonstrating its environmental management know-how throughout Canada since 1985.

Avataa McKeil Marine Ltd. is a tug and barge company that specializes in marine logistics support, turnkey solutions, and customized cargo shipping throughout the Canadian Arctic. McKeil Marine is experienced with the tug and barge services in the Great Lakes, the St. Lawrence Seaway, and the East Coast, and has been a family-owned company for sixty years.

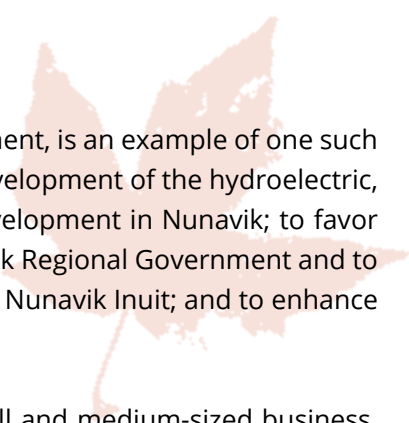
Avataa Rouillier Drilling provides diamond drilling services to mining and exploration services in Nunavik and employment and training opportunities to Inuit in Nunavik. Avataa Rouillier Drilling has two diamond drills based in Kuujjuaq as well as all necessary equipment ready for mobilization anywhere in Nunavik. It is owned and operated by two reputable family-owned businesses that have combined their expertise.

Through its new joint venture partnership, Avataa and CMAC-Thyssen provide underground mining construction services. This partnership will seek to ensure that Inuit interested in mining construction receive adequate training and certification to fill available positions. CMAC-Thyssen has experience operating in Nunavut and completely understands the importance of hiring and training Inuit.

OVERCOMING ENTREPRENEURIAL CHALLENGES IN THE NORTH

There are many challenges to creating a successful business in the North. First, it is very difficult to access financing from banking institutions, particularly given the high cost of living in the North. In addition, just reporting taxes to a dual (Canada and Québec) government system can be overwhelming. Recruiting staff is a challenge given the limited number of eligible workers and competition with the local and regional government organizations that pay high wages and offer benefits. Achieving a balance between the traditional Inuit lifestyle – or subsistence harvesting – and running a business is a major challenge. The high cost of living in the North makes it difficult to compete locally and regionally, especially during economic downturns in natural resource development such as those we are currently experiencing. Land leases are expensive, as are taxes for water and sewage. Travel costs are high.

A major challenge for Avataa and other Inuit-owned companies is that Southern companies as well as public and private organizations in Nunavik don’t want to hire local service providers. Therefore, local companies have to continually lobby their political representatives to remind them that the Impact and Benefit Agreements require using



local businesses when they operate in Nunavik. Signed in 2006, the Sanarrutik Agreement, is an example of one such agreement. The Sanarrutik Agreement has several key purposes: to accelerate the development of the hydroelectric, mining, and tourism potential of Nunavik; to share the benefits of the economic development in Nunavik; to favor economic spin-offs for Nunavik Inuit; to favor greater autonomy for Makivik and Kativik Regional Government and to provide them more responsibilities for the economic and community development of Nunavik Inuit; and to enhance public services and infrastructures in Nunavik. As the Agreement states,

contracting for goods, services and construction is an important market for small and medium-sized business. These contracts represent an opportunity to stimulate economic development and job creation in Nunavik Inuit communities.

In order to increase the number of Nunavik Inuit businesses bidding and winning public contracts, and subject to the provisions of the Agreement on Internal Trade or any similar agreement, Québec undertakes to evaluate the possibility of modifying the law in order to allow KRG [Kativik Regional Government], the Kativik School Board, the Katutjinik Regional Development Council and the Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services to set up a process for awarding contracts for goods and services that gives priority to the businesses of Nunavik Inuit.³

Employing Inuit companies also means providing employment and training opportunities for youth and creating other positive economic spinoffs in the use of other local businesses such as airlines, restaurants, and hotels, and grocery and hardware retailers, supporting artists and crafts people, and the promotion of cultural and eco-tourism.

Overcoming challenges in the North also means finding the balance between addressing the environmental concerns of Inuit and world demands for energy consumption, which affect the future of the Arctic and its people. As Inuk leader and author of *The Right to Be Cold* Sheila Watt-Cloutier has said, “What we do every day whether you live in Mexico, the United States, Russia, China can have a very negative impact on an entire way of life for an entire people far away from that source.”⁴

CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

As part of Avataa’s commitment to local communities, Charlie and Christine have been involved in social initiatives to encourage positive lifestyle and stress resilience. Avataa has been able to provide the basic needs of the different programs whether it is camp supplies, coordination, or personal involvement. The company is committed to youth as they are the most impacted by the challenges in the duality of contemporary Inuit lifestyle – modern vs. cultural. It is committed to education by offering training programs and supporting school programs that are not fully funded by the Kativik School Board.

Today, Avataa’s corporate social responsibility includes donating products and services to support Upigusullutaa (“Let Us Be Proud”), a cultural igloo-building project; Naturaliit (“The Eagles”), a local hockey program; and Jeunes Karibus (“Young Karibus”), a school cross-country skiing expedition program. Avataa also assists with fundraising for the local high school graduation.

³ Makivik Corporation, Kativik Regional Government, and Gouvernement du Québec, Partnership Agreement on Economic and Community Development in Nunavik (Sanarrutik Agreement), Consolidated administrative version of August 9, 2006, 13, http://www.saa.gouv.qc.ca/relations_autochtones/ententes/inuits/sanarrutik-consolidee_en.pdf.

⁴ Quoted in Emily Gertz, “Inuit Fight Climate Change with Human-Rights Claim against U.S.,” *Grist*, July 26, 2005, <http://grist.org/article/gertz-inuit/>.

CONCLUSION

Charlie and Christine have overcome many of the challenges of doing business in the Arctic, including lobbying their political representatives to remind them of important agreements such as the Sanarrutik Agreement, which help increase the number of Inuit Nunavik businesses that win contracts. Indeed, Avataa Explorations and Logistics is a model for a successful, local, Inuit-founded and -operated business not only because it provides training and employment but also because of the dedication of the company to social responsibility and to *avataa*, “the surroundings.” Charlie and Christine provide many opportunities for local youth to “unplug,” to be in nature and to develop traditional skills so that they can be the proud faces of the future for their communities.

Makivik Corporation: The Promotion of Inuit Tradition through Economic Development

ANDY MOORHOUSE

THE NUNAVIK REGION

The Nunavik region is located in the northern part of the province of Québec in Canada. It comprises one-third of the province north of the 55th parallel, and covers over 193,000 square miles. Approximately twelve thousand people, mostly Inuit (eleven thousand) inhabit fourteen villages spanning all major coasts: Hudson Bay, Hudson Strait, and Ungava Bay. None of Nunavik's fourteen villages are interconnected and there are no road links to Southern Canada. The region has wealth of mineral and wildlife resources and possesses some of the most picturesque natural attractions in the world. Nunavik's population is very young; 65 percent of the population is under twenty-nine years of age. The cost of living and of doing business is much higher in Nunavik than in Southern Canada. Developing our mineral, wildlife resources, and tourism is still challenging given the high cost of transportation to and from the region. As a result, and for cultural reasons, there is still a heavy reliance on subsistence activities, including hunting, fishing, and trapping.

THE JAMES BAY AND NORTHERN QUÉBEC AGREEMENT

In 1975, the Cree and Inuit nations signed the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA), the first modern-day comprehensive Canadian land claim agreement. It included compensation, lands, and education and health institutions, among other things. The agreement provided \$124 million in compensation to the Inuit to be paid by the governments of Canada and Québec. The JBNQA created several Inuit and Cree institutions that still exist today. The Inuit organizations included the Makivik Corporation, Kativik Regional Government, Kativik School Board, Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services, and the local Landholding Corporations.

THE MAKIVIK CORPORATION

Created pursuant to the JBNQA in 1975, the Makivik Corporation is the birthright corporation of the Inuit of Northern Québec. This non-profit organization represents the eleven thousand Inuit residing in the fourteen Nunavik communities.

Makivik is mandated to protect Nunavik Inuit rights, interests, and financial compensations received through the JBNQA and other agreements. Makivik's mandates include but are not limited to the following:

- Owning and operating profitable business enterprises;
- Promoting training and generating employment through its subsidiaries and joint ventures;
- Social economic development;
- Improving housing conditions;
- Protecting the Inuktitut language and culture and the natural environment.

Makivik Corporation Priorities

Makivik prioritizes benefiting the Nunavik region. This includes providing priority of employment, training, and knowledge transfer. As more opportunities appear as a result of construction and mining projects, Makivik favors and promotes the priority of Inuit contracting and procurement. Additionally, Makivik seeks to develop sustainable long-term partnerships with existing businesses whenever necessary and desirable. The corporation seeks to develop

the region in a sustainable way that promotes the protection of the environment as well as the natural and cultural heritage of Nunavik.

Makivik Group of Companies

Makivik operates wholly owned subsidiaries and joint ventures to create employment and wealth for the corporation, which in turn is invested in social and economic programs in Nunavik communities. Over the years, Makivik has been involved in strategic sectors such as transportation, construction, and fisheries. Its wholly owned subsidiaries include First Air (aviation), Air Inuit (aviation), Nunavik Creation (Inuit clothing and art), Nunavik Furs (pelt tanning services), Halutik Entreprises (fuel distribution), Kautaq Construction (commercial and residential construction), and Nunavik Geomatics (GIS services). Makivik's joint ventures are Nunavut Eastern Arctic Shipping (maritime shipping) and Unaaq Fisheries (shrimp fisheries).

PARNASIMAUTIK

In 2011, the Government of Québec unveiled an economic development plan for Northern Québec called *Plan Nord*. Although the Inuit of Nunavik were consulted in various sections, we conducted our own consulting process called *Parnasimautik*. Prepared by the Makivik Corporation, Kativik Regional Government, Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services, Kativik School Board, Nunavik Landholding Corporations Association, Avataq Cultural Institute, and Saputiit Youth Association, the *Parnasimautik Consultation Report* identifies priority areas of concern: housing, health, education, access to territory, wildlife, telecommunications, mining, energy, tourism, biofood, culture and identity, and community development.¹ Many of these areas mirror *Plan Nord* priority sectors, but *Parnasimautik* provides an Inuit perspective and recommendations. These Inuit priority areas are pre-conditions for the successful implementation of *Plan Nord*.

SOCIOECONOMIC INITIATIVES

Nunavik Creations

Nunavik Creations Inc. (NCI) was founded in 2002. The company promotes the traditional aspects of our economy and provides income for seamstresses and artists. NCI has workshop facilities in Inukjuak and Montréal as well as retail outlets in Inukjuak, Kuujuaq, and Montréal. Merchandise can also be purchased online at www.nunavikcreations.com.

The majority of Nunavik Creations sales (85%) are made in the province of Québec. The remainder of the sales are done mostly through our website throughout Canada and the rest of the world. The company is working on developing its branding and expanding its markets within Canada and internationally. Presently, NCI's most popular sales items include parkas, mitts, sealskin vests, slippers, snow pants, *nassaks* (tuques), and sealskin hats.

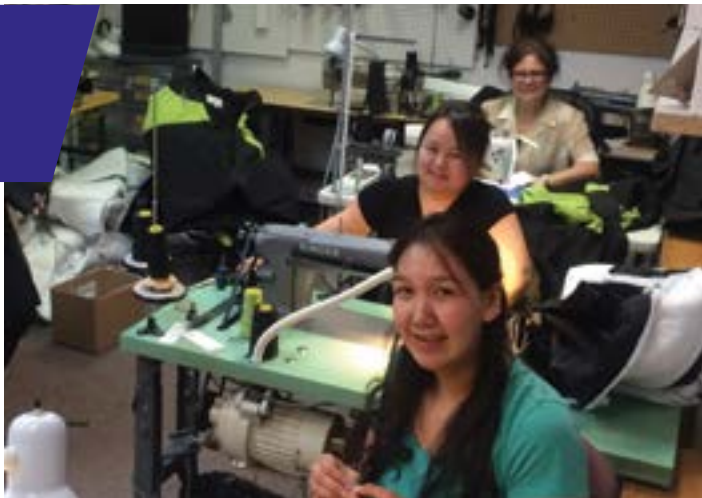
There is a long sewing tradition among Nunavik, dating to when warm clothing was essential for survival. Making this clothing is an art form, passed from generation to generation. Nunavik Creations assists in the transfer of traditional knowledge and arts to the next generation, and therefore promotes the retention of the Inuit culture. NCI and Nunavik Furs also make the link between hunting and sewing.

In addition to employing eight full-time employees, Nunavik Creations purchases garments and art from individual seamstresses and artists for resale at its sales outlets and online. The company also provides job and training

¹ Makivik Corporation et al., *Parnasimautik Consultation Report: On the Consultations Carried out with Nunavik Inuit* (November 2014), <http://parnasimautik.com/>.

opportunities and skill sharing as well as networking opportunities for seamstresses and artists to increase their sales. Furthermore, NCI contributes to the local economy by purchasing products and services from Northern businesses.

Nunavik Creations hopes to continue assist seamstresses and artists in the marketing and selling of their products, and to develop a brand for Nunavik products. We are also looking at outsourcing some of our production to help finance other company activities.



Nunavik Creations seamstresses at work, front to back: Elisapie Kauki, Seasia Nastapoka, and Barbara Valente.
Photo courtesy of Makivik Corporation.



Nunavik Creations, Elisapie Kauki with a customer, at a craft fair, 2015. *Photo courtesy of Makivik Corporation.*

NUNAVIK FURS

Nunavik Furs is an environmentally friendly tanning operation created as a division of Nunavik Creations in 2002. The tannery is located in Kuujuaq, Nunavik, and is one of the very few remaining tanneries in Arctic Canada. The 3,000 square feet facility presently employs a master tanner and his assistant.

The tannery provides cleaning and tanning service using a light environmental tanning process. The tannery also purchases and resells pelts. Popular species of pelts worked on at the tannery are fox, bear (black and white), wolf, seal, beaver, otter, and lynx.

Future plans for the tannery include securing more contracts in Northern markets, and doing more value-added work for pelts harvested in the region, as opposed to sending them down for auction in the South. The effect of this strategy will be to have more tanned pelts available for resale in Nunavik. Nunavik Furs also aims to provide more services, including dyeing of furs and taxidermy.



Inside the Nunavik Furs tannery, Kuujuaq. *Photo courtesy of Makivik Corporation.*



Various pelts at Nunavik Furs. *Photo courtesy of Makivik Corporation.*

Co-Management of New and Emerging Fisheries in the Canadian Beaufort Sea

BURTON AYLES

INTRODUCTION

Governance, used in the broad sense of coordination of social systems and institutions, in the Canadian Arctic is significantly different than in other parts of Canada, as are culture and tradition. The process of governance has been defined by modern comprehensive land settlement agreements, or treaties, between the original peoples of the Arctic coast, the Inuit, and the governments of Canada, provinces, and territories. As a result of these agreements, the management of renewable natural resources, including fisheries, wildlife, and environmental protection is shared through systems of co-management between the Inuit and various governments. That is, it is no longer solely a government responsibility to make management decisions on resource use. This article describes an example of how fisheries co-management operates in the western Canadian Arctic, providing local people significant responsibilities for any future fisheries developments in waters adjacent to their communities.

THE CANADIAN INUIT AND LAND SETTLEMENT AGREEMENTS

The Inuit occupy a territory that stretches from the Chukchi Peninsula across northern Alaska and Canada to the east coast of Greenland. Inuit in Canada have close biological, linguistic, and cultural ties with the Yupik of Alaska and Russia, the Iñupiat in Alaska, and the Greenlandic Inuit. They have more distant links with the Aleut of Alaska and Russia.

The history of Euro-Canadian relationships with Indigenous peoples dates back to first contact. Formal legislative relations generally began with the Royal Proclamation of 1763. Canada and First Nations signed a number of treaties in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries but these agreements were for territories in Southern Canada. Only in the late twentieth century, when the natural resources in the Arctic become of greater interest to the South, did the federal and provincial/territorial governments move towards treaties with Inuit and other Northern peoples. There are only about sixty thousand Inuit across the Canadian Arctic.¹ This is an area that covers one-third of the Canadian landmass and 50 percent of the Canadian coastline. Modern comprehensive land settlement agreements with the Inuit date from the mid-1970s with the signing of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement in 1975. They include the following regions: Inuvialuit – part of the Northwest Territories and Yukon; Nunavut – all of the Territory of Nunavut; Nunavik – part of the province of Québec; and Nunatsiavut – part of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. These are modern tripartite agreements between federal and territorial governments and Indigenous organizations, and they are protected under the Canadian Constitution. Therefore, if a conflict exists between federal, provincial, or territorial legislation and Settlement Agreements, the Settlement Agreement prevails. The agreements all established co-management boards for fisheries and wildlife management, as well as environmental protection and planning.

THE INUVIALUIT SETTLEMENT REGION AND CO-MANAGEMENT

The Inuvialuit Final Agreement, signed in 1984 between the Governments of Canada, the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and the Inuvialuit, covers an area called the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in the northwestern part of

¹ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, accessed March 9, 2017, <https://www.itk.ca>.

the Canadian Arctic. The Inuvialuit Settlement Region (Figure 1) stretches over 450 miles from the Canada–Alaska border east to the border between Nunavut and the Northwest Territories, and 800 miles north from the Mackenzie Delta to well north of the Parry Islands in the Canadian Archipelago (approximately 141° W to 110° W and 68° N to 80° N).

The lands of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (Figures 2 and 3) fall into three eco-zones: the Northern Arctic, Southern Arctic, and Taiga Plains. The Mackenzie River, flowing from the south, is the largest Arctic River in North America and the fourth largest globally. It moderates the climate and brings nutrients north into the Beaufort Sea. Trees are found along the Mackenzie River Valley, but small shrubs and tundra are more common in most of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. The climate is severe: temperatures inland can reach 80°F in the summer, while periods of –40°F in the winter are common. Ice covers the marine and freshwater areas the majority of the year. Based on projected climate change models, this area of the Canadian Arctic is expected to see amongst the greatest increases in summer and winter temperatures of any region of the world.



Figure 1. The Inuvialuit Settlement Region with major geographical features and communities. Note, the community of Holman is now called Ulukhaktok. Courtesy of Canada/Inuvialuit Fisheries Joint Management Committee (FJMC).



Figure 2. Dempster Highway and Richardson Mountains on the way to Inuvik in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, Northwest Territories. Courtesy of FJMC.



Figure 3. Inuvialuit summer whaling and fishing camps at Shingle Point, Yukon Territory. Courtesy of FJMC.

The majority of Inuvialuit live in towns but remain active and closely tied to the land. There are six small communities in the area with a total population of about six thousand individuals. Some of the settlements are exclusively Inuvialuit, while others have significant numbers of Gwich'in and non-Indigenous people. The Inuvialuit Settlement Region is connected via gravel highway to the Alaska Highway in southern Yukon and via river barge and towboat north on the Mackenzie River in summer. Only one community, Inuvik, has all-season road connections. The others are only accessible by aircraft or boat or winter ice roads (Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik only). The economy is heavily dependent on



Figure 4. Beluga whale muktuk drying on racks on shores of the Beaufort Sea. *Courtesy of FJMC.*

government services. Oil and gas exploration began in the late 1960s and has followed a “boom and bust” cycle. There is currently little activity, and there is an approved route for a pipeline but no construction, pending a recovery of oil and gas prices.

The Inuvialuit connection to the land is strong. Prior to European contact, they were among the most prosperous people in the Arctic because of their access to marine and freshwater resources of the Mackenzie Delta and nearby Beaufort Sea coast. They made use of, and continue to make use of beluga and bowhead whales (Figure 4), ringed seals, whitefish, lake trout, and Arctic char as well as land mammals such as caribou, musk ox, and polar bears, and of course berries and other plant life in summer. Fifty-five percent of

Inuvialuit adults harvest some country food in any year and 70 percent of Inuvialuit report that they get half or more than half of their meat or fish as “country food.”² At present, there is a small commercial reindeer harvest, and periodically muskox are commercially harvested. Commercial fisheries are very small and limited to anadromous char and whitefish for local sales.

Inuvialuit interests in their culture, rights, and resources are expressed in the goals of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement, which are to preserve Inuvialuit cultural identity and values; to enable Inuvialuit to be equal and meaningful participants in the economy and society; and to protect and preserve Arctic wildlife environment and productivity.

In the Inuvialuit Final Agreement, some of the non-renewable and renewable resources are exclusive for Inuvialuit (e.g., Inuvialuit lands including oil and gas, subsistence fishing), while others are shared through a co-management process (e.g., wildlife harvests, sport and commercial fishing). The Inuvialuit Final Agreement established a number of institutions. The Inuvialuit Regional Corporation was tasked with the overall responsibility of administering the rights and benefits of the Inuvialuit. Its subsidiaries are responsible for economic development, land administration, and cultural resources, amongst others. The Inuvialuit Game Council was established to represent the collective Inuvialuit interest in all matters relating to wildlife. The Inuvialuit Final Agreement also enabled the establishment of five co-management boards, involving the Inuvialuit and the territorial and federal levels of government: Fisheries Joint Management Committee; Wildlife Management Advisory Council for the Northwest Territories; Wildlife Management Advisory Council for Yukon; Environmental Impact Screening Committee; and Environmental Impact Review Board.

Fish and marine mammal responsibilities lie with the Fisheries Joint Management Committee. The Committee has two members appointed by the Inuvialuit Game Council, two members appointed by Canada (Fisheries and Oceans Canada), and an independent chair appointed by the members. It has decision-making responsibilities such as allocating subsistence quotas among communities and setting conservation limits on total catch. It also has responsibilities to advise the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans Canada on sport and commercial fishing and priorities for research and

² Ibid.

environmental protection. Further, it has operational roles such as coordinating interaction between government agencies and Inuvialuit communities, monitoring harvest levels, and conducting stock assessments.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN AGREEMENT FOR THE CO-MANAGEMENT OF NEW AND EMERGING COMMERCIAL FISHERIES

In general, the impact of outsiders or non-Inuvialuit on commercial fisheries in the Beaufort Sea has not been positive. American commercial whalers pursuing bowhead whales first arrived in the Canadian Beaufort Sea just before the turn of the last century, and by 1910 stocks were near extinction and whaling had ended. More recently, European bans on seal pelts have destroyed small-scale commercial sealing across the Canadian Arctic. Beginning in the 1960s and through the 1970s and 1980s, governments, viewing commercial fisheries development as a potential driver of regional economic development, organized several attempts at developing fisheries. The fisheries failed operationally and economically, and, for char, environmentally. Overfishing, encouraged by the attempted commercial development, devastated the populations, some of which have still not returned to historical levels.

Nevertheless, when the Inuvialuit Final Agreement was signed in 1984 there was general encouragement from the communities for commercial fisheries development. In the 1990s, in response to this interest, the Fisheries Joint Management Committee, Fisheries and Oceans Canada, and economic development agencies carried out several assessments of commercial potential and opportunities for new fisheries. In 2002, to encourage the development of community-based fisheries, Fisheries and Oceans Canada established a policy stating that “Any emerging fishery must involve proper representation of the Inuvialuit.”³ However, over the years, the perceptions of the benefits of large-scale commercial fisheries began to change for the following reasons:

- New biological studies indicated that overall production in the Beaufort Sea was relatively low compared to other parts of the Arctic.
- Traditional knowledge and ecosystem studies showed that Arctic cod, the most abundant fish species and thus a species likely to be targeted by commercial fishers, was also the keystone species for the ecosystem and critical to the survival of beluga whales, seals, and anadromous char and whitefish, the species of critical subsistence and cultural importance to the Inuvialuit.
- People everywhere were becoming aware that fish stocks around the world were collapsing as a result of overfishing.
- The Inuvialuit realized that with the anticipated climate warming in the world and in the Beaufort Sea in particular the worldwide search for new fish stocks to exploit would soon shift to the Arctic.

Over the first decade of this century, community concerns about the potential harm of large-scale offshore fisheries were frequently raised in meetings and workshops and with requests for new research and greater community control. Between 2008 and 2011, the Fisheries Joint Management Committee carried out a series of formal and informal consultations with communities. The overwhelming position of the community members was a concern for their cultural and subsistence harvests of anadromous char, whitefish, seals, and whales. Overall, community members felt that large-scale commercial fishing should be prohibited in the Beaufort Sea.

In 2011, the Fisheries Joint Management Committee initiated a Memorandum of Understanding between the Fisheries Joint Management Committee, Fisheries and Oceans Canada, Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, and Inuvialuit Game Council to develop a framework for “the orderly and sustainable management of current and future inshore and off-

³ Fisheries and Oceans Canada, Fisheries Joint Management Committee, Inuvialuit Game Council, and Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, *Beaufort Sea Integrated Fisheries Management Framework for the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, Canada, 2013–2017*, Canada/Inuvialuit Fisheries Joint Management Committee Report 2014–1 (2014), 5. This publication includes an important list of references, which was consulted during the writing of this article.

shore marine fish and invertebrate stocks within the Canadian Beaufort Sea and a mechanism for provision of advice and recommendations to the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans and others with responsibilities related to fisheries of the Canadian Beaufort Sea.”⁴ In 2014, the four parties signed the Integrated Fisheries Management Framework for the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, Canada, 2014–2017.

THE FISHERIES MANAGEMENT FRAMEWORK

The framework considers that any new application for commercial fishing would fit into one of three categories and any decision must explicitly recognize the following:

- Local anadromous fisheries – There is strong community support for such fisheries as long as they do not impinge on current or future subsistence or domestic fisheries. Relatively strong biological knowledge and Inuit traditional knowledge support any decision making for these fisheries, and there are already a number of local fisheries management plans in place. Risks are considered small and local.
- Nearshore commercial fisheries – There is conditional community support for such fisheries as long as they are well considered, monitored, and controlled. There is some scientific understanding but little traditional knowledge on stocks of potential interest, and there are no fish management plans in place. Risks are considered medium and local-regional.
- Offshore commercial fisheries – The communities are strongly opposed to any large-scale offshore fishery. There is some recent preliminary scientific information and no traditional knowledge. We have some understanding of stocks that might be of commercial interest but not a solid understanding of food chain relationships and the importance of those offshore stocks to fish and marine mammal stocks to the Inuvialuit. Risks are considered high, and impacts would be regional and international.

The key features of the framework include the following:

- Legal and institutional rights and responsibilities are agreed to by all parties.
- A new formal decision-making process is ensured for Western Arctic fisheries in which science, traditional knowledge, and community input and support are critical.
- It is transparent, simple to understand, and provides specific rules for decision making. It respects all Fisheries and Oceans Canada fisheries management policies and practices as well as oceans planning initiatives and points the way for specific Inuvialuit Settlement Region guidelines or policies in the future.
- It brings greater certainty for future commercial operators. Fishers know where Canadian and Inuvialuit priorities lie, what new knowledge and information must be produced, and how a fishery must be conducted to ensure that it will not negatively affect the critical Beaufort Sea ecosystem.

CONCLUSIONS

As a result of this new framework for fisheries management decisions, the parties are now better prepared for development and control of any future commercial fisheries in the Beaufort Sea. Canada’s international role for Arctic fisheries management is supported by this affirmation of Indigenous support and role in decision making for offshore fisheries development. The development of the framework also illustrates how a co-management agency can act as a bridge between government and communities for the development of resource management processes.

⁴ Burton Ayles, Louie Porta, and Red McV Clarke, “Development of an Integrated Fisheries Co-Management Framework for New and Emerging Commercial Fisheries in the Canadian Beaufort Sea,” *Marine Policy* 72 (2016): 250, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2016.04.032>. See also references in this paper for further sources that inform the current article.



The potential for any fishery in the Beaufort Sea is small and distant from potential industrial or political pressure. However, it is useful to remember that small-scale fisheries are important globally as they employ more than 90 percent of the world's capture fishers and provide many local communities with food and jobs. Although the Inuit population is small, because of their unique position as an Indigenous population in the Arctic, they have an opportunity to speak out and be heard about the damage that humans are doing to the environment globally, from climate warming to overfishing.

Nunatsiavut and the Road to Self-Governance



NUNATSIVUT GOVERNMENT

Nestled in the northeast corner of Canada is a region full of natural beauty, shaped by its landscapes, history, its people and their culture and way of life. The lands, sky, and waters of Nunatsiavut, which in English means Our Beautiful Land, have sustained the Inuit of Labrador for thousands of years, forming the foundation from which they protect their cultural heritage and reclaim control over their economic and political destiny.

The present-day Labrador Inuit come from a culture known as Thule, arriving in Labrador from the north in the late fifteenth century, prior to the Europeans. Preceded by the Dorset and Paleo-Eskimo peoples, Labrador Inuit sustained themselves by living off the land and the sea. Contact with Europeans is believed to have happened in the 1760s when Moravian missionaries from Germany established settlements along the north coast of Labrador. The Moravians introduced Christianity to the Inuit, and influenced modern-day culture, as evidenced in the written language and music. Many of the Moravian settlements eventually closed, the two latter being Nutak in 1956 and Hebron in 1959, and the Inuit were forced to move, many against their will, to Nain, Hopedale, and Makkovik.

In an effort to take control over their own political destiny, the Labrador Inuit formed the Labrador Inuit Association in 1973 to promote Inuit health and communities, and to advance land claims with Canada and Newfoundland. The Labrador Inuit Association filed its first land claim in 1977, and in the next thirty years, during on-again and off-again negotiations, worked hard to promote the culture, health, and well-being of Labrador Inuit, as well as their constitutional, democratic, and human rights.

On December 6, 2004, members of the Newfoundland and Labrador House of Assembly passed provincial legislation to give effect to the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement Act. It received Royal Assent the same day. The agreement was ratified when it received Senate approval and was given Royal Assent from Canada's Governor General on June 23, 2005. The Nunatsiavut Government came into effect on December 5, 2005, and began preparations for its first elections. The first elected Nunatsiavut Assembly was sworn in on October 17, 2006.

LABRADOR INUIT LAND CLAIMS AGREEMENT

The Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement sets out details of land ownership, resource sharing, and self-government. It provides for the establishment of the Labrador Inuit Settlement Area totaling about 28,000 square miles (72,500 square kilometers) in Northern Labrador and 18,800 square miles (48,690 square kilometers) of sea. While Inuit do not own this land, they do have special rights related to traditional land use.

Within the Settlement Area, Inuit own 6,100 square miles (15,800 square kilometers) designated as Labrador Inuit Lands. The agreement also provided for the establishment of the Torngat Mountains National Park, which consists of about 3,700 square miles (9,600 square kilometers) of land within the Labrador Inuit Settlement Area. The signing of the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement was a momentous and historic day for Labrador Inuit, as it represented a new beginning – an opportunity to take control of their own affairs and to determine their destiny.

GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE

The Nunatsiavut Government is comprised of eighteen Assembly members, representing over 7,200 beneficiaries of the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, and operates at two distinct but connected levels: regional and community. The regional government's legislative center is in Hopedale and its administrative center is in Nain.

Inuit Community Governments are based in Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik, Postville, and Rigolet. The AngajukKâk, or mayor, of each Inuit Community Government represents his or her constituency in the Nunatsiavut Assembly.

In areas where significant numbers of Labrador Inuit live outside of Nunatsiavut, non-profit Inuit Government Community Corporations provide the opportunity to participate in self-governance. There are two Inuit Community Corporations: one in North West River and the other in Happy Valley-Goose Bay and Mud Lake. The chair of each Inuit Community Corporation also represents his or her constituents in the Nunatsiavut Assembly.

The Canadian Constituency of Inuit living outside of the Labrador Inuit Settlement Area and Upper Lake Melville is also represented by two elected members of the Assembly. Elections are held every four years. Presidential elections are also held every four years, but are staggered to ensure continuity within the government.

The Nunatsiavut Government has responsibilities and rights similar to other governments, such as planning for sustainable economic development, protecting and preserving Labrador Inuit culture and traditions, and implementing social programs on behalf of beneficiaries of the Labrador Land Claims Agreement.

Unlike other governments, the Nunatsiavut Government is a consensus government – a non-partisan system of governing that is more in keeping with the way Inuit have always made decisions. Unanimous agreement is not necessary for decisions to be made, but rather a majority vote of acceptance – after much discussion and consideration of various viewpoints.

DEPARTMENTS

The Nunatsiavut Government is comprised of seven departments, each reflecting the unique principles of the Labrador Inuit Constitution. The seven departments are Nunatsiavut Secretariat; Nunatsiavut Affairs; Lands and Natural Resources, Health and Social Development; Education and Economic Development; Culture, Recreation and Tourism; and Finance, Human Resources and Information Technology.

The Nunatsiavut Secretariat, which falls directly under the President, is mandated to serve the needs of Labrador Inuit. It is responsible for the workings of the Nunatsiavut Executive Council, Intergovernmental Affairs, Communications, and Policy and Planning.

Nunatsiavut Affairs is an advocate for beneficiaries and oversees the running of government. Under the direction of the First Minister, the department is charged with the responsibility of ensuring the implementation of the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement. It is also responsible for legal services, community justice, public property, and beneficiary registration.

The Department of Lands and Natural Resources is mandated to protect renewable resources and gain maximum benefits from non-renewable resources. The department is separated into four divisions under separate directorships.

The department is also responsible for implementing Nunatsiavut's Impacts and Benefits Agreements for the Voisey's Bay mine and the Torngat Mountains National Park.

With its administrative office in Happy Valley-Goose Bay, the *Department of Health and Social Development* is mandated to provide of a defined range of health services. The department has collaborative partnerships and working relationships with the provincial federal governments, the regional health authority (Labrador-Grenfell Health), Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, and other Inuit regions, and community agencies to better address the health and social development needs of Labrador Inuit. The department takes a holistic approach to wellness, moving away from an emphasis on the disease model and moving towards an emphasis on the importance of physical, mental, social, and spiritual well-being within the context of a strong Inuit cultural system. Programs are designed to build upon the strengths and resilience of Labrador Inuit.

The Department of Culture, Tourism and Recreation is mandated to ensure the preservation of Inuit language, culture, and traditions; to promote recreation and sport; to advance issues for our youth and Elders; and to position Nunatsiavut as an international tourism destination.

The Department of Finance, Human Resources and Information Technology is primarily responsible for all aspects of financing and funding for the Nunatsiavut Government. It also manages the Nunatsiavut Civil Service and the Information Technology Division.

CONCLUSION

Our path to self-governance involved the hard work and dedication of many people over a number of decades. Today, it remains one of the proudest moments in our long history. As a self-governing Inuit regional government, we will continue to work for our people by ensuring that the work that we do is in keeping with the fundamental principles of the Labrador Inuit Constitution.





Part 2: Arctic Indigenous Economies Video Series Transcripts

Arctic Indigenous Economies: Video Series Transcripts

As part of the Arctic Indigenous Economies in Canada workshop, the International Policy Institute Arctic Fellows interviewed each of the participants. This five-part video series is available at the Arctic and International Relations website, Video Publications: <https://jsis.washington.edu/arctic/research/arctic-and-international-relations-series/videos/>.

Presenters included Jean-François Arteau, Kesserwan Arteau; Charlie Watt and Christine Nakoolak, Avataa Explorations and Logistics, Kuujuaq, Nunavik; Andy Moorhouse, Vice-President, Economic Development, Makivik Corporation, Nunavik; Burton Ayles, Canada Member, Canada/Inuvialuit Fisheries Joint Management Committee; and Minister Sean Lyall, Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism, Nunatsiavut. The following are the transcripts from those interviews.

Traditional Knowledge and Inuit Law

JEAN-FRANÇOIS ARTEAU, KESSERWAN ARTEAU, QUÉBEC CITY

with Malina Dumas, International Policy Institute Arctic Fellow, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington

Malina Dumas (MD): Good afternoon, Mr. Arteau, and thank you for joining us here at the University of Washington for the workshop today. My name is Malina Dumas and I'm a second-year law student here at UW. I have just a couple of questions relating to the protection of Indigenous rights in the Arctic. So, Canada recently announced its full support of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, although the previous government expressed concern that the evolving international norm of free, prior, and informed consent could operate as an Indigenous veto on development projects. So, from your perspective, what are some challenges for obtaining free, prior, and informed consent in the Arctic context, and what are some best practices for going about this in a way that respects Indigenous values and traditional concepts of justice?



Jean-François Arteau (JFA): This is actually an excellent question that you're asking. This UN Declaration we've been talking about in Canada for the last ten years, basically. "Should we ratify it or not?" That was the great question. The previous government, the Harper government, had this fear that would it give a veto to Aboriginal communities all across the country. Well, this fear [has] not [gone] away. It still exists within the actual government, and the actual Minister of ... Indigenous Affairs, ... Carolyn Bennett, she still thinks that this could give a veto to Indigenous peoples across Canada and that would, in that sense, prevent any development project that would occur across the country. So, that's really something that we should think about. But there is a way to do it, and the best way to do it is to consult properly with the communities. That's basically what the Minister of Indigenous Affairs wants to do: she wants to consult with the Aboriginal communities across the country, not only on how should we implement this new declaration of the UN but how should you be consulted properly by the companies that would like to have development project in your community. And the best way to do it, in my opinion, is to go to the community, meet with the community leaders, have open, frank, and open-minded discussions with them in all transparency, and usually that's the way it works. When you work hand-in-hand, there's no better way to work, I think.

MD: Thank you, so my second question is, it's my understanding that there are very few Inuit lawyers in Canada but there's a special program established in Iqaluit in the early 2000s through a partnership with the University of Victoria that graduated eleven Inuit attorneys. The curriculum integrated Inuit law with Western legal concepts, and the second round is expected in 2017 in collaboration with the University of Saskatchewan. So, in what ways do you think Inuit traditional law can be incorporated into the Canadian legal system, and what opportunities and challenges do you see in educating more Inuit leaders to be legal advocates of Indigenous rights both on the domestic and international stage? And just a follow-up question to that, in terms of the relationship between Inuit traditional law and Western laws, how do Inuit and Western concepts of territory come into conflict, especially in terms of land claims over ice like in the Northwest Passage?

JFA: A good point again. I wouldn't like to see that as a conflict. I think it's important to integrate traditional law coming from the Inuit into our own Canadian system, but I don't see that as two different systems. I don't think that would be

a good approach to it. I think Inuit, they are Canadians, they are part of the Canadian law system, and their traditions – in terms of law aspects and everything – should be incorporated naturally into our own law system. And we just did that in Québec actually with the customary adoption law. We took what the Inuit do in customary adoption, we had the law on that passed by the National Assembly of Québec so it's now part of our own law system in Québec, the civil code system. So, there's a way to do it but you need, again, to [be] open-minded. It is easy to say, but it is not that easy to achieve, so you need to have people with a lot of respect for each other, and that's usually how we do it. And of course there is some conflict sometimes, unfortunately, but when it happens, you have to look at it from a different perspective, I think. If you have a very narrow look at how it should be done within our own existing Canadian law, well, it is not going to work because usually the laws are the laws of the conquerors. So, when you win over somebody, you impose your own laws, and that is exactly what happened historically speaking within Canada. Well, this should change, and I think our global Canadian law should be open enough to integrate any traditional law that would come from any Indigenous people across the country once again.

MD: Great, thank you very much for your time.

JFA: Thanks to you.

Insights from Avataa Exploration and Logistics

CHARLIE WATT AND CHRISTINE NAKOOLAK

Avataa Explorations and Logistics at the University of Washington

PART I: IMPACTS OF GLOBAL WARMING

with Olivier Ndikumana, International Policy Institute Arctic Fellow, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington

Olivier Ndikumana (ON): Thank you so much for joining me. I would like to talk with you about global warming. How do you guys see global warming in your locality and your business?

Charlie Watt (CW): With our business, the way we operate, we cater to our clients at a seasonal level; our clients arrive mainly in spring, summer, and fall. Global warming is extending their seasons of operation, and that's how I see it affecting our business.

Christine Nakoolak (CN): Yeah, they are staying around longer, which is a good thing for business but not necessarily for traditional practices. Subsistence hunting and harvesting are affected also, which a lot of our people rely on for traditional food ... Just to go and practice being on the land is more unpredictable.

ON: Does this affect your economy? I mean, the money that tourists bring in, do you have some challenges of just getting some money in one specific time [related to] this issue of global warming?

CN: In tourism perspective?

ON: Yes.

CN: We used to have a lot of outfitting camps that the hunters used to come. Now we have more tourism coming in, but it is not really affecting their length of stay or ... If they have any challenges, I'm not really sure ... I'm not really in that industry.

CW: If I could add to that, I don't know if it is due to global warming, but we are experiencing changes like the collapse of the caribou herds. We used to have outfitters operating and a lot of hunters that come through our communities, but that is changing, that has collapsed. The caribou population has collapsed, and it is to a point where it is a scarcity for even the Inuit to do their subsistence hunting. So that could be partly related to global warming as well.

ON: Thank you. My last question will be, what would be your recommendation to your local authorities and the government?

CW: I would suggest to local and regional government to ask them to put in place policies where, for example, mining and exploration operators, they have to make sure that they comply with environmental-friendly practices and make sure that they comply with all the regulations that are in place so that we do minimal [destruction to] the environment.



CN: Minimize their footprint on our land as much as possible, and, if they could, reduce, as much as possible, the number of residual ... waste in the most environmental-friendly way.

ON: Thank you so much.

CW & CN: Thank you.

PART II: BUILDING MINDFULNESS AND PRIDE IN NUNAVIK

with Lucy Kruesel, International Policy Institute Arctic Fellow, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington

Lucy Kruesel (LK): Welcome, Christine and Charlie. Thank you so much for being here from Nunavik. My name is Lucy, and I just have one question about Avataa Explorations and Logistics, your business, and how you incorporate mindfulness as an element into your corporate social responsibility model, and in particular with the youth you reach.

CN: That is a very good question. We, as a couple, practice meditation and we both practice mindfulness. We incorporate it into our business and it first came about because we really feel like we're connected with the land. We always go out to the land. We always try to encourage our children to be connected with the land when we take them out, and we felt like it was necessary to bring it to the school system, to the existing programs that we are involved with. I try to incorporate it in there too, with their coaches and staff so that they all understand how to be more aware of their environment where they are going, whether it's on a ski, cross-country ski expedition, or whether they're practicing ... for the hockey team. If they're practicing in their change room, they'll be in the moment, be able to focus more on what they're doing. And for Charlie, I mean, it's been really for his business to grow ... I think he can answer that for himself.

CW: As part of our corporate social responsibility, I think it's very important for us to teach our youth the ability to go out on the land, to build igloos. It is an opportunity to unplug ... and to be around nature and, at the same time, develop your traditional skills so that you are proud and you're retaining an aspect of traditional culture. To be able to pass that on to young people is very rewarding, and you see the pride in their faces and that is important to us.

LK: And that is why you named the igloo program after, partially, did you? Could you tell us about how you decided to name it, what you did?

CW: Yeah, we call it Upigusullutaa. It is an initiative that Christine and I developed, and we are going to initiate this coming winter. That means "to be proud" ... We are going to take students – young men, young women – and give them the skills to build igloos and show them a skill, a traditional skill that they need to learn anyway. If they get lost, it's a skill that will help them in case they need to have shelter.

LK: Wow. Thank you so much for your time and all that you are doing for your youth and your community.

CW & CN: Thank you.

Makivik Corporation: Fortieth Anniversary and Beyond

ANDY MOORHOUSE, VICE-PRESIDENT, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, MAKIVIK CORPORATION, NUNAVIK
with Brandon Ray, International Policy Institute Arctic Fellow, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington

Brandon Ray (BR): Thank you, Mr. Andy Moorhouse, here the Vice-President of Economic Development at Makivik Corporation from Nunavik, in Québec. I have couple questions. It is very timely, given that this is the eve of the forty-first anniversary of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement. How has this agreement evolved over the last forty years?



Andy Moorhouse (AM): After nearly forty-one years, the agreement has evolved according to the changes in time, but there's been, I believe, twenty-three complimentary agreements to the agreement, meaning complimentary agreements where they've improved upon the agreement or opened up unsettled claims and settling them. But the twenty-third complimentary agreement includes the creation of a landholding corporation and recognizing it with category lands, which initially, forty years ago, they were not involved with the creation of the landholding corporation. So, with the landholding corporation, it means that there is set aside a category of land that would be considered their own, and they administer it through the local landholding board. Back in 1975, there were two communities ... that did not accept the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement. Right now, there is only one remaining. This, the twenty-third complimentary agreement, is a complimentary agreement to create a landholding corporation for the community of Ivujivik, which is now set in motion and within the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement.

BR: So, given all the evolution, do you see that there is any outstanding shortcomings that are still there? If so, how are those being addressed?

AM: I will take the words of ... former Premier Jean Charest, back, I believe, five, six years ago. When we had the discussion of modernizing the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement and discussing items of concern of the Inuit in regards to the first comprehensive land claims agreement of Canada, he identified it as a evolving and living document. This is one thing that I would like to pursue is to open the discussion of modernizing the land claims agreement to have it more effective with today's issues and today's realities of the Inuit of the Northern Québec.

BR: So, the James Bay and the Northern Québec Agreement, originally it came about as a result of the desire for Québec to expand its hydroelectric footprint into the Inuit and Cree lands in the Northern Québec. In March of this past year, Prime Minister Trudeau and President Obama signed a joint statement that addressed climate change, clean energy, and Arctic leadership. Given this new push towards clean energy, specifically in the Arctic, there may be an increased desire to, again, expand the hydroelectric further north. Given this evolving agreement that we've had, how do you see that conflict and challenge going differently this time around?

AM: I consider it more of an opportunity than anything else. Makivik Corporation, through the Economic Development Department, has already set motion an initiative to capitalize on alternative energy, especially in the Arctic, in the cold weather, where technology is a challenge to be proven. So this is something we're working in. We're looking



into hydrokinetics, photovoltaics. There's solar energy, there's wind energy. There's a vast opportunity to capitalize on alternative energy, and I would consider it as an opportunity rather than a challenge or an issue because we have already set in motion movements to make sure that we capitalize and we benefit from it. This is what our objective is. This is what my objective will be over the next three years.

BR: Wonderful. Well, thank you very much for your time. I appreciate it.

AM: Thank you very much.

Fisheries Management and Climate Change

BURTON AYLES, CANADA MEMBER, CANADA/INUVIALUIT FISHERIES JOINT MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

with Katie Aspen Gavenus, International Policy Institute Arctic Fellow, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington

Katie Aspen Gavenus (KAG): Welcome, Mr. Burton Ayles, to the University of Washington. My first question for you is about the Fisheries Joint Management Committee and who the primary stakeholders are in that committee and why the structure of that joint management committee is unique.



Burton Ayles (BA): Well, you've asked a couple of questions, Katie. First of all, I should explain that it is the Canada/Inuvialuit Fisheries Joint Management Committee. It is the fisheries management in the Western Canadian Arctic in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, which is the area around the Beaufort Sea, and it was established in 1984. It is the result of comprehensive land settlement agreement. It's like a treaty between the Inuvialuit people of the Western Arctic and Canada. As part of the Canadian treaty, or comprehensive land settlement agreements, a process, co-management boards, are set up in each of the treaty areas. Co-management is cooperative management between the Government of Canada and the local people—in this case, it's the Inuvialuit and the FJMC, it's fisheries co-management. There are other areas in which it's wild-life co-management; there are environmental co-management as well. What was the rest of the question you asked?

KAG: What is unique about the structure that makes it co-management?

BA: Well, co-management, it is used in many different ways in different organizations, and it can cover everything from governments consulting with people they call clients or stakeholders to complete community involvement in the resource. The co-management organizations that are established in Northern Canada are close to the extreme end of responsibility so that responsibilities have been transferred from the government not to the Inuvialuit people but to a co-management board, which is a part of a sum of both. So, my committee makes decisions that in other areas would be made by the Minister of Fisheries. But, of course, it is made by Fisheries' managers, but we have actually been transferred responsibilities that cannot be overturned by a bureaucrat in the federal government.

KAG: Okay, excellent. And what are some of the successes that you've seen with that co-management model, and what are some of the accompanying challenges?

BA: Well, one of the big successes is with the primary species of interests for the people in the Western Arctic, which is beluga whales. They've hunted beluga whales ever since they've been there; it is really important. They were very wealthy people in terms of the environment, and beluga whales were an important part of that. And when the agreement was first started, the senior Inuvialuit member on my committee (this is before I was there) was very strong in his opinion that beluga whales should be managed by the Inuvialuit, and he did not think that it was quotas or limits on the whales. He said we managed these whales for a thousand years and we didn't need quotas, and I don't think we need them, but we need to know how we are going to manage them. So the committee worked with the Inuvialuit, and it worked with the Department of Fisheries to establish Beluga Management Plan. That plan has allowed Inuvialuit continue to harvest, and it's given the government comfort when they have to go into international fora and say, "We

don't have a quota for these whales but we know we are comfortable that they are being managed responsibly." And that plan also led to the establishment of marine protected area in the Western Arctic, and that was the first marine protected area in the Canadian Arctic. That's something special. It is established under the federal Oceans Act, and it gives even more protection than the management plan. So, I think that is a big success story for the co-managers.

KAG: Okay. How about some of the challenges?

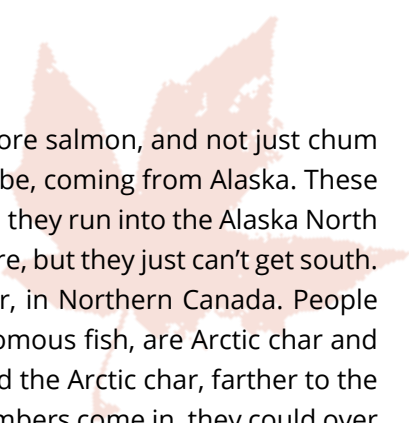
BA: The challenges are many. One of the challenges is with traditional knowledge. We know, and we have agreed about, how to collect the traditional knowledge (TK) from the people and the scientists. We have rules established in the North about who can ask and what kinds of questions, and then where is the information held, and how is it presented. So, we know those things. But what we haven't figured out is, how do we use that traditional knowledge in a decision-making process that's so biased by Western science? So, when we want to have an environmental assessment and a company or scientists say "this is that" and we have two or three lone hunters saying "no, that is this," how do we bring those things together? That's one of the things that we were struggling with. We have a lot of initiatives that happened when we bring them together. Even the [Fisheries Joint Management] Committee itself, having two Inuvialuit and two government appointees (I was a research scientist), even having them together is a way of helping bringing science and TK together, but we need to have better ways to do that, and we are working on it.

KAG: Actually, on the subject of bringing science and traditional knowledge together, we've talked today a lot about climate change, and I was wondering if you could speak for just few moments about some of the things that have been observed through communities and also through some of the research science that's been done in your area related to what is happening in the changing climate.

BA: Yeah, that is really interesting, to see what is happening but also to talk to the people are on the land to tell when they're telling me. We're sitting around the bar talking about it and somebody will say, "Hey, you know, did you see? There was this bird that I've never seen before." And somebody is saying, "Yeah, I saw that. It's never been north of Yellowknife." ... First of all, I should say that the Western Arctic is the area that is projected to have the greatest increase in temperature probably in the world. In that particular area, a two-degree change in the world climate could result in five- to seven-degree change in the Western Arctic. It will make a big difference, and they're seeing things so diverse already. The town, hamlet of Tuktoyaktuk, is built on shingle spit out into the Beaufort Sea, and it is eroding away faster than it did before. This is happening some places in Alaska too. You know that.

KAG: Yeah, I'm very familiar with what's happening in Shishmaref.

BA: What is happening, because ice cover is more limited in time, there's a chance for more frequent storms and also bigger storms because there's a longer fetch across the Beaufort Sea, so that's causing problems there. There's areas in the Mackenzie Delta and all along Mackenzie in which there's land slumping. It's permafrost area, much of it. As the permafrost melts, it just turns into soup, it slides away. That mud and ice go into the river; that results in, can result in, things like increased mercury levels in fish. So, it's a long ways from a little bit of melting on the shore or on the land to contamination of fish. This year has been really interesting because the fishers have observed lots of Pacific salmon in the area. Pacific salmon are not native to the north Alaska coast, or certainly not in the Beaufort Sea. There have been movements of chum salmon periodically that go up the Mackenzie River, all the way as far as British Columbia. They're long migratory species. There may be a population there or not. We are not sure, but it is small compared to



the other species, to other fish. But in the last year, this year, 2016, they saw many more salmon, and not just chum salmon: pink salmon, sockeye salmon, coho salmon. And they're probably, they must be, coming from Alaska. These are fish that are probably farther north than they used to be, and they head home, and they run into the Alaska North Slope, northern Alaska, and they just keep swimming east ... They have to go somewhere, but they just can't get south. And they end up in the rivers, the small rivers and the big river, the Mackenzie River, in Northern Canada. People are concerned because the fish that they traditionally used and depend upon, anadromous fish, are Arctic char and Dolly Varden char, the same Dolly Varden char that is all the way around to Alaska, and the Arctic char, farther to the east. But these fish spawn in similar conditions to salmon, and if the salmon in any numbers come in, they could over spawn or top, dig the redds, destroy the eggs. They may not survive themselves, but if there's enough of them, they destroy the local population of char. So, that is a real concern for the people there. The other really big concern the local people have is that if the ocean opens up; they see that there's been overfishing of resources everywhere in the world, everywhere except the Arctic, and they see other countries wanting to move into the Arctic and do the same thing to the Arctic as they've done, as humans have done, to other parts of the world, and they are really upset and worried about that. They depend on beluga whales, char, and whitefish that depend on the marine resource. They depend on Arctic cod, for example. So, they're really worried that somebody's going to want to go in and take these resources, send them somewhere away, and destroy their culture and their lifestyle.

KAG: Wow, it seems as if it's a really complex situation with lots of changes happening.

BA: Yeah, it really is. These are changes that I've just seen in my ten years that I have worked with the committee. The Elders there talk about the changes they've seen all the time, about what it was like when they were kids with their parents on the land, and what they see, what it is like now. It's really different.

KAG: Well, thank you so much for sharing a little bit of that with us, and thank you for coming here to the University of Washington.

BA: It was great, Katie. Thanks.

Parks Management and Tourism in Nunatsiavut

MINISTER SEAN LYALL, DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE, RECREATION AND TOURISM, NUNATSIAVUT

with Elizabeth Wessells, International Policy Institute Arctic Fellow, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington; and Elena Bell, International Policy Institute Arctic Fellow, Henry M. Jackson School at the University of Washington of International Studies

Elizabeth Wessells (EW): *Unnukkut, Lizzyujunga.* (Good evening. I am Lizzy.)

Thank you for joining us, Mr. Sean Lyall from the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism in Nunatisavut, Northern Labrador. Your hometown is Nain, the gateway to Torngat Mountains National Park, and in Nain, the Illusuak Cultural Centre is an exciting project slated to open next year. Illusuak is built by Inuit to tell Inuit stories. Thinking about the Centre, local communities, and arts and traditional skills, will you talk about how the exhibits and programming for the Centre are being developed to engage communities and connect new generations with Labrador Inuit heritage?



Sean Lyall (SL): *Nakurmiik.* (Thank you.) That is a great question. First, I'd like to say it is a pleasure to be here at the University of Washington. Apparently, it's a home of the Huskies, which is quite a coincidence that where I come from my hometown, as you mentioned, is Nain, our high school team is the Huskies as well. But the question regards to Illusuak, for sure. Illusuak Cultural Centre is presently under construction, slated to be completed in late December of next year, which coincides with Canada's 150th, which is a pretty significant milestone in the history of Canada for sure, and that will be for sure one of the showpieces. Now, in regards to the Cultural Centre itself, we are building a cultural center built by Labrador Inuit for Labrador Inuit. It entails that the Labrador Inuit are ready to tell their story to the world. That is pretty significant step in its own right, but in regards to the exhibit, design, fabrication, and what content entails in the exhibit, it's a pretty important process for sure. You want the content to be right, you want it to be respectful; after all, you're telling a story of the Labrador Inuit. So, in regards to content and how you go about telling that story, the exhibit advisory committee was set up. Firstly, there is consultation done with the beneficiaries; What should be included? What kind of story should be done? Then, of course, the exhibit advisory committee is made up of Nunatsiavut beneficiaries from all areas of Nunatsiavut because it is being built in Nain, but it is for all Labrador Inuit, and it will include traveling exhibits and traveling programming. Now, the content itself, the exhibit advisory committee makes recommendations, and of course we have Inuit from all the Inuit communities, plus Upper Lake Melville and the Canadian constituency.

EW: You mentioned today that Nunatsiavut has the highest concentration of artists [per capita in Canada]. Are there going to be programs where traditional arts and crafts are demonstrated or taught?

SL: Definitely, the programming and space available in Illusuak will be there. In the auditorium itself, it will have collapsible seating for community events, community programming. Also there is a very vibrant art scene in regards to traditional art and craft in, not only Nain, but across the region. So, we do have a very active Torngat arts and crafts shop that will also be there, of course. For sure, we are going to have a lot of visitors in Illusuak, and what better way to help the local economy?

EW: Thank you for sharing.

SL: *Nakurmiik.* (Thank you.) Great questions.

Elena Bell (EB): Minister Lyall, *tunngasugitsi, Elenaujunga.* (Welcome. I am Elena.) I'm a PhD student with the Jackson School of International Studies and I'm looking at the question of international public diplomacy. Today's event brought together international participants and facilitated the dialogue. I'm curious to hear your take on how useful it would be to establish a program which would take, for short-term travel, international delegations, which would bring educators, small and medium-sized business leaders, journalists, economists, and policymakers from different countries – the people who are decision makers and opinion shapers – to the Arctic, to Nunatsiavut, for example, with a goal to introduce the local communities, to learn how they live, to experience the land, and to take their knowledge back to share with their country, and to consider when they are shaping their strategy for collaboration. Would that be something useful and feasible?

SL: Well, that is another excellent question, for sure. Ultimately, when people want to come to Nain to do either research or visit or talk, they will for sure contact our office or the Nain Research Centre, and especially in regards to research, or if we're talking scientists or something. But it has to be done in a very dignified, respectful manner in regards to coming to Nain, or Nunatsiavut for that matter. Is there benefit to the Labrador Inuit? But there has to be ... different ways, international ways [to help everyone communicate]. There may be some things that people are doing on the other side of the world that could be a benefit of the Labrador Inuit and that would be something very important indeed.

EB: Thank you so much. My follow-up question is about the appropriateness and ethical issues. The Inuit communities are very welcoming as we saw today, and I am just wondering if that international communication would fit well ethically and appropriately into the Inuit communities with the goal of collaborating and benefiting the local communities. Would it be something, which the Inuit would welcome.

SL: That is a very, very respectful question actually, asking about the ethics of going to either Nain, Nunatsiavut, or anywhere Nunatsiavut. But there are processes in place prior to coming to Nunatsiavut, through permits involved or contacting again Nunatsiavut government or the Research Centre, and those processes and policies are already in place to deal with those potential issues. But ethics, just by asking the question, that's very respectful. *Nakurmiik.* (Thank you.)

EB: *Nakurmiik.* (Thank you.)





Part 3:

International Policy Institute Arctic Fellows



Climate Change and Resource Management

The More We Act, the More We Save Our Global Air Conditioning, the Arctic

OLIVIER NDIKUMANA

ABSTRACT

Observations and testimonies from scientists and Arctic residents reveal that the climate is changing faster in the Arctic than elsewhere in the world. The global temperature has risen between 1°C and 2°C, and may increase by 4°C in the Arctic due to a rise in sea level as a result of ice sheet loss.¹ Although Sami Indigenous people, for example, warned global leaders that rapid industrialization was bringing about climate change, their claims were largely ignored. Furthermore, a significant part of the world's last wilderness region has been affected by the discovery and exploration of mining, oil, and gas, and the development of infrastructure related to ports and roads.² Rapid industrialization led by oil and natural resources companies has continued to contribute to global warming, and the glaciers of the circumpolar North that balance the globe with natural air conditioning are continuing to melt.³ Consequently, some scientists claim that links exist between the United Kingdom winter storms of 2014 and warming of the poles. Additionally, the November 2014 North American cold wave that occurred across most of Canada and the contiguous United States was also related to Arctic climate-change-based warming of the polar vortex.⁴ This is the time to act and design emergency environmental actions. For instance, the Paris Agreement on Climate Change proposed new global mobilization that will save our planet from the threats of climate change and create a green environment. Will this global mobilization be successful?

INTRODUCTION

On December 11, 2015, the United Nations and global leaders approved the United Nations Framework on Climate Change (UNFCCC 2015).⁵ This agreement aims to strengthen the global response to the threat of climate change by reducing global bicarbonate gas emissions that destroy the ozone layer by holding the increase in the global average temperature to 2°C above pre-industrial levels, and by pursuing efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels. Furthermore, the signatory nations of this treaty are required to respect and consider their obligations to human rights, the right to health, and the rights of Indigenous peoples in all efforts to address global warming. Nonetheless, Indigenous organizations have expressed concern and frustration about the lack of consultation by several Arctic Council Member States as various decisions and global warming emergency actions have been taken for the Arctic. At the climate change conference held in Marrakech, Morocco, from November 7 to 17, 2016, Inuit Circumpolar Council chairperson, Okalik Eegeesiak, stated that the Arctic Council should respect the local leadership and incorporate several recommendations proposed by Indigenous organizations.⁶ During my research,

¹ Christopher B. Field and Vicente R. Barros, "Report of Climate Change 2014: Impact, Adaption, and Vulnerability-Part A: Global and Sectoral Aspect. Contribution of working Group II to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change", IPCC, November 2014, <http://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar5/syr/>.

² John Wenz, "10 Greatest Wildness in the World," *Popular Mechanics*, June 2016, <http://www.popularmechanics.com/adventure/outdoors/g2653/10-wildernesses-remaining-in-the-world/?slide=10>; Simon Tisdall, "What Sami People Can Teach us About Adapting to Climate Change," *The Guardian*, March 10, 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2010/mar/10/sami-finland-climate-change>.

³ EPA, "Climate Change Indicators: Weather and Climate," accessed February 11, 2016, <https://www.epa.gov/climate-indicators/weather-climate>

⁴ John Holdren, "The Polar Vortex Explained in Two Minutes," video, The White House, President Barack Obama, January 8, 2014, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/share/polar-vortex-explained-two-minutes>.

⁵ United Nations Framework on Climate Change, The Paris Agreement, 2015, http://unfccc.int/paris_agreement/items/9485.php.

⁶ Okalik Eegeesiak, "Inuit Circumpolar Council UNFCCC Cop 22-Position Paper," Inuit Circumpolar Council, November 14, 2016, http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/uploads/3/0/5/4/30542564/icc_cop22_statement_nov_14_final.pdf.

members of private sector organizations and Indigenous representatives repeatedly raised this issue of the legitimacy and sovereignty of Arctic Indigenous territories. Whether the Arctic Council did consider the rights of Indigenous people or not, there are tremendous efforts being led by Arctic Council Member States in response to global warming in North America.

BACKGROUND

Although there are pockets of climate change deniers throughout the world, most Indigenous peoples in the Arctic have witnessed climate change and the affects of global warming firsthand. The Indigenous people of the Inuit Circumpolar Council, in particular residents of Sachs Harbour, a tiny community of the Canadian Beaufort Sea region, have already experienced severe environmental change, including melting permafrost that causes beach slumping and increased erosion.⁷ Additionally, they have experienced several heavy snowfalls as well as long sea-ice-free seasons. They have also witnessed heretofore Southern species of fish and birds such as barn owls, robins, pin-tailed ducks, and salmon in northern regions. All these changes have impacted their daily life. Additionally, the Inuit Circumpolar Council has begun to document forced migration of Indigenous people due to climate change, which has shown that Indigenous people have been forced to migrate far from their home territories.⁸

Further, according to the Ottawa Declaration of 1996, the Arctic Council is the only legitimate executive board to take into account the implementation of the UNFCCC 2015 in both inhabited and uninhabited areas of the Arctic region. This intergovernmental platform leads and promotes cooperation, coordination, and interaction among the Arctic Member States and Arctic Indigenous organizations, and leads sustainable development efforts. It also establishes measures for any regional danger, including climate change. As most of the Arctic Member States approved the UNFCCC, the Arctic Council represents a significant opportunity to successfully respond to global warming in the circumpolar North.

My study focuses on US and Canadian efforts to respond to climate change. Both countries launched different initiatives throughout the initial phase of UNFCCC (2015–20), but the next implementation phase remains unclear, given the recent administration change in the United States. However, on March 16, 2016, Canada and the United States announced the U.S.–Canada Joint Statement on Climate, Energy, and Arctic Leadership. The two countries initiated joint operational strategies and appointed their respective officials to lead climate change task forces, led by US Senator John Kerry and Canadian Minister Carolyn Bennett.⁹

Speaking at the Arctic Indigenous Economies in Canada workshop held at the University of Washington on November 10, 2016, General James Hill, the Consulate General of Canada based in Seattle, emphasized how new policies of global warming led by Canada have incorporated recommendations and expertise from local Arctic organizations, including environmental science organizations. For instance, referring to the U.S.–Canada Joint Statement, he said that the United States and Canada will collaborate to improve data collection, ensure transparency, and share knowledge of cost-effective methane reduction technologies and other infrastructure developments that contribute to ozone layer depletion. These new international policies intend to reduce the rise of global warming in the Arctic. General Hill concluded by mentioning that Indigenous recommendations were initially considered, and Canada called all Indigenous

⁷ Patricia A.L. Cochran, "The Arctic: Indicator of Global Change," presentation for the International Expert Group Meeting on Indigenous Peoples and Climate Change, April 2–4, 2008, Darwin, Australia.

⁸ "A Changing Climate Threatens Inuit," *The Environment and Poverty Times 2* (March 2004), <http://www.grida.no/publications/et/ep2/page/2501.aspx>.

⁹ The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, "U.S.–Canada Joint Statement on Climate, Energy, and Arctic Leadership," March 10, 2016, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/03/10/us-canada-joint-statement-climate-energy-and-arctic-leadership>.

organizations to bring their local observations. Their additional observations will be submitted to the Canadian Arctic climate change task force for further consideration.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

I suggest that international governments and Indigenous communities support one another to operate on the same frontline. The initial five-year phase of global mobilization that the United Nations granted through the UNFCC is a remarkable effort. However, local councils will play a key role in managing social and economic development in local Arctic communities, such as responding to snow and ice melts, saving Arctic fisheries from disappearing, reducing the high rate of acidic waste in the world's oceans, and protecting animals in the Arctic ecosystem. During the Arctic Indigenous Economies in Inuit Nunangat (Canada) and the Circumpolar World research symposium in November 2016, the International Policy Institute Fellows spoke to Minister Sean Lyall from the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism of Nunatsiavut. Even though he endorses and anticipates positive results from the new global mobilization policies, he believes that the United States and Canada must continually reinforce their partnerships with local councils and strengthen Indigenous organizations and capacity. "This is everyone's responsibility," he said. "Climate change affects all economic developmental layers, including tourism and sustainable development. Efforts to reduce the effects of global warming will not be successful if the local community (Indigenous government) is not engaged," he warned.

The UNFCC mandated that developed countries surrounding the Arctic region support local initiatives throughout the five-year global mobilization process. As climate change affects the Arctic region's social and economic development, joint efforts that encompass both the traditional and modern worlds are required. The more they act together for climate change in the Arctic, the more they will save our global air conditioning. Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities must work together to save the Arctic's rich and abundant wildlife, to maintain the life of birds and larger animals such as reindeer, caribou, polar bears, wolves, and brown bears, which are all at great risk.

Finally, self-governance will encourage Indigenous people to work for the better future of their land and the building of peaceful societies working toward sustainable global development goals. As world remains invested in the success of global mobilization in the Arctic region, both international and local partners should work together and respond to the UNFCC goal of addressing global warming.

Olivier Ndikumana is a master's student in the Masters of Applied International Studies in the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies. He has a background in international affairs, particularly diplomatic affairs of United Nations interventionism in Africa. He has also worked as an investigative journalist in Rwanda, DR Congo, and Burundi.

Arctic Indigenous Voices on Oil Development in Clyde River, Nunavut

BRANDON RAY

ABSTRACT

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change has shown that the rate of climate change in the Arctic far exceeds the global rate, and that the release of carbon dioxide from fossil fuel emissions is largely responsible for recent Arctic warming.¹ As one of the most recent international approaches to this issue, the 2016 U.S.–Canada Joint Statement on Climate, Energy, and Arctic Leadership is explicit in its goals to “anchor economic growth in clean development” and to incorporate Indigenous perspectives into its climate change decision-making.² The US–Canada Statement outlines priorities for accomplishing “clean development”: regulating methane in the oil/gas sector, using a science-based approach to oil and gas, developing a plan and timeline for inserting renewable energy into the Arctic energy grid, and improving the Canada–US bilateral framework on energy cooperation. While it is unclear to what extent the Trump administration will honor this policy, the sentiment is already binding in the 2017–2022 Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Leasing Proposed Final Program.³ Regardless of the change in administration in the United States, Canada is seeking to integrate the Statement’s recommendations through the appointment of Mary Simon as Minister’s Special Representative for the Shared Arctic Leadership Model.⁴ Although scientific and political momentum are present, local Indigenous communities are not in agreement on this economic transition. Given that Northern economies are largely dependent on the oil/gas sector, the transition to clean development represents a significant paradigm shift for the North. This paper examines Inuit perceptions of the oil/gas sector using a case study of Clyde River, Nunavut, whose Inuit community members are currently opposing oil and gas exploration in Canada’s Supreme Court. I draw on local media, primarily *Nunatsiaq News*, and organizations’ statements as representative of the public discourse surrounding the Clyde River conflict specifically and the economic paradigm shift broadly. The paper reveals that this discourse provides several socially feasible options for easing the transition to clean development.

INTRODUCTION

The Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) is often viewed as the unified voice of the Inuit on the international stage. As within any organization, however, there is tension between its members due to differences in opinion over topics ranging from the settlement of land claims to resource development.⁵ This tension manifested in disagreements over how to balance economic development and climate change impacts in the 2009 Copenhagen Conference of Parties, under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, as well as the 2011 ICC Summit on Resource Development.⁶ The Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the national Inuit organization of Canada, also highlights this tension, noting that

¹ IPCC, “Summary for Policymakers,” in *Climate Change 2013: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*, ed. T.F. Stocker et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), <http://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar5/wg1/>.

² The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, “U.S.–Canada Joint Statement on Climate, Energy, and Arctic Leadership,” March 10, 2016, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/03/10/us-canada-joint-statement-climate-energy-and-arctic-leadership>.

³ US Department of the Interior, Bureau of Ocean Energy Management, *2017–2022 Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Leasing Proposed Final Program*, November 2016, <https://www.boem.gov/2017-2022-OCS-Oil-and-Gas-Leasing-PFP/>.

⁴ Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, “Mary Simon to Lead Engagement on a New Shared Arctic Leadership Model as the Minister’s Special Representative,” news release, August 5, 2016, <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?mthd=index&crtr.page=1&nid=1107889>.

⁵ Makivik Corporation, *Honouring the 40th Anniversary of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement, special issue of Makivik Magazine* 108 (Fall 2015), <http://collections.banq.qc.ca/ark:/52327/bs2518398>; Gary N. Wilson and Heather A. Smith, “The Inuit Circumpolar Council in an Era of Global and Local Change,” *International Journal* 66, no. 4 (2011): 909–21.

⁶ Wilson and Smith, “The Inuit Circumpolar Council,” 911.

although the oil/gas demand is not from Arctic communities, the Inuit are not anti-development – they just “will not support development at all costs.”⁷ Even the Qikiqtani Inuit Association, the regional Inuit association that includes Clyde River, opposes the seismic exploration near Clyde River, but only on the grounds of lack of consultation, not based on economic or environmental impacts.⁸

The Inuit are disproportionately vulnerable to climate change, especially given their close cultural ties to the environment for well-being and subsistence. As the introduction of resource extraction does not necessarily bring economic returns to the local communities, there is concern over whether the environmental and cultural risks are worth the potential economic gains.⁹ As Nellie Cournoyea, then chair of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, put it, “the offshore does not in itself have a policy by government to say what is the share of the risk and the benefit to Inuit.”¹⁰ Researchers Gary Wilson and Heather Smith argue that the disagreements over resource development split the Inuit into three factions: the economic development perspective (those who see climate change as an opportunity for economic growth); the “pragmatic” perspective (those who recognize the need for economic growth but still advocate for environmental protection); and the environment-culture perspective (those who advocate for environmental and cultural protection over economic needs).¹¹ This tension will be examined in the case study of Clyde River, Nunavut, and in newspaper articles that function as a public expression of community viewpoints.

BACKGROUND

In June 2014 Canada’s National Energy Board (NEB) granted permission to several companies to conduct oil exploration in Baffin Bay and the Davis Strait.¹² Clyde River, the Nammataq Hunters and Trappers Organization, and Clyde River Mayor Jerry Natanine filed an appeal to get an injunction against exploration, a fight that has been framed as a “David versus Goliath” battle, though opposition started before the legal proceedings.¹³ The opposition is based on the impact seismic testing will have on marine life, but, more so, Clyde River feels that it was not properly consulted prior to the initial exploration plans, as is legally required in Canada through the 1982 Constitution Act, the 1993 Nunavut Land Claims Act, and the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The Inuit also cite failure to incorporate Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) and the Strategic Environmental Assessment. Furthermore, Nader Hasan, the lawyer defending Clyde River, remarked, “Once again, the NEB was a rubber stamp for the energy industry,”¹⁴ suggesting that even the government agency was captured. While the Federal Court of Appeal ruled against Clyde River in August 2015, in March 2016 the Supreme Court of Canada consented to hear the appeal, which was held on November 30, 2016.

⁷ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, “The Climate Change Bind For Inuit: The Double Burden of Impacts & Campaigns,” speech delivered April 22, 2015, Ottawa, <https://www.itk.ca/the-climate-change-bind-for-inuit-the-double-burden-of-impacts-campaigns/>.

⁸ Qikiqtani Inuit Association, “Qikiqtani Inuit Association Supports Clyde River at Seismic Testing Appeal,” news release, November 30, 2016, <http://www.qia.ca/en/news/qikiqtani-inuit-association-supports-clyde-river-seismic-testing-appeal>.

⁹ Kirsten Manley-Casimir, “Reconciliation, Indigenous Rights and Offshore Oil and Gas Development in the Canadian Arctic,” *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law* 20, no. 1 (2011): 29–38.

¹⁰ “The ICC: Fractured Arctic, Uncertain Future?” (editorial), *Nunatsiag News*, August 13, 2014, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674the_icc_fractured_arctic_uncertain_future/.

¹¹ Wilson and Smith, “The Inuit Circumpolar Council,” 915–19.

¹² Lisa Gregoire, “Supreme Court to Hear Inuit Appeal of Seismic Testing in Nunavut,” *Nunatsiag News*, March 10, 2016, <http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674supreme-court-to-hear-inuit-appeal-of-seismic-testing-in-nunavut/>.

¹³ David Suzuki, “Clyde River vs. Big Oil: classic David versus Goliath,” *Nunatsiag News*, August 17, 2016, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674clyde_river_vs_big_oil_classic_david_versus_goliath/.

¹⁴ “Clyde River Groups Challenge Nunavut Seismic Testing in Court,” *Nunatsiag News*, July 28, 2014, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674clyde_river_groups_go_to_court_over_nunavut_seismic_testing/.

This is not to say that the Inuit are adamantly opposed to all oil and gas development. From 2012 to 2016, 64 articles appeared in the *Nunatsiaq News* about oil development near Clyde River.¹⁵ The dominant theme in the *Nunatsiaq News* reporting is that a cautious and inclusionary approach to resource development is what is most desired. As discussed in the Notice of Application for Judicial Review filed for the appeal, Clyde River supports the Mary River iron ore mine, but “will support extraction projects only if shown that their traditional hunting economy and culture will not be substantially harmed,”¹⁶ which the extraction companies were unwilling to prove. In November 2014, the Nunavut Association of Municipalities passed a resolution (traditionally Nunavut-wide) in support of the legal battles in Clyde River, acknowledging that “what they were going through could happen to any other community at some point.”¹⁷ In January 2015 Nunavut’s Oil and Gas Summit attempted to address community members’ questions and concerns. “Everybody has to be confident there’s enough two-way communication so that when decisions are made, it’s [sic] based on the best information available,” said Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. senior advisor Keith Morrison.¹⁸

These perspectives are reflected in the ICC’s Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Resource Development Principles in Inuit Nunaat, which provides a unified statement from the Inuit on resource development: “Responsible non-renewable resource development can also make an important and durable contribution to the well-being of current and future generations of Inuit. Managed under Inuit Nunaat governance structures, non-renewable resource development can contribute to Inuit economic and social development through both private sector channels (employment, incomes, businesses) and public sector channels (revenues from publicly owned lands, tax revenues, infrastructure).”¹⁹ However, other Inuit feel that the risks of environmental and cultural damage of any non-renewable resource development are too high. In the documentary film *White Water, Black Gold*, Bryan Simonee, a housing maintainer in Pond Inlet (close to Clyde River), comments, “The animals have been our lifeblood for thousands of years. It needs to stay that way.”²⁰ Kono Tattuinee, president of Arctic Co-operatives Ltd., remarked, “This is about the livelihood of the people – the impact will be substantial.”²¹ Also, if Clyde River wins this case, which could limit the NEB and other tribunals’ ability to consult, the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board, which is comprised of Inuit and conducts consultations, would have its authority curtailed as well.²² Thus, the majority of the Inuit perspectives fall into Wilson and Smith’s “pragmatic” and environment-culture archetypes, reflecting a communal attitude toward economic development.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Given the variety of opinions expressed within the Inuit community, not all participants will get their desired policy outcomes. However, a consistent theme throughout the discourse is that the Inuit would like to be included in the policy process – at a minimum, in the legally required consultation but, more ideally, as partners in the development. This

¹⁵ Articles compiled through a key word search in *Nunatsiaq News* for “Clyde River” and “oil” and then filtered to remove articles not relevant to oil exploration.

¹⁶ “Clyde River Groups Challenge Nunavut Seismic Testing in Court,” *Nunatsiaq News*, July 28, 2014, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674clyde_river_groups_go_to_court_over_nunavut_seismic_testing/.

¹⁷ Peter Varga, “Nunavut Mayors Unanimously Support Clyde River Seismic Fight,” *Nunatsiaq News*, November 17, 2014, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674nunavut_mayors_unanimously_support_clyde_river_seismic_fight/.

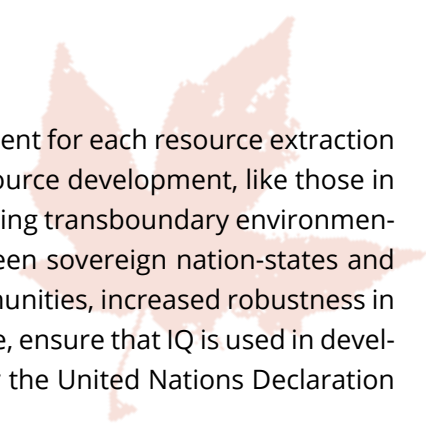
¹⁸ Peter Varga, “More Questions than Answers at Nunavut Oil-Gas Summit,” *Nunatsiaq News*, January 16, 2015, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674more_questions_than_answers_at_nunavuts_oil-gas_summit/.

¹⁹ Inuit Circumpolar Council, *A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Resource Development Principles in Inuit Nunaat*, accessed November 21, 2016, <http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/resource-development-principles-in-inuit-nunaat.html>.

²⁰ Lisa Gregoire, “Extreme Oil” Film to Feature North Baffin Hunters, Anti-Seismic Activists,” *Nunatsiaq News*, September 21, 2015, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674extreme_oil_film_to_feature_north_baffin_hunters_anti-seismic_activist/.

²¹ Jane George, “NTI Delegates Want United Support for Clyde River Seismic Testing Appeal,” *Nunatsiaq News*, October 22, 2014, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674nti_delegates_seek_united_support_for_clyde_rivers_seismic_testing_appl/.

²² Lisa Gregoire, “Nunavut Board Fears Power Erosion if Inuit Win Supreme Court Case,” November 11, 2016, *Nunatsiaq News*, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674nunavut_board_fears_power_erosion_if_inuit_win_supreme_court_case/.



partnership can take a variety of forms, such as a formal Impact and Benefits Agreement for each resource extraction project,²³ a more concrete consultation process, or co-management regimes for resource development, like those in place for living natural resources.²⁴ Additionally, the best practices used when managing transboundary environmental issues could also be applied in a tailored fashion to environmental issues between sovereign nation-states and Indigenous groups.²⁵ While resource extraction may be inevitable for Northern communities, increased robustness in the consultation process will help communities define the terms of their acquiescence, ensure that IQ is used in developing plans, and lead to a greater sense of self-determination, as guaranteed under the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

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²³ Manley-Casimir, "Reconciliation, Indigenous Rights," 37.

²⁴ Amy Lauren Lovecraft and Chandra L. Meek, "The Human Dimensions of Marine Mammal Management in a Time of Rapid Change: Comparing Policies in Canada, Finland and the United States," *Marine Policy* 35, no. 4 (2011): 427–29.

²⁵ Amy Lauren Lovecraft, "Transnational Environmental Management: U.S.–Canadian Institutions at the Interlocal Scale," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 37, no. 2 (2007): 218–45.

The Spirit of Co-Management in Tongait KakKasuangita SilakKijapvinga, Torngat Mountains National Park

ELIZABETH WESSELLS

ABSTRACT

Since the 1970s, Canada has highlighted superlative natural and cultural places in its Arctic region by designating more than a dozen new national parks. The goal of national parks to preserve and protect remarkable lands and resources often outshines the impacts and limitations placed on Indigenous peoples and park gateway communities with longstanding connections to the land. Ancestral homelands, hunting and fishing areas, travel corridors, material sources for carvers and other artists, all these can be impacted by the imposition of park boundaries on a landscape. Over the past four decades, the policies of the Parks Canada Agency have slowly shifted away from a unilateral management structure imposed from the South into a more integrated and cooperative framework placing Northern people more in control of Northern affairs. Co-management in practice varies widely across Canada, but along the northernmost coast of Labrador one of the newest national parks in the Canadian system is taking co-management to a new level. Torngat Mountains National Park was established in 2005 when the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement took effect. Named for the Inuktitut word *torngait* – place of the spirits – the park includes rugged peaks, inlets and islands, and archaeological sites dating back millennia. Torngat Mountains National Park is unique in the Parks Canada system because it is the first park to have an entirely Inuit co-management board. As Inuit across the Canadian Arctic build momentum to change the old dynamic of Southern dominance over Northern affairs, Torngat Mountains provides a case study of Inuit-led management of resources, lands, and economic development in Northern Labrador. By examining reports and planning documents of the Canadian and Nunatsiavut governments, and existing research on Arctic land and resource management, this paper explores the significance of Torngat Mountains to future national park management in Labrador and the across the Canadian Arctic.



Map of Torngat Mountains National Park in Northern Labrador. Courtesy Parks Canada, 2016.

INTRODUCTION

Parks Canada's first suggestions for a national park in Northern Labrador came in the late 1960s, but overlapping and unsettled land claims between the Government of Canada, Labrador Inuit, and Inuit of Nunavik (Northern Québec) took precedence over the possibility of a new national park.¹ Some forty years later, the signing of the Labrador

¹ Parks Canada, "The Context for Park Establishment," Torngat Mountains National Park of Canada, September 28, 2016, <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/nl/torngats/plan.aspx#a2>.

Inuit Land Claims Agreement in 2005 simultaneously created the Nunatsiavut Government to represent Labrador Inuit and designated 3,700 square miles of the Northern Labrador coast as Torngat Mountains National Park Reserve. The “reserve” status allows for the protection of the environment without requiring any stakeholders to cede their unaddressed claims to the land.² When the Nunavik Inuit Land Claims Agreement took effect in 2008 and concluded the unresolved land claims in the Torngat region, the reserve became a full national park.

The Parks Impact and Benefits Agreements negotiated alongside both the Nunatsiavut and Nunavik Land Claims Agreements set out the terms for cooperative management at Torngat Mountains: the seven member co-management board has two members appointed by each Nunatsiavut, the Makivik Corporation of Nunavik, and Parks Canada, with an independent chair jointly agreed on by the three governments.³ The board is tasked with advising the federal Minister of the Environment on all matters related to the park, and its members to act in the public interest rather than on behalf of their appointing governments.⁴ In the spirit of the agreements, Parks Canada appointed an Inuk from Labrador and an Inuk from Nunavik to serve on the board.⁵ With the joint appointment of another Labrador Inuk as chair, the Torngat Mountains co-management board became the first in Parks Canada history to be comprised completely of Inuit. In spring 2016, the park made history again by becoming the first national park to be staffed completely by Inuit as well.⁶ As Parks Canada pursues its initiative to designate national parks in every ecological zone in Canada, the Torngat Mountains National Park co-management board provides a model for future collaborative management and decision making in Labrador and across the Canadian Arctic.⁷



Co-management board in 2010, left to right: George Berthe, Jessie Wyatt (kneeling), Derrick Pottle, Willie Etok, John Jararuse, James Igloliorte, and Sammy Unatweenuk (kneeling).

BACKGROUND

Following significant political mobilization by Inuit, First Nations, and Métis in the 1970s, the Canadian government's unilateral management of land and resources began to shift towards the recognition and inclusion of Indigenous interests and knowledge. Gaining momentum over the past four decades, co-management now encompasses a spectrum of cooperative and consultative practices between governments and key partners hinging on the agreement to share the management, rights, and responsibilities of protected lands and the resources therein contained.⁸ Though Parks Canada only guarantees co-management that has specifically been negotiated in land claims agreements, the

² Ibid.

³ Judy Rowell, “Case Study 9.2: Inuit Partnerships in the Torngat Mountains National Park, Canada,” in *Arguments for Protected Areas: Multiple Benefits for Conservation and Use*, ed. Sue Stolton and Nigel Dudley (London: Earthscan, 2010), 183.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Gary Baikie, interview by Bailey White, *Labrador Morning*, CBC News, April 12, 2016.

⁷ Parks Canada, “Part II – Activity Policies: National Parks Policy; Section 2.2 Zoning,” *Parks Canada Guiding Principles and Operational Policies*, April 15, 2009, <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/docs/pc/poli/princip/sec2/part2a/part2a5.aspx>.

⁸ John Bussey, Mae A. Davenport, Marla R. Emery, and Clint Carrol, “A Lot of It Comes from the Heart’: The Nature and Integration of Ecological Knowledge in Tribal and Nontribal Forest Management,” *Journal of Forestry* 114, no. 2 (2015): 97.

agency does voluntarily co-manage with gateway communities, resource users, and stakeholders who rely on the lands and resources of national parks for cultural, economic, and other values.⁹

The Parks Canada superintendents of Torngat Mountains National Park have emphasized their commitment over the past decade to realizing the spirit of the co-management model.¹⁰ Co-management of resources, lands, and programs is a popular concept in academia; critics in the field note that without dedicated relationship building, co-management can become an empty exercise with no meaningful integration of Inuit and non-Inuit voices in the decision-making process.¹¹ The key partners at Torngat Mountains have prioritized opening lines of communication between the board and members of the community, and making park management more transparent.¹² Indeed, the formal management plan states, “Parks Canada’s relationships will be the hallmark of Tongait KakKasuangita SilakKijapvinga.” The same planning document, written for the park in 2010, outlines the specific directives for Parks Canada, including to facilitate contemporary Inuit use of the park as a traditional gathering place, to build and strengthen relationships between Parks Canada and Inuit communities, and to share Inuit history across generations and audiences. The review of the management plan’s progress to date and possible new directions for the coming years began in June 2016.¹³

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

As review of the Torngat Mountains Management Plan moves forward, consideration should be given to how the park’s co-management model influences sustainable growth in the social, cultural, and economic arenas of the isolated communities in Nunatsiavut. With the foundation of relationships and tourism capacity built over the past ten years, it will be interesting to see the new directions defined by the co-management board and how those balance with the needs and desires of the communities around the park. The new directions of co-management in Torngat Mountains are especially relevant because Parks Canada just assumed management in spring 2016 for the second ever national park reserve in Labrador: Akami-Uapishk^U-KakKasuak (Mealy Mountains National Park Reserve). Negotiations for the management and responsibilities of the 4,100 square miles in Mealy Mountains National Park Reserve are ongoing, but the model for co-management developed and developing at Torngat Mountains provides a strong framework for the new reserve’s complex situation of five co-managing parties: Parks Canada, the Nunatsiavut Government, the Innu Nation, the NunatuKavut Community Council, and the Innu of Québec.¹⁴ The coming months and years will reveal how Parks Canada and the four Inuit, First Nations, and Métis governments and community partners pursue the spirit of co-management and balance the preservation of stunning landscapes and cultural heritage, with the maximization of economic, social, and other benefits experienced by local communities.

⁹ Harvey Lemelin, Margaret Johnston, Dave Lough, Judith Rowell, Wayne Broomfield, Gary Baikie, and Kristie Sheppard, “Two Parks, One Vision – Collaborative Management Approaches to Transboundary Protected Areas in Northern Canada: Tongait KakKasuangita SilakKijapvinga/Torngat Mountains National Park, Nunatsiavut and le Parc national Kuururjuaq Nunavik,” in *Indigenous Peoples’ Governance of Land and Protected Territories in the Arctic*, ed. Thora Martina Herrmann and Thibault Martin (New York: Springer, 2016), 75–76.

¹⁰ Gary Baikie, Judy Rowell, and Fred Sheppard, “Torngat Mountain National Park: An Ancient Land, An Inuit Homeland,” *Atlantic Geology* 49 (2013): 105.

¹¹ John Sandlos, “National Parks in the Canadian North: Co-management or Colonialism Revisited?” in *Indigenous Peoples, National Parks, and Protected Areas: A New Paradigm Linking Conservation, Culture, and Rights*, ed. Stan Stevens (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 135.

¹² Parks Canada, *Tongait KakKasuangita SilakKijapvinga Torngat Mountains National Park of Canada Management Plan*, June 2010, <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/nl/torngats/-/media/pn-np/nl/torngats/pdf/TMNPC%20Plan%20EN.ashx>.

¹³ Parks Canada, “The Context for Park Establishment,” *Torngat Mountains National Park of Canada*, September 28, 2016, <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/nl/torngats/plan.aspx#a2>.

¹⁴ Parks Canada, “Co-Operative Management with Indigenous Communities,” *Akami-Uapishk^U-KakKasuak-Mealy Mountains National Park Reserve*, September 28, 2016, <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/nl/mealy/plan.aspx>.

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A Call for Progressive and Inuit-Centered Drinking Water and Sanitation Infrastructure in Nunavik

RACHEL FREEMAN-BLAKESLEE

ABSTRACT

In 2015 the Government of Québec relaunched *Plan Nord*, an economic development strategy centered around natural resource extraction in the region of Québec that lies north of the 49th parallel. The twenty-five-year plan aims to create jobs and wealth for both Northern communities and Québec as a whole. However, while the Québec government has emphasized its intention for this plan to be a “unifying project for Québec society,”¹ potential impacts of increased development on the livelihoods of Northern peoples has generated a great deal of concern. Among the Inuit of Nunavik, a clear and historic frustration exists over the inequitable treatment of Northern communities by the Québec government, as developmental progress to date has not benefited Arctic communities with the same weight as their Southern counterparts. Of the many concerns expressed, the issue of infrastructure has been identified by the Inuit as a key priority for improving the well-being of Nunavik Inuit moving forward. While the term *infrastructure* encompasses many categories, this paper focuses specifically on drinking water and sanitation services. Drawing upon current infrastructural challenges in the sector and subsequent implications on Inuit livelihoods as evidence, this paper argues that for *Plan Nord* to fulfill its claimed identity as a strategy of unified economic growth and equitable development, current drinking water and sanitation infrastructure must not only be expanded but drastically improved through meaningful Inuit input and participation.

INTRODUCTION

In 2014 the Nunavik Inuit produced the *Parnasimautik Consultation Report*, the Inuit response to *Plan Nord* that highlighted the non-negotiable conditions necessary for Inuit support of the plan. Throughout the report, the voice of the Inuit of Nunavik is clear and direct: above all else, there must be a government commitment to a “comprehensive, integrated, sustainable and equitable approach for improving [Inuit] lives and communities.”² While the Québec government restructured its developmental goals for the region in an effort to address Inuit concerns and priorities, the revised *Plan Nord* still lacks a critical amount of measurable Inuit inclusion in its reported agenda for the future of drinking water and sanitation infrastructure.

CURRENT STATE OF WATER INFRASTRUCTURE

Concerns over various aspects of infrastructure have been expressed by Northern communities for years. The Northern Development Ministers Forum (NDMF) represents one of the many avenues through which these concerns have been voiced. Established in 2001, the NDMF serves to “advance the common interests of the people living in Canada’s North,”³ and is made up of eleven participating governments, including that of Québec. One of the four key infrastructure priorities of the 2010 NDMF was the need for improved water projects, specifically for drinking water plant upgrades and sewage treatment plants in Québec’s North.⁴ The drinking water infrastructure in most Inuit communities

¹ Government of Québec, *Plan Nord*, 2014, <http://plannord.gouv.qc.ca/en/>.

² “Parnasimautik Consultation Report,” Parnasimautik, November 2014, <http://parnasimautik.com/forum-closing-statement/>.

³ “Northern Development Ministers Forum, About Us, The North,” Northern Development Ministers Forum, accessed December 2, 2016, http://www.focusnorth.ca/english/about_us.php.

⁴ Focus Canada North, *Northern Infrastructure*, Northern Development Ministers Forum, September 2010, http://www.focusnorth.ca/documents/english/library/2010/northern_infrastructure.pdf.



involves a water delivery system via truck to individual households. Water is typically sourced from a nearby lake or river, transported to a water treatment facility, then delivered to individual households where it is stored in household storage tanks for future consumption.⁵ However, a significant percentage of Inuit still practice traditional methods of obtaining their drinking water directly from nearby, untreated sources. While global health standards tend to encourage the consumption of treated water due to its decontaminating effects,⁶ evidence has shown that consumption of treated tap water in Inuit communities is not always synonymous with consumption of decontaminated water.

WATER QUALITY IN NORTHERN QUÉBEC

A 2008 case study of the water quality of four Inuit communities in Nunavik (Ivujivik, Puvirnituq, Umiujaq, and Kangiqsujaq) found that the level of contamination in household storage tanks tended to be higher than that of untreated water.⁷ The scientists conducting this study noted that the “absence of cleaning or ineffective cleaning between fillings could contribute to the increase in the number of bacteria present in the container,”⁸ leading to a growing Inuit preference for untreated drinking water due to its cleaner taste and absence of gastrointestinal pains felt upon the consumption of treated water. Scientists acknowledged the susceptibility of these water treatment facilities to climactic extremes and mechanical failure, as well as a lack of knowledge among and training for Inuit community members on how to maintain and clean existing infrastructure to prevent bacterial infestation.⁹

This case study represents a common theme of environmental inequity throughout Inuit communities in Nunavik and surrounding areas. It is a part of a growing body of literature that highlights how Indigenous populations in Canada have been underserved in the realm of water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) services.¹⁰ “Non-existent or ineffective monitoring practices and treatment systems, unmaintained infrastructure, water operator and health worker shortages, and crowded housing conditions are factors that have contributed to the multitude of water and sanitation related issues and disease outbreaks in Canadian Indigenous communities.”¹¹ However, though it is clear that the state of WASH infrastructure is severely lacking, this study does not imply that Northern communities should revert to the exclusive consumption of untreated water.

The current Arctic climate tends to work in favor of the practice of consuming untreated water, as the extreme cold kills harmful bacteria. However, with the onset warming temperatures from climate change, these untreated sources will inevitably become more susceptible to threats of contamination. “Damaged infrastructure caused by extreme events or warming permafrost may increase the risk of contamination of freshwater resources associated with municipal and industrial waste disposal,”¹² leading to an increase in diseases caused by contact with human waste. In this context, there is a critical need for not only improved drinking water infrastructure in Northern Québec but also for improved sanitation and sewage treatment services in the wake of a shifting climate.

⁵ Daniel Martin, Diane Bélanger, Pierre Gosselin, Josée Brazeau, Chris Furgal, and Serge Déry, “Drinking Water and Potential Threats to Human Health in Nunavik: Adaptation Strategies under Climate Change Conditions,” *Arctic* 60, no. 2 (2007): 195–202.

⁶ World Health Organization, *Guidelines for Drinking-Water Quality. First Addendum to 3rd Edition, Vol. 1, Recommendations* (Geneva: World Health Organization, 2006), 121–44.

⁷ Martin et al., “Drinking Water and Potential Threats.”

⁸ *Ibid.*, 199.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 200.

¹⁰ Health Canada, “First Nations & Inuit Health: Drinking Water and Wastewater: How many drinking water advisories are in effect in First Nations communities?,” 2016, accessed December 8, 2016, <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fniah-spnia/promotion/public-publique/water-eau-eng.php>; Kiley Daley, Heather Castleden, Rob Jamieson, Chris Furgal, and Lorna Ell, “Municipal Water Quantities and Health in Nunavut Households: An Exploratory Case Study in Coral Harbour, Nunavut, Canada,” *International Journal of Circumpolar Health* 73 (2014): 1–9, <http://www.circumpolarhealthjournal.net/index.php/ijch/article/view/23843>.

¹¹ Daley et al., “Municipal Water Quantities,” 7.

¹² Arne Instanes, Vasily Kokorev, Richard Janowicz, Oddbjørn Bruland, Knut Sand, and Terry Prowse, “Changes to Freshwater Systems Affecting Arctic Infrastructure and Natural Resources,” *Journal of Geophysical Research: Biogeosciences* 121, no. 3 (2016): 576.

PLAN NORD AND QUÉBEC GOVERNMENT POLICY

One of *Plan Nord*'s three major dimensions for economic development is the well-being of local and Indigenous communities. In addition to relaunching *Plan Nord*, the government of Québec released its *Plan Nord toward 2035, 2015–2020 Action Plan*, which outlines short-term priority objectives, one of which has significant relevance for the future of municipal WASH infrastructure in the Northern communities of Québec and the *Plan*'s overarching well-being dimension.

Objective 4.2.1 of the *Action Plan* prioritizes the generation of “concrete benefits for local and aboriginal communities” in the development of the North.¹³ This objective was created out of the recognition that increased development and industrialization will likely create an additional need for municipal infrastructure in the region.¹⁴ While specific infrastructure projects are not discussed in detail, the *Action Plan* does mention that the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Land Occupancy (Ministère des Affaires municipales et de l'Occupation du territoire, or MAMOT) will “finance the replacement, repair, upgrading and development of municipal drinking water and sewage infrastructures, as well as local roads.”¹⁵ However, despite the government's intent to augment the community well-being dimension of *Plan Nord*, a few key concerns emerge from the ambiguous framing of its associated priority actions.

For one thing, the *Action Plan* aims to accommodate developmental growth with infrastructure growth, yet this strategy only serves to expand currently inadequate infrastructure without addressing the critical components necessary to equitably improve Inuit livelihoods. Truly improving water and sewerage infrastructure for the Inuit requires the establishment of priority actions that take the unique socioeconomic and physical challenges of life in the region into account. The remote location of Nunavik communities, combined with their relatively small populations, “eliminates many economies of scale, making the investments necessary for large municipal projects such as water and wastewater infrastructure difficult.”¹⁶ Though MAMOT has pledged to fund future municipal drinking water and sewerage infrastructure projects in the region, *Plan Nord* has not promised unlimited financial aid for ongoing monitoring and maintenance of those new developments. As previously noted in the case study of four Nunavik communities, there already exists a severe lack of effective monitoring practices and training of local community members on repair and maintenance techniques. Thus, expansionary strategies alone will not adequately improve municipal WASH infrastructure.

Furthermore, though the priority actions of Objective 4.2.1 are rooted in an effort to benefit local communities in Québec's North, there remains a concerning deficiency of Inuit-focused action items within the plan. For example, one of the priority actions affirms the government's plan to “continue the implementation of Component 4 of the Québec municipalities infrastructure program (Programme d'infrastructures Québec-Municipalités, or PIQM), which enables municipalities to implement infrastructure projects to meet priority development needs.”¹⁷ However, PIQM presents several challenges for Indigenous communities hoping to utilize this program for municipal WASH infrastructure improvements. First, obtaining funding involves an arduous process replete with numerous form submissions. The rules and guidelines of that process are complex and require internet access to complete, as all necessary documents and forms can only be found online. Furthermore, not only must financial aid seekers understand these lengthy bureaucratic processes and have reliable computer access, but they must be able to speak fluent French, as the forms

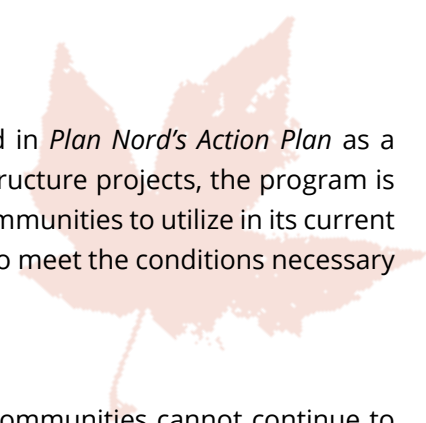
¹³ Gouvernement du Québec, *Plan Nord toward 2035, 2015–2020 Action Plan, Reference Framework* (Québec: Gouvernement du Québec, 2015), 52–55, http://www.plannord.gouv.qc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Long_PN_EN.pdf.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 53–54.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁶ Daley et al., “Municipal Water Quantities,” 9.

¹⁷ Gouvernement du Québec, *Plan Nord toward 2035*, 55.



and website are not provided in any other language.¹⁸ Though PIQM is mentioned in *Plan Nord's Action Plan* as a means of providing financial support to Inuit communities for much-needed infrastructure projects, the program is clearly not designed with the Inuit in mind, as it remains highly unfeasible for Inuit communities to utilize in its current state. All of these examples represent an implicit failure of the Québec government to meet the conditions necessary for Inuit support of *Plan Nord* as outlined in the *Parnasimautik Report*.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The evidence above strongly suggests that WASH infrastructure in Northern Inuit communities cannot continue to function as it currently does. In order for *Plan Nord* to truly fulfill its responsibility to the Inuit of Nunavik, it must seek to improve, not simply develop and expand, infrastructure. Thus, a few needed revisions to *Plan Nord* are apparent: (1) the provision of relevant training for local community members to acquire the technical skills necessary for maintenance of infrastructure; (2) a redesign of the PIQM website to provide information in locally spoken languages; (3) a streamlining of the application process for funding of WASH projects to increase usability and comprehension of the online and complex, bureaucratic system; and (4) the provision of continuous funds for future maintenance and repair costs, perhaps through a portion of revenue generated from *Plan Nord's* main development projects. Furthermore, in the wake of climate change, advancement of WASH infrastructure requires Inuit involvement and input, as current development imposed on Inuit communities does not account for traditional ways of life and knowing. The Inuit have acquired a wealth of knowledge about their land and environment through generations of living in a harsh and unforgiving Arctic region. *Plan Nord* would benefit from utilizing that unparalleled knowledge base to effectively improve infrastructure in the area, especially given the rapidity of physical changes already at play in a shifting climate.

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¹⁸ Affaires municipales et Occupation du territoire Québec, "Programme d'infrastructures Québec-Municipalités (PIQM), PIQM Volet 4," 2010, accessed December 8, 2016, <http://www.mamrot.gouv.qc.ca/infrastructures/programme-dinfrastructures-quebec-municipalites-piqm/piqm-volet-4/>.



Building Community Capacity

Beyond *Ilinniaq*: Making Space for Indigenous Knowledge and Traditional Values in Arctic Classrooms

KATIE ASPEN GAVENUS

ABSTRACT

As Arctic Indigenous economies continue to adapt to rapidly changing political, economic, and environmental conditions, individuals able to draw from both Indigenous Knowledge (IK) and Eurocentric academic learning are uniquely able to enhance the well-being of their communities, families, and selves. It is necessary to develop a flexible concept of schooling that both enhances academic learning and sustains IK. Schooling in the Arctic often defaults to a process of *ilinniaq*, an Inuktitut word that loosely translates as “to learn by receiving teaching.” This paper asks the question, what other ways of learning might be possible in Arctic schools? Some existing programs focus on immersive cultural programs outside of school, others on short field trips or classroom curricula. This research examines school-based interventions within the context of recent literature on culturally responsive curricula, comparing the *Iñupiaq Learning Framework* (North Slope Borough School District, Alaska) with *Inuuqatigiit Curriculum* (Canadian Arctic). I review both to identify successes and challenges of each as they seek to balance Eurocentric education content and IK.

INTRODUCTION

IK contributes to individual and community well-being in the Arctic, including nutrition and health status, adaptation to climate change, and resource management.¹ As communities adapt to changing contexts, students with the flexibility to layer IK and Eurocentric academic learning will be better able to drive and participate in socioeconomic activity that can increase the well-being of all. Unfortunately, an inequitable balance between Eurocentric education and IK exists today in many Alaskan and Canadian classrooms. The imbalance, reinforced by a legacy of educational colonialism and historic traumas of residential schools, has dire implications for students. I have witnessed these conditions in classrooms of dedicated, well-intentioned teachers throughout rural Alaska and have inadvertently perpetuated them myself. Despite increasing local control of Arctic public schools, teaching styles and curriculum often still default to Eurocentric models, imperiling both academic achievement and the vitality of local cultures. A decolonized education model that values IK alongside Eurocentric content is needed.



As in many other Arctic communities, Elders, leaders, and educators in Shishmaref, Alaska, are trying to incorporate more Indigenous Knowledge into the public school. Photo: Katie Gavenus.

¹ Nina L. Etkin, *Eating on the Wild Side: The Pharmacologic, Ecologic, and Social Implications of Using Noncultigens* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000); Fikret Berkes and Dyanna Jolly, “Adapting to Climate Change: Social–Ecological Resilience in a Canadian Western Arctic Community,” *Conservation Ecology* 5 no. 2 (2002): 18; Douglas Medin and Scott Atran, eds. *Folkbiology* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999); Per Olsson and Carl Folke, “Local Ecological Knowledge and Institutional Dynamics for Ecosystem Management: A Study of Lake Racken Watershed, Sweden,” *Ecosystems* 4, no. 2 (2001): 85–104.

Contextualizing educational curricula with local IK can enhance learning and increase student achievement within school.² The need for Indigenous ways of knowing goes far beyond increased test scores and retention rates. Student time spent in school may directly decrease fluency with IK unless schools take measures to sustain that knowledge.³ As Arctic students and communities grapple with change, they will need “to be flexible enough to live in two worlds.”⁴ Inuit and other Indigenous leaders, educators, and communities are working to re-create a holistic view of learning that elevates culture, IK, and connection to place.⁵



In Shishmaref during the fall seal harvest, some store their catch on tundra grasses until the seals can be butchered and skinned. Students have to choose between attending school and participating in the harvest. Photo: Katie Gavenus.

BACKGROUND

Communities, educators, and policymakers have described many methods for weaving IK into Arctic K–12 schools. Past and ongoing strategies were identified across the literature:

- increasing the number of Indigenous teachers;
- field trips and land-based activities during the school year;
- summer enrichment programs;
- designated IK courses; and
- curricula that supports IK and Indigenous values.

Each approach has its own strengths and challenges. At present, many formal teachers in Arctic villages are non-Indigenous.⁶ Efforts to support and train aspiring teachers from Indigenous communities are the most important but long-term plans for decolonizing education. In the meantime, many communities have developed land-based activities or summer programs guided by Elders or community mentors where students encounter IK in immersive contexts. One program is being piloted in Akulivik, Umiujaq, Quaqtaq, and Kangiqsujuaq schools of Nunavik with three weeks of intensive cultural instruction.⁷ These land-based programs provide a crucial opportunity for students to develop and

² Angelina E. Castagno and Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, “Culturally Responsive Schooling for Indigenous Youth: A Review of the Literature,” *Review of Educational Research* 78, no. 4 (2008): 941–93.

³ Victoria Reyes-García, Eric Kightley, Isabel Ruiz-Mallén, Nuria Fuentes-Pelaez, Katie Demps, Tomas Huanca, and Maria Ruth Martínez-Rodríguez, “Schooling and Local Environmental Knowledge: Do They Complement or Substitute Each Other?,” *International Journal of Educational Development* 30, no. 3 (2010): 305–13; Robert J. Sternberg, Catherine Nokes, P. Wenzel Geissler, Ruth Prince, Frederick Okatcha, Donald A. Bundy, and Elena L. Grigorenko, “The Relationship between Academic and Practical Intelligence: A Case Study in Kenya,” *Intelligence* 29, no. 5 (2001): 401–18.

⁴ Doreen Andersen-Spear and Eben Hopson, “Alaska Native Education: Past, Present, and Future,” in *Alaska Native Education: Views from within*, ed. Ray Barnhardt and Angayuqaq Oscar Kawagley (Fairbanks, AK: Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 2010), 6.

⁵ Lisa Demer, “At AFN, Native Educators Share Vision of Profound Change and Tribal Schools,” *Alaska Dispatch News* (Anchorage), October 21, 2016, <https://www.adn.com/alaska-news/2016/10/20/educators-talk-about-a-profound-change-to-tribal-schools-much-like-the-earlier-switch-to-tribal-hospitals/>; Mary Simon, “A Time for Bold Action” (guest editorial), *Northern Public Affairs*, April 13, 2014, 6–7, <http://www.northernpublicaffairs.ca/index/mary-simon-time-for-bold-action-on-inuit-education/>; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Amaujaq National Center on Inuit Education, *Amaujaq National Center on Inuit Education Milestone Report: 2012–2014* (2015), <https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Amaujaq-National-Centre-for-Inuit-Education-Milestone-Report-2012-2014.pdf>; Paul Berger, Jennifer Johnston, and Melissa Oskineegish, “Culture in Schooling in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region,” *in Education* 22, no. 1 (2016): 61–76.

⁶ Amy Vinlove, “Preparing Teachers for Place-Based Teaching,” Bank Street Occasional Paper Series 33, article 10 (2015), <http://educate.bankstreet.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1021&context=occasional-paper-series>; Christine Nakoolak, personal communication November 18, 2016; Berger et al., “Culture in Schooling,” 61; Ute Kaden, Philip Patterson, Joanne Healy, and Barbara Adams, “Stemming the Revolving Door: Teacher Retention and Attrition in Arctic Alaska Schools,” *Global Education Review* 3, no. 1 (2016): 129–47, <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1090201.pdf>.

⁷ Jane Bernier, “The School Year Starts Next Week,” Kativik School Board (news and blog), August 11, 2016, <http://www.kativik.qc.ca/en/news/the-school-year-starts-next-week-in-nunavik>.

utilize IK, but they do not remedy the disconnect between everyday “school learning” and IK because the programs remain separate in time and space from students’ main school experience.

Designated classes, like Eskimo dancing courses offered in Alaska’s Bering Straits School District, are one way to bring IK into schools with help from Elders or community members.⁸ However, isolating IK to particular content areas does not reflect its holistic nature. Therefore, an important role remains for culturally responsive curricula across academic disciplines. For curricula to be successful, teachers will need to acknowledge and uphold the importance of IK alongside Eurocentric academic content. Yet, if many teachers from outside the community are unfamiliar and sometimes uncomfortable with IK,⁹ can these curricula meet the need? As case studies, I examine the *Iñupiaq Learning Framework* and *Inuuqatigiit: A Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective* to determine whether these resources holistically feature IK and provide guidance for educators to teach in these realms.¹⁰ I chose these curricula because both represent collaborative efforts between educators and community members, and both seek to instill IK across academic disciplines.

Created for the North Slope Borough School District (Alaska) by Elders, community members, teachers, and scholars, the *Iñupiaq Learning Framework* focuses on traditional values. Performance standards are identified in five areas: community, environmental, historical, individual, and language. Instead of viewing IK as something static and constrained to the past, the curriculum illuminates a dynamic knowledge that adapts through observation, learning, and experience and differs between communities. The *Framework* represents an inclusive, flexible, and ambitious list of expectations for students to engage with IK. Activity guides, such as *Immiugniq: Winter Sources of Drinking Water*,¹¹ and values-based curricula such as *Respect for Nature*,¹² are available as teachers implement the *Framework*. At the time of writing, however, the district website, where teachers can access the *Framework*, activity guides, and values-based curricula, does not provide teachers with many resources for their own learning about IK.¹³ A review of the *Framework* itself and the supporting resources reveals a lack of educative components for teachers, making implementation more challenging. The curriculum itself provides a framework for successfully weaving IK throughout a student’s school experience, but lacks resources to support teachers in this endeavor as they go about the task of teaching each day.

Inuuqatigiit (Northwest Territories) was published in 1996 for use by schools in Inuit communities. With the backing of a government steering committee, Elders from multiple Inuit communities worked with local educators to develop the curriculum.¹⁴ Presenting a strong concept of an Inuit-centered curriculum, it is designed for integration across content areas. Although *Inuuqatigiit* was published twenty years ago, it is still used extensively in Northwest Territories schools, and many teachers in other Inuit communities draw from this resource.¹⁵ Among curricula in Inuit Canada (Inuit Nunangat), it represents the most thorough attempt to infuse IK into every aspect of schooling.¹⁶ *Inuuqatigiit*

⁸ Bering Strait School District, *Bering Strait School District High School Curriculum Guide* (2014).

⁹ Danielle Lorenz, “Dream Weaving as Praxis: Turning Culturally Inclusive Education and Anti-Racist Education into a Decolonial Pedagogy,” *in education* 19, no. 2 (2013): 30–56..

¹⁰ North Slope Borough School District (USA), Iñupiaq Education, *Iñupiaq Learning Framework* (Barrow, AK: North Slope Borough School District, 2015), <http://www.nsbdsd.org/Page/4880>; Northwest Territories (Canada), Education, Culture, and Employment, *Inuuqatigiit: The Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective* (Yellowknife, NT: Instructional and School Services, ECE, 1996), <https://www.ece.gov.nt.ca/en/content/inuuqatigiit-k-12-curriculum>.

¹¹ P.A. Partnow, *Immiugniq: Winter Sources of Drinking Water: Activity Guide for Teachers* (Barrow, AK: North Slope Borough School District, 2005).

¹² North Slope Borough School District (USA), Iñupiaq Education, *Iñupiaq Values Curriculum: Respect for Nature* (Barrow, AK: North Slope Borough School District, 2012), <http://www.nsbdsd.org/site/Default.aspx?PageID=2767>.

¹³ North Slope Borough School District (USA), *Iñupiaq Education*, accessed November 4, 2016, <http://www.nsbdsd.org/domain/44>.

¹⁴ Northwest Territories, Education, Culture, and Employment, *Inuuqatigiit*, 4.

¹⁵ Richard V. DeMerchant, “A Case Study of Integrating Inuuqatigiit into a Nunavut Junior High School Classroom” (master’s thesis, University of Saskatoon, 2001), <https://ecommons.usask.ca/handle/10388/etd-06262012-110150>; Heather E. McGregor, “Curriculum Change in Nunavut: Towards Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit,” *McGill Journal of Education / Revue des sciences de l’éducation de McGill* 47, no. 3 (2012): 285–302.

¹⁶ McGregor, “Curriculum Change,” 293–95.

provides background for teachers about Inuit values for parenting and learning, but activity descriptions are brief, typically only one sentence in length. While this allows teacher flexibility in adapting activities for their community context and teaching style, inexperienced educators and non-Indigenous teachers may find it challenging to implement. One non-Indigenous teacher in a Nunavut school expressed frustration that the lack of educative resources and training support made it difficult for her to bring the curriculum to life, stating “the first year teachers ... haven’t had any support at all.”¹⁷ It is readily apparent that *Inuuqatigiit* does value IK and provides excellent suggestions for activities that teachers can use to help students learn IK alongside Eurocentric content. However, descriptions of key activities and experiences are brief and lack details on how to plan and implement lessons that incorporate these activities. Because there are few supporting materials, the effectiveness of *Inuuqatigiit* curriculum relies heavily on teachers who are familiar with IK and have strong connections to community resources and knowledge-bearers.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Iñupiaq Learning Framework and *Inuuqatigiit* are complex curriculum documents co-created by Elders, community members, and teachers. Both represent a holistic vision to welcome IK into schools. Both could be immensely helpful for experienced Indigenous educators who are grounded in their community and traditional ways. However, the curricula alone are insufficient to guide non-Indigenous educators as they learn from and of IK alongside their students. The curricula might also be inaccessible for new teachers (Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike) because they require strong teaching knowledge, skills, and techniques. New Indigenous-centered educational frameworks and curricula developing across the Canadian and Alaskan Arctic present an exciting intention for revitalized education. But curricula and frameworks are not enough: real “change happens in the ways students and teachers and the community engage each other in learning.”¹⁸ How can policymakers support transformations in these day-to-day relationships?

Some transformative projects are underway already. Alaskan schools and the Alaska Humanities Forum have created a cultural competency orientation offered to early career teachers hired in Lower Kuskokwim and Northwest Arctic school districts. The program brings a cohort of new teachers together to learn and work alongside Elders and youth in an Alaska Native Culture Camp.¹⁹ Local cultural mentors and regional master teachers provide continued guidance throughout the school year.²⁰ A non-Indigenous teacher in Noorvik explains, “I have changed to become a more understanding, competent, and culturally aware beginning educator” as a result of this project.²¹ What are the successes and challenges of this program? What other models could be explored?

Research suggests that apprenticeship programs for Indigenous teachers could boost the number of local teachers.²² Considering this need, and past successes of partnerships between teachers and other staff,²³ a team teaching project is one possible path. Pairing non-Indigenous educators experienced in classrooms with emerging Indigenous educators experienced in IK would help non-Indigenous teachers develop the skills, dispositions, and knowledge to decolonize the classroom while simultaneously helping Indigenous educators develop their teaching practice. A student-mentoring program in which older students visit elementary classrooms to share their own experiences as

¹⁷ DeMerchant, “A Case Study,” 79–80.

¹⁸ McGregor, “Curriculum Change,” 299.

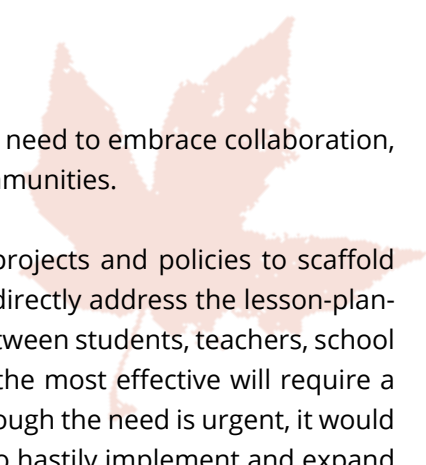
¹⁹ Alaska Humanities Forum, “Creating Cultural Competency in Early Career Teachers” (brochure), accessed December 3, 2016, http://media.wix.com/ugd/e3ae10_287456f0185d45ee9266eeb1ea27e4f2.pdf.

²⁰ “C3,” Alaska Humanities Forum, accessed December 4, 2016, <http://www.akhf.org/c3-2-project>.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Paul Berger, “Eurocentric Roadblocks to School Change in Nunvut,” *Études Inuit Studies* 33, no. 1–2, (2009): 66.

²³ DeMerchant, “A Case Study,” 69.



IK practitioners could also work. For any of these programs to succeed, teachers will need to embrace collaboration, maintain an equitable power dynamic, and be supported by administrators and communities.

There are many possibilities beyond those outlined above for community-driven projects and policies to scaffold existing and emerging curricula. To be successful, these projects and policies must directly address the lesson-planning and instructional practices of teachers and transform day-to-day interactions between students, teachers, school staff, and community members. Most of them will require sustained funding, and the most effective will require a fundamental shift in the ways many teachers and administrators view their role. Although the need is urgent, it would be unwise for non-Indigenous educators, school administrators, and policymakers to hastily implement and expand these programs. Those best situated to create these programs and educative curricula are members of Indigenous communities working alongside educators and administrators, with appropriate support from policymakers.

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The Successes and Challenges of Indigenous Northern Education Programming: A Case Study of Operation Beaver

JOHN SIMPSON

ABSTRACT

As the Arctic begins to play an increasingly interconnected role on the world stage, education in Indigenous communities in Canada's North is essential. Many Northern schools are underfunded and understaffed, and often receive less government funding and support than Southern schools.¹ The Frontiers Foundation, an Indigenous non-profit organization that "promotes the advancement of economically and socially disadvantaged communities," founded the Operation Beaver Program in 1968. According to its website, Operation Beaver focuses on "providing affordable housing and improvements in education" in Northern Canadian Indigenous communities.² As the longest running, all-Indigenous volunteer group in the Canadian Arctic working toward educational advancement for Indigenous students, this organization provides a rich case study for the examination of Greg Poelzer's notion that education is a critical component of sustainability in the North.³ In addition to Poelzer's work, this paper uses annual reports from Operation Beaver and reporting from the *Toronto Star* to examine the successes and challenges of Operation Beaver, and then makes policy recommendations for educational policymakers and practitioners.

INTRODUCTION

Greg Poelzer argues that "Education is key to facing the complex dualities, enormous challenges and tremendous opportunities in the contemporary Canadian North."⁴ Operation Beaver, a project of the Frontiers Foundation – a non-profit Indigenous organization that works in the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and Nunavut – aims to "contribute to poverty reduction by supporting development projects that have significant and enduring impacts, promote cross-cultural communication and awareness, and create projects that are appropriate for the community by ensuring that its members take an active role in the planning and implementation of each project."⁵ In 1968, following the previous leadership under the Canadian Council of Churches, the Frontiers Foundation assumed responsibilities for administration and delivery of Operation Beaver across Canada.

As Canada's largest and longest-serving Indigenous community advancement and volunteer service organization, Operation Beaver is the education-arm of the Frontiers Foundation, recruiting and placing qualified volunteer teachers from fifty countries in Northern communities and schools that demonstrate need for additional educational support, often in the form of educational aides. These supports can range from student support services to teaching, mentoring to library staffing services, basic skills training in technical areas such as mechanics, woodworking, carpentry, and construction to computer instruction, sports, and music education. Don Irving, Operation Beaver's

¹ People for Education, *Report on Northern Ontario's Schools*, April 2003, <http://www.peopleforeducation.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/Ontarios-Northern-Schools-2003.pdf>.

² "About Us," Frontiers Foundation, accessed November 15, 2016, <http://www.frontiersfoundation.ca/background>.

³ Greg Poelzer, "Education: A Critical Foundation for a Sustainable North," in *Northern Exposure: Peoples, Powers, and Prospects in Canada's North*, vol. 4, ed. Frances Abele, Thomas J. Courchene, F. Leslie Seidle, and France St-Hilaire (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 4.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ "Background: Program History & Purpose," Frontiers Foundation, accessed November 15, 2016, <http://www.frontiersfoundation.ca/background>.

Coordinator for Northern Education Projects, says that volunteers also work with special needs students and students with disabilities. Volunteers work directly in the schools to assist students who need extra attention to improve their grades and stay in school.⁶

Education volunteers commit to a ten-month service contract, whereby Operation Beaver provides a living allowance of \$50/week, medical insurance, travel costs within Canada, food and living expenses, and adequate winter clothing for remote areas where temperatures can fall to -40°F.⁷ In return, Operation Beaver asks that volunteers have relevant teaching experience, be energetic and outgoing with a desire to get involved in a unique community life, and want to get involved with Indigenous people of the North and experience life in Canada's Far North.⁸

BACKGROUND

Success of Operation Beaver

Operation Beaver has placed over two thousand volunteers across three of Northern Canada's most underserved and remote provinces (Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut) since their founding in 1968. The program has seen an increase in the number of education and recreation projects since 2012. Volunteers have been sent to work in schools in Inuvik, Deline, Fort Simpson, Fort Smith, Hay River, Fort Providence, Wrigley, Fort Liard, Trout Lake, and Nahanni Butte. According to Irving, many Indigenous youth in these areas are at risk of falling into negative behaviors, so volunteers help to provide a safe and supervised place for youth to spend time and have fun. Indigenous communities have seen a dramatic improvement in the behavior of young people as these projects are changing people's lives for the better.⁹

Volunteers have been successful in helping keep students in school as well. One sign of Operation Beaver's success is that the program is asked to return to almost every community in which they have worked, as communities recognize the benefits of hosting volunteers, and community members enjoy the friendships that naturally develop during the projects.¹⁰ The *Toronto Star* praises Operation Beaver by saying that "Operation Beaver works ... Native involvement at all levels has always been integral to Frontiers. Native communities, in the face of much hardship and adversity, do in fact contribute to their own survival and prosperity in ways that are rarely acknowledged by the greater society."¹¹ Indeed, as Irving stated, "the dedication and commitment shown by volunteers has given Frontiers Foundation the tremendous reputation that they enjoy in the North and has resulted in Operation Beaver's being asked to send volunteers to additional communities almost every year."¹²

Challenges Facing Operation Beaver

Operation Beaver also faces significant challenges as it continues to support Indigenous educational institutions, teachers, and students in the North. Teacher recruitment is one of these challenges; finding qualified, knowledgeable, and capable volunteers who are willing and able to spend a year in the Arctic is no small feat. As Poelzer explains,

⁶ Frontiers Foundation, *International Aboriginal Community Advancement and Voluntary Service / Avancement autochtones communautaire international et bénévolat, 2009–2012*, November 15, 2016, <http://www.frontiersfoundation.ca/sites/default/files/201402/frontiers%2Bbrochure%2Bpart%2B1of2.pdf>.

⁷ "How to Volunteer for Operation Beaver," Frontiers Foundation, accessed November 1, 2016, <http://www.frontiersfoundation.ca/how-volunteer-operation-beaver>.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Frontiers Foundation, *International Aboriginal Community Advancement*.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Bill Taylor, "Volunteers Help Natives Build Communities," *Toronto Star*, April 23, 1992.

¹² Frontiers Foundation, *International Aboriginal Community Advancement*.

“teachers willing to work in larger centers in the provincial North ... are difficult to find; it is often impossible to recruit them to work in small, remote Aboriginal communities.”¹³

Volunteer retention is also a concern for an organization sending teachers to some of the most remote and environmentally extreme areas on the planet. Due to the extreme weather conditions and stark cultural differences, volunteers may drop out of the program at any point during their service. Indeed, volunteering on a small stipend in foreign, unknown conditions is not an easy task; programs such as the Peace Corps, WorldTeach, and the American India Foundation often see volunteers drop out over the course of their service term. In 2015, for example, the American India Foundation lost seven of its thirty-three original Clinton Fellows for Service in India before their service term ended – a dropout rate of over 20 percent. While Operation Beaver has not publicly provided information about volunteer retention, one can imagine why it would be an issue and that the consequences would have significant impacts on the organization’s ability to be effective and sustainable.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Education has close connections to a community’s economy, livelihoods, and well-being. Contributions such as those made by Operation Beaver to the development of more prosperous and effective educational institutions in the North are much needed, as, according to Lee Huskey, “Establishing good institutions is an important step in developing a sustainable economy in Indigenous communities of the Arctic.”¹⁴ As mentioned, volunteers bring unique and necessary skills into Indigenous schools and communities. Mary Simon, Canada’s Minister of Indigenous and Northern Affairs’ Special Representative on Arctic Issues, points out, “You can’t take traditional knowledge from a book. It is an evolving knowledge base that is transmitted through individuals.”¹⁵ Indeed, the transmission and sharing of knowledge through individuals is one of the core values of Operation Beaver. The program recognizes and cultivates the power of cultural and educational exchange experiences, as traditional knowledge in the North is historically passed down through experience.

Strengthening educational institutions and expanding educational opportunities in the North is key to a sustainable Arctic culture and economy. While complicated, Canadian education policy in the North demands a shift – one that will raise Northern voices and better accommodate their needs as learners seeking to expand upon their valuable sources of Indigenous and traditional knowledge. As Poelzer argues, “No single policy instrument will solve the education challenges facing the Canadian North. Education policy is complex, multilayered and highly interconnected with a myriad of other critical factors, such as health and well-being.”¹⁶

With its decades of on-the-ground educational work in Northern Indigenous communities, Operation Beaver should be brought into the national- and provincial-level policy conversation regarding innovative possibilities for transforming and supplementing Northern education. Provincial governments, especially in regions where Operation Beaver has the greatest presence (Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut), ought to recognize the cultural exchange opportunities and educational resource development possibilities available through partnership with Operation Beaver. Poelzer argues that “The single most important instrument for achieving the broader policy goal of building a

¹³ Poelzer, “Education,” 448.

¹⁴ Lee Huskey, “Globalization and the Economies of the North,” in *Globalization and the Circumpolar North*, ed. Lassi Heininen and Chris Southcott (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2010), 83.

¹⁵ Hannah Hoag, “Northerners to Drive Canada’s New Arctic Leadership Model,” *News Deeply*, August 5, 2016, <https://www.newsdeeply.com/arctic/community/2016/08/05/northerners-to-the-fore-in-canadas-new-arctic-leadership-model>.

¹⁶ Poelzer, “Education,” 450.

sustainable North is education.”¹⁷ I would agree. Operation Beaver and the Frontiers Foundation should receive greater financial and logistical support from the Canadian government, as the Frontiers Foundation is one of the oldest all-Indigenous, volunteer-based organizations in Canada, working to strengthen Northern education.

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¹⁷ Ibid., 446.

Tirigusuusiit, Maligait, Piquajait: Incorporating Traditional Law into Training

MALINA DUMAS

ABSTRACT

The words *tirigusuusiit*, *maligait*, and *piquajait* roughly translate into “things that have to be avoided,” “things that have to be followed,” and “things that have to be done,” encapsulating references to law in Inuktitut, an Inuit language. This paper identifies potential benefits of integrating Inuit traditional law into Western legal structures while also discussing the impact of Inuit professional skills development on economic growth in terms of career prospects and market linkages for law school graduates in Canada. The paper uses the Akitsiraq Law School as a case study, using reports on lessons learned and academic articles on Indigenous law to examine the impact of the first iteration of this law school program and to explore how the Akitsiraq model can serve as a catalyst for increased protection of Inuit rights in the Arctic.

INTRODUCTION

In his article on postcolonial Indigenous legal consciousness, James (Sákéj) Youngblood Henderson claims that “Indigenous thought and law exists in Canada as a constitutional whisper; a problem Eurocentric law has not been able to eliminate or remedy.”¹ He explains that Canadian judges, lawyers, and students are immersed in the Eurocentric system; the first step in creating a postcolonial order is increasing awareness of Indigenous traditions among Indigenous and non-Indigenous legal professionals in Canada alike.² To support this goal, the Canadian government and other stakeholders can provide support for Indigenous students to study law in institutions that reflect customary practices. A key question will be how to support the co-existence of Indigenous and Western legal structures in a balanced way, not just preserving Indigenous practices but integrating them into the dominant national legal system.³

BACKGROUND

Globally, increasing numbers of Indigenous students are able to enroll in law programs that acknowledge and value their cultural perspectives.⁴ Consequently, it is becoming more realistic for Indigenous communities to view the legal system as a tool for protecting and enforcing their rights.⁵ Studies suggest that more than CAD\$170 billion could be added to Canada’s economy by 2026 if Indigenous Canadians achieved the same education levels as the wider community.⁶ While educating Indigenous lawyers will bolster the ability of Indigenous communities to defend their rights, this education will also benefit the Canadian economy more broadly, even if lawyers make up a small portion of the workforce.

¹ James (Sákéj) Youngblood Henderson, “Postcolonial Indigenous Legal Consciousness,” *Indigenous Law Journal* 1 (Spring 2002): 29.

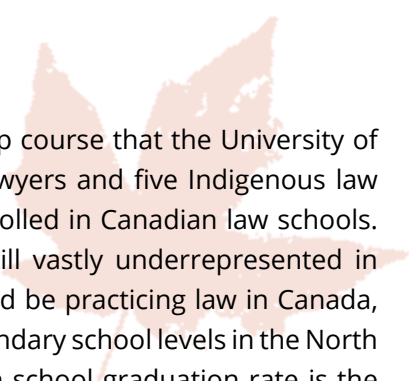
² Ibid.

³ Natalia Loukacheva, “Indigenous Inuit Law, ‘Western’ Law and Northern Issues,” *Arctic Review on Law and Politics* 3, no. 2 (2012): 211, <https://arcticreview.no/index.php/arctic/article/view/33>.

⁴ For example, Bolivia’s law school at the University of San Andrés teaches Indigenous justice in a rural area where customary practice is widely utilized. See Linda Farthing, “Indigenous Justice or Western Justice in Bolivia?: A University Program Is Teaching Indigenous Justice,” *Indian Country Media Network*, December 15, 2016, <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/education/native-education/indigenous-justice-western-justice-bolivia/>. The University of Western Australia announced a new Indigenous law pathway to its JD program through an Advanced Diploma in Indigenous Legal Studies in 2013. See “New Indigenous Law Pathway Launched,” University of Western Australia, March 4, 2013, <http://www.news.uwa.edu.au/201303045456/events/new-indigenous-law-pathway-launched>.

⁵ Peter Devonshire, “Indigenous Students at Law School: Comparative Perspectives,” *Adelaide Law Review* 35, no. 2 (2014): 316.

⁶ Ibid., 314.



The first law program designed for Canadian Indigenous students was a pre-law prep course that the University of Saskatchewan established in 1973; at that time, there were only four Indigenous lawyers and five Indigenous law students in the country.⁷ Since 1973, more than 1,000 Indigenous students have enrolled in Canadian law schools. Despite increased numbers of Indigenous law students, Indigenous lawyers are still vastly underrepresented in the profession; to reach proportionate numbers, over 3,300 Indigenous people would be practicing law in Canada, including more than 130 Inuit.⁸ Ineffective methods of teaching at the primary and secondary school levels in the North create obstacles for Inuit students seeking higher education. Indeed, Nunavut's high school graduation rate is the lowest in Canada at 57 percent.⁹ While high school graduation rates must improve to substantially increase the Indigenous pool of applicants, an Inuit-focused law school program in the North that adapts entrance requirements and course materials to suit students who have graduated from Northern schools could be an effective place to begin training a cadre of Inuit lawyers. The Akitsiraq Law School program, implemented by the University of Victoria from 2001 to 2005, provides a case study of such an institution. The University of Saskatchewan will take the reins to complete a second round of the program beginning in September 2017.¹⁰

ADVANCEMENT OF LEGAL EDUCATION IN NUNAVUT

When Nunavut became a territory in 1999, there was one Inuk lawyer in the Canadian Arctic – Nunavut's first Premier, Paul Okalik.¹¹ The first law courses targeted to Canadian Inuit students were offered in Iqaluit at the Nunavut Arctic College in 1997 and 1998. The initial Akitsiraq course, "Project Jump Start," was a six-week introductory program for students interested in pursuing legal studies or seeking employment in the justice system. The course familiarized students with Canadian law, but it became apparent that "traditional Inuit methods of dealing with rule-violations and violators should be an integral part of the program" as well.¹² Accordingly, the second Akitsiraq pre-law course focused on how Inuit deal with problems that are usually managed through the legal system in *qallunaat* (white) society.¹³ To learn about traditional ways of preserving order, the students were taught effective techniques for interviewing Inuit Elders on four primary themes, which covered rules for dealing with nature and the spiritual world in addition to dealing with other people and wrongdoers.¹⁴ The Akitsiraq Law School, also hosted by the Nunavut Arctic College, later integrated the Canadian and Inuit law components of the Akitsiraq pre-law courses into a comprehensive curriculum that would not only adequately train students to work within the Canadian legal system by maintaining all the same requirements of a Western law school, but also provide insight as to how Inuit traditions can become part of the practice of Western law.

FORMATION OF AKITSIRAQ LAW SCHOOL

The Akitsiraq Law School was established in 2001 through an agreement between the Akitsiraq Law School Society, the Government of Nunavut, Nunavut Arctic College, and the University of Victoria Faculty of Law. These stakeholders

⁷ Ibid., 311.

⁸ "Quick Facts: Program of Legal Studies for Native People," *University of Saskatchewan*, accessed November 29, 2016, <http://www.usask.ca/plsnp/plsnp-course/quick-facts.php>. See also James Anaya, Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, *The Situation of Indigenous Peoples in Canada*, UN Doc. A/HRC/27/52/Add.2, July 4, 2014, 22, <http://unsr.jamesanaya.org/country-reports/the-situation-of-indigenous-peoples-in-canada>. Anaya's report states that Inuit make up 4 percent of the total Indigenous population of Canada.

⁹ "Lack of Parental Encouragement Top Factor in Nunavut's High School Drop-Out Rate," *CBC News*, December 17, 2015, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nunavut-high-school-graduation-report-1.3368990>.

¹⁰ Elyse Skura, "Nunavut-Based Law Program on Track to Return Next Year," *CBC News*, March 15, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nunavut-law-program-restart-set-for-2017-1.3491489>.

¹¹ Akitsiraq Law School Society, *The Akitsiraq Law School Program: Lawyer-Making in the Arctic, Final Report* (July 2007), 6, assembly.nu.ca/library/Edocs/2007/001316-e.pdf.

¹² Mariano Aupilaarjuk, Marie Tulimaaq, Akisu Joamie, Emile Imaruittuq, Lucassie Nutaraaluk, "Introduction—Inuit Perspectives on Traditional Law," *Perspectives on Traditional Law: Interviewing Inuit Elders*, ed. J.G. Oosten, Frederic Laugrand, and Wim Rasing (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 1999), 7–8.

¹³ Ibid., 10. *Qallunaat* is the Inuktitut word for people who are not Inuit, generally white people.

¹⁴ Ibid., 9.

sought to generate a critical mass of Inuit lawyers in Nunavut, deliver a high-quality legal education outside a conventional university setting, ensure adequate levels of support for students, and advance the objectives of Article 23 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, which emphasizes the need for “representative Inuit employment” in the public sector.¹⁵ The Nunavut government sees legal education as a priority because Inuit lawyers can spur economic development and protect the land claims that provide the foundation of traditional ways of life in the Arctic.¹⁶ A key component of the program was an Elder teaching courses about traditional knowledge and values. Teaching the local language was also critical; as Nunavut’s Minister of Education noted, “We are supposed to be a trilingual jurisdiction, and we can’t even write our laws in Inuktitut, because we don’t have Inuktitut speaking lawyers to assist us in drafting.”¹⁷ Consequently, students took intermediate or advanced Inuktitut language courses twice per week.

RESULTS OF AKITSIRAQ PROGRAM

Eleven Inuit students graduated with an LLB from the University of Victoria in 2005 after completing four years of study at the AkitsirAQ Law School in Iqaluit, and began practicing law in Nunavut and Southern Canada. One graduate worked as a clerk at the Supreme Court of Canada and later became Iqaluit’s mayor.¹⁸ Students stated that the inclusion of Inuit law made it possible for them to engage with the Canadian legal system in a more critical manner, giving them the confidence to ask questions about why Canadian law does or does not work for their communities.¹⁹ For example, AkitsirAQ graduate Sandra Inutiq noted that she and her classmates intend to attack the “black letter approach” to law, where written legislation takes precedence over Inuit Qaujimajutuqangi (traditional knowledge) in court.²⁰ From her perspective, justice will not be served in Nunavut until Inuit traditional law is viewed as equal to Canadian written law.²¹

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The AkitsirAQ Law School provides an example of a program that effectively integrates Inuit law into a traditional Western curriculum, and this model can be replicated in other Arctic regions. As a cadre of Inuit lawyers continues to develop, it will be important to establish a strong alumni network and mentorship program. Legal advocates from Arctic communities can be strong partners in protecting Inuit livelihoods. Furthermore, given the increased recognition of Inuit rights in international law, a framework that integrates Inuit perceptions of land ownership (including use of sea ice) could help bolster Inuit sovereignty and ownership in the Arctic, supporting Canada’s extended reach into the region at the same time.²²

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thank you to Mick Mallon for letting me know about the AkitsirAQ Law School program in Iqaluit, which sparked my interest in this topic.

¹⁵ AkitsirAQ Law School Society, *The AkitsirAQ Law School Program*, 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁷ Skura, “Nunavut-Based Law Program on Track.”

¹⁸ Elyse Skura, “Prospective Nunavut Lawyers Can Now Apply to In-Territory Program,” CBC News, November 7, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nunavut-law-program-applications-open-1.3827428>.

¹⁹ AkitsirAQ Law School Society, *The AkitsirAQ Law School Program*, 40.

²⁰ Greg Younger-Lewis, “AkitsirAQ Grads Bring Inuit Values to Northern Law,” *Nunatsiaq Online*, June 17, 2005, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/archives/50617/news/nunavut/50617_05.html.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Charlie Watt, “Inuit Rights to the Arctic,” *LawNow*, May 7, 2015, <http://www.lawnow.org/inuit-rights-to-the-arctic/>.

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Diplomacy and International Relations

Future of Recent Past: Annie Pootoogook Reclaims Inuit Visual Sovereignty

LUCY KRUESEL

ABSTRACT

Arctic Indigenous art can offer the world of international policy development a window into the values and priorities of Arctic Indigenous peoples and, thereby, perhaps play a role in shaping domestic policy relations. With tremendous humor and honesty, Annie Pootoogook (1969–2016) challenges colonial legacies from the “Inuit of our imagination,” breaking the mold for other Indigenous artists to explore social commentary through art.¹ Central to Pootoogook’s art is her womanhood; she bore witness to change in the region before and after it happened, watching subjects appear and disappear in her mother and grandmother’s work. This ongoing experience of responding to societal issues shaped by globalization and ebbing economies is documented across three generations of artists and therefore provides a context for change. The evolving nature of Inuit tradition supports Indigenous art theorist claims that Pootoogook’s provocative visual commentaries are authentic and contribute to the continuity of Inuit female identity while denouncing distinctly Southern concepts and transcending ethnographic association. How might art, as an articulation of cultural values or the voice of a community or a people, assist in shaping effective social policies?

INTRODUCTION

Annie Pootoogook de-exoticizes the collective psyche in her intimate and bold works and demonstrates how little the South really knows about what it’s like to live in the North. Pootoogook explores local social issues, such as abuse, starvation, sexuality, and male dominance, while representing mundane details of globalization, such as brand names, pharmaceuticals, and television shows. Surrounded by an artistic family, Pootoogook shows an affinity towards and influence of her mother, Napachie, and grandmother, Pitseolak, to whom she nods frequently. Many anthropological depictions of Indigenous peoples deliberately omit or downplay Indigenous participation in modern society, preferring instead to document more “authentic” human–animal–environment relationships.² This focus on naturalistic subjects originates from difficulty in accessing the Arctic and, in part, from printmaking programs set up as a way to build a local economy *and* attract visitors in the early 1950s post-fur-trade boom. Printmaking subjects included polar bears, kamiks, fishing trips, igloo building, feeding the Southern imagination of the “True North” as white, exotic, primitive.³ These naturalistic subjects and traditional activities are central to social life then and now, intending to capture a disappearing time; but when the focus is only on these elements, observers will fail to capture other intricacies of modern Inuit survival.

Pootoogook’s work appears contemporary in contrast to Inuit legacies of printmaking, as she laces traditional and Western ideals of the North on the same page. Mundane subjects become voyeuristic for the viewer: watching *Jerry Springer* on TV, standing in line at the welfare office, picking out grey hairs, making love. Emancipating her colored pencils and crayons, she continues to outline Inuit-unique traditions such as skin softening and women-only whale tale parties (Figure 1). Indigenous Art scholars regard Pootoogook’s defiance of visual tradition as pure innovation;

¹ Ann McElroy, *Nunavut Generations: Change and Continuity in Canadian Inuit Communities* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 2008), 99–136.

² Ibid.

³ Michelle Lewin, “Beyond the Polar Bear: New Directions in Contemporary Inuit Art,” *Canadian Art* 23 (2006): 104.

blending the past with the present, she evolves concepts of authenticity and Indigenous Identity.⁴ One can only infer Pootoogook's intentions with her artistry as grounding a cathartic duality: art is not only informative, but the practice itself is transformative for the artist.

Strategies for survival, especially among Inuit women, include creative responses to regional change. Much like her mother, Napachie, and her grandmother, Pitseolak, Annie Pootoogook *reveals* intimate details of daily life in the Arctic while also commenting on them: her distinct "demons," found as whimsical, infused lines, share a process embodied in the product. Anthropologist Nancy Marie Mithlo abstains, however, from "dissecting Indigenous women's lives," suggesting that the mere act diminishes ethnographic personhood; rather, Mithlo mobilizes personal narratives as authoritative texts themselves.⁵ Highly autobiographical, Pootoogook's work changed what art represents across Inuit Nunangut; through her work, Inuit art has been recognized as a *vital aesthetic practice* rather than a static, culturally determined artifact.⁶



Figure 1. Annie Pootoogook (Inuit, Cape Dorset, Canada, 1969–2016), *Whale Tale Party*, 2003–2004, black felt pen and colored pencil. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.

BACKGROUND

Kiingait (ᑭᓯᓯᓂᓂᓂ), or Cape Dorset, is located in the largest, least populated territory of Nunavut. In 1948, artist John Houston encountered Inuit art in the form of a carved figurine upon his first visit to Baffin Island. When Houston inquired about the age of the figurine, he was met with the prospect of a local living craft: "I don't know, maybe it was carved last night just for you ... or it's 100 years old," a local resident remarked.⁷ Art production began more formally when Houston founded the West Baffin Eskimo Cooperative in early 1950s with printmaking as its focus. Now known as the Cape Dorset Co-op, it continues to foster community-based ownership and development. It was here that Pootoogook's grandmother, Pitseolak, began her career in carving and printing.

Pootoogook's work explores various dimensions of her identity, including gender. Pootoogook doesn't highlight new experiences of the Inuit woman per se; rather, she exposes "usual" experiences with new authority and agency, catching both the North and South off guard.⁸ Indigenous art theorists find beauty in the discomfort of Pootoogook's imagery. The ugly images serve as "symbol of violence and survival. Even after [the wound] heals it remains inscribed on a woman's body for the course of her life, a mark that stands in for memory."⁹ The continual violence experienced by many Indigenous peoples, especially women, is often minimized in popular rhetoric or overlooked in dominant culture. Alcohol abuse, male dominance, cannibalism, elder abuse, exploitation of women, and sexuality are taboo

⁴ Heather Igloliorte, "Inuit Artistic Expression as Cultural Resilience," in *Response, Responsibility, and Renewal: Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Journey*, ed. Gregory Younging, Jonathan Dewar, and Mike DeGagne (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2009), 131; Deborah Root, "Inuit Art and the Limits of Authenticity," *Inuit Art Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (2008): 18–26, <http://iaq.inuitartfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/23.2.pdf>; Barry Pottle, personal correspondence (email), November 7–21, 2016.

⁵ Nancy Marie Mithlo, "Our Indian Princess": *Subverting the Stereotype* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2009).

⁶ Root, "Inuit Art and the Limits of Authenticity."

⁷ John Houston, *Songs in Stone: An Arctic Journey Home*, VHS, directed/performed by John Houston and Peter d'Entremont (Halifax, NS: A Triad Films Production, 1999).

⁸ The "South" refers to North America, including Southern Canada, according to Indigenous art theory.

⁹ Candice Hopkins, "On Other Pictures: Imperialism, Historical Amnesia and Mimesis," in *Sakahàn: International Indigenous Art*, ed. Caroline Wetherilt (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2013), 22–23.

subjects strongly represented in Pootoogook's work. Opening doors for other Indigenous artists' possibilities to discuss, debate, and create works of art that speak to these underrepresented experiences of social and cultural connection, Pootoogook changes perception, vision, and practice of Indigenous art creation.¹⁰

Indigenous art theorists define authenticity as the "ethnographic present," an immortal place untouched by modernity.¹¹ Thus, "authentic" Inuit art evolves continuously inventing new forms and accumulating concepts across generations. Candice Hopkins suggests that identity is not a new locus of study, that it has propelled Indigenous art for decades.¹² Transcending the South and the art world's ethnographic framework and stereotypes, Pootoogook's art is contemporary feminine discourse at its finest, divesting from projected identities. Some critics refer to this artistic and cultural renaissance of Inuit visual sovereignty as a constructed tradition because it includes visibly Southern elements; to some, it is not Inuit enough, which suggests an ethnographic ceiling; both of these ideas limit the examination of Pootoogook's work.¹³

Establishing possibilities for other Indigenous artists to take the global stage with social commentary, Pootoogook produces images that make room for breath and experience: *Man Pulling Woman* (Figure 2) details personal demons using light and dark lines, outlining a relationship between autonomy and agency; *Composition (Evil Spirit)* (Figure 3) discloses corporeal possession and control; *Man Trying to Think* (Figure 4) exposes the overwhelming impacts from globalization. "I cannot draw anything that I myself did not experience," Annie once said, confining herself to her most honest portrayals of life as she knows as an Inuit woman.¹⁴



Figure 2. Annie Pootoogook, *Man Pulling Woman*, 2003–2004, black felt pen and coloured pencil. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.



Figure 3. Annie Pootoogook, *Composition (Evil Spirit)*, 2003–2004, pencil, ink, colored pencil, crayon. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Curator Deborah Root describes Pootoogook's work as "more real" than beautiful, playing an essential role in capturing Northern culture as it truly is; often, Inuit art is considered inauthentic when it includes Southern materialization,

¹⁰ Barry Pottle, personal correspondence (email), November 7–21, 2016; Heather Igloliorte, "The Inuit of our Imagination," in *Inuit Modern: Art from the Samuel and Esther Sarick Collection*, ed. Gerald McMaster (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 2010), 41–46.

¹¹ McElroy, *Nunavut Generations*, 99–136.

¹² Hopkins, "On Other Pictures," 22–23.

¹³ Greg A. Hill, Candice Hopkins, and Christine Lalonde, *Sakahàn: International Indigenous Art* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2013).

¹⁴ Sarah Milroy, "Inuit Artist Annie Pootoogook's Work Revealed the Connections between Us," *Globe and Mail*, September 23, 2016, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/art-and-architecture/inuit-artist-annie-pootoogooks-work-revealed-the-connections-between-us/article32042335/>.

yet it reflects a true tradition.¹⁵ Pootoogook's art creates a tension with the audience: Who is it for? What narratives are being told? Providing the viewer with unequivocal context for daily living, Pootoogook's mundane details stand out on white paper landscape and contrast dominant depictions of Northern life.

Pootoogook's art encourages viewers to consider not only the broad impacts of globalization on Inuit identity and social welfare but also the role of creative practices in healing. Intersecting tradition, creativity gives birth to cultural resilience as it reshapes tradition and re-informs identity. Stretching against the "ethnic art" glass ceiling, Pootoogook mutates the history of Inuit image-making towards honest, contemporary questions that remain inconsistent with the Inuit of our imagination. With social issues that weave through Indigenous experience, Pootoogook reorganizes agency at an international level: "It is well acknowledged that art networks have followed the course of aligned economic and political powers as they relate to the 'North-South' divide or, societies of so-called industrialized countries versus developing ones. Yet there has been a long history of cultural exchange between Indigenous groups globally."¹⁶ While maintaining cultural identity and integrity under the pressures of globalization, Annie Pootoogook has stories to tell the outside world about multidimensional Inuit life today. If what Pootoogook's artwork reveals about women and life in Inuit Nunagut are indeed some of the most pressing issues addressing Indigenous women's lives, how can an effective international dialogue be created with the participation of these communities for an enhanced quality of life?

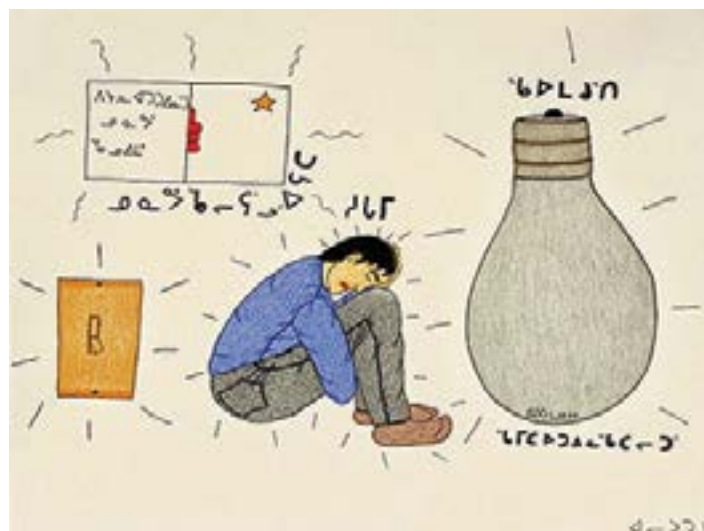


Figure 4. Annie Pootoogook, *Man Trying to Think*, 2006, black felt pen and coloured pencil. Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts

In July 2016, largely out of an interest in intergenerational craft traditions, I attended the Institute of American Indian Art's Museum exhibition *Akunnittinni: A Kinngait Family Portrait*. But what most captured my attention in the exhibition were the statistics about violence against Indigenous women and the number of missing Inuit women. One Canadian community recalls a woman who has been missing for thirty years; the rate of sexual assault rate among Indigenous women is 115 incidents per 1,000, much higher than the rate of 35 per 1,000 of non-Indigenous women; and Indigenous women account for 10 percent of homicides in Canada, although they represent only 3 percent of the population.¹⁷ On September 19, 2016 Annie Pootoogook was found dead in the Rideau River in Ottawa. At a ceremony held in October, her brother Cee Pootoogook shared, "She always told a true story. Good or bad, it was always a true story."¹⁸

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I extend a particular thank you to Andrea R. Hanley (Navajo), curator at Institute of the American Indian Arts (New Mexico) and additionally to Barry Pottle (Inuk), artist and photographer from Nunatsiavut (Labrador) for their

¹⁵ Root, "Inuit Art and the Limits of Authenticity."

¹⁶ Christine Lalonde, "Introduction: At the Crossroads of Indigeneity, Globalization and Contemporary Art," in *Sakahàn: International Indigenous Art*, ed. Caroline Wetherilt (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2013), 16.

¹⁷ Samuel Perreault, "Criminal Victimization in Canada, 2014," *Juristat* 35, no. 1, Statistics Canada, catalogue no. 85-002-X, 2015, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2015001/article/14241-eng.pdf>.

¹⁸ Kent Driscoll, "Outpouring of Grief During Cape Dorset Funeral of Artist Annie Pootoogook," *APTN National News*, October 12, 2016, <http://aptn.ca/news/2016/10/12/outpouring-of-grief-during-cape-dorset-funeral-of-artist-annie-pootoogook/>.

thoughtful reflections and important work. Canada has lost one of its finest artists. My deepest sympathies to the family of Annie Pootoogook.

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Indigenous Rights and Consultation: Are They in Place?

JAY-KWON PARK

ABSTRACT

As global warming has made the Arctic more accessible to development, there is a race to the Far North among nation-states and transnational corporations. However, the Indigenous residents of the Arctic, the Inuit, have been neglected in major decision-making processes related to the Arctic, despite international declarations that call for Inuit to be consulted and respected as partners in development projects in the Arctic. This paper looks at the Kiggavik uranium mine project as an example of a development project in the Canadian Arctic where there was a failure to adequately consult the Inuit.

INTRODUCTION

Working with Indigenous people not only requires prior research but also series of consultations. The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) specifically states that the Indigenous people have the right to be informed and consulted prior to the beginning of projects on their land. However, they are often neglected. During the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in 2004, representatives of the Saami Council and the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) made it clear that “development could either help Indigenous peoples to survive or destroy them.”¹ As emphasized here, consultations are crucial for survival of the Inuit. However, a case such as the Kiggavik mine project suggests that Indigenous voices are often left out, and proposed projects are based on Western values.

BACKGROUND

Exclusion of the Inuit Voice and Consultations in Decision Making

Article 32 of the UNDRIP clearly stresses that the Indigenous people have the “right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands or territories and other resources” and should also receive proper consultation from the states or companies prior to starting projects on their land.² Similar to the UNDRIP, the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention no. 169 on the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples says that Indigenous peoples have the right to receive consultation.³ Despite the UNDRIP and the ILO, as various scholars point out, lack of Indigenous consultation is an ongoing issue. James Anaya provides case studies from Colombia and Ecuador in which Indigenous people either didn’t receive consultation or received very limited consultation.⁴ Similarly, Yasso Kanti Bhattachan argues that in Nepal, despite the ILO, consultations with Indigenous communities are rare.⁵ Likewise, although the Arctic Council emphasizes Indigenous consultation, the Inuit often are not properly consulted on major projects.

¹ United Nations, “Development Projects Could Help Indigenous People Survive or Destroy Them Completely, Depending on How They were Managed, Permanent Forum Told,” press release, May 18, 2004, <http://www.un.org/press/en/2004/hr4758.doc.htm>.

² General Assembly Resolution 61/295, “The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, Article 32 A/61/L67 and Add.1,” United Nations, September 13, 2007, http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.

³ International Labour Organization (ILO), *Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, C169*, 27 June 1989, http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C169.

⁴ James S. Anaya, “Indigenous Peoples’ Participatory Rights in Relation to Decisions about Natural Resource Extraction: The More Fundamental Issue of What Rights Indigenous Peoples Have in Lands and Resources,” *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law* 22, no. 1 (2005): 7–17.

⁵ Yasso Kanti Bhattachan, “Consultation and Participation of Indigenous Peoples in Decision-Making in Nepal,” in *ILO Conventional 169 and Peace Building in Nepal*, ed. Sarah Webster and Om Gurung (Nepal: Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities, 2005), 78, http://www.oit.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---normes/documents/publication/wcms_100657.pdf#page=78.



During the 2016 Arctic Indigenous Economies in Canada workshop, sponsored by the Korea Maritime Institute as a part of its mission to better understand “economy” in Inuit society, Inuit leaders from the Canadian Arctic emphasized the importance of proper consultation. Sean Lyall, Minister of Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism of Nunatsiavut, stated that all the players that are interested in working in the Arctic should consult and negotiate with the Inuit prior to signing any agreement with the Canadian government. Indeed, there was a general consensus among the Inuit leaders that the Inuit are not receiving proper or adequate consultation.

A Case Study: Kiggavik Uranium Mine

Prior to working in the Arctic, it is critical to understand how the term *economy* is defined differently in the Occident and in the Arctic. As Antoinnette Helmer puts it, “profit to non-Natives means money. Profit to Natives means a good life derived from the land and sea ... The land we hold in trust is our wealth.”⁶ In sum, Indigenous understandings of the world and the economy are different from those of the West. This is not to say that Indigenous people are close-minded or resistant to development and change; in fact, they are willing to integrate changes and adapt as long as their cultures and livelihoods are assured. According to “A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Resource Development Principles in Inuit Nunaat,” the Inuit support development projects in the Arctic as long as there is full and proper consultation, and if the projects are done in a sustainable manner.⁷ For the Inuit, what the West might consider resources, means of capital, or property are part of the Inuit culture and identity.

In July 2016, the proposed Kiggavik uranium mine project, which French multinational energy group Areva had been planning since 2008, was turned down by Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. According to Areva, this project would have created about 2,650 jobs and added more than \$1 billion to local economies.⁸ However, the project was opposed by hunters, trappers, and the Beverly and Qamanirjuaq Caribou Management Board (BQCMB), which manages the region’s caribou. According to the BQCMB, the proposed mine would accelerate the rate of decline of the already declining caribou population because uranium mines are powered by diesel, which causes massive air and water pollution.⁹ The number of caribou has been constantly declining due to negative impacts of the climate change at a time when caribou are the main source of income for the Inuit; a 2013 study shows that the estimated net annual value of caribou was about \$20 million.¹⁰ Ross Thompson, the executive director of the BQCMB, remarked, “There is this impression in government and in some circles that jobs, jobs, jobs will fuel the economy. What they don’t realize is that in many communities the caribous are the economy.”¹¹ Although \$20 million is comparably less than \$1 billion, Thompson’s statement also implies that caribou are not only economically valuable, but they are part of the Inuit culture.

⁶ Antoinnette Helmer qtd. in Rauna Kuokkanen, “Indigenous Economies, Theories of Subsistence, and Women: Exploring the Social Economy Model for Indigenous Governance,” *American Indian Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (2011): 215–16, www.jstor.org/stable/10.5250/amerindiquar.35.2.0215.

⁷ Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada, “A Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Resource Development Principles in Inuit Nunaat” accessed November 29, 2016, <http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/resource-development-principles-in-inuit-nunaat.html>.

⁸ “The Kiggavik Project,” Areva, accessed November 11, 2016, <http://kiggavik.ca/the-project/kiggavik/>.

⁹ Beverly and Qamanirjuaq Caribou Management Board, “BQCMB Comments for Technical Meeting on 2014 Draft Nunavut Land Use Plan,” letter to Sharon Ehloak, Nunavut Planning Commission, June 22, 2015, http://www.nunavut.ca/files/2015-06-22%20BQCMB-NPC_technical%20meeting%20submission.pdf.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ross Thompson qtd. in Ed Struzik, “Food Insecurity: Arctic Heat Is Threatening Indigenous Life,” *Yale Environment* 360, March 17, 2016, http://e360.yale.edu/feature/arctic_heat_threatens_indigenous_life_climate_change/2974/.

RECOMMENDATIONS

According to Mark Serreze, the director of the US National Snow and Ice Data Center, November 2016 saw record lows of Arctic sea ice, and it is predicted that this record will be broken in coming years.¹² Although these changes are tragic, they also mean that the Arctic is more accessible than ever to the various corporations and nation-states that have an interest in developing the region. To achieve the goal of sustainable development and respect the Inuit and their culture, the Arctic Council should function as a mediator to enforce proper consultations with the Inuit prior to any development work. In doing so, the role of the Sustaining Arctic Observing Networks (SAON), a joint activity between the Arctic Council and the International Arctic Science Committee (IASC) that is supported by the Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment working group under the mission of creating a diverse network to observe activities in the Arctic and achieve sustainable development, should be strengthened with a clear vision.¹³ Currently, according to the report on SAON conducted by the External Review Committee, SAON still has room for improvement to perform at its maximum potential.¹⁴ Thus, IASC and the Arctic Council should expand the role of SAON so that it can effectively apply a bottom-up approach to benefit not only the Inuit but also other interest groups working in the Arctic.

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¹² Thomson Reuters, "Arctic and Antarctic Sea Ice Reach Record Low," *CBC News*, December 7, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/technology/arctic-sea-ice-record-low-november-1.3885015>.

¹³ Arctic Council, "Sustaining Arctic Observing Network," *Arctic Council*, September 21, 2015, <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/our-work2/8-news-and-events/355-sustaining-arctic-observing-networks-saon>.

¹⁴ SAON External Review Committee, "Executive Summary," *Sustaining Arctic Observing Network*, August 29, 2016, <http://www.arcticobserving.org/images/pdf/Review/SAON-executive-summary.pdf>.

Nunarjuarmiunguqatigiit: People-to-People Diplomacy as It Pertains to the Arctic

ELENA BELL

ABSTRACT

With its unique environment, culture, and economy, the Arctic calls for special approach in all fields, including diplomacy. Some scholars call this special approach “creative diplomacy,”¹ which includes people-to-people diplomacy as a modern strategy for building international relations. Could the Western concept of people-to-people diplomacy be congruent with the Inuit-centered Indigenous diplomacy, contribute to the Inuit interests, and bring economic benefits to the Inuit communities? South Korea, a recent Observer to the Arctic Council,² has a keen interest in the Arctic³ and uses creative diplomatic efforts for mutually beneficial collaboration. This paper conducts an ethnographic study of the November 2016 Arctic Indigenous Economies in Canada and Alaska workshop as an example of people-to-people diplomacy to explore whether this Southern concept could have a broader application. The Indigenous Economies workshop was sponsored by the Korea Maritime Institute (KMI) and organized by the Canadian Studies Center, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, as part of the 2014 Agreement on Educational Cooperation, signed between the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies and the Korea Maritime Institute.

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, the term *diplomacy* is understood as high-level interactions between career diplomats and statespeople who represent various nations.⁴ After the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, diplomacy underwent transformations and the role of non-state international actors increased.⁵ The term *public diplomacy* was coined in 1965 and has continued to undergo considerable change since then.⁶ Originally used as a tool to shape foreign public opinions and influence the foreign governments,⁷ public diplomacy became a vehicle for engaging a wide spectrum of players in building foreign ties. Today, it shifts the process of establishing cross-border partnership to the grassroots level and passes the power of building international relations to local leaders. Through a variety of people-to-people diplomacy programs,⁸ which fit under the broader umbrella of public diplomacy, people engage with foreign audiences as citizen-ambassadors of their countries.⁹

Indigenous diplomacy, defined as the effort to advance the interests of Indigenous groups performed by a network of people and organizations, entered the international realm in the late twentieth century.¹⁰ More specifically, Inuit

¹ Rebecca Pincus and Saleem H. Ali, “Introduction: A Cold Prelude to a Warming World,” in *Diplomacy on Ice: Energy and the Environment in the Arctic and Antarctic* (New Heaven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), 8.

² “Observers,” Arctic Council, last updated July 28, 2016, <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/about-us/arctic-council/observers>.

³ Jong Deog Kim, “Overview of Korea’s Arctic Policy Development,” *Strategic Analysis* 38, no. 6 (2014): 917–23.

⁴ Justin Heart, *Empire of Ideas: The Origins of Public Diplomacy and the Transformation of U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 12.

⁵ Richard Langhorne, “The Diplomacy of Non-State Actors,” *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 16 (June 2005): 331–39.

⁶ Nicholas Cull, “Public Diplomacy before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase,” USC Center on Public Diplomacy, CDP blog, April 18, 2006, <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/public-diplomacy-gullion-evolution-phrase>.

⁷ George Thomas Kurian, ed., “Public Diplomacy,” in *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*, vol. 4 (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2011), 1378–79.

⁸ “Understanding Citizen Diplomacy,” Center for Citizen Diplomacy, accessed December 16, 2016. <https://www.centerforcitizendiplomacy.org/about-us/understanding/>.

⁹ “People to People Diplomacy,” video interview, *Dialogue at the Wilson Center*, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, July 15, 2013, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/dialogue-program/people-to-people-diplomacy>.

¹⁰ James (Sa’ke’j) Youngblood, *Indigenous Diplomacy and the Rights of Peoples: Achieving UN Recognition* (Saskatoon: Purich Publishing Limited, 2008), 55–63; 29.

peoples have used what scholars have called Inuit diplomacy to assert their rights through a peaceful dialogue and arrive at “creating an Arctic region based on cooperation among nation-states; establishing the Inuit as an international people; and negotiating self-governing arrangements in most of the Inuit region.”¹¹ It is important to emphasize that non-Inuit scholars have developed these definitions, as there is not yet an Inuit definition for diplomacy. However, an Inuktitut word, *nunarjuarmiunguatigiit*, which translates as “a fellow Earth or World co-inhabitant” and is used in the context of diplomacy, offers valuable insight. It suggests that the Inuit view the representatives of other countries and themselves as a “global community” as oppose to “foreign counterparts.” Since connecting international partners on the community level is the one of the goals of people-to-people diplomacy, this format might correspond well with the notion of *nunarjuarmiunguatigiit*.

BACKGROUND

The Arctic Indigenous Economies in Canada workshop was an initiative of the Korea Maritime Institute, meant to foster direct dialogue with Canadian Inuit, in a people-to-people format. The workshop goal was to increase understanding and knowledge of what economy means in the Arctic and what communities do to ensure economic viability. The workshop brought together about thirty people, among them government officials, representatives of the nongovernmental sector, community leaders, researchers, university faculty and graduate students, and entrepreneurs from Canadian Inuit Nunangat, South Korea, and the United States. The participants met for a series of presentations and discussions focused on business opportunities in the Arctic. They covered a variety of topics, including Beaufort Sea fisheries, tourism in Nunatsiavut, and South Korea’s Arctic policy and KMI’s



The Arctic Indigenous Economies in Canada workshop participants. Front row, left to right: Minister Sean Lyall, Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism, Nunatsiavut; Dr. Nadine Fabbri, Managing Director, Canadian Studies Center Arctic & International Relations, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington; Christine Nakoolak, Avataa Explorations and Logistics. Back row, left to right: Burton Ayles, Canada Member, Canada/Inuvialuit Fisheries Joint Management Committee; Andy Moorhouse, Vice-President, Economic Development, Makivik Corporation; Jean-François Arteau, Kesserwan Area; Charlie Watt, President, Avataa Explorations and Logistics.



Minister Sean Lyall, Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism, Nunatsiavut, is interviewed by Elizabeth Wessells, MA, Museology.

¹¹ Frances Abele and Thierry Rodon, “Inuit Diplomacy in the Global Era: The Strengths of Multilateral Internationalism,” *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 13, no. 3 (2007): 45–63.

¹² “Canadian Studies Events,” Canadian Studies Center, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, accessed January 28, 2017, <https://jsis.washington.edu/canada/outreach/#/?i=2>.

role in it.¹² The representatives of Makivik Corporation and Avataa Company talked about the economic impact their businesses have on local communities as well as their companies' social responsibility. Inuit presenters emphasized the traditional values that govern all aspects of their life, including care for youth and elders, respect for the environment, conservation of nature, and careful use of the resources.

The face-to-face interactions in an intimate setting of a small seminar with the unique tone that the Northern participants brought to the conversation made this event especially conducive for connecting on a personal level. Based on my observations and the feedback that I collected during and after the workshop, both Korean and Inuit participants found this format productive as it facilitated non-Arctic participants' direct engagement with the Inuit of Nunavik and Nunatsiavut; allowed the South Korean visitors to accumulate unique knowledge generously offered by the Arctic business, public, and community leaders; helped to identify the specific areas of possible collaboration and an "Arctic-specific" approach for the projects to move forward; and equipped the Indigenous participants with a better understanding of their potential South Korean partners.¹³

As part of the event, the International Policy Institute Fellows in the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies interviewed the workshop presenters, collecting primary source materials to support their individual research. These interviews were video recorded and are available as five online videos on the Jackson School of International Studies at the *Arctic and International Relations Video Series* website.¹⁴ The Arctic locals provided firsthand knowledge, which deepened the non-Arctic audience's comprehension of the North and helped to make international cooperation more congruous with the Arctic environment and worldviews. This event incorporated Indigenous voices into a broader framework of people-to-people diplomacy, and, according to the Korean participants, provided an opportunity for the Inuit to directly contribute to the process of formulating the next five-year South Korean Arctic Policy.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

As one of the workshop presenters, Jean-François Arteau, stated during his presentation "Business in the Arctic: An Impossible Dream," "Nothing is simple in the North." The Arctic, with its unique environment, culture, and economy, requires a special approach in all fields, including diplomacy. Thus, small-scale, thematic, people-to-people exchange programs might be one of many tools of "creative diplomacy."¹⁵ Such programs would allow Indigenous participants to directly affect Southerners' perception of the North, to reach target international audiences, and to influence nation-states' Arctic-related policymaking. Bringing diplomacy to the local level could also be beneficial to the local communities, especially if people-to-people exchanges are conducted on the turf of the parties that are trying to build collaboration. Putting the foreign professionals in direct contact with the Indigenous partners via international professional exchanges would educate the "outsiders" and empower the "hosts." As to the economic value of



Christine Nakoolak and Charlie Watt, Avataa Exploration and Logistics, Nunavik, are interviewed by Olivier Ndikumana, MAAIS, JSIS.

¹³ I conducted informal interviews with eight workshop presenters: five Canadians; two South Koreans, and one American.

¹⁴ See <https://jsis.washington.edu/arctic/research/arctic-and-international-relations-series/videos/>.

¹⁵ Pincus and Ali, "Introduction: A Cold Prelude to a Warming World," 8.

international people-to-people exchanges, such interactions could help identify specific areas of business cooperation. While people-to-people exchange might be a “long-term investment,” the immediate economic impact of such programs on the local host communities could be quite significant.¹⁶ If international workshops and exchanges could bring visitors to the Arctic region, the process would not only benefit the Northern communities economically but would also give the Indigenous peoples better control over how they want to engage in international cooperation, including economic partnerships.

Based on the information received during the interviews and the informal conversations with the Arctic participants, it appears that small-scale, international, people-to-people events could be of interest to Arctic communities. Minister Lyall urged the workshop participants to “tell the world that the Inuit are ready to tell their story.”¹⁷ As Minister Lyall talked about growing international tourism opportunities, the question that came to my mind was, would Inuit be open to expand their international hosting to professional *nunarjuarmiunguqatigiit* exchanges?



Minister Sean Lyall, Nunatsiavut Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism (right) presents a gift to Dr. Young-kil Park, Korea Maritime Institute.

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¹⁶ According to the National Council for International Visitors, “NCIV Statistics & Evaluation FY 2011 Community Impact Summary, in 2011, the International Visitor Leadership Program, a US people-to-people exchange program, contributed \$95.8 million to local US communities via money spent by the visitors and organizations on hotels, restaurants, transportation, and cultural activities.

¹⁷ Sean Lyall, Minister, Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism, Nunatsiavut, “Tourism Nunatsiavut,” presentation at Arctic Indigenous Economies in Canada and Alaska, University of Washington, Seattle, November 10, 2016.





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