



RETHINKING THE TOP OF THE WORLD: ARCTIC PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY, VOL. 2

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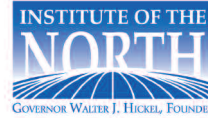
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Presenting Organizations



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The Gordon Foundation (www.gordonfoundation.ca)

The Foundation's mission is to promote innovative public policies for the North and in fresh water management, based on its values of independent thought, protecting the environment, and full participation of Indigenous Peoples in the decisions that affect their well-being.

Munk-Gordon Arctic Security Program (www.gordonfoundation.ca)

A partnership between the Munk School of Global Affairs, the University of Toronto, and The Gordon Foundation, the Munk-Gordon Arctic Security Program is dedicated to studying and promoting four overarching areas of concern: emergency preparedness in the Arctic; Arctic peoples and security; the Arctic Council; and public opinion in and about the North. The Munk-Gordon Arctic Security Program undertakes original research and hosts interactive gatherings to achieve its vision.

Supporting Organizations

Institute of the North (www.institutenorth.org)

The Institute's mission is vital to Alaska's role as a key stakeholder in policy affecting the Arctic. Institute of the North stands at a pivotal place where ideas and connections matter — across the state and on a global scale.

Prepared By **EKOS Research Associates** (www.ekos.com)

Since its inception EKOS has had an unwavering focus on its core vision — knowledge for action. This deceptively simple commitment guides EKOS in the application of scientifically accurate evidence to solve real world problems for our diverse clients. Although the mission has remained the same, the methods and techniques for applying reliable and valid evidence to the solution of strategic decision making has been constantly refined to respond to new challenges and substantive topics.

For the 2010 version of *Rethinking the Top of the World: Arctic Security Public Opinion Survey* see www.gordonfoundation.ca.

Executive Summary

This study provides an empirical perspective on issues related to Arctic security, environment, and economy. Building on a study conducted in 2010, entitled *Rethinking the Top of the World: Arctic Security Public Opinion Survey*, this report examines how the Arctic is understood by the public, determines contributors to public understanding, and solicits preferences and principles to consider in both public policy and private sector decision-making.

This study involved 10 separate surveys across eight countries and regions of countries, including northern Canada (Northwest Territories, Yukon, and Nunavut), southern Canada, Alaska and the continental United States, as well as Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Russia and Iceland. Five focus groups were also conducted with residents of the three Canadian territories. These were held in Whitehorse, Yukon (one group); Inuvik, Northwest Territories (two groups); and Ottawa (two groups containing participants attending an eight-month college program for Nunavut youth).

Life in the North

The survey asked North American respondents to rate their quality of life. Consistent with 2010 results, most residents of northern Canada rate their quality of life as being good (nearly three-quarters, compared to two-thirds of residents living in southern Canada). Smaller proportions from the United States rate their quality of life as good; notably, only half of Americans living in the continental United States feel their quality of life is good. In fact, 14 per cent rate their quality of life as poor. Results are more positive among Alaskans (61 per cent).

Respondents were also asked about anticipated change in their quality of life over the next 10 years. Again, residents from northern Canada are considerably more optimistic regarding their future quality of life compared with those from southern Canada or the United States. As in 2010, almost half of residents of northern Canada say they expect their quality of life to improve over the next 10 years, compared with one-third of southern Canadians, and four in 10 Americans. Alaskans seem more hopeful in 2015 compared with 2013¹.

Northern Canadians likewise rate their health marginally more positively than their southern counterparts, with nearly two-thirds rating their health as good, compared to just over half of respondents from southern Canada, Alaska, or the continental United States. These proportions are similar, although marginally lower, than measured in 2010. As might be expected, rated health is strongly tied to socio-economic status and rated quality of life.

1 Although the 2010 American survey sample did not include sufficient cases in Alaska for an adequate comparison, a similar telephone survey of 414 Alaskan residents was conducted by the Institute of the North (ION) in 2013, allowing for comparison of some results.

Residents of northern Canada and Alaska were asked to identify which government or organization best represents their interests. Roughly one-third feel that their territorial/state government does the best job, and a higher proportion among those living in Yukon, Northwest Territories and Alaska. The municipal/local government, federal government, or Indigenous government/organizations follow. In focus group discussions, many expressed the opinion that they have better access to representatives in their own community, who are also most familiar with community issues and priorities. Roughly one in five survey respondents feel that “none of the above” represents their interests.

Understanding of the North

Southern Canadians demonstrated modest knowledge of Canada’s North. When asked a series of four true or false statements, one in four respondents said that they did not know the answer for each statement.

Most Canadians (six in 10) understand that there is cellphone coverage in the North. Roughly half of Canadians are aware that the majority of Indigenous residents in the North do not live on reserves, although one in four believes that they do. Reserves are rare and the vast majority of the North is covered by settled land claims.

Similarly, just under half are aware that Canada does not have a notable military presence located along the Northwest Passage, although one in four Canadians believe that the passage is protected against invasion by “several” Canadian bases. There are no bases along the Northwest Passage, though there is a small port that is being redeveloped in Nanisivik.

Southern Canadians are uncertain about the extent of road infrastructure in Nunavut. Just over one in three believes that there are roads in Nunavut connecting communities or enabling road travel into or out of the territory, a similar proportion understands that this is not the case and one in three is unsure. To clarify, there are no roads connecting communities in Nunavut. All 25 communities rely on air service and sealifts in the summer to supply goods.

Overall, only 10 per cent of respondents were able to correctly answer all four statements. One in three residents in southern Canada could be considered to have limited knowledge of the North, as they were not correct on any of the four statements or were correct on only one.

In the focus groups, participants described many elements of northern life that they enjoy. These include aspects such as a wide-open spaces, clean environment, personal safety, and sense of community. Among the elements of northern living seen as more negative, many emphasized the high cost of living, and lack of access to education and employment options. Poor infrastructure and access to medical services were also described by Nunavut youth when asked this question in focus groups.

Most interesting to note is that in both focus groups in the Northwest Territories and with the Nunavut students, participants articulated that the “southern” image of the Arctic does not adequately reflect the positive or negative realities of Arctic living. As one focus group participant suggested, “It is not real to them”, while another mentioned that “They (the South) always

forget that we are almost half the country but we can't even make a big city, even out of the three territories, and that's why we are ignored. People in the South just don't think about us."

Issues Facing the Arctic

Residents of southern Canada were asked, unprompted, to name the most important issue facing Canada as a whole. As in the 2010 survey, responses point to the economy as a leading priority, with about one-quarter of residents naming economic issues, such as jobs and employment, as the most important issue. Other important issues, stated by fewer than one in 10, include the environment, the need for a new government, issues related to privacy and freedom, and health care.

Residents of northern Canada, southern Canada and Alaska were asked, unprompted, to identify the most pressing issue facing the Arctic region of their respective countries. As in 2010, the most common responses centred on climate change, mentioned by one-quarter to one-third. Other common responses included the economy and sustainable development, although indicated by less than 10 per cent of respondents. Additionally, one in 10 northern Canadians cited the high cost of living in the Arctic, although few residents from other regions identified this as an issue, likely accounted for by the regional diversity in the cost of goods. In southern Canada, one in six raised the issue of threats to Canadian sovereignty, an issue that was scarcely mentioned in the North. Finally, one in 10 Alaska residents brought up the issue of oil and gas exploitation; only mentioned by a very small proportion of northern residents of Canada (three per cent).

Residents of all countries were asked, unprompted, to identify the greatest threat to the Arctic. Once again, climate change was stated more often than any other response. Other common responses (mentioned less than 10 per cent of the time) include environmental damage not specifically tied to climate change (e.g., pollution), resource exploitation, and oil and gas exploration. In addition, one in 10 southern Canadians expressed concerns regarding encroaching foreign ownership and a lack of sovereignty, although these concerns were not shared by residents of the North. One in seven respondents of the continental United States also expressed concerns regarding the melting of sea ice and permafrost.

Respondents were asked to rank the importance of various elements surrounding life in the Canadian and American Arctic. Overall, responses from northern and southern regions of both Canada and the U.S. produced similar results, although Canadians seem to place somewhat more importance on climate change policy and basic public infrastructure than Americans. In northern Canada, more than eight in 10 residents place a great deal of importance on capacity to respond to disasters, strong policies to combat climate change, basic public infrastructure, and capacity to respond to emergencies. Three-quarters, meanwhile, see strong policies to preserve culture as a key priority. Capacity to respond to international threats is seen as comparatively less crucial, although just over half rate it as important.

Residents of northern Canada and Alaska were asked to rate the adequacy of different elements of capacity in the Arctic. Results reveal a particularly grim assessment of the Arctic's capacity to meet the needs of its residents. Only one in three respondents feels the Canadian Arctic is well

equipped to preserve traditional ways of life. Similarly, only a third believes that the Canadian Arctic is well equipped to respond to emergencies. Although results are the same in Alaska with respect to policies to preserve traditional ways of life, results are more positive in terms of capacity to respond to emergencies (46 per cent compared with 35 per cent of northern Canadians). Residents of northern Canada are less positive about the ability to meet current needs in basic public infrastructure. The assessment is more positive in Yukon and Northwest Territories, but quite low in Nunavut. Only one in five Canadians in the North is confident in the adequacy of strong policies to combat climate change, the available capacity to respond to disasters and the availability of security services to respond to international threats. As with response to emergencies, Alaskans are considerably more positive than their Canadian counterparts about their capacity to respond to security threats, disasters and climate change. The views of Alaskans have also become more positive since 2013 regarding capacity in the areas of basic infrastructure, capacity to respond to disasters and policies to combat climate change.

The results also show some dramatic gaps between the importance placed on these elements and their perceived adequacy. For example, 88 per cent of residents of northern Canada rated capacity to respond to disasters as important, but only 20 per cent say the Arctic is well equipped to deal with such an event (yielding a 68-point gap). Similarly, responses show a 67-point difference in the importance placed on the ability to address climate change and the Arctic's capacity to actually do so. Basic public infrastructure also registers a significant gap of 58 points, wider still in Nunavut. This gap is consistently lower in Alaska.

When asked about whether or not they see evidence of impact of public policy decisions in their daily lives in the Arctic, many focus group participants said that they are unfamiliar with what the federal government is doing, pointing to a general disconnect between their perceived need and the actions being taken, as well as a gap in communications. Public consultation conducted by all levels of government was described by some generally as poorly reflecting public attitudes and needs in the Arctic. Some participants noted the varying and unique needs of northern communities, with the development of local community programs, local regional boards, and increased collaboration and communication between the federal, territorial, and local governments as important to address northern issues.

Arctic Security

Canadians and Americans were asked to rate the importance of five different aspects of security when it comes to protecting the Canadian Arctic. Canadians — particularly those in Northern Canada — are relatively more likely to see domestic issues (environmental, social, and cultural security) as the most important. Americans, however, place comparatively more importance on national security issues. This fits squarely with other public opinion research showing Canadians placing higher priorities on freedom, economy, environment and other social issues than on traditional security, while security is more typically a top level priority among Americans. In focus groups, Canadian residents of the North described Arctic security largely in relation to food security, adequacy of housing, job security, threats to the environment and natural resources, and personal safety. Relatively few described security in relation to military threat or protection.

Canadians are more likely than Americans to agree that the best way to protect national interests in the Arctic is to have people living there. Most North Americans perceive that the threat of military conflict in the Arctic over the last year has either stayed the same or increased. In most other countries, roughly half of respondents (excluding “don’t know” responses) believe that the threat of military conflict has increased. Very few people believe that the threat of military conflict has diminished in 2014 in any of the countries surveyed. Concern about increased military threat in the Arctic was also not particularly strong across any of the focus group discussions.

About half of Canadians and Americans feel that their country’s military presence should be strengthened in the North to protect against international threats. Canadians in the North and South have more similar views than the gap between Alaskans and respondents in the continental United States. While results from the 2010 survey are not available for the United States, Canadians in 2015 are somewhat less likely to support an increased military presence than they were in 2010, particularly respondents in southern Canada.

There is overwhelming support from almost all residents of Arctic nations for making the Arctic a nuclear weapons-free zone, like Antarctica. In Canada, Iceland and the Scandinavian countries, eight to nine in 10 residents agree with this idea. Although these results look similar to the 2010 results in Canada, agreement appears to have increased in Denmark, Finland and Sweden from 2010. Agreement is higher in Iceland than it was five years ago. In Russia and the continental United States — the two countries with nuclear arsenals — agreement drops to roughly two in three residents.

Arctic Council

The Arctic Council is a high-level intergovernmental forum that addresses common issues and concerns faced by Arctic governments and Indigenous Peoples. It is the most active intergovernmental forum concerned with the Arctic and the only one to comprise all eight Arctic nations. The Arctic Council is primarily concerned with the promotion of environmental protection and sustainable development of the region. Respondents from the eight member states were asked a series of questions regarding the Arctic Council.

Respondents from all eight countries were asked if they had heard of the intergovernmental forum called the Arctic Council. Awareness appears to be highest in Iceland, where seven in 10 are at least vaguely aware of the Arctic Council. This is followed by awareness in Northern Canada, Denmark and Russia, where over half of residents indicate some level of awareness of the Arctic Council.

Awareness among southern Canadians and Alaskans has dropped since 2010 and 2013 respectively. Awareness has clearly risen in Iceland since 2010 and may have incrementally increased among respondents in the continental United States. In focus group discussions, participants were generally not familiar with the Arctic Council although may said that they had “heard of it.” In Canada, awareness that Canada had been the chair of the Arctic Council over the previous two years is reasonably high in the North, where roughly two in five territorial residents

said they are aware. Awareness is much lower in the southern Canada, where only one in 10 are aware.

When asked about an expanded role for the Arctic Council that also covers areas such as military security in addition to its current focus on environmental matters, in most countries about half of residents are supportive. Support for the inclusion of military security is highest in Russia (four in five), followed by Finland and Denmark. In most countries results are about in line with 2010, although residents of Denmark and Finland are considerably more supportive of adding military security to the mandate of the Arctic Council in 2015. Support has waned in Sweden and among Canadians living in the South.

A majority of respondents in all countries surveyed are not in favour of excluding Russia from international co-operation arrangements because of its conflict with Ukraine. Only one in three residents of most countries said co-operation with Russia should be suspended, although in many countries one in four are undecided.

When asked about whether non-Arctic nations should have a say in Arctic affairs, Canadians and Americans outside of Alaskans do not believe they should. There is two-to-one support for including only the points of view of Arctic countries, among these respondents. Other countries are more divided, although residents of Finland are clearly more in favour of wider inclusion.

International Disputes

Respondents from the eight countries diverge in how their government should handle border and resource sharing disputes in the Arctic. Both Canadians and Russians are divided between pursuing a firm line in defending their Arctic territory or negotiating a compromise with other nations. The United States, Norway, and Denmark are divided between the view that negotiation is the better approach and believing that the Arctic is an international territory. Residents of Finland and Sweden, and to a lesser extent Iceland, are more apt to see the Arctic as an international territory.

Respondents in each of the eight Arctic states were presented with a list of countries and asked which one they would be most comfortable dealing with on Arctic issues. Results show a preference for working with Scandinavian countries, as this was the most common response in eight of the nine regions examined (northern Canada, southern Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, and Sweden). Some (one in five) qualify that the country of choice depends on the Arctic issue.

Respondents were subsequently asked to identify the country they would be least comfortable in dealing with on Arctic issues. The results point to Russia as the least desired partner, with nearly one-third of respondents suggesting Russia. Responses, understandably, vary by the country of the respondent. Russia and China were selected in almost equal proportions by Icelanders and Finns. In contrast, Russians appear to be least comfortable in dealing with the Americans.

Respondents across the eight countries surveyed were asked whether they think that the Northwest Passage is within Canadian waters or an international waterway. Perhaps not surprisingly, Canadians are the only respondents in the countries surveyed who see the passage as belonging to Canada.

This view is also more prominent in the North, where seven in 10 see the Northwest Passage as clearly within Canadian waters. Among southern Canadians, just under half believe the Northwest Passage is Canadian. However, roughly one-third see it as a disputed area. Other countries view the passage as an international waterway (one-third to one half, depending on country surveyed) or as a territory whose ownership is in dispute (one in five to two in five). The proportion of non-response in countries other than Canada is high, indicating lower levels of attention on the issue of the Northwest Passage in many of these countries (e.g., Sweden, Denmark and the United States). Compared with responses in 2010, significantly fewer southern Canadians see the passage as Canadian. The international view that the passage is within Canadian waters has also weakened over time; this view was in the minority.

Respondents in Canada and the United States were asked whether they feel that the two countries should work together to strike a deal to resolve their dispute over the Beaufort Sea or whether they would prefer to see their government assert its full sovereign rights over the area. The results show two starkly different points of view between the two countries. While Canadians appear to lean towards the option of asserting sovereign rights over the area, Americans prefer to strike a deal between the two countries.

1. Introduction and Methodology

1.1 Introduction

This study provides an empirical perspective on Arctic issues. In particular, it analyzes how Arctic issues are understood by various publics, determines the most important ingredients of public understanding, and looks at what guidance the public would offer decision-makers in terms of preferences and principles to emphasise in both public policy and private sector decision-making.

This study was first conducted in 2010 to explore the perceptions of respondents in the eight Arctic states regarding security and other issues facing the Arctic. The current landscape features increased geopolitical tensions with Russia, an emphasis on military security by the current Canadian government, and an American administration that is paying more attention to the region because it holds the chair of the Arctic Council. The purpose of the current study is to update the research and contrast results in order to better understand the impact of the changing landscape on public opinion across Arctic countries.

1.2 Methodology

While respondents were asked about the Arctic, it is not possible to categorize the group as “Arctic Canadians” versus “non-Arctic Canadians” as the units of comparison that are used to generate this data. Instead, we compare those who live in Canada’s three territories (Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut) to Canadians who live in the 10 provinces (British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island). However, while the territories are geographically located north of the provinces, not all of their land mass is located in the Arctic. Therefore, categorizing respondents as Arctic Canadians versus non-Arctic Canadians is not appropriate. The terminology used in this report is “northern” and “southern”. “Northern” is meant to refer to those who live in the three territories. “Southern” refers to those who live in the provinces.

Similarly, when looking at the United States it is necessary to look at the views of Alaskans, who live in America’s only Arctic state, and those who live in the continental United States.

This study involved 10 separate surveys across eight countries. The methodology for each component of the study is described below. The study is composed of 10 separate surveys in order to allow for isolation and comparison of the points of view of northern versus southern Canadians, as well as of the United States (i.e., four surveys), in addition to a comparison of Canadian opinions with the opinions found in the other six circumpolar nations.

1.2.1 Northern Canada

A telephone survey of 770 members of the general population in the Northwest Territories, Yukon, and Nunavut was conducted. Respondents were 18 years of age and older and were randomly selected (through random digit dialling). The survey was administered in both charter languages, as well as in Inuktitut. The sample was stratified using quotas to ensure adequate representation of key population segments (e.g. territory, age, gender). The margin of error associated with a sample of this size is +/- 3.6 percentage points, 19 times out of 20. The same methodology was used in 2010, making comparisons between 2010 and 2015 relatively straightforward.

1.2.2 Southern Canada

This portion of the study involved a bilingual survey of 2,042 Canadians over the age of 18 using Probit, EKOS' hybrid telephone/online panel. This panel offers exhaustive coverage of the Canadian population (i.e., Internet, phone, cellphone), random recruitment (in other words, participants are recruited randomly, they do not opt themselves into our panel), and equal probability sampling. All panellists were recruited by telephone using random digit dialling and were confirmed by live interviewers. Survey results are generalizable to the broader Canadian population, and allow for margins of error to be associated with results. The margin of error for a sample of this size is +/- 2.2 percentage points, 19 times out of 20. The same methodology was used in 2010, making comparisons between 2010 and 2015 relatively straightforward.

1.2.3 Alaska

As with the sample of respondents in the Canadian territories, a telephone survey of 500 members of the general population was conducted in Alaska through Survey Sampling International (SSI), one of the largest suppliers of telephone data collection services in the United States. Respondents were 18 years of age and older and were randomly selected (through random digit dialling). The survey was administered in English. The margin of error associated with a sample of this size is +/- 4.5 percentage points, 19 times out of 20. The Alaskan sample collected in 2010 was too small to allow for adequate comparison, however, a similar survey was conducted among 414 Alaskan residents by the Institute of the North (ION) in 2013 that can be used for comparison on some questions.

1.2.4 Continental United States

Respondents in the continental United States were randomly selected using an online panel provided by SSI, a firm with decades of experience offering online samples. A total of 1,016 American citizens ages 18 and over responded to this survey. All interviews were conducted online. The margin of error for a sample of this size is +/- 3.1 percentage points, 19 times out of 20. The views of Americans were also included in the 2010 survey; however, the sample source was marginally different, making 2015 results less comparable to 2010. In 2010, a randomly selected online-telephone hybrid panel sample was used which allowed for the calculation of margin of error. The online panel used for 2015 is not random, and therefore, strictly speaking, the level of precision is less sure. Nonetheless, for the purposes of being able to draw some comparisons, we have opted to draw attention to results that are within the range of double the margin of error given the cases included in the 2015 sample.

1.2.5 Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia

The European portion of the study was also conducted through SSI, given their deep sampling and data collection expertise across 72 countries. The panel is rigorously maintained to ensure that it adequately reflects the general population and it is routinely purged of inactive respondents (i.e. those who have not responded to a survey in the last 12 months). The sample sizes are summarized below.

Country	Sample Size
Denmark	n=1,000
Finland	n=1,002
Norway	n=1,002
Sweden	n=1,003
Russia	n=1,011

As with the American sample, the sample source for these five countries is also different than the previous study, making comparisons between 2010 and 2015 less appropriate than it is for the Canadian results. In 2010, the Norwegian samples were collected using RDD telephone samples, and in Russia the survey was collected through clustered in-person interviews. The omnibus survey collection platforms have since been replaced with online panels. Again, this poses more difficulty in understanding the level of precision of the results. For the purposes of being able to draw some comparisons, we have opted to draw attention to results that are within the range of double the margin of error given the cases included in the 2015 sample.

1.2.6 Iceland

Since Internet use is almost universal in Iceland (approximately 96 per cent of the population has Internet access), an online survey was used to cover the Icelandic portion of this study. A random sample of 866 Icelandic citizens was drawn from the Capacent Gallup online panel, which consists of approximately 15,000 people and is carefully maintained to represent the population in Iceland. Panellists were selected by random sampling from the National Register, which covers all citizens of Iceland. The margin of error for a sample of this size is +/- 3.5 percentage points, 19 times out of 20. The same methodology was used in 2010, making comparisons between 2010 and 2015 relatively straightforward.

1.2.7 Focus Groups

Five focus group sessions were conducted in addition to the surveys. These were convened in Whitehorse, Yukon (one group); Inuvik, Northwest Territories (two groups); and Ottawa (two groups with 17- to 24-year-olds who are residents of communities in Nunavut, attending an eight-month college program at Nunavut Sivuniksavut)².

Participants were recruited from the EKOS Probit panel or using a RDD sampling approach to connect with Indigenous and non-Indigenous residents of Whitehorse and Inuvik. Representation of Indigenous Peoples, however, was lower than anticipated due to low overall attendance in the Inuvik sessions. Participants for the two groups conducted at Nunavut Sivuniksavut were recruited among first-year students attending the program.

2 For more information on Nunavut Sivuniksavut see: <http://www.nstraining.ca/>.

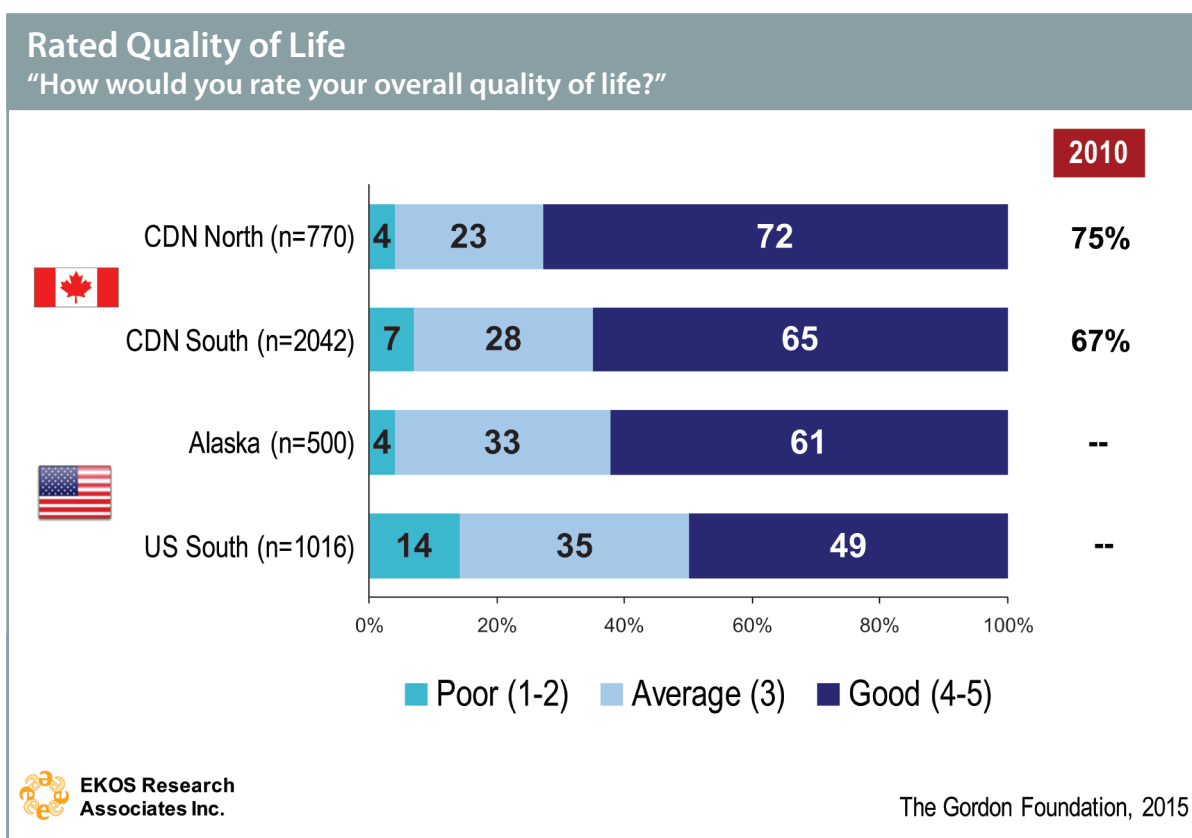
The groups conducted in the two territories were facilitated by an experienced moderator, familiar with Indigenous Peoples' issues. The two groups in Ottawa were conducted by non-Indigenous moderators closely involved with the project. In total, 37 residents of the three territories attended the sessions: nine in Whitehorse; eight in Inuvik and 20 students from Nunavut attending college in Ottawa. All participants were compensated \$100 apiece for their time.

Each discussion lasted approximately an hour and a half, and covered life in the North, the impact of public policy on the lives of northern residents, security in the Arctic, and the Arctic Council. Respondents were informed that their responses would be treated confidentially, but quotes would be used in the report, without the use of personal identifiers. Results are summarized in the appropriate thematic sections of this report.

2. Characteristics of Respondents

2.1 Quality of Life

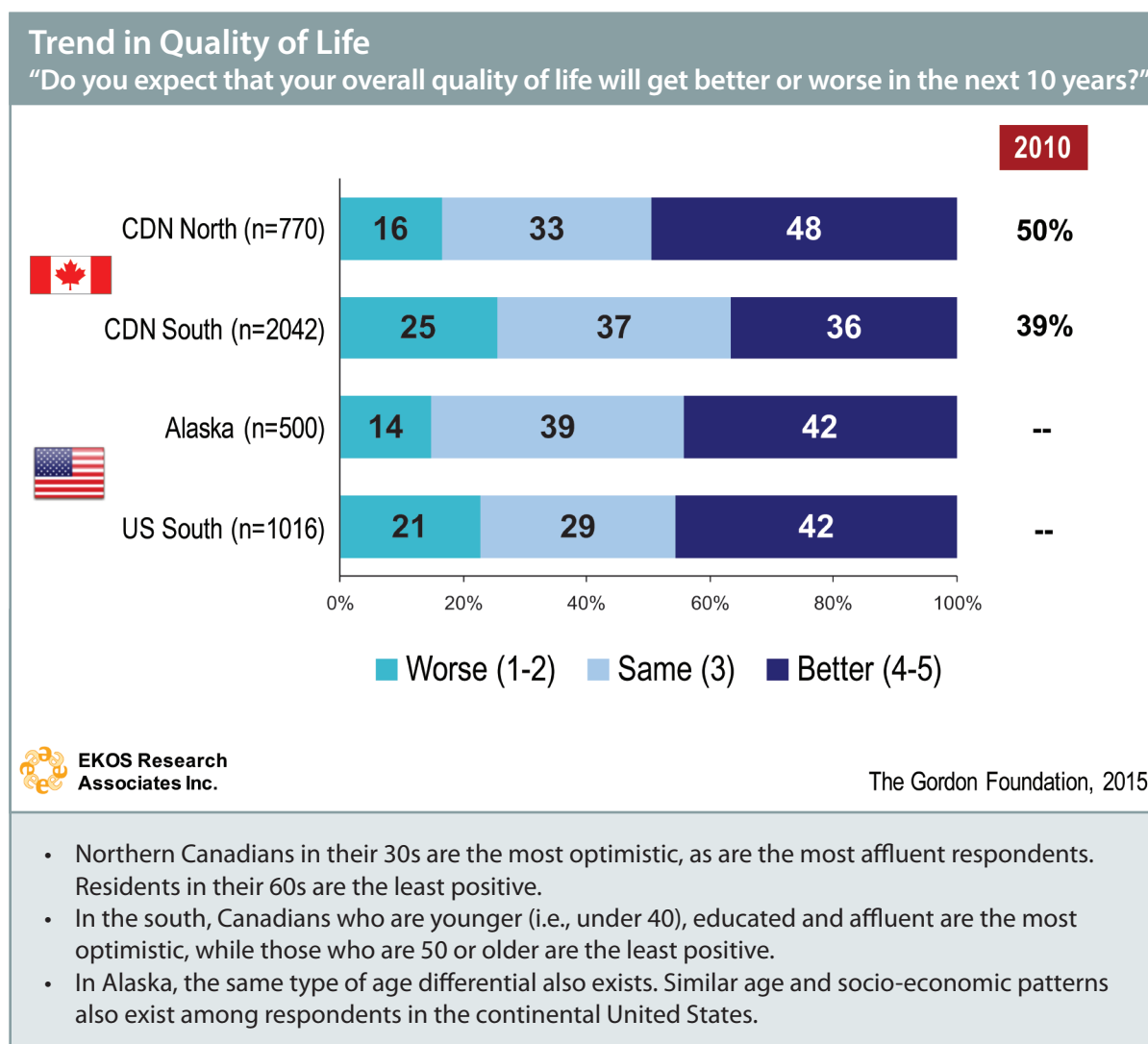
Respondents in Canada and the United States were asked to rate their overall quality of life. Interestingly, residents of northern Canada are more likely than other respondents to rate their quality of life as being good: 72 per cent, compared to 65 per cent of residents living in from Southern Canada and 61 per cent of Alaskans. The same pattern was found among Canadians in 2010.



- Among northern Canadians, those in their 30s or 60s and older are the most positive, as are the most educated and affluent residents. Ratings are highest in Yukon (81 per cent rating their quality of life as good), followed by those living in the Northwest Territories (74 per cent). Nunavut trails dramatically, however, with only 58 per cent of respondents rating themselves as having a good quality of life. One-third of respondents in Nunavut said their quality of life is average and seven per cent rated it as poor. Similarly, Indigenous respondents in the territories are also least apt to rate their quality of life as good (51 per cent), followed by ethnic minorities (63 per cent).
- Among the rest of Canadians, it is those in their 60s or older, as well as respondents in Alberta, who provide the most positive ratings of their quality of life, while respondents in the Atlantic Provinces and, to a lesser extent Quebec, are least positive. Canadians with a disability constitute the minority segment with the least positive response regarding quality of life.
- In Alaska and the continental United States, quality of life increases with reported affluence and education. In Alaska in particular, however, quality of life is reported to be higher among those with an undergraduate level of education (77 per cent) compared with those with a graduate or professional degree (66 per cent).

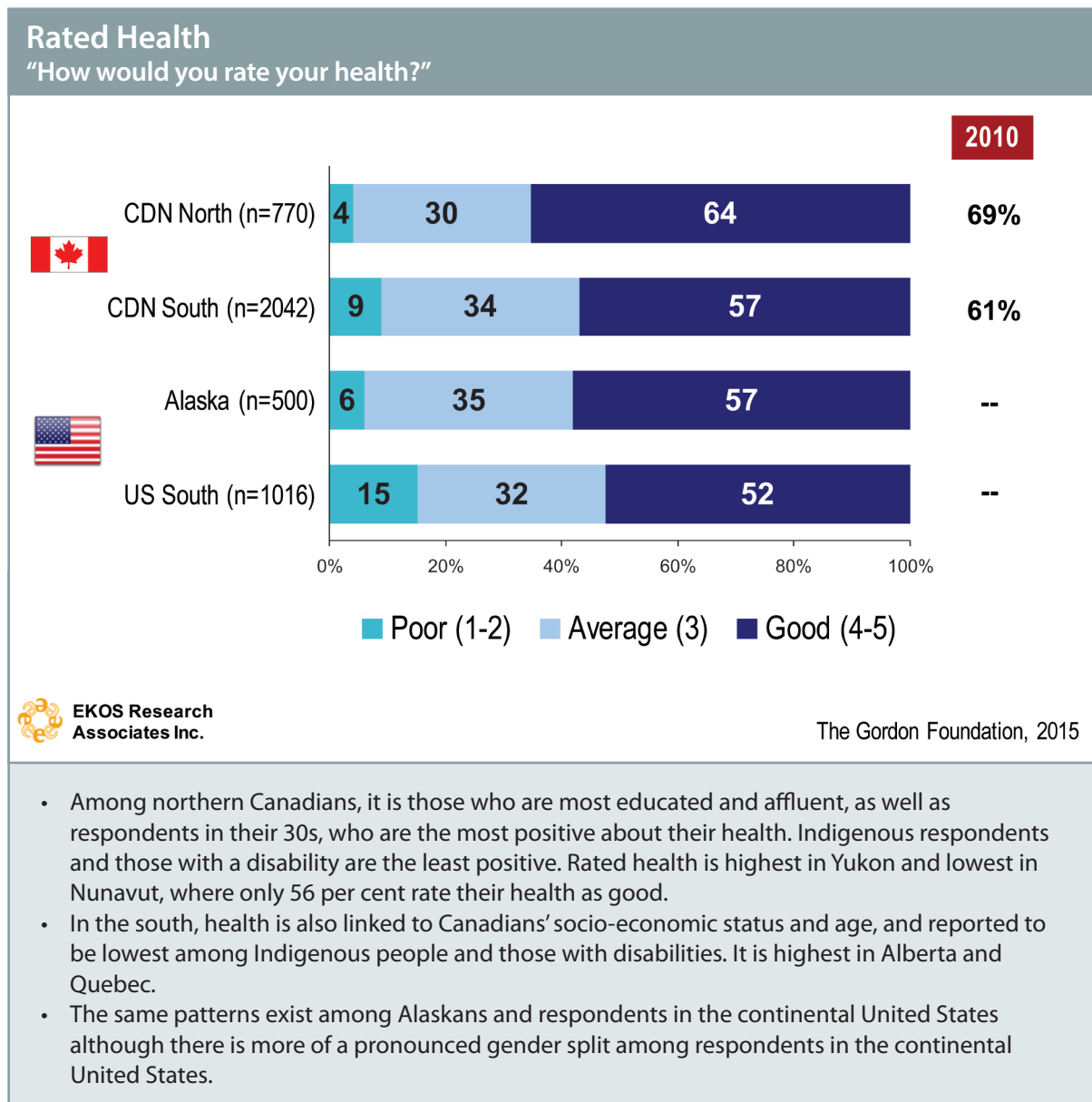
Only half (49 per cent) respondents in the continental United States rate their quality of life in this way. A full 14 per cent of respondents in the continental United States rate their quality of life as poor.

Respondents were also asked about how they foresaw their quality of life over the next 10 years. Again, residents from northern Canadians are considerably more optimistic regarding their future quality of life compared with their southern counterparts or with Americans in both the Alaska and the continental United States. As in 2010, almost half of residents of northern Canada (48 per cent) say they expect their quality of life to improve over the next 10 years, compared with 36 per cent of southern Canadians, and 42 per cent of Alaskans or respondents in the continental United States. One-third of northern Canadians believe their quality of life will stay the same, compared with 37 per cent of southern Canadians. Among Alaskans, almost four in 10 (39 per cent) expect their quality of life to remain the same, as is also the case with one in three (29 per cent) respondents in the continental United States. The largest proportions of respondents in both countries expecting a decline in quality of life in southern regions, whereas northern residents are less pessimistic. Alaskans are more hopeful about improvements over the 10 years than they were in the 2013 Institute of the North study.



2.2 Rated Health

In terms of self-rated health, again it is northern Canadians who see themselves as healthier than their southern counterparts, with 64 per cent rating their health as good, compared to 57 per cent of respondents from southern Canada. Results are similar, although marginally lower, than measured in 2010. Alaskans responded in a very similar way as most Canadians, with 57 per cent rating their health positively. Among respondents in the continental United States, 52 per cent were positive, but a full 15 per cent rated their health as poor. As might be expected, rated health in northern and southern Canada and the United States is strongly tied to socio-economic status and rated quality of life.



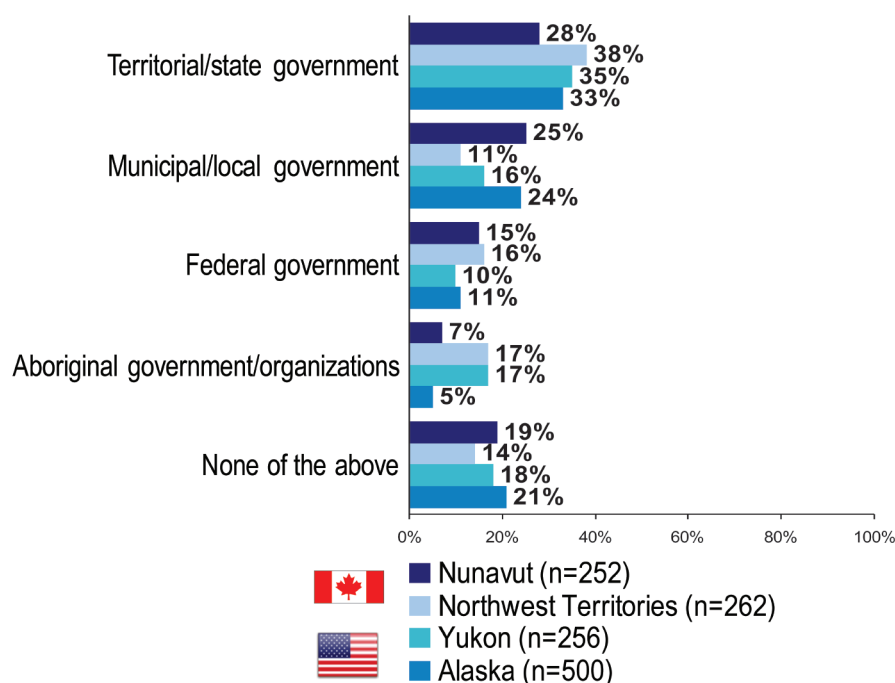
2.3 Arctic Representation

2.3.1 Survey Responses

When asked about which public body best represents their interests, larger proportions of northern Canada and Alaska said that their territorial/state government does the best job. Although about one-third of those living in Yukon, Northwest Territories and Alaska agreed, the result is lower in Nunavut (28 per cent), where respondents are split on whether they see the territorial or municipal government (25 per cent) as doing the best job of representing their interests. The same proportion of Alaskans believe that their municipal government provides the best representation (24 per cent), while only 11 to 16 per cent of residents in the other two Canadian territories believe this to be the case. The federal government is only seen to best represent the interests of 10 to 16 per cent of respondents of the North, and this perception is lowest among those who are geographically farthest from their government in Canada. Indigenous governments or other organizations are seen as the best representatives of as many

Arctic Representation

"Who do you feel represents your interests?"



EKOS Research Associates Inc.

The Gordon Foundation, 2015

- In the Canadian territories, Indigenous respondents are more apt to see Indigenous governments as representing their interest (24 per cent) than non-Indigenous respondents who are more apt to lean towards the territorial government (41 per cent) than other levels of government.
- In Alaska, those with the highest education are the most likely to see the United States government as representing their interests, rather than more local levels of government.

Map 1: Royal Canadian Air Force Protecting Canada



Source: http://www.rcaf-arc.forces.gc.ca/assets/AIRFORCE_Internet/images/map-carte-eng-2013-hr.jpg

as 17 per cent of residents in Yukon and Northwest Territories. This is much less likely to be the case, however, among residents of Alaska or Nunavut.

2.3.2 Focus Group Discussion

In focus group discussions, most participants indicated that they felt that either local or territorial governments better represent their interests and points of view. In one session in Inuvik, Indigenous governments were also included. Many said that they have closer ties with and better access to those in their own community, who are also most familiar with their community issues and priorities. Similarly, in one focus group, the topic of regional boards was brought up. The observation was made that consolidated “super-boards” run contrary to the intent that these boards are familiar with and best represent the issues “in their own backyards.”

2.4 Canadians’ Understanding of the North

2.4.1 Survey Responses

When asked a number of “skill testing” questions about the Arctic, southern Canadians demonstrated only modest knowledge. About one in four answered “do not know” to the true or false questions. However, three in four felt that they could provide an answer.

Map 2: Nunavut



Source: <http://env.gov.nu.ca/nunavutmap>

Most southern Canadians understand that there is cellphone coverage in the three Canadian territories. In fact, there are a number of cellphone and Internet providers offering service in different parts of the three territories. Six in 10 southern Canadians believe that there is cellphone coverage (eight in 10 of those providing a response).

Roughly half (51 per cent) of southern Canadians are aware that Indigenous peoples in the North do not live on reserves, although one in four believe that they do. The north is largely covered by modern land claims, rather than reserves.

Similarly, just under half (47 per cent) of respondents in southern Canada are aware that Canada does not have multiple military bases located along the Northwest Passage. One in four southern Canadians believes that the passage is protected against invasion by "several" Canadian bases. In fact, there is only one small abandoned mining port at Nanisivik under redevelopment for Canadian Forces' use.

Southern Canadians are uncertain about whether or not there is any road infrastructure in Nunavut connecting communities or enabling road travel into or out of the territory. Just over

one in three (37 per cent) southern Canadians believe that such an infrastructure exists, and a similar proportion (38 per cent) understands that this is not the case and one in four (24 per cent) is unsure. In fact, there are no roads connecting Nunavut to other territories or provinces, nor are there roads connecting the territory's 25 communities. Communities rely on air travel or limited seasonal sealifts to resupply their communities.

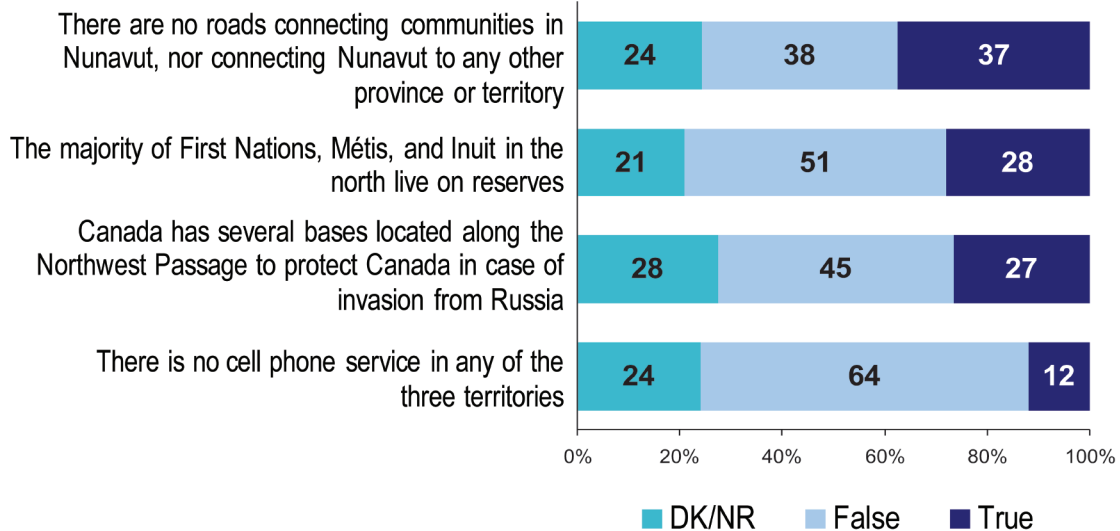
Taken together, just over one in three (37 per cent) southern Canadians could be considered to have no or limited knowledge of the North (i.e., were not correct on any of the four statements or were correct on only one). One-quarter (26 per cent) were correct on two of the four items. One in four (27 per cent) were correct on three items and 10 per cent were able to correctly answer all four. Assuming some guessing and a 50/50 chance of guessing correctly, results reasonably suggest that only one-third of southern Canadians have some knowledge of the North.

South's Understanding of North

"For each of the following statements, please indicate whether you believe that they are true or false."



South (n=2042)



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The Gordon Foundation, 2015

- Men demonstrated significantly higher knowledge than women on all items, as did residents with higher socio-economic status, with the exception of understanding about the lack of road infrastructure.

2.4.2 Focus Group Discussions

In the focus groups, participants described many elements of northern life that they enjoy. Clean environment; a small community and corresponding strong sense of personal security; and a sense of community were often emphasized. Among the NS students, the nostalgia for home was particularly acute. They described the uncluttered and close-knit nature of small-town life, with limited noise and “business.” As one participant said, “You can get anywhere you want in five minutes. You don’t have to get up an hour earlier to get on a bus...” Another added that, “There is no ‘9 to 5’ up there.” A strong sense of connection was also described, where people know each other. They described what can be understood as the “pull of community”: it is what they know and are familiar with. They also pointed to an openness and freedom to express themselves and “be themselves.” For example, one participant said, “You are free to give someone a hug” and that “It is seen as normal”.

Among the elements seen as more negative or problematic aspects of northern life, many participants described the high cost of living in the North, along with a fragile labour market and economic base. Poor infrastructure and access to medical services were also noted among Nunavut youth to be negative aspects of living in the North. The high cost of living was described in terms of food insecurity, and the high cost of housing and heating a home. Transportation was seen as problematic in both the NS and Northwest Territories focus groups. Lack of access related to availability of housing and overcrowding, as well as inferior or non-existent health care services, were also seen as issues.

In addition to the high cost of living, Nunavut youth also talked about difficulties in accessing quality education in the North and the low graduation rates of residents. They emphasized the importance of learning about their culture, language and heritage, linking this to increased pride, self-esteem, confidence and connection with the past and with nature.

Social issues, such as prevalent addiction and abuse, were linked by focus group participants to generational impacts of residential schools, as well as lack of education and employment opportunities. Lack of adequate social services to assist residents was expressed as a frustration by some in the Nunavut student groups. “There isn’t enough help, especially for mental health issues” said one participant, with another adding that “There’s nowhere for them to go.”

Some participants expressed frustration with high costs and lack of access to services (e.g., infrastructure, housing, health and social services), saying that the remoteness of northern communities should not result in inferior services and quality of life compared to that enjoyed by other Canadians. In the words of one focus group participant, “We pay taxes just like everybody else”.

In both the Northwest Territories and NS focus groups, participants articulated that the southern image of the North does not reflect the positive or negative realities of northern living as they know it. One participant suggested, “People who are making decisions in the South have never been here and they have no idea what they are dealing with in size and distance or conditions”.

Concern was also expressed in many of the groups regarding environmental contamination, emphasizing the need for sustainable development and preservation of the quality of the environment in the Arctic.

3. Issues Facing the Arctic

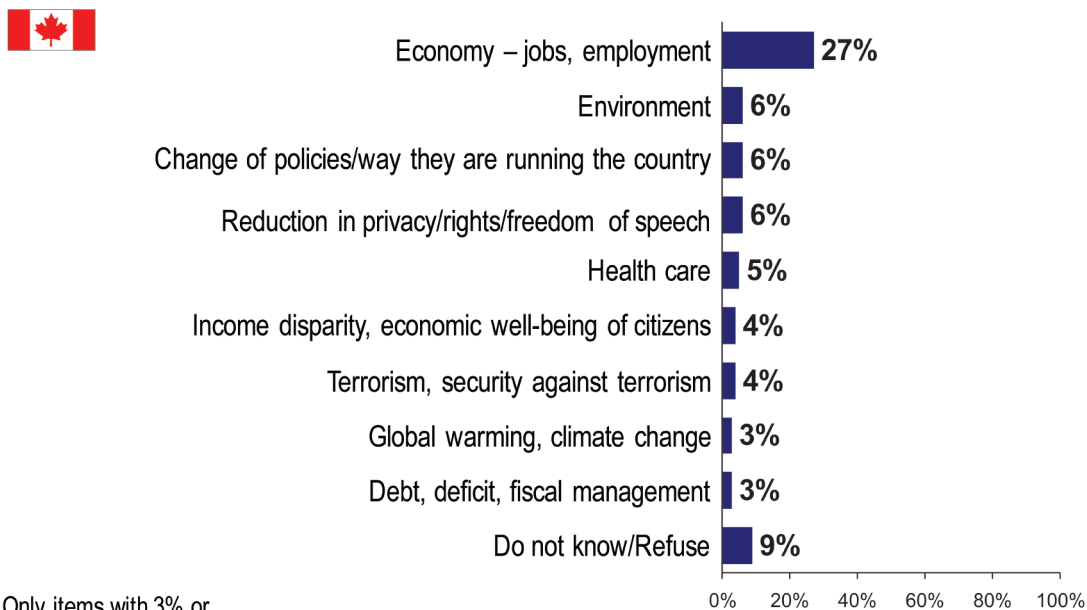
3.1 Issues facing Canada and the Arctic

Southern Canadians were asked, unprompted, to name the most important issues facing Canada as a whole. As in 2010, responses point to the economy as a leading priority, with 27 per cent of southern Canadians naming economic issues, such as jobs and employment, as the most important issue. Other important issues include the environment (six per cent), change in policies/direction of government (six per cent), issues related to privacy and freedom (six per cent), and health care (five per cent). Other issues were mentioned by less than five per cent of southern Canadian respondents.

Northern Canadians, southern Canadians, and Alaskans were asked, unprompted, to identify the most pressing issue facing the Arctic region of their respective countries. Similarly to the 2010

Issues Facing Canada

“What would you say is the most important issue facing Canada?”



Only items with 3% or more shown in chart

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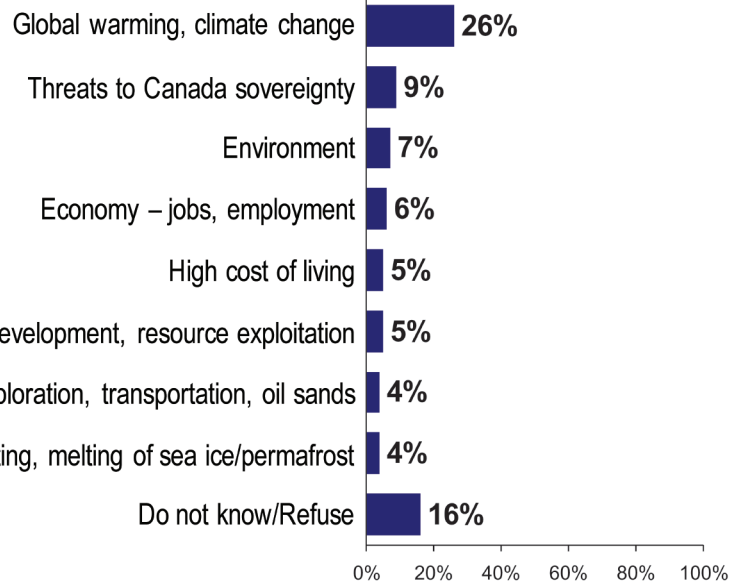
n=2042

The Gordon Foundation, 2015

- Economic issues are a particularly salient concern in Ontario and Atlantic Canada (36 per cent and 35 per cent, respectively, compared to 27 per cent on average). Those concerned with a change in the policies and direction of the federal government are primarily found in Quebec (13 per cent, compared to six per cent on average).

Most Important Issue Facing the Arctic Region

“What would you say is the most important issue facing the Arctic region of Canada?”



Only items with 3% or more shown in chart



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n=3312

The Gordon Foundation, 2015

- In northern Canada, the issue of climate change is particularly salient in Yukon, while respondents in Nunavut are comparatively more concerned with the high cost of living.
- In northern Canada, the perceived importance of climate change rises progressively with age.

survey, the most common responses in all three regions centred on the environment and climate change (mentioned by 33 per cent of respondents). Other responses (although mentioned by less than 10 per cent of respondents) include threats to Canada sovereignty (nine per cent), economy (six per cent), high cost of living and sustainable development (five per cent each). Specifically, one in 10 northern Canadians (10 per cent) cited the high cost of living in the Arctic, although few respondents from other regions identified this as an issue. In southern Canada, one in six (13 per cent) raised the issue of threats to Canadian sovereignty, an issue that was scarcely mentioned in the North. Finally, one in 10 Alaskan residents (11 per cent) brought up the issue of oil and gas exploitation.

3.2 Greatest Threat Facing the Arctic

Respondents in all countries surveyed were asked, unprompted, to identify the greatest threat to the Arctic. Once again, a clear plurality of respondents point to the environment (mentioned 20 to 40 per cent of the time). Other common responses (mentioned less than 10 per cent of the time) include environmental damage not specifically tied to climate change (e.g., pollution), resource exploitation, and oil and gas exploration. In addition, one in 10 southern Canadians (11 per cent) expressed concerns regarding encroaching foreign ownership and a lack of sovereignty, although these concerns were not shared by northern residents. One in seven respondents in the continental United States (14 per cent) also expressed concerns regarding the melting of sea ice and permafrost. Results are similar in the other six circumpolar countries, placing global warming and melting sea ice at the top of the list of threats facing the Arctic.

Table 3.1: North America Greatest Threat Facing the Arctic Region

	CDN North	CDN South	Alaska	South US
What do you think is the greatest threat facing the Arctic region today?				
n=	770	2042	500	1016
Global warming, climate change	37%	40%	30%	37%
Environmental damage/degradation (negatives to flora/fauna/pollution/land...)	8%	7%	5%	1%
Resource exploitation/development, overuse, unsustainable development	7%	5%	5%	0%
Oil & gas exploration/transportation, oil sands, pipeline, fracking/extracting issues (specific to oil and gas)	5%	3%	6%	1%
Government/lack of political support/ understanding/representation	4%	1%	0%	1%
High cost of living (cost of food, hydro...)	3%	1%	0%	0%
Encroaching foreign ownership, lack of autonomy/ sovereignty, intrusion of ownership/debates over ownership/who owns what resource	3%	11%	3%	1%
Human/outsider interference/intrusions, negative effects on land/North, lack of understanding/ ignorance of area, lack of respect for the North	2%	1%	3%	2%
Ice caps melting, melting of sea ice/permafrost	2%	8%	3%	14%
Oil & gas development being held up, open up production/exploration for oil (specific to Alaska/USA sample)	0%	0%	3%	0%
President/congress/senate exerting control, disagree with policies, getting rid of current president	0%	0%	4%	0%
Control our oil/resources, controlling our own oil production, interference	0%	0%	3%	0%
Other	0%	1%	1%	5%
Do not Know / Refuse	14%	15%	26%	35%

	Russia	Sweden	Finland	Norway	Denmark	Iceland
What do you think is the greatest threat facing the Arctic region today?						
n=	1011	1003	1002	1002	1000	866
Global warming, climate change	20%	32%	43%	26%	46%	30%
Ice caps melting, melting of sea ice/ permafrost	19%	12%	8%	4%	5%	3%
Environmental damage/degradation (negatives to flora/fauna/pollution/land...)	5%	7%	5%	7%	7%	11%
Human/outsider interference/intrusions, negative effects on land/North, lack of understanding/ ignorance of area, lack of respect for the North	4%	1%	3%	2%	3%	3%
Oil & gas exploration/transportation, oil sands, pipeline, fracking/extracting issues (specific to oil and gas)	3%	5%	5%	2%	4%	2%
Russia	0%	1%	3%	1%	1%	4%
Encroaching foreign ownership, lack of autonomy/sovereignty, intrusion of ownership/ debates over ownership/who owns what resource	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%
Other	9%	6%	5%	6%	4%	6%
Do not Know / Refuse	38%	35%	28%	49%	29%	36%

- Once again, respondents in Yukon were more likely to cite the issue of climate change.
- Outside of Alaska, university graduates are consistently more likely to express concerns over climate change.

3.3 Arctic Priorities

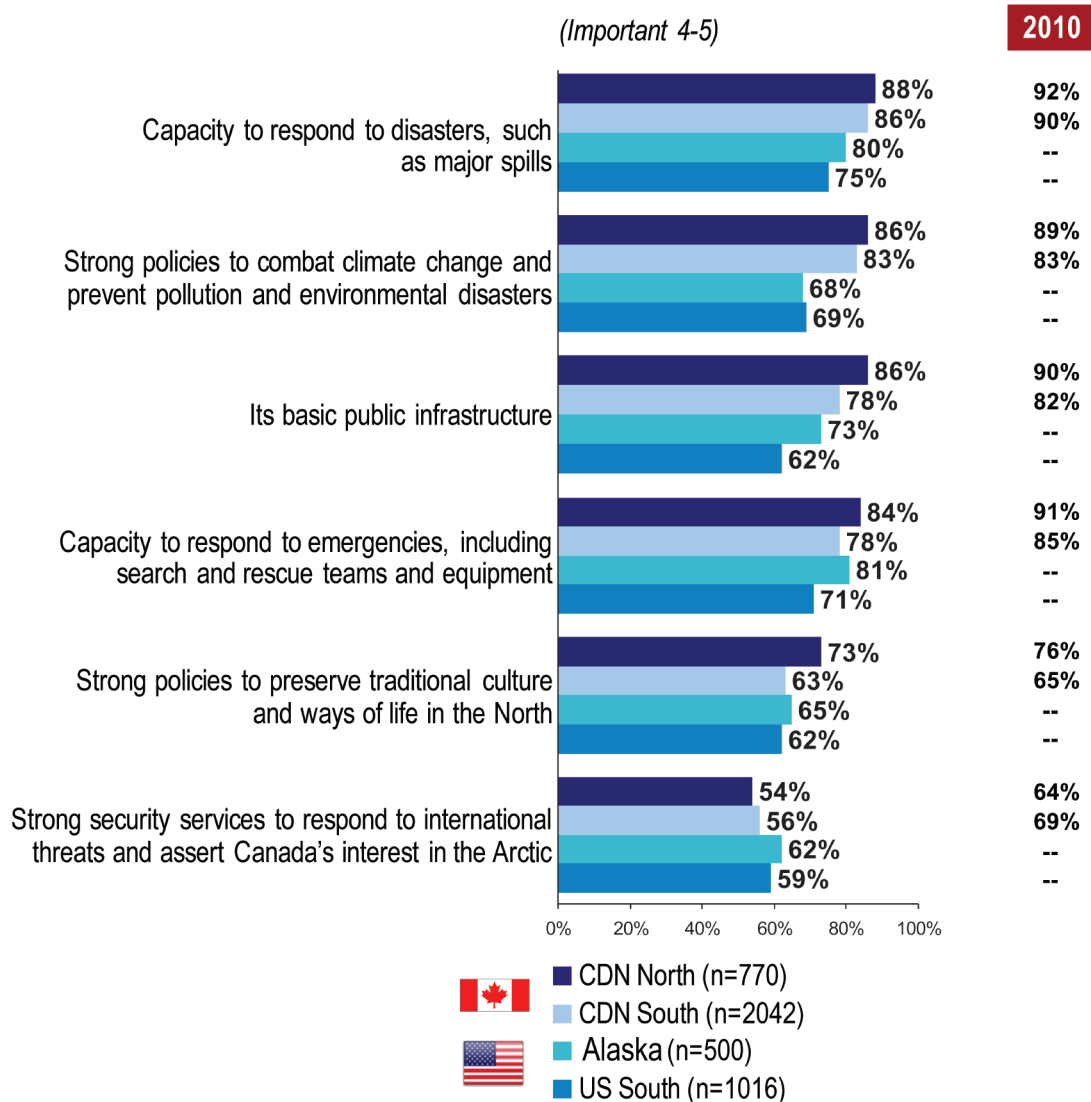
Respondents were asked to rank the importance of various elements surrounding life in the Canadian and American Arctic. Overall, responses from Canadians and Americans in both the north and south produced similar results, although Canadians seem to place somewhat more importance on climate change policy and basic public infrastructure than their American neighbours.

In northern Canada, more than eight in 10 residents place a great deal of importance on capacity to respond to disasters (88 per cent), strong policies to combat climate change (86 per cent), basic public infrastructure (86 per cent), and capacity to respond to emergencies (84 per cent). Three-quarters (73 per cent), meanwhile, see strong policies to preserve culture as a key priority. Capacity to respond to international threats is seen as comparatively less crucial, although just over half (54 per cent) rate it as important.

Southern Canadians appear to share a similar set of values to residents of the North in that they rank these issues in a similar order, although they place somewhat less importance on strong cultural policies. Nine in 10 residents of southern Canada (86 per cent) say that the capacity to respond to environmental disasters is important, while eight in 10 place a high level of importance on climate change policies (83 per cent), basic public infrastructure (78 per cent), and emergency response capacity (78 per cent). About six in 10 feel that strong cultural policies and the ability to respond to international threats are important (63 per cent and 56 per cent, respectively).

Importance of Different Elements of Arctic

"How important are each of the following in the Canadian Arctic today?"



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- Women are more likely to rate cultural policies as important (81 per cent, compared to 66 per cent of men).
- The perceived importance of international defence capabilities declines as socio-economic status rises. Fully 71 per cent of those limited to a high school education or less see this as a top priority, compared to just 40 per cent of university graduates. Similarly, 63 per cent of those with an annual household income of less than \$40,000 say these policies are important, compared to just 45 per cent of those earning \$120,000 or more.
- Those self-identifying as Indigenous are more likely to give strong cultural policies high priority.

- As seen in northern Canada, women in southern Canada are more likely to rate cultural policies as important.
- The perceived importance of security is lower among university graduates, in Quebec and British Columbia, and among those ages 30-39 (39 per cent, compared to 65 per cent of those ages 60 and over).

In Alaska, eight in 10 residents see capacity to respond to emergencies (81 per cent) and capacity to respond to environmental disasters (80 per cent) as highly important. Three-quarters (73 per cent), meanwhile, assign a high degree of importance to basic public infrastructure. Two-thirds see strong environmental policies (68 per cent) and strong cultural policies (65 per cent) as top priorities. Six in 10 (62 per cent) rate strong services designed to respond to international threats as important.

- The perceived importance of basic public infrastructure declines with income (from 82 per cent of those with an annual household income of less than \$40,000 to 58 per cent of those earning \$150,000 or more).

Respondents in the continental U.S. express similar sets of priorities to those of their northern counterparts, although they place somewhat less importance on basic public infrastructure and emergency response. Three-quarters (75 per cent) identify capacity to respond to environmental disasters as a top priority, while seven in 10 assign a high level of importance to emergency response (71 per cent) and strong climate change policies (69 per cent). Six in 10 say that basic public infrastructure (62 per cent), strong cultural policies (62 per cent), and capacity to respond to international threats (59 per cent) should be top priorities.

3.4 Trade-off Analysis

Respondents in southern Canada were presented with a hypothetical scenario in which they could decide how to allocate one billion dollars in government funding over the next 10 years. Respondents were presented with pairs of choices (from a list of 15 items) and asked to choose between the two in order to create an overall hierarchy and provide an accurate picture of the choices that Canadians would make.

The figures in the chart represent how often each item was selected over the other items tested. A score of over 50 indicates that the option was selected over other options the majority of the time and is therefore a relatively more popular choice. Conversely, a score of under 50 suggests a relatively less popular choice.

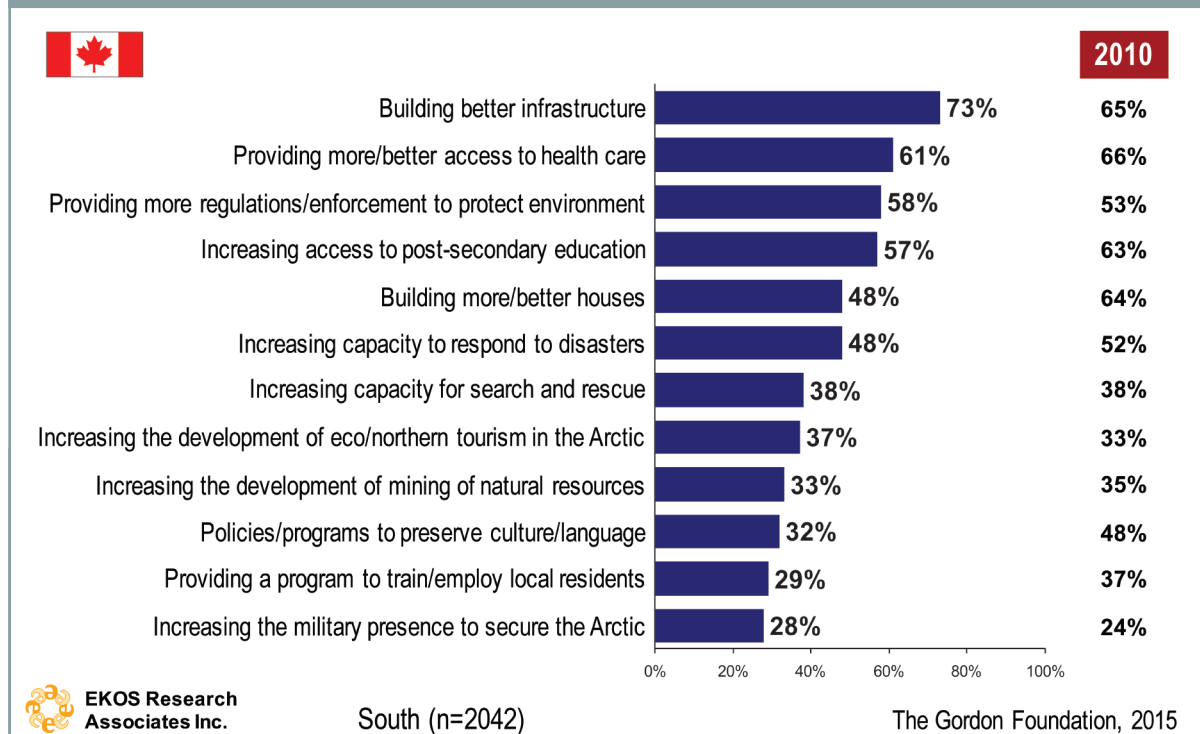
Most notably, infrastructure tops the list, with southern Canadian respondents selecting it over other options 73 per cent of the time. Other “winners” include improving access to health care (selected 61 per cent of the time), enhancing environmental regulations (58 per cent), and increasing access to post-secondary education (57 per cent). Middle-tier priorities include the development of new housing (48 per cent) and improving the capacity to respond to disasters (48 per cent).

Spending on economic development, culture, and military are all seen as comparatively less important. Increasing search and rescue capacity and promoting tourism in the Arctic were selected 38 per cent and 37 per cent of the time, respectively. Increasing natural resource development and creating policies to preserve the culture of northerners were each selected one-third of the time (33 per cent and 32 per cent, respectively). Training local residents as a military force and increasing the military presence in the Arctic were ranked as the lowest priorities, selected 29 per cent and 28 per cent of the time, respectively.

Comparing results with those found in 2010, the perceived need for infrastructure in the Canadian Arctic among southern Canadians has increased over the last five years. The perceived need for more or better housing has decreased, along with the decrease in perceived need for policies to preserve language and culture, and programs to train or employ northern residents.

Ranking Priorities — Trade Off

“Suppose you were in charge for a day and you had to choose how to invest one billion dollars over the next 10 years to help the Canadian Arctic prepare to face its future challenges. Which of the following investments...?”



- Women are more likely to select better access to health care and policies designed to preserve the culture and language of northern inhabitants. Men, in contrast, are more apt to choose increasing the development of natural resources and increasing Canada's military presence in the Arctic.
- University graduates are more likely to select tougher environmental measures and better access to health care. The high-school educated, meanwhile, are more likely to select increasing natural resource development.

Map 3: Transportation infrastructure



Source: <http://map.arcticinfrastructure.org/#mapID=49&groupID=363&z=1.0&up=238228.3&left=2006898.0>

3.5 Adequacy of Different Elements of Arctic Capacity

3.5.1 Survey Responses

Respondents in northern Canada and Alaska were asked to rate the adequacy of different elements of capacity in the Arctic. Results reveal a particularly grim assessment of the capacity to meet the needs of northern residents. In particular, the capacity to combat climate change and to respond to disasters, such as oil spills, are seen as gravely inadequate.

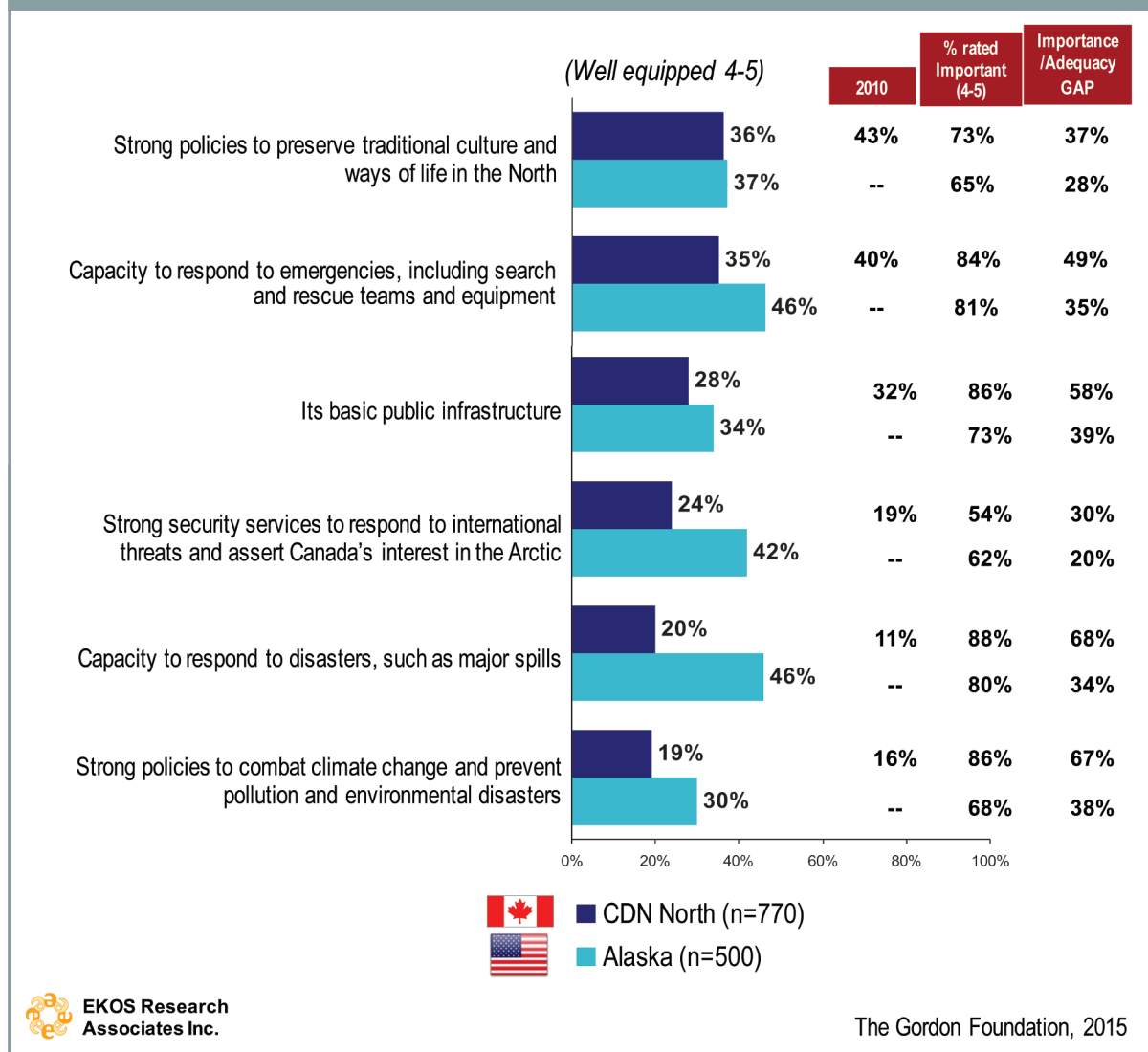
Only one in three northern Canadians feel the Canadian North is well equipped to preserve traditional ways of life (36 per cent) and respond to emergencies (35 per cent). Although results are the same in Alaska with respect to policies to preserve traditional ways of life, results are considerably more positive in terms of capacity to respond to emergencies (46 per cent versus 35 per cent in Canada). Northern Canadians are less positive about basic public infrastructure. The assessment is more positive in Yukon and Northwest Territories (39 and 41 per cent), but quite low in Nunavut, where only 24 per cent rate the infrastructure positively, and 40 per cent rate it as poor. Only 19 to 24 per cent of northern Canadians are confident in the adequacy of policies to combat climate change, capacity to respond to disasters and ability to respond to international threats. As with response to emergencies, Alaskans are considerably more positive than their

Canadian counterparts about their capacity to respond to security threats, disasters and climate change.

The results also show some dramatic gaps between the importance placed on these elements and their perceived adequacy. For instance, 88 per cent of respondents rated capacity to respond to disasters as important, but only 20 per cent say the Arctic is well equipped to deal with such an event (yielding a 68-point gap). Similarly, responses show a 67-point difference in the

Adequacy of Arctic Capacity

"How well equipped do you think the Canadian/American Arctic is today to be able meet current needs in each of the following areas?"



- In terms of basic public infrastructure, it is not surprising that residents of Nunavut (who have no major roads connecting them with other communities or to other territories/provinces) are the most negative, with 40 per cent rating their infrastructure as poor.
- Ratings in the Canadian North generally decline with increased education. Men are less positive than women in many cases.

importance placed on the ability to combat climate change and the Arctic's capacity to actually do so. Basic public infrastructure also registers a significant gap of 58 points. The gap between importance and capacity rated by Alaskans is consistently smaller than found among northern Canadians. The starkest differences are found in response to disasters and combating climate change where the gap is almost twice as large in northern Canada.

Results are largely in line with findings from 2010, although Canadian ratings of policies to protect traditional culture seem to have slipped. Results appear on the surface to have increased regarding capacity to respond to disasters. However, it should be noted that this question was posed with and without forest fires as an example. Adding forest fires to the list of examples increases confidence; however, response to disasters such as oil spills (i.e., without the mention of forest fires as an example) is about as low as it was in 2010 (14 per cent rating it positively). The views of Alaskans have become more positive since 2013 regarding capacity in the areas of basic infrastructure, capacity to respond to disasters and policies to combat climate change.

3.5.2 Focus Group Discussions

When asked about whether or not they see evidence or impact of public policy decisions on their daily lives in the Arctic, many focus group participants said that they are unfamiliar with what the federal government is doing, pointing to a general disconnect and gap in communications. Some said that the federal government's understanding of daily realities as they affect northerners is distant and, in some cases, possibly misguided. One focus group participant suggested, "We've been trying to deal with (the same issues) for as long as I can remember. I'm sure that there is something being done, but in the community level you don't see it". Public consultation conducted by all levels of government was described by some participants in one group as disingenuous, "agenda-driven," and generally a poor reflection of public attitudes and needs in the North. Frustration was also expressed with the perceived lack of accountability of the territorial and federal governments. Some mention was made of power struggles between different politicians ("ego gets in the way") that reduces the impact and effectiveness on community change.

The students from Nunavut spoke mostly about the impact of local programs and policies. Some described positive examples of local community programs and policies put in place to address local issues and support northern residents. In the words of one participant, "It is in the community that you see people trying to change things. They have programs in the schools where they figure out how (best) to deal with (problems) and then they figure out how to try to help". In particular they spoke about programs aimed at youth, education, and mental or physical health issues. Some talked, however, about funding challenges and examples of good community programs being cut because of lack of funding.

As previously noted, some focus group participants expressed a preference for local or regional boards to address local issues over territorial or federal initiatives. Given the unique nature of each community, these participants feel that local groups need to be involved in the resulting

approaches for solutions, espousing the view that “one size does not fit all”. One focus group participant indicated that they thought that, “Some of the decisions they make today are based toward one community and it will really benefit that community but it won’t really work in another community because there are such drastic [differences] between [the communities]; each one is unique”.

A few focus group participants in Yukon expressed the view that increased co-operation, collaboration, and communication between the federal government and the territorial and local governments is important to address Arctic issues. There was some recognition that the federal government has a leadership role in this area.

4. Perceptions Related to Arctic Security

4.1 Definition of Arctic Security

4.1.1 Survey Responses

Canadians and Americans were asked to rate the importance of five different aspects of security when it comes to protecting the Arctic. Responses indicate some modest differences in the way Canadians and Americans perceive Arctic security, but also reveal some notable differences between those who reside in the north and south of their respective countries. Canadians — particularly those in northern Canada — are relatively more likely to see domestic issues (environmental, social, and cultural security) as the most important. Americans, however, place comparatively equal or greater importance on national security issues.

Nine in 10 respondents from northern Canada see environmental security and social security as crucial issues in protecting the Canadian Arctic (90 per cent and 86 per cent, respectively). Two-thirds say economic security (69 per cent) and cultural and language security (67 per cent) are important. Just under half (45 per cent) feel that national security is important.

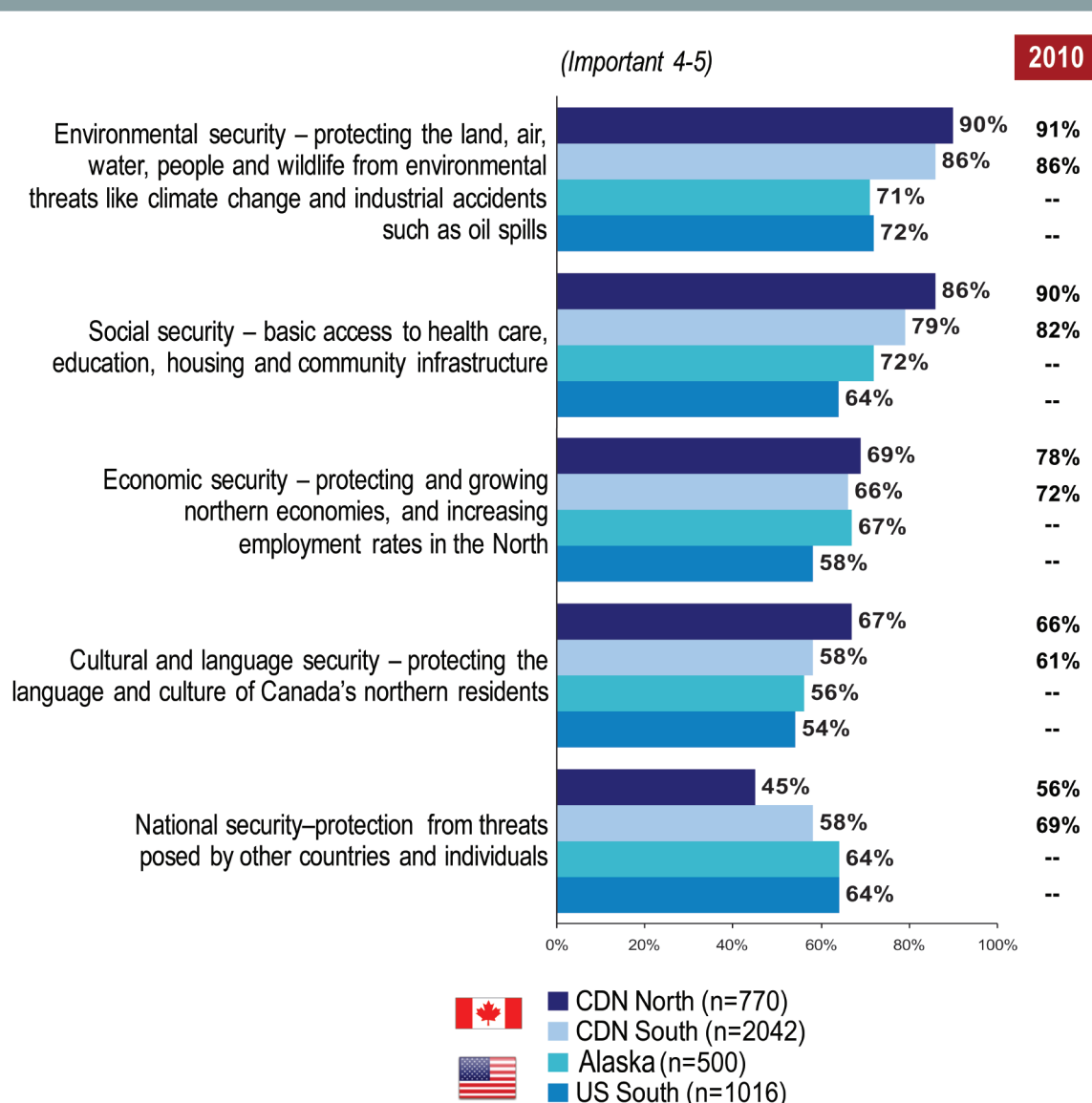
- Women are relatively more likely to rate social security as important (92 per cent, compared to 79 per cent of men).
- University graduates place noticeably less importance on national security (33 per cent, compared to 45 per cent on average), while high school graduates are somewhat more concerned with culture and language issues (77 per cent versus 67 per cent).
- Those self-identifying as Indigenous and respondents in Nunavut are more likely to place a high level of importance on cultural and language security (79 per cent and 78 per cent, respectively, compared to 67 per cent on average). Respondents in Yukon are less likely to feel that economic security is important (58 per cent, compared to 76 per cent of residents of the Northwest Territories and 75 per cent of Nunavut residents).

In contrast to their northern counterparts, southern Canadians place somewhat less importance on social and cultural security, and comparatively more importance on national security. Almost nine in 10 of southern Canadians (86 per cent) say environmental security is highly important, while eight in 10 (79 per cent) say social security is important. Two-thirds (66 per cent) rate economic security as a high priority, while six in 10 treat cultural security and national security as primary concerns (58 per cent each).

Similar to Canadian respondents, Alaskans place comparatively more importance on domestic issues (such as social security and economic security) than residents of the continental United States. Seven in 10 Alaskans place a high level of importance on social security (72 per cent), environmental security (71 per cent), and economic security (67 per cent). About six in 10, meanwhile, rate cultural security and national security as high priorities (56 and 64 per cent, respectively).

Definition of Security (Prompted)

"How important are each of the following to your own definition of security when it comes to protecting the Canadian/American Arctic?"



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- Women place a comparatively higher level of importance on social security (85 per cent, compared to 72 per cent of men) and cultural security (64 per cent versus 51 per cent).
- Seniors (i.e., those ages 60 and over) are somewhat more likely to rate economic security and national security as top priorities.
- University graduates are noticeably less likely to rate national security as important (33 per cent, compared to 45 per cent on average).

- The perceived importance of environmental security is notably higher among those under the age of 40 (80 to 85 per cent, compared to 64 per cent of those ages 60 and over).
- Women place more importance on social security and environmental security.
- Those of lower socio-economic status are more likely to select national security.
- Those self-identifying as Indigenous are more apt to say cultural security is important (71 per cent, compared to 56 per cent on average).

Seven in 10 respondents in the continental United States (72 per cent) say environmental security should be a high priority. About six in 10 assign a high level of importance to national security (64 per cent), social security (64 per cent), and economic security (58 per cent). Just over half say culture and language is an important element of their definition of security (54 per cent).

- Those under the age of 40 are more likely to assign a higher level of importance to economic security and cultural security.

4.1.2 Focus Group Discussions

In focus groups participants described Arctic security largely in relation to food security, housing quality and availability, job security (or insecurity), threats to the environment and natural resources in the Arctic, and personal safety. Relatively few described security in relation to military threat or protection, although this was mentioned in two of the five discussion groups.

On a personal and community level, “Arctic Security” was seen in the Nunavut students canvassed as pertaining to their culture and people, linking back to issues such as education, housing, food, language and social development. Here, security connoted personal, family and community well-being in a socio-economic and cultural sense. Participants in one NS focus group agreed that the government should focus more of its efforts on social, economic and cultural security than on military security. The following selection of quotes are illustrative:

- “Support to have a healthy life, like food on the table and clothes on your back, is what is important.”
- “The other stuff (military security and international borders) is something that can get solved in 50 to 75 years down the road, not next year. The daily stuff is something more immediate and something that can be addressed right away.”
- “We need to focus on the daily needs of our community today, like not paying so much for fresh food because it has to be flown in. We need to fix these kinds of things that are more important to us today.”
- “Not solving the problems caused by the changing (traditional) world to the new one is hard ... and is putting a lot of pressure on (our people).”
- “Our basic rights are being violated, like proper education, healthy food, and housing. There’s overcrowding and other problems that need to be dealt with first”
- “We don’t want to always feel guarded about who is coming here to take our resources”.

Energy security was also mentioned by most focus group participants in the Northwest Territories, as affecting the cost of living, a viable northern economy and economic security. Sustainable development was also mentioned as an economic imperative, vital to the future well-being and maintenance of northern communities.

Many participants said that they feel an increasing threat and sense of vulnerability related to food security and economic security, rather than military security. Increased threat to the environment was also discussed and the need to increase the level of attention paid to and capacity to address environmental disasters. In a discussion about the balance between economic and environmental security, most felt that these can be accomplished in tandem and one does not become a lesser priority in relation to the other.

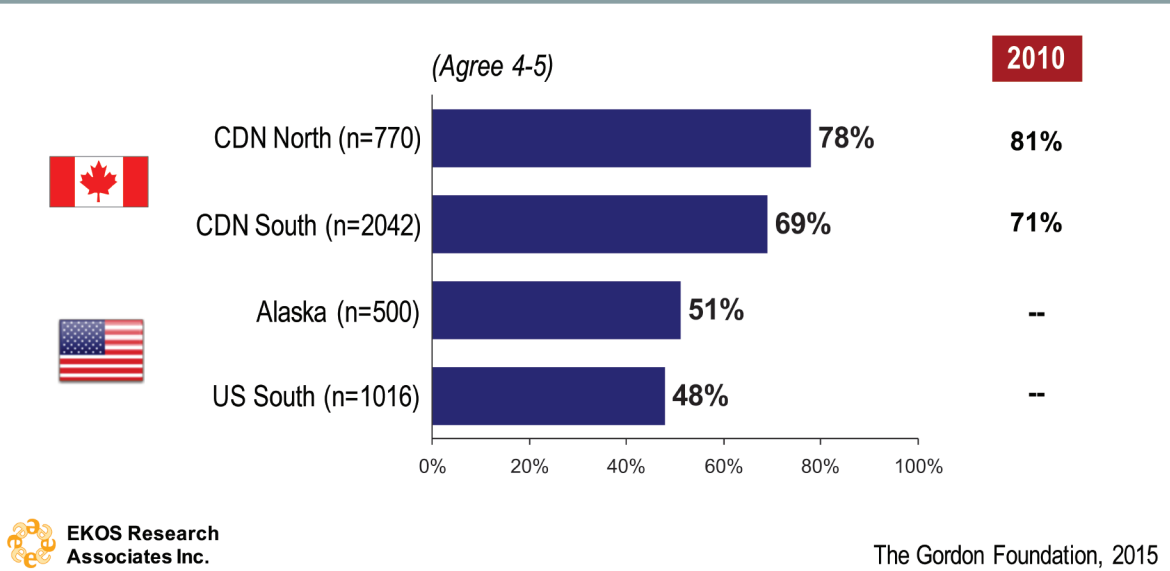
Of the few who mentioned military security, participants talked about international competition in positioning over resources and shipping lanes. Participants expressed concern for “getting pushed around”, having “others taking over,” and “having to make compromises that (they) don’t want to make.” One Nunavut youth observed that “there are only six larger ships protecting all of the Arctic. That’s not very much!” The protection offered by the Canadian military was seen by the same respondent more as symbolic, than effective deterrence.

4.2 Approach to Arctic Security

Canadians are more likely than Americans to agree that the best way to protect national interests in the Arctic is to have people living there. Northern Canadians are the most likely to agree with the statement (78 per cent), contrasting sharply with Alaskans, where only 51 per cent agree.

Approach to National Security

"The best way to protect Canada's/America's interests in the Arctic is to have Canadians/Americans living there."

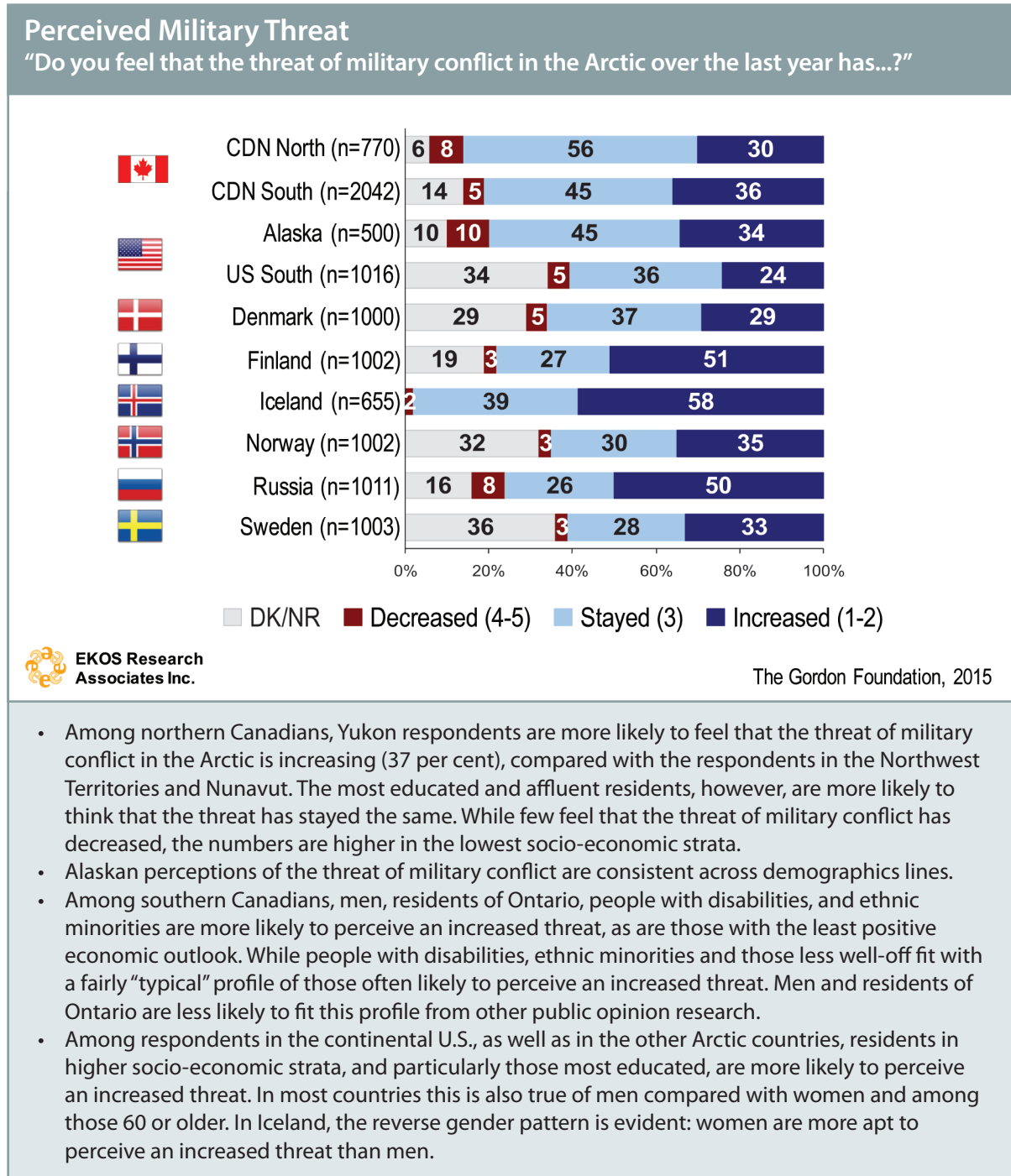


- Northern Canadians are quite uniform in their responses across demographic lines.
- In southern Canada, men, those aged 60 or older and westerners are most likely to agree with the statement (73 to 82 per cent).
- Quebeckers and Indigenous respondents in the south (51 per cent) are less likely to agree with the statement than other southern Canadians.
- In Alaska, 30 to 39 year old residents are more likely to agree with the statement (65 per cent) whereas those under 30 are the least likely age group (40 per cent) to see it as the best way to protect American interests in the Arctic. The group with the highest disagreement with the statement is Alaskans with a more pessimistic economic outlook (20 per cent).
- In the continental United States, men, those with a household income between \$40,000 and \$120,000, and those with a higher self-rated quality of life are more likely to agree with the statement. Americans under 30, those with household incomes less than \$40,000, and those with a low self-rated quality of life are least likely to agree.

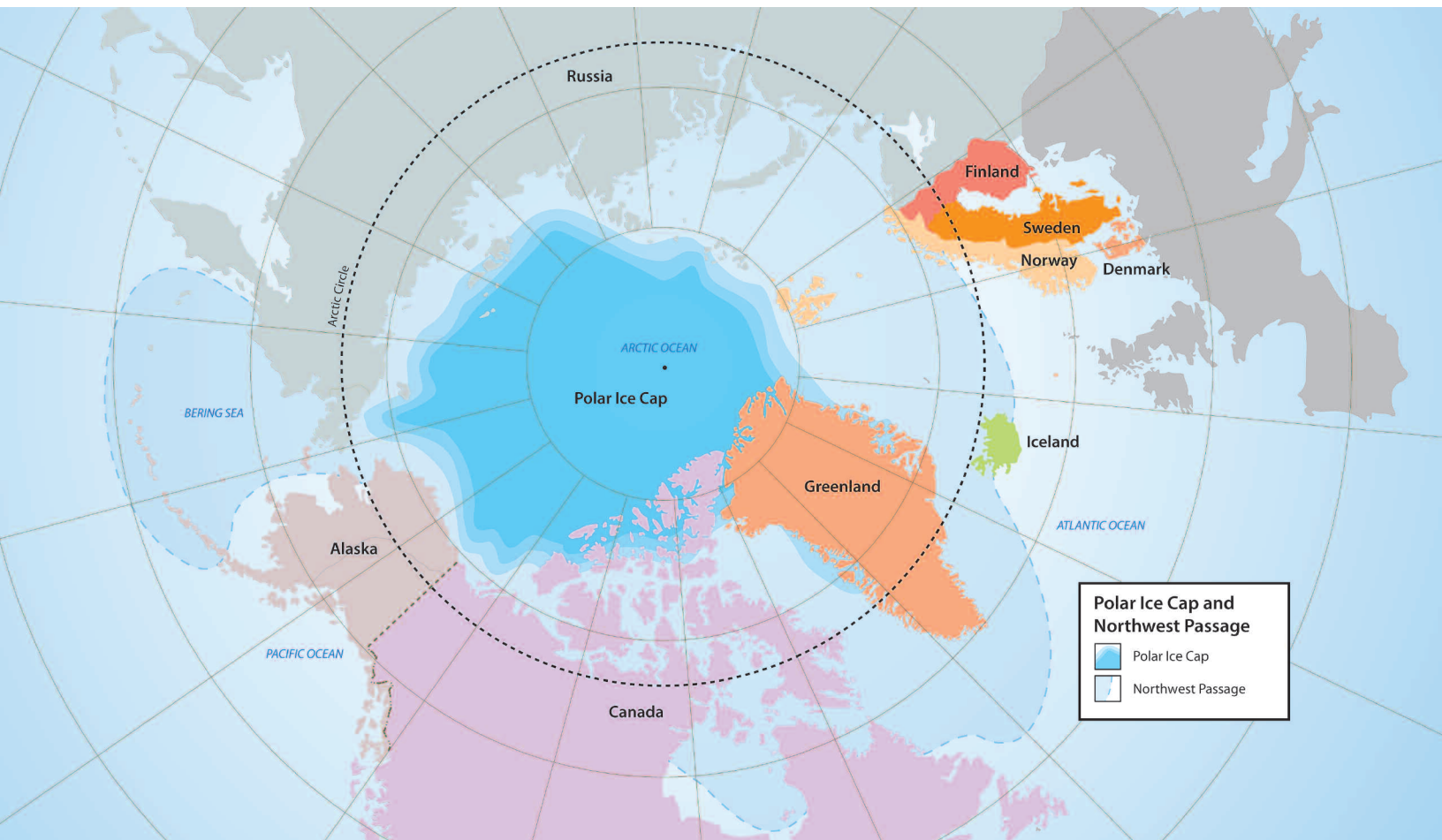
4.3 Perceived Military Threat

4.3.1 Survey Responses

Most residents perceive that the threat of military conflict in the Arctic over the last year has either stayed the same or increased. In Canada and Alaska, the majority of residents think that the threat has not changed (56 per cent among northern Canadians and 45 per cent elsewhere), although about one in three feels that the threat has risen (30 to 36 per cent). Respondents in the



Map 4: Polar Ice Cap and Northwest Passage



Source: <https://sites.google.com/site/arcticseaicegraphs/>

continental United States report similar results, taking into consideration that one in three (34 per cent) did not feel that they could comment on the change in level of threat of military conflict in the Arctic.

In most other countries, between 16 and 36 per cent of respondents are unsure how the threat of military conflict has changed. The exception is Iceland, where almost all respondents provided a response. Excluding “don’t know” responses, roughly half of respondents in each country believe that the threat of military conflict has increased.

Importantly, very few people believe that the threat of military conflict has diminished in 2015 in all the countries surveyed.

4.3.2 Focus Group Discussions

Concern about increased military threat in the Arctic was not particularly strong across any of the discussions. There were some observations made in the Northwest Territories of a Russian presence in the Canadian Arctic (i.e., flyovers) and insufficient response from Canada. A need for increased Canadian military personnel was argued by some to be needed in order to replace some of the lost personnel that were stationed in the Arctic in the 1980s. Some concern was expressed about increased need for military protection, because of increasingly ice-free waters,

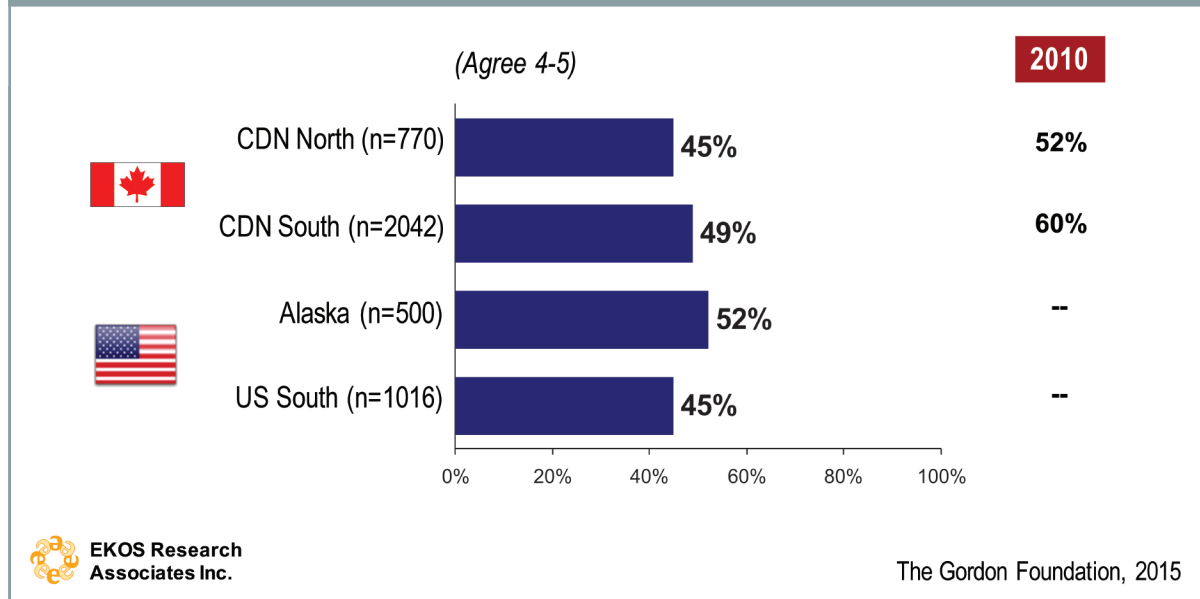
and the resulting increases in marine transportation, as well as increasing economic interests of other countries in natural resource extraction.

4.4 Support for Strengthening Military Presence

About half of Canadians and Americans feel that their country's military presence should be strengthened in the North to protect against international threats. Canadians in the North and South

Support for Strengthening Military Presence

"Canada/the United States should strengthen its military presence in the North in order to protect against international threats."



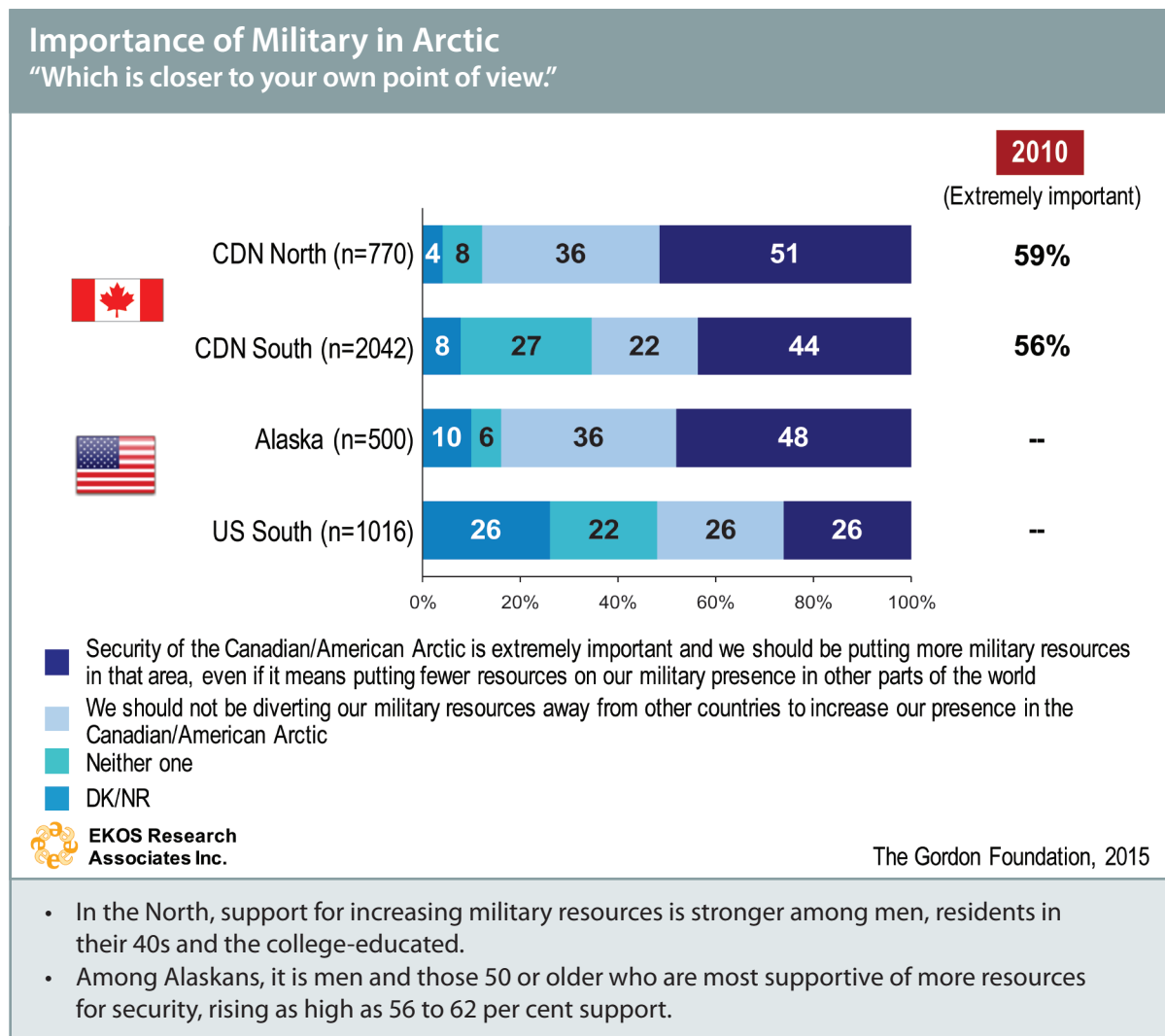
- Support for strengthening military presence is much greater among men and those in lower socio-economic strata. In northern Canada, 51 per cent of men, 60 per cent of those with household incomes of under \$40,000, and 68 per cent of those with a high school level of education support an increased military presence. Support is also slightly higher among Canadians under 30 years of age, and higher among Indigenous people (59 per cent). Respondents from all three territories have similar levels of support for strengthening Canada's military presence in the Arctic.
- Canadians aged 30 to 39 and more educated or affluent Canadians are more likely to oppose strengthening the military's presence in the Arctic.
- Southern Canadians follow similar gender and socio-economic patterns, although the strongest supporters of an increased military presence are over 60 years of age. Regionally, support is strongest in Alberta and weakest in British Columbia and Quebec.
- There are fewer differences along socio-economic lines in Alaska. Support for an increased military presence is highest among people 50 to 59 years old (65 per cent), and among people self-identifying as Indigenous (64 per cent). Support is lower among under-30 year olds, and individuals who are college-educated.
- Among respondents in the continental U.S., support is significantly higher in the northeastern U.S., as well as those reporting \$80,000 to \$120,000 household incomes (53 per cent) and reporting high quality of life (57 per cent). Opposition to an increased military presence is higher among university-educated people, and as well as those with a self-rated poor quality of life. The latter is the reverse of the pattern found among Canadians.

have closer views compared to the gap between Alaskans and other Americans. Similar to Alaskans, northern Canadians are somewhat less likely to see the need for a strengthened military presence.

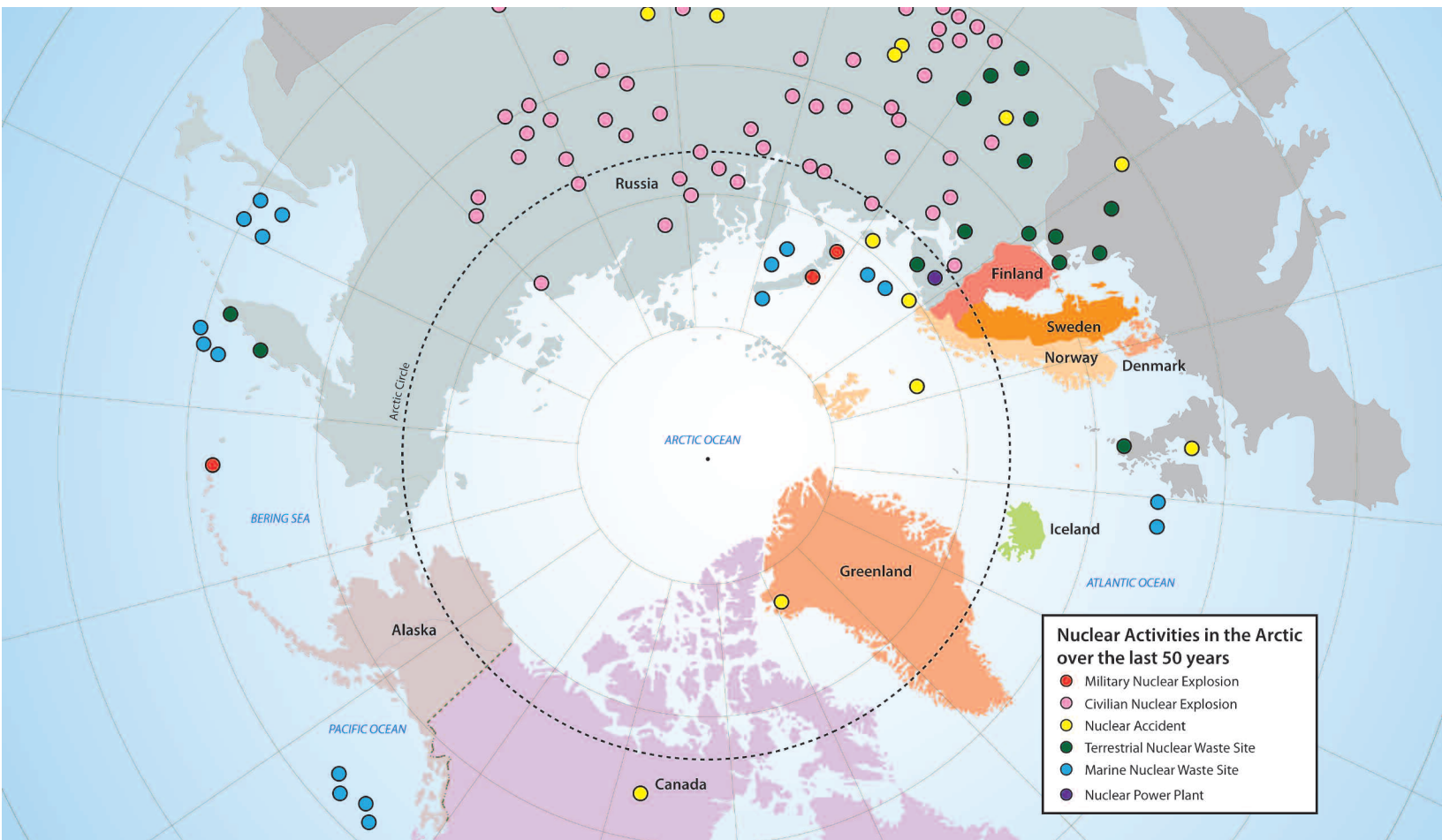
While results from 2010 are not available for the United States, Canadians in 2015 are less likely to support an increased military presence than they were in 2010, particularly among southern Canadians.

4.5 Importance of Military Security in the Arctic

Respondents were asked if they feel that Canada should devote more military resources to the Arctic, even if it entails diverting resources from other parts of the world. A narrow majority of northern Canadians (51 per cent) agree with this idea, compared with 36 per cent who do not agree. This is similar, if marginally weaker, than measured in 2010. Support is somewhat weaker in the rest of Canada where 44 per cent agree, but 22 per cent do not; this is significantly lower than the 56 per cent who agreed in 2010. Although Alaskans largely agree with northern Canadians, those living in the continental United States are more divided and generally less sure.



Map 5: Nuclear Activities in the Arctic Over the Last 50 Years



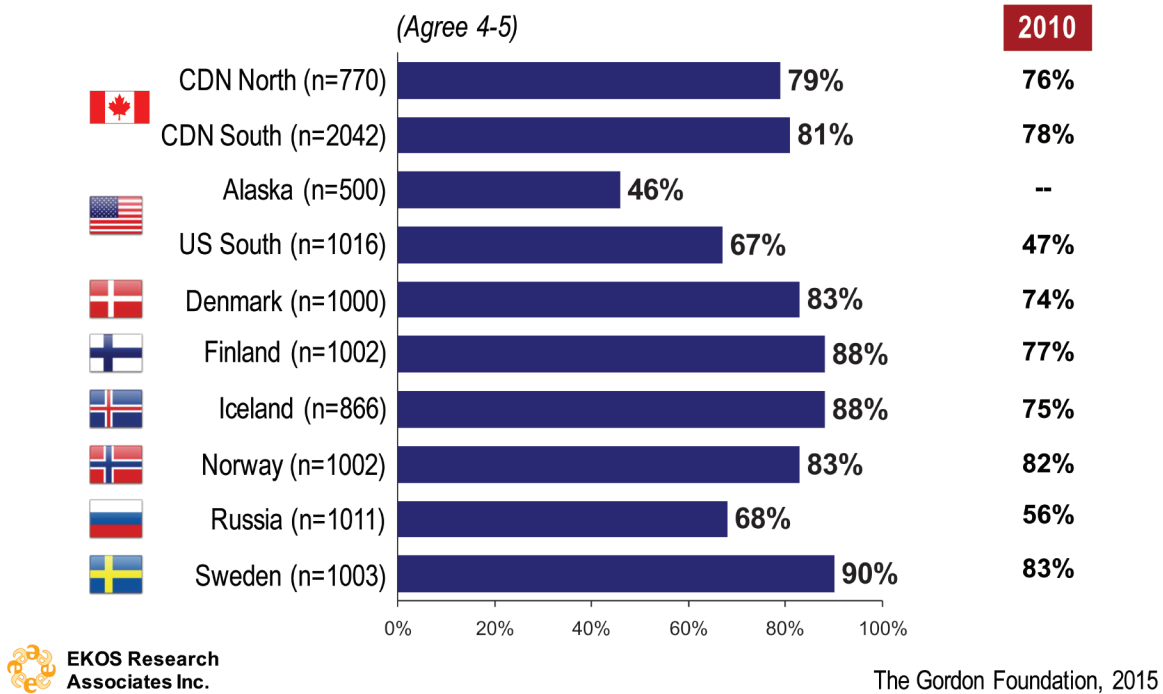
Source: http://www.grida.no/graphicslib/thumbs/1805c933-493c-4b85-be16-ad06eb342332/medium/nuclear-activities-in-the-arctic-over-the-last-50-years_12df.jpg

4.6 Arctic as Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone

There is overwhelming support from respondents in all states surveyed for making the Arctic a nuclear weapons-free zone. In Canada, Iceland, and the Scandinavian countries, eight to nine in 10 residents agree with this idea. Although these results look similar to the 2010 results in Canada, agreement may be up in Denmark, Finland and Sweden from 2010. Agreement is higher in Iceland than it was five years ago. In Russia and the continental United States, agreement drops to roughly two in three residents. In the United States, 15 per cent neither agree nor disagree and seven per cent disagree. In Russia, eight per cent said they neither agree nor disagree and 17 per cent disagree. These results show an increase in agreement from 2010, when results showed that fewer than half of Americans agreed and 56 per cent of Russians agreed. The most pronounced difference can be found among residents of Alaska, where 46 per cent agree, but 22 per cent said neither agree nor disagree and a full 28 per cent disagree.

Arctic as Nuclear Weapons Free Zone

"The Arctic should be a nuclear weapons free zone just like Antarctica is, and the United States and Russia should remove their nuclear weapons from the Arctic."



- In Northern Canada, agreement is marginally more pronounced among Indigenous respondents, and those with a high school level of education, and also among households reporting \$40,000 to \$80,000 in income (87 per cent in each case).
- Among southern Canadians, agreement is more concentrated among residents reporting household incomes of \$40,000 to \$80,000, whereas the most affluent are somewhat less likely to agree (73 per cent).
- In Alaska, there is a gender split with 53 per cent of women agreeing compared with only 40 per cent of men. Residents who are 60 or older, and the least affluent are also marginally more apt to agree. Disagreement is the most concentrated among the small proportion of residents with concerns about their economic future.
- Among respondents in the continental United States, agreement is most concentrated among respondents reporting high (but not the highest) household income, those reporting high quality of life and health.
- In other countries, agreement is more evenly distributed, but in some cases more pronounced among older residents. In Denmark, however, agreement is highest among the under-30 cohort. Agreement is also higher among residents with higher income in Sweden and in Iceland, and in the case of Iceland, men compared with women.

5. Arctic Council

Member States



Permanent Participants



The Arctic Council is a high-level intergovernmental forum that addresses common issues and concerns faced by Arctic governments and Indigenous peoples of the region. It is the most active intergovernmental forum concerned with the Arctic and the only one comprising all eight Arctic nations. The Arctic Council is primarily concerned with the promotion of environmental protection and sustainable development of the region. Respondents from the eight member states were asked a series of questions regarding the Arctic Council.

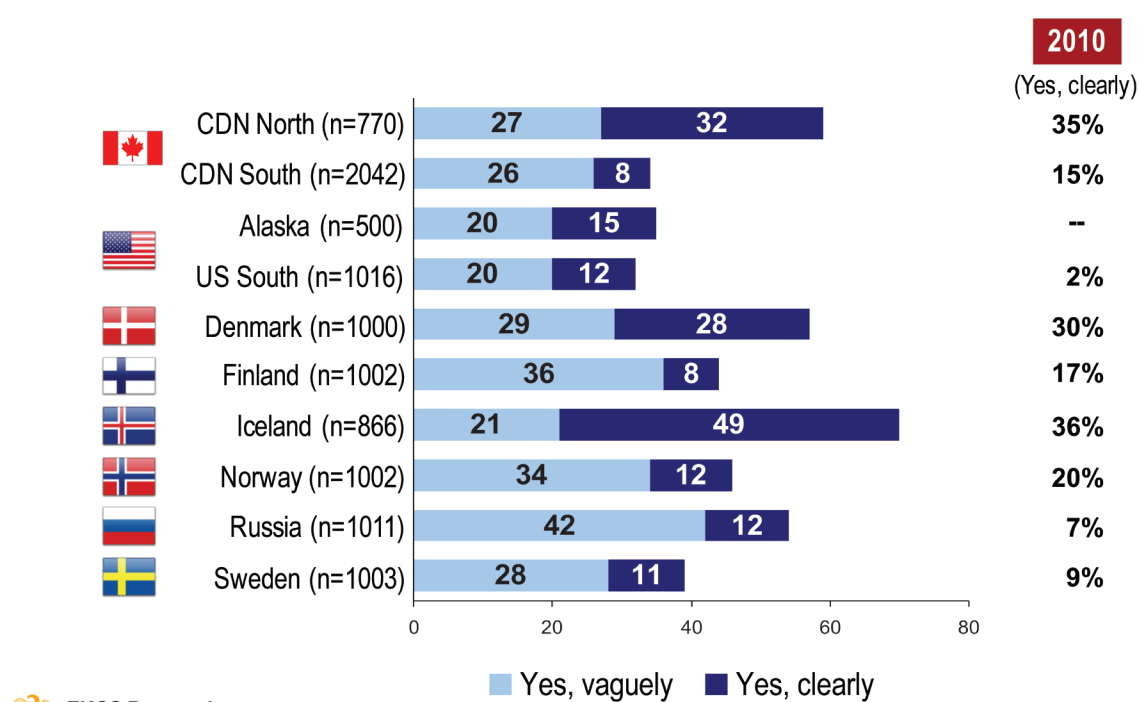
5.1 Awareness of the Arctic Council

5.1.1 Survey Responses

Respondents from all eight countries were asked if they had heard of the Arctic Council. Awareness appears to be highest in Iceland (70 per cent say they are either clearly or vaguely aware of the Arctic Council, with 49 per cent saying they are clearly aware). This is followed by awareness in northern Canada, Denmark and Russia, where 59, 57, and 54 per cent respectively said they are aware of the Council, although clear awareness is higher in northern Canada (32 per cent), and lower in Russia (12 per cent). Just under half of respondents in Norway and Finland said they are aware of the Council (46 and 44 per cent, respectively and only 12 and eight per cent clearly aware), and marginally lower in Sweden (39 per cent). Awareness is lowest among respondents in the continental United States and southern Canadians, where only one in three are aware (eight to 15 per cent clearly aware).

Awareness of Arctic Council

"Have you ever heard of an intergovernmental forum or group called the Arctic Council that is made up of eight countries with Arctic regions?"



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- In the North, the most affluent and educated Canadians, along with men, are more aware of the Arctic Council, while women, those under 30, Indigenous residents and those in the lowest socio-economic status are less apt to be aware.
- Among southern Canadians, awareness is highest among the most educated, and lower among women, and Quebecers in particular.
- Among Alaskans, awareness is higher among those reporting the highest household incomes but also those who are college-educated. It is lowest among residents under 40.
- Respondents in the continental U.S. who are under age 40 are most apt to be aware of the Arctic Council, as are those with the highest education level. Awareness is also higher among ethnic minorities.

Awareness among southern Canadians has dropped since 2010, which also seems to be the case in Finland and Norway. Awareness has clearly risen in Iceland since 2010 and may also have increased among respondents in the continental United States, although it has dropped in Alaska from 48 per cent clearly or vaguely aware in the 2013 Institute of the North study.

5.1.2 Focus Group Discussions

In focus group discussions participants were generally not highly familiar with the Arctic Council, although many said that they had heard of it. Awareness was perhaps greatest among the students from Nunavut, because they had discussed the Council in class just a few weeks prior to the focus groups being held. However, even among this group, understanding of the Council was

not deep. A few were particularly knowledgeable, describing it as “circumpolar countries getting together to talk about what to do about issues like shipping and resources and who owns what.” Beyond knowing what it is in broad terms, however, they do not have a sense of the topics that are covered by the Council, although many priorities may include protection of culture and language, as well as climate change and the environment.

Many focus group participants agreed that an Arctic Council is a good idea, seeing it as a body that could be useful in promoting Arctic economic security and co-operation, as well as helping to guard against the loss of control by Arctic residents to non-Arctic residents. There was a general appreciation that fellow northerners in other Arctic countries could better understand shared Arctic realities than southern residents. The students felt that the Arctic Council has limited power to make actual changes: “They are too political” offered one participant, while another suggested that “They talk about issues, but they don’t have any real power to make a difference.”

Lack of information and communication about the Council to Arctic residents, as well as lack of consultation with Arctic residents and Arctic communities, was seen as the key reason among many participants that Arctic residents are not familiar with the Council. Some NS students said, “You never hear of them really going into the communities to find out what the actual problems are.” Participants in a Yukon group said that if the Arctic Council was going to assume a more meaningful role in the lives of northerners, then communications and collaboration between the Arctic Council and northern residents would need to be improved.

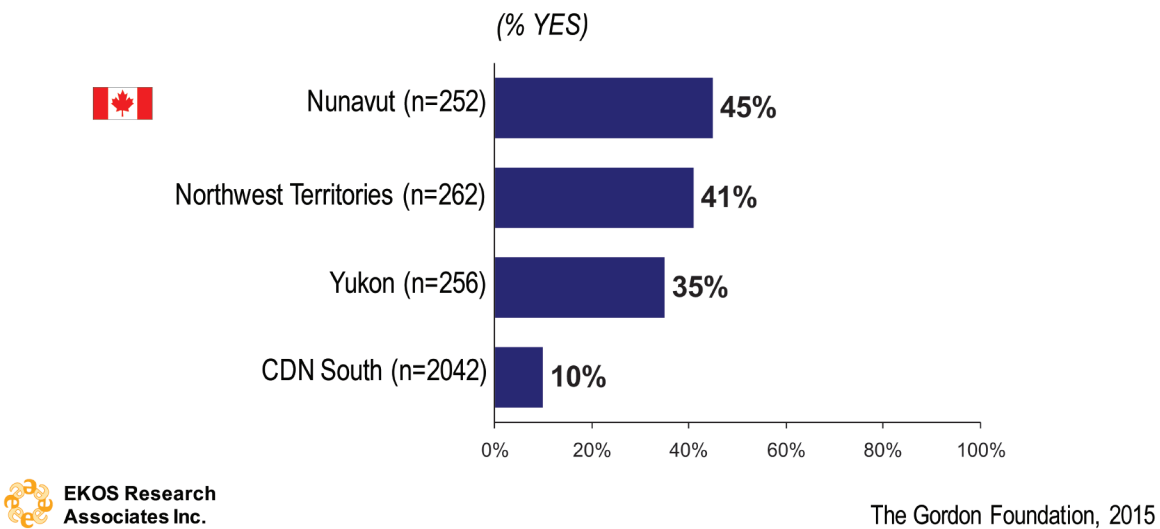
The NS students felt that the Arctic Council needs to go directly to Arctic residents in the communities to get their opinions, rather than going through another organization, because the messages become too fragmented and issues become too political, in their opinion. This disconnect was cited as a barrier to effectiveness (i.e., if the Arctic Council is going to assume a more meaningful role in the lives of northerners, communications and collaborations with northern peoples and communities is needed). In one group, some participants cited the need for greater co-operation among the three territorial governments to provide more informed and representative information to the Arctic Council on Arctic issues. Methods of increasing familiarity with the Arctic Council, according to participants of the Nunavut student focus group, include advertising and town halls, as well as radio talk shows.

5.1.3 Awareness of Canadian Chair

In Canada, awareness that Canada had been the chair of the Arctic Council over the previous two years is reasonably high in the North, where 35 per cent of Yukon respondents, 41 per cent of Northwest Territory respondents and 45 per cent of Nunavut respondents said they are aware. Awareness is much lower in southern Canada, where only one in 10 is aware.

Awareness of Canadian Chair — Arctic Council

“Were you aware that Canada has been the chair of the Arctic Council for the last two years?”



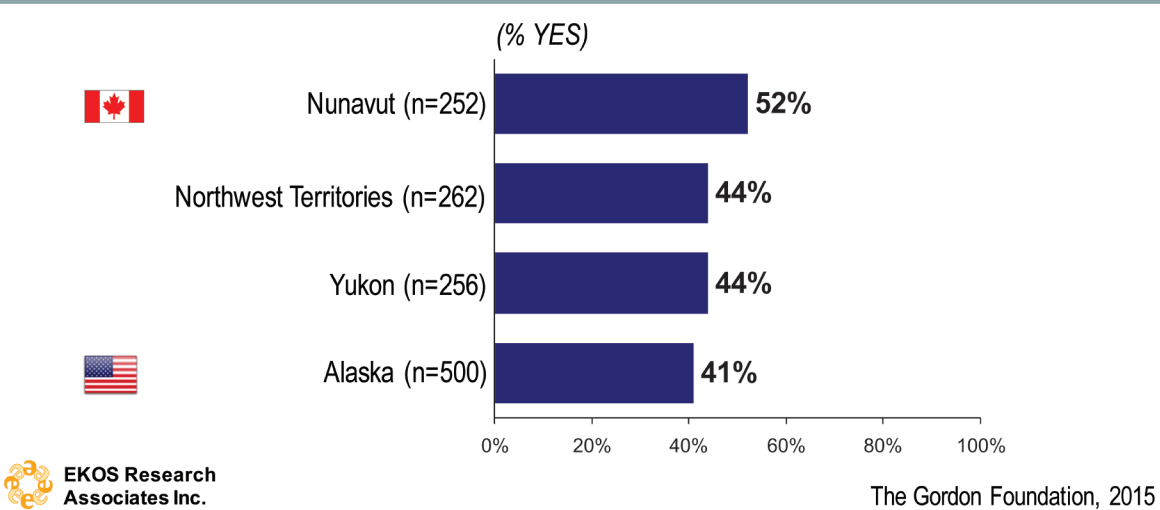
- In the North, awareness is significantly higher among men and those in the highest socio-economic strata. It is lower among respondents self-identifying as Indigenous compared with others living in the North.
- Conversely, in southern Canada, residents of Indigenous ancestry are among the most likely to be aware that Canada has been the Council chair (20 per cent).

5.1.4 Awareness of Indigenous Representation

Among northern Canadians and Alaskans, just under half are aware that Indigenous Peoples have a permanent seat at the table at Arctic Council. Awareness is marginally higher in Nunavut at 52 per cent.

Awareness of Indigenous Representation — Arctic Council

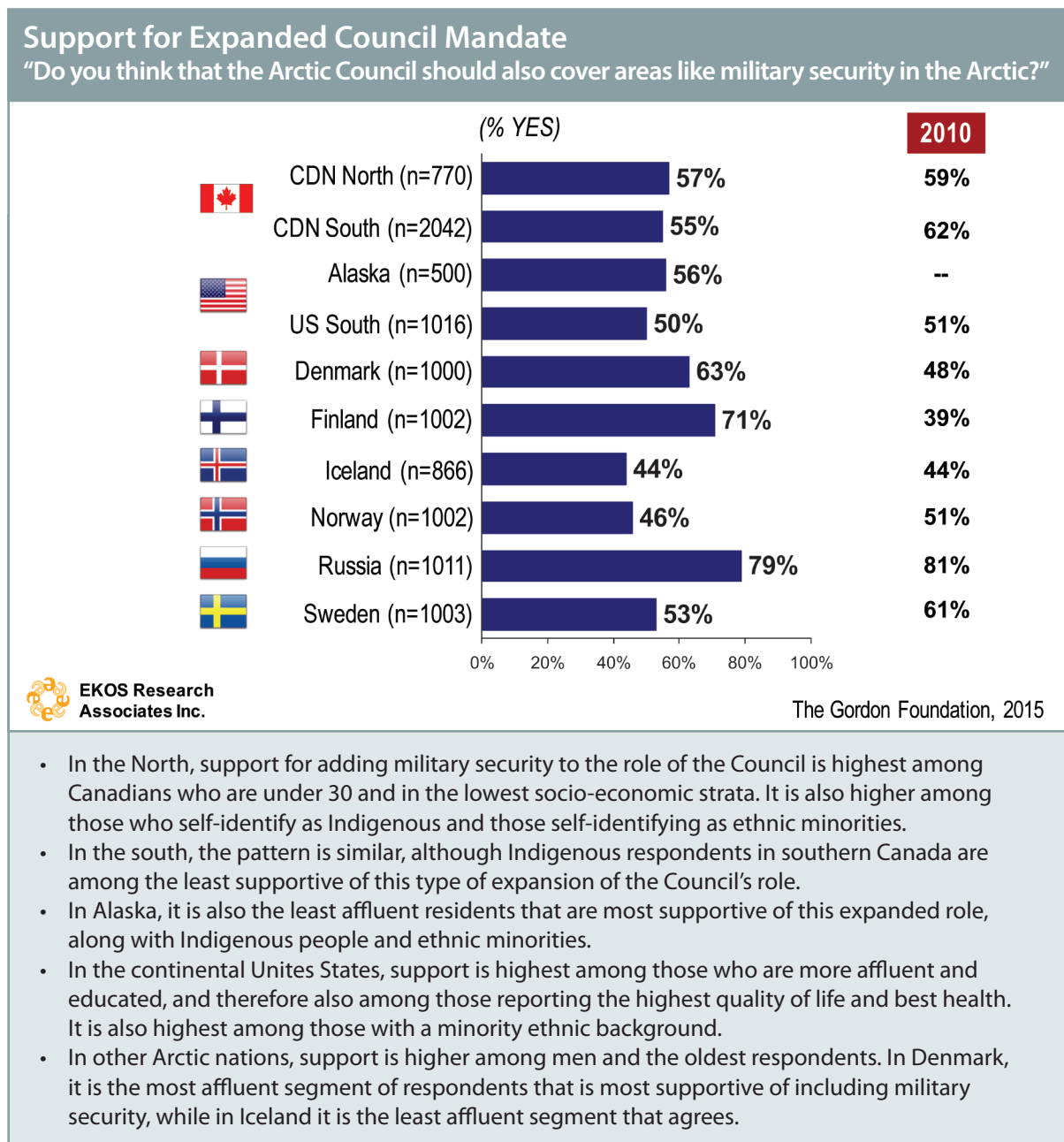
“As far as you know, do Indigenous people have a permanent seat at the table at Arctic Council meetings?”



5.1.5 Support for Expanded Council Mandate

When asked whether the Arctic Council should have an expanded role to also cover areas such as military security in addition to its current focus on environmental matters, in most countries about half of respondents agree. Support for the inclusion of military security is highest in Russia (79 per cent), followed by Finland (71 per cent) and Denmark (63 per cent). Results in Canada and the United States are similar to many other Arctic nations, with just over half agreeing with this type of expanded role for the Council.

In most countries, results are about in line with the 2010 survey, although respondents in Denmark and Finland are considerably more supportive in 2015 of adding military security to the mandate of the Arctic Council. There is a decrease among Southern Canadians. Support may have also decreased marginally in Sweden since 2010.

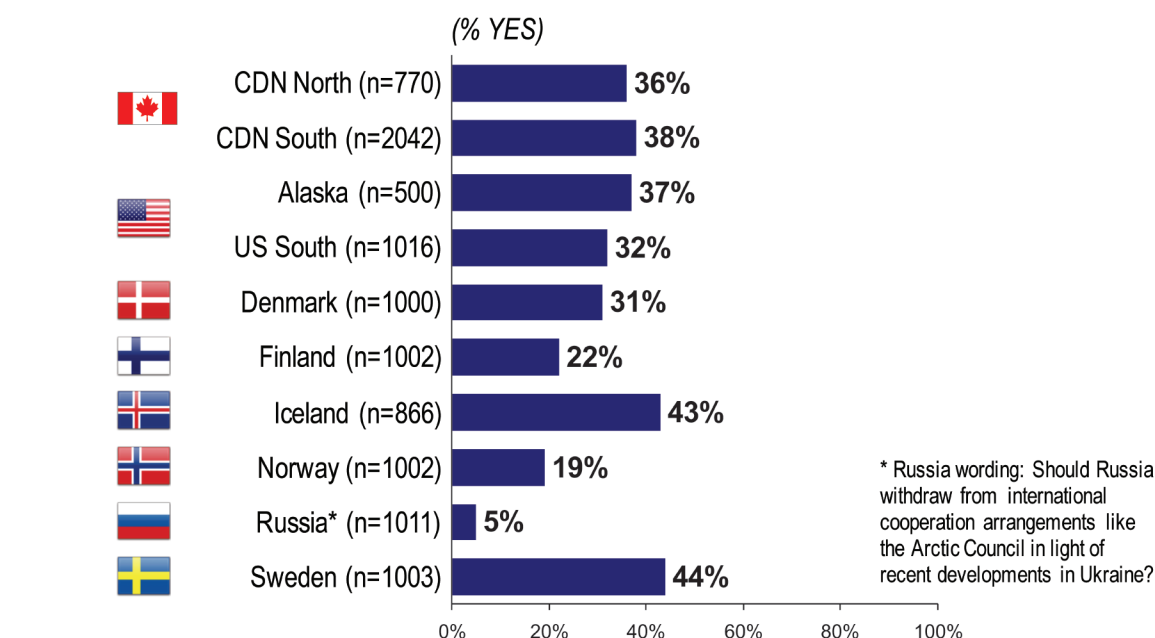


5.2 Russian Involvement in Arctic Co-operation

A majority of respondents in the countries surveyed are not in favour of excluding Russia from international co-operation arrangements on the grounds of its conflict with Ukraine. Only one in three respondents of most countries said co-operation with Russia should be suspended. While

Russian Involvement

“Should Arctic cooperation with Russia be suspended, due to the conflict in Ukraine?”



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- Women across Canada are more supportive of suspending Arctic co-operation with Russia. As well, almost half of northern residents who are high school-educated, Indigenous, or from ethnic minorities support suspending co-operation. In southern Canada, those with less education, people between the ages of 40 and 60, and respondents with a disability, are more supportive of suspension.
- In northern and southern Canada, men, university-educated Canadians, and those with a high self-rated quality of life and health are most likely to be in favour of continued Arctic co-operation with Russia. In the North, Yukon respondents are the most in favour of continued involvement with Russia. In southern Canada, the youngest residents (under 30) are most likely to favour continued engagement.
- Similarly, in Alaska, people between the ages of 50 and 60, those with the least education, Indigenous Peoples, and respondents with a disability are more likely to support suspending co-operation with Russia. Men and those in high socio-economic strata are less likely to support suspension of co-operation.
- Among respondents in the continental United States, it is the most educated and affluent, as well as those with a high self-rated quality of life and health, who are more apt to support suspending Arctic co-operation with Russia (36 to 41).
- In European countries, the pattern of support for continued Russian co-operation is similar to that found in Canada (i.e., higher among men, and those in higher socio-economic strata), as well as among older respondents (60 and over).

considerably more respondents in Sweden and Iceland support suspending Arctic co-operation (44 and 43 per cent), it is still a minority view. Nonetheless, it represents a majority of those providing a clear “yes” or “no” response. In many cases one in four is undecided. Respondents in Finland and Norway are more likely to oppose suspending co-operation with Russia than any other country except Russia itself, where they were asked the inverse question, “Should Russia withdraw from international co-operation arrangements like the Arctic Council in light of recent developments in Ukraine?” Only a very small proportion of Russians favour Russian withdrawal from international co-operation arrangements in the Arctic.

5.3 Inclusion of Non-Arctic States

5.3.1 Survey Responses

In Canada and the continental US there is about two-to-one support for including only the points of view of Arctic countries. In most countries, about one-quarter to one-third of respondents say that non-Arctic opinion should be considered, while 33 to 65 per cent say it should not be, and up to 30 per cent are undecided or do not know. In Finland, on the other hand, there is clear support for the inclusion of non-Arctic states. Among residents of Sweden and Iceland, there is a slight lean to inclusion of non-Arctic opinion, although 28 to 33 per cent do not agree and 25 per cent do not know. Russian and Alaskan respondents are split in their support and opposition for including the views of non-Arctic states in the running of Arctic affairs. A definition of “Arctic” or “Non-Arctic” states was not provided to respondents.

5.3.2 Focus Group Discussions

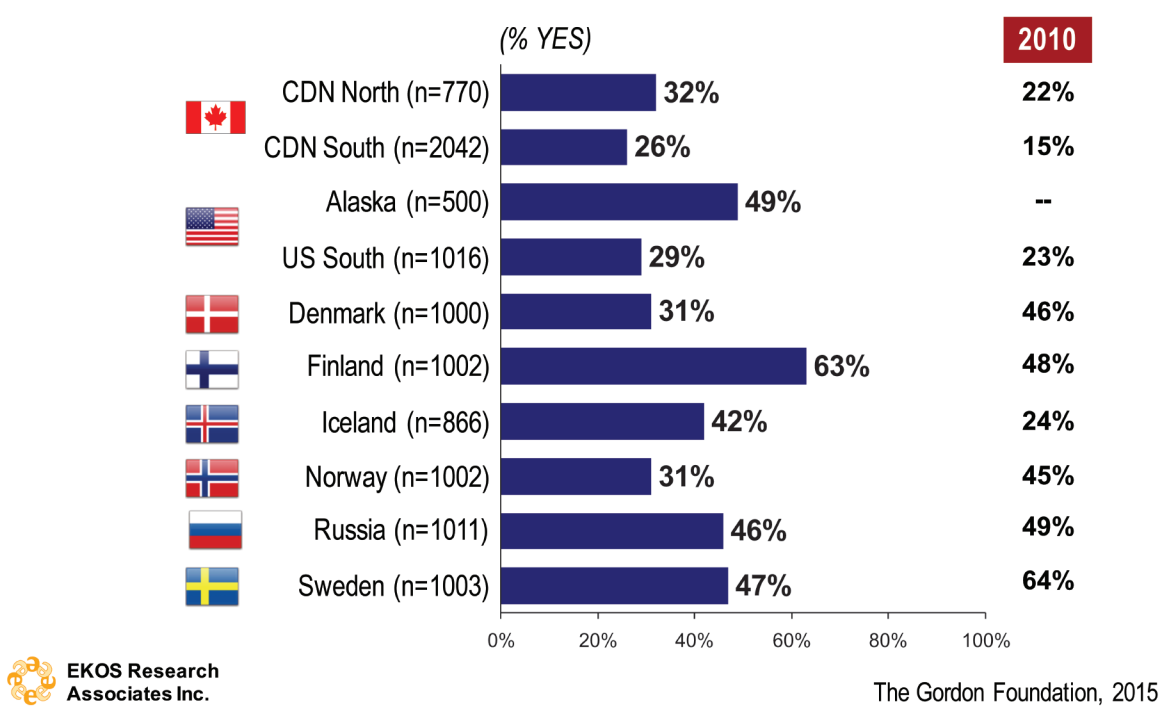
In focus group discussions with the students from Nunavut, many participants felt that the Inuit should have a strong voice in what happens in the Arctic, but participants were sceptical about the potential for involvement given Canada’s history of marginalizing Indigenous peoples.

In one group with Nunavut students, participants felt clearly that non-Arctic respondents should not be involved in Arctic affairs. As expressed by one; “Why would they? They don’t even live here! They don’t know what happens and it doesn’t affect them!” Again, the concept surfaced in the discussion that communities within the Arctic are different and one solution does not work for all communities. Identification and solutions to problems need to be “home grown,” referring back to the concept that local governments were seen as doing the best jobs of representing respondents on policy issues.

In one of the Northwest Territories focus groups, concern was also expressed about China’s possible influence in the Arctic and particularly at the Arctic Council. There was concern that China could influence policy agendas in a way that could marginalize the interests of Arctic residents. At the same time, the general view was that globalization will increase the influence of non-Arctic nations and compromise the interests of Arctic residents.

Support for Inclusion of Non-Arctic States

"Do you think that countries that do not have an Arctic territory should have a say in Arctic affairs?"



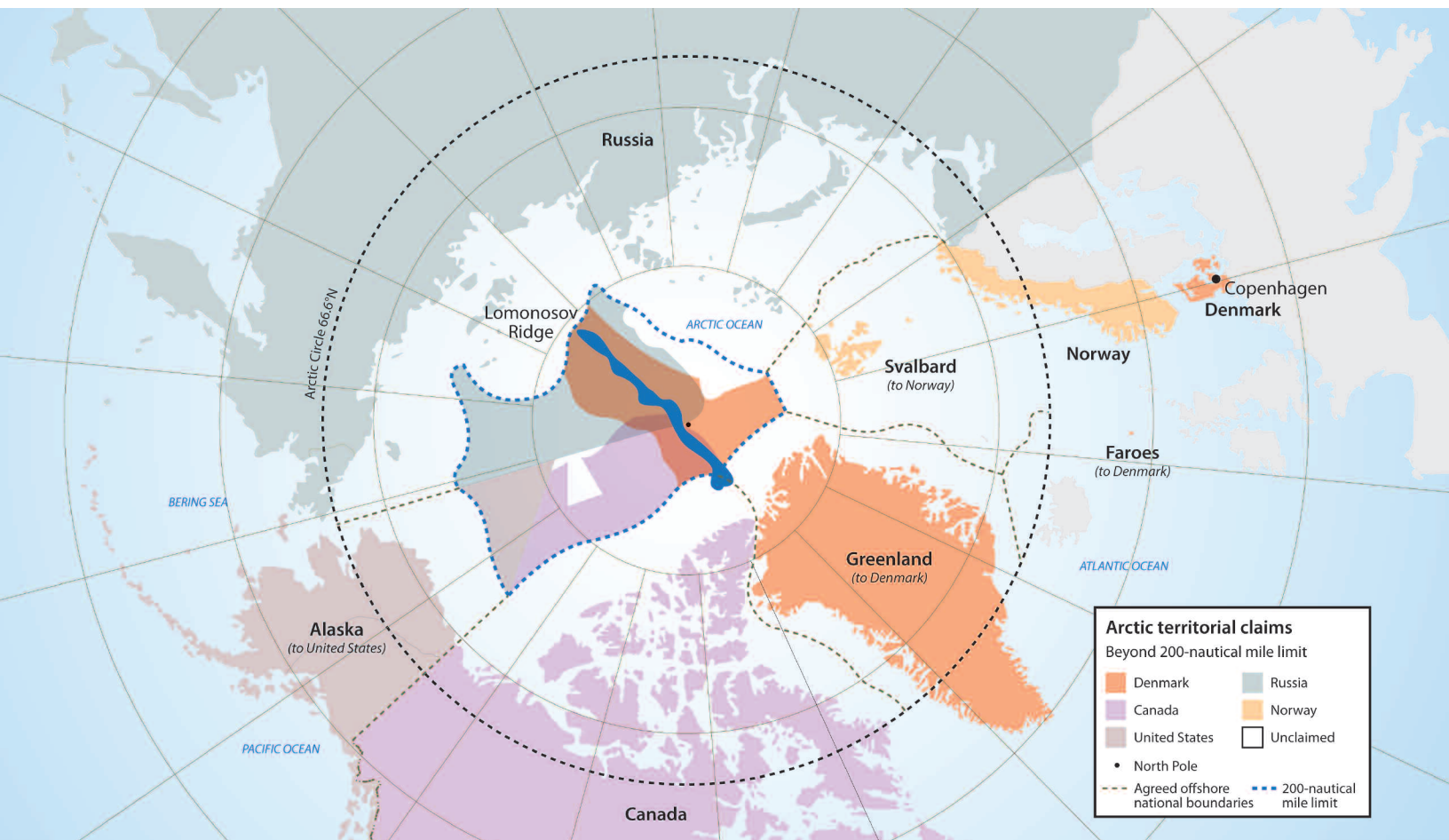
- In northern Canada, support is higher among Indigenous people and those with a minority ethnic background. In southern Canada, it is men and the university-educated, as well as Quebecers and those in their thirties, who are more supportive of including non-Arctic nations. On the other hand, respondents with less education and individuals in their 60s are the least supportive of this idea.
- In the continental United States, men and those in the highest socio-economic strata express the most concentrated support.

6. International Disputes

6.1 Preferred Approach to Resolving Disputes over the Arctic

Respondents were asked how their government should generally handle border and resource-sharing disputes in the Arctic. Results vary significantly by country. Both Canadians and Russians are divided between pursuing a firm line by defending their sections of the Arctic (selected by 35 to 38 per cent, and 43 per cent, respectively) or negotiating a compromise with other nations (41 to 47 per cent and 28 per cent, respectively). The United States, Norway, and Denmark are divided between the view that negotiation is the better approach (31 to 39 per cent), and believing that the Arctic is an international territory (24 to 33 per cent). Respondents in Finland and Sweden, and to a lesser extent Iceland, are more apt to see the Arctic as an international territory (48 to 52 per cent, with 42 per cent in Iceland).











Map 6: Arctic Territorial Claims



Source: http://cdn.static-economist.com/sites/default/files/imagecache/original-size/images/print-edition/20141220_IRM937.png

Approach to Border Disputes

“Thinking about border and/or resource sharing disputes in the Arctic, what statement is closest to your point of view?”

	Firm line ¹		Negotiate ²		International Territory ³	
	2015	2010	2015	2010	2015	2010
 CDN North (n=770)	38%	41%	47%	46%	11%	8%
 CDN South (n=2042)	35%	43%	41%	39%	16%	11%
 Alaska (n=500)	28%	--	39%	--	24%	--
 US South (n=1016)	16%	10%	34%	30%	27%	25%
 Denmark (n=1000)	11%	5%	31%	64%	33%	24%
 Finland (n=1002)	6%	6%	28%	50%	52%	37%
 Iceland (n=866)	6%	36%	29%	26%	42%	27%
 Norway (n=1002)	13%	8%	32%	49%	32%	35%
 Russia (n=1011)	43%	34%	28%	33%	25%	14%
 Sweden (n=1003)	3%	5%	28%	35%	48%	48%

¹ My country should pursue a firm line in defending its sections of Arctic territory regardless of the cost

² It is better to negotiate a compromise with other countries

³ National disputes over the Arctic are unnecessary. It should be an international territory like Antarctica



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- In northern Canada, respondents in the Northwest Territories are more likely than other respondents to prefer to take a firm line in defending their territory. University graduates and those over 55, in contrast, prefer negotiating a compromise with other countries.
- In southern Canada, Albertans, college graduates, and men favour a more aggressive role. Those in high socio-economic strata, respondents in Ontario and those in their 30s are more likely to say that Canada should negotiate a compromise with other countries.
- In Alaska, negotiation is a more popular approach among those with modest household incomes (\$40,000 to \$75,000).
- In Russia, a firm-line approach is even more popular among men, those over 60 and individuals reporting the highest household incomes.
- In the Scandinavian countries, men are more likely than women to see the Arctic as an international region, while the oldest residents (over 55 or 60) more often see the need for negotiation and compromise.

The preference for a hard-line approach has waned in Canada since 2010, and has essentially disappeared in Iceland. It may have increased marginally in Russia. There is also a move away from a sentiment of negotiation and compromise in Scandinavian countries. Public sentiment has shifted towards the view that the Arctic is international territory.

Map 7: Northwest Passage



Source: http://www.usatoday.com/news/_photos/2006/04/03/northwest_passage.jpg

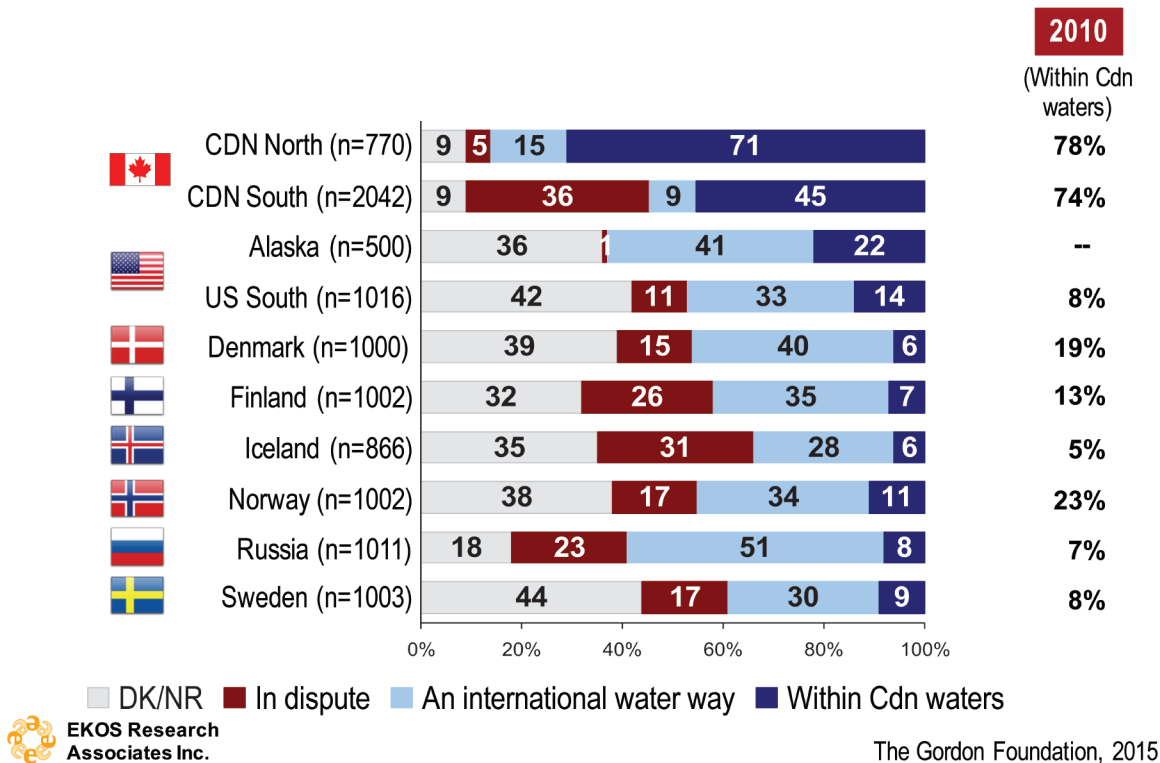
6.2 Northwest Passage

Respondents across the eight countries surveyed were asked whether they think that the Northwest Passage is within Canadian waters or an international waterway. Perhaps not surprisingly, Canadians are the only respondents who see the passage as belonging to Canada. This view is also more prominent in the North, where 71 per cent see it as clearly within Canadian waters. Among other Canadians, just under half (45 per cent) see the passage as being Canadian, while 36 per cent consider it a disputed area. Respondents in other countries see the passage as an international waterway (30 to 51 per cent) or as a territory whose ownership is in dispute (up to 31 per cent). The high proportion of non-response in other countries highlights the lower levels of literacy on the issue of the Northwest Passage in many of these countries (e.g., Sweden, Denmark, and the United States).

Compared with 2010, significantly fewer southern Canadians see the passage as belonging to Canada. The international view that the passage is within Canadian waters has also weakened over time and is now in the minority.

Northwest Passage — Whose?

“The Northwest Passage is a sea route through the Arctic Islands, along the northern coast of North America, that connects the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. It is of interest to many nations because it significantly reduces the shipping distance from Asia to Europe. From what you know or have heard, is the Northwest Passage...?”



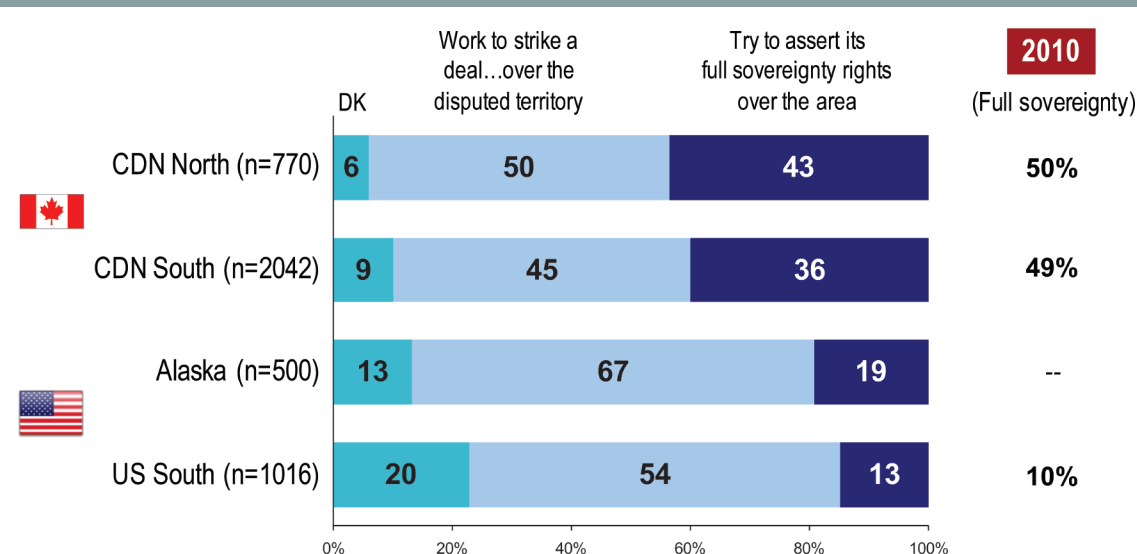
- In the Canadian North, respondents who are 40 or older and those in higher socio-economic strata are most apt to see the passage as Canadian. This is also true of respondents self-identifying as Indigenous, those with disabilities and those in ethnic minorities. Only the youngest respondents (under 30) are somewhat more likely to see it as an international waterway.
- In southern Canada, Albertans are more likely to hold the view that the passage is Canadian. Men, Quebecers, and those in the highest socio-economic strata are the most likely segments to see the passage as a disputed territory.
- In Alaska, respondents in their 50s are more likely than other segments to see the passage as an international waterway.
- In Scandinavia, men and older respondents (55 to 60 and older) are the most likely groups to see the waterway as being international.

6.3 Approach to Beaufort Sea Dispute with U.S.

Respondents in Canada and the United States were asked whether they feel that the two countries should work together to strike a deal to resolve their dispute over the Beaufort Sea, or whether they would prefer to see their government assert its full sovereign rights over the area. The results show two starkly different points of view between the two countries. While Canadians lean more towards the option of asserting their full sovereign rights over the area, Americans are much more likely to prefer striking a deal between the two countries.

Approach to Beaufort Dispute with US

“Canada/the United States currently has a border dispute with the United States/Canada over a territory in the Beaufort Sea. Would you rather see Canada/the US...?”



EKOS Research Associates Inc.

The Gordon Foundation, 2015

- Respondents in the Northwest Territories are more likely to suggest that Canada should assert its full sovereign rights (42 per cent) over the Beaufort Sea. Those over 60 and respondents with a university degree in the Canadian North are more likely to support working out an agreement with the United States.
- In southern Canada, men, Albertans and the college-educated are more likely to support a hard line. Younger Canadians, Ontarians and those in higher socio-economic strata are more apt to support negotiation as the best approach.
- In Alaska, respondents in their 50s lean more toward a hard-line approach, while women and those reporting mid-range household incomes (e.g., \$40,000 to \$75,000) are the most likely segments to see negotiation as the best approach.

Just over four in 10 residents of northern Canada (43 per cent) say that Canada should assert its full sovereign rights over the Beaufort Sea, while 50 per cent say they would prefer to work with the United States to come to an agreement. In southern Canada, more people lean towards working with the United States (45 per cent, compared to 36 per cent who believe that Canada should try to assert its sovereignty rights). The contrast is most stark between northern residents in the two countries.

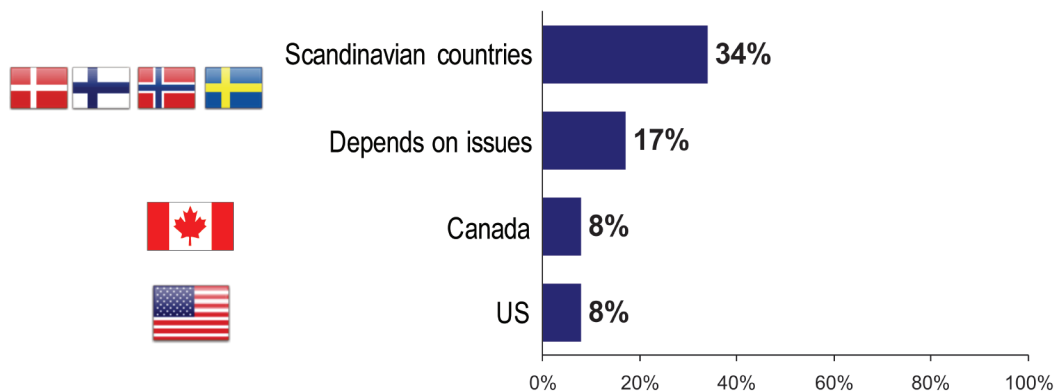
6.4 Preferred Partner in Dealing with Arctic Issues

Respondents in each of the eight countries surveyed were presented with a list of countries and asked which one they would be most comfortable dealing with on Arctic issues. In eight of the nine regions examined, a plurality of respondents expressed a clear preference for working with Scandinavian countries (northern Canada, southern Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway,

Russia, and Sweden), as was also found in 2010. However, many respondents believe that it depends on the issue (17 per cent). In Canada, while 40 per cent of southern respondents and 53 per cent of northerner respondents consider Scandinavian countries to be the most comfortable to deal with, 16 per cent of southerners and 25 per cent of northerners consider the United States as the most comfortable country to deal with on Arctic issues. Among Americans, Canada is seen as the top choice according to 39 per cent of respondents in the continental United States and 53 per cent of Alaskans. Canada was also seen as the top choice among Alaskans in 2013. Across all countries about half of respondents said that they don't know, that it depends on the issue, or that they are comfortable with none or all of the proposed countries.

Country Most Comfortable with on Arctic Issues

"Which of the following countries would you be most comfortable with «your country» dealing with on Arctic issues?"



**EKOS Research
Associates Inc.**

All countries (n=10,212)

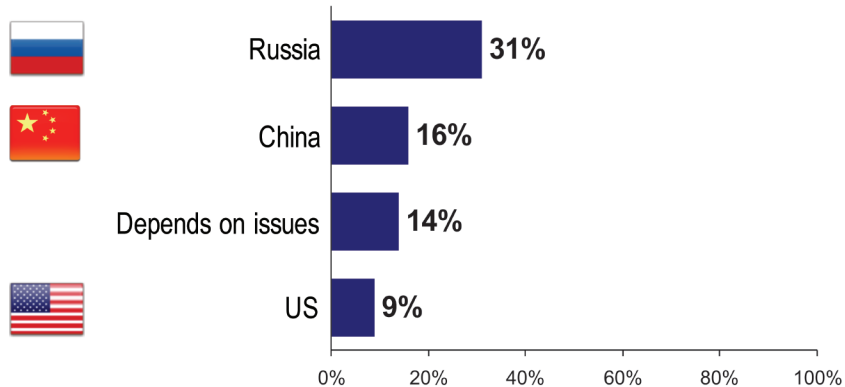
The Gordon Foundation, 2015

- Northern Canadians, those with higher socio-economic status, and Canadians in their 30s or 60s are more likely to choose Scandinavian countries as the most comfortable countries to deal with on Arctic issues.
- Southern Canadians in their 30s and 40s, and those more affluent and educated, are also more likely to be comfortable dealing with Scandinavian countries. Quebecers and Atlantic residents are more comfortable dealing with the United States on Arctic issues than other Canadians.
- Among Americans outside of Alaska, comfort with Canada is higher among men and increases with age and socio-economic status.

Respondents were subsequently asked to identify the country they would be least comfortable dealing with on Arctic issues. Respondents overwhelmingly point to Russia as the least desired partner, as this was the most common response in eight of the 10 regions examined. As well, many respondents are also not comfortable dealing with China on Arctic issues. It should be noted, however, that China was the country least favoured across all countries except Russia in 2010. Respondents in Iceland and Finland selected Russia and China in almost equal proportions, however. In contrast, respondents in Russia are least comfortable dealing with the United States (35 per cent).

Country Least Comfortable with on Arctic Issues

“Which of the following countries would you be least comfortable with «your country» dealing with on Arctic issues?”



 **EKOS Research
Associates Inc.**

All countries (n=10,212)

The Gordon Foundation, 2015

- In northern Canada, older respondents and men are least comfortable dealing with Russia. Those in their 40s and the university-educated are less comfortable than other groups dealing with China.
- In southern Canada, Ontarians, the most affluent Canadians and those in their 60s or older are more likely than other Canadians to be uncomfortable dealing with Russia. Discomfort with China is also more prominent in Ontario than it is elsewhere in Canada.
- American discomfort with Russia is also more pronounced among men and those over 50 as well as the most educated and affluent.
- While the most educated and affluent Russians are also likely to express discomfort dealing with the United States, Russians under 40 express the greatest discomfort.

7. Profiles

The following profiles of results of key segments of respondents helps readers to understand their unique characteristics and points of view, and the similarities and differences they share with other segments of Canadian society.

7.1 Geographical Arctic Profile

7.1.1 Characteristics and Quality of Life

- In terms of age profile, residents of Yukon are the oldest, with 25 per cent over 60. The youngest age profile is found in Nunavut, where 40 per cent are under 30. In Alaska and Northwest Territories, roughly one in four members of the sample is under 30. In Yukon this is only 15 per cent.
- In terms of socio-economic status, respondents in Nunavut and Alaska report the lowest levels of education, with roughly half citing high school or less. While four in 10 survey respondents in Yukon and Northwest Territories have some level of university education, this is three in 10 or less in Nunavut and Alaska. One in four Nunavut respondents reports household incomes of under \$30,000, compared with only 10 to 16 per cent in the other three jurisdictions reporting the same. Unemployment is 10 to 12 per cent, except in Nunavut where it is 17 per cent. However, many respondents report an employment status of self-employed, term or seasonal positions, and student status.
- Roughly six in 10 households report having children in the home in Nunavut, with one in four reporting three or more children. In the other two northern regions of Canada and in Alaska, 41 to 48 per cent of households report children in the home.
- The highest proportion of Indigenous respondents is among residents of Nunavut, where almost half are Aboriginal. In the Northwest Territories, one in four is Indigenous, and in Alaska this drops to one in four. Among Yukon respondents in the sample, only 13 per cent are Indigenous.
- Respondents in Yukon are the most positive group in terms of quality of life and health, with 81 per cent rating their quality of life as good. This is followed by 74 per cent of respondents in the Northwest Territories rating their quality of life as positive, while only 61 per cent and 58 per cent, respectively, of respondents in Alaska and Nunavut provide a positive rating. On the other hand, residents of Northwest Territories, followed by Nunavut, are more positive about the next 10 years, whereas residents of Yukon, those who are older, and Alaskans are not as positive.
- Rated health follows the same pattern as quality of life, with Yukon respondents most apt to rate their health positively (70 per cent). This is followed by respondents in the Northwest Territories at 65 per cent. Only 56 and 57 per cent of respondents in Nunavut and Alaska rate their health in the same way.

7.1.2 Priorities, Security and Threats

- In terms of important issues facing the Arctic, basic security issues related to housing, poverty, food security and the high cost of living sit very high on the list in Nunavut, with 45 per cent citing one of these areas. In the other jurisdictions, 50 per cent of Yukon respondents, 42 per cent of Northwest Territory respondents, and 39 per cent of Alaskans place the environment and global warming at the top of the list.
- In terms of Arctic priorities, disaster and emergency response, policies to combat climate change and basic infrastructure are most important to respondents in the Canadian Arctic. However, Alaskans rate those issues less prominently, with the exception of emergency response (i.e., search and rescue).
- In Canada, Nunavut respondents rate the priority of disaster response and climate change less prominently than do respondents in the other two territories, while public infrastructure is higher on Nunavut residents' list. This is not surprising since Nunavut respondents also provide the lowest rating of the adequacy of their public infrastructure to respond to their needs.
- Strong policies to preserve culture and language are seen as equally important in each of the three territories; however, Alaskans do not rate the issue as highly. Alaskans provide the strongest rating for the importance of military security to enable response to international threats.
- Generally, Alaskans are considerably more positive than Northern Canadian respondents about the capacity of their policies, services and infrastructure to address their needs, while in most cases one in three to half of Canadians in the North rate their jurisdictions as poorly equipped.
- In terms of defining security, while military security, environmental and social security issues top the list in the Canadian Arctic, this is less the case among Alaskans. Although economic security is not cited as often, Alaskans and northern Canadians provide largely similar ratings, though respondents in Yukon consider the issue to be more important. Cultural security is seen to be more central to the definition of security in Canada than it is in Alaska, and most likely to be rated as central to the definition in Nunavut.
- A slightly higher proportion of Alaskans see military or national security as central to the definition of security than Canadians Arctic residents. While respondents in Nunavut provide a rating almost on par with Alaska, fewer do in the Northwest Territories in particular.
- Canadians are more apt to agree that having residents living in the North helps with protection (78 per cent), while considerably fewer Alaskans believe this to be true (51 per cent).
- Alaskans and Yukoners are more likely to report a perceived increased in military threat in the last year (34 and 37 per cent, respectively), whereas this is less the case in Nunavut and Northwest Territories (27 per cent).
- Northern Canadians and Alaskans are largely split in their view of whether or not there should be an increase in military presence to protect against international threats.
- While northern Canadians are close to unanimous in their support for a nuclear weapons-free zone, fewer than half of Alaskans share this view.

7.1.3 Arctic Council and International Disputes

- Awareness of the Arctic Council is considerably lower in Alaska, with only 15 per cent clearly recalling the organization, and 20 per cent vaguely recalling it, compared with 32 per cent clearly recalling and 27 per cent vaguely recalling it across the three Canadian territories.
- Among Northern Canadians, awareness of Canada having been the chair for the last two years is fairly high at 46 per cent, but is lower in Yukon at 35 per cent.
- About four in 10 residents of Alaska, Yukon and Northwest Territories are aware that Indigenous peoples have a seat at the Arctic Council table. Awareness is somewhat higher in Nunavut (52 per cent).
- Just over half of Northern residents believe that the Council mandate should be expanded to cover areas like military security, represented fairly equally across the four jurisdictions.
- A majority of Northern Canadians and Alaskans share the belief that Russian involvement in Arctic co-operation should not be suspended because of the recent conflict in Ukraine. Only one in three Americans and Canadians support such a suspension. The view is more equally split in Nunavut, however, than elsewhere in the North.
- While the inclusion of non-Arctic states having a say in Arctic affairs is supported by only one in three Northern residents in Canada, half of Alaskans agree.
- Northern Canadians feel much more strongly about their claim on the Northwest Passage than Alaskans do.
- In terms of approaches to the border dispute in the Beaufort Sea, Canadians are again more likely to say that Canadians should assert full sovereignty rights (43 per cent), particularly among residents of Nunavut, while residents of Yukon are marginally less likely to agree. Only half as many Alaskans (19 per cent) share this view. In fact, Canadians in the territories are generally more in support of a firm line for boundary or resource disputes than Alaskans.
- In terms of preferences in dealing with (or not dealing with) certain countries with on Arctic issues, Canadians across the three territories see Scandinavian countries are the most comfortable to deal with (53 per cent). One in four sees the United States as the most comfortable country to deal with. Alaskans, however, expressed much more caution about dealing with Scandinavian countries (21 per cent), preferring instead to deal with Canada (53 per cent) on Arctic issues.

Map 7: Indigenous Peoples of the Arctic



Source: <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/about-us/permanent-participants>

7.2 Indigenous Profile

7.2.1 Characteristics and Quality of Life

- Overall, 213 of the 770 respondents sampled in northern Canada indicated that they are of Indigenous ancestry. Of these, 34 per cent reside in Northwest Territories, 51 per cent in Nunavut, and 15 per cent in Yukon. Looked at another way, 28 per cent of the overall northern Canadian sample identifies as Indigenous; 28 per cent of the Northwest Territory sample, 43 per cent of the Nunavut sample, and 13 per cent of residents sampled in Yukon. It should also be noted that the Indigenous portion of the sample captured in each of the territories is considerably lower than found in the population. In Alaska there are 108 sample respondents out of 500 who are Indigenous, representing 22 per cent of the sample.
- In Yukon, while 65 per cent of the Indigenous respondents are First Nations, there are only 32 cases, so caution is required in interpreting this proportion. In the Northwest Territories, 59 per cent of Indigenous respondents are First Nations, and 26 per cent are Métis. In Nunavut, 96 per cent are Inuit.
- In terms of age profile, Indigenous members of the sample are considerably younger: 29 per cent of the sample is under 24 and another 18 per cent are 25 to 34, compared to only nine and seven per cent of the non-Indigenous sample in the Canadian territories. Only 10 per cent of the sample is over 60. The age profiles of Indigenous and non-Indigenous respondents are far more similar in Alaska.
- Roughly two in three (64 per cent) Indigenous respondents of the Canadian territories report a high school level of education or less. In fact, 34 per cent have less than high school completion. While 51 per cent of the non-Indigenous sample in the Canadian territories reports a university education, this is reflected in only 13 per cent of Indigenous respondents. The education profile of Indigenous respondents in Alaska follows the same pattern, but the difference is less stark.
- Just over one in four Indigenous respondents report household incomes of under \$30,000, compared with nine per cent of the non-Indigenous sample in the Canadian territories. Although 50 per cent of the non-Indigenous sample in the Canadian territories reports household incomes of \$100,000 or higher, the proportion in the Indigenous sample with the same income is just 19 per cent. The lowest household incomes are reported by Indigenous respondents in Nunavut, where the number of occupants and expenses are highest. In Alaska, 20 per cent of Indigenous respondents in the sample report household incomes of less than \$20,000 and only 11 per cent report incomes of \$100,000, or more compared with 33 per cent of non-Indigenous respondents.
- The unemployment rate at 27 per cent is over four times higher than the non-Indigenous sample at six per cent. As well, considerably fewer Indigenous respondents are employed full-time, 36 per cent compared with 58 per cent. The difference is no less stark in Alaska: 26 per cent unemployment among Indigenous respondents compared with only eight per cent among others in the state.
- Among Indigenous respondents, roughly six in 10 households report children in the home (59 per cent), compared with 41 per cent in the overall sample. One in four reports three or more children (compared with nine per cent in the non-Indigenous sample).

- In terms of quality of life and health, Indigenous respondents in the Canadian North are not as positive as non-Indigenous respondents, as 51 per cent of Indigenous respondents rate their quality of life as good, compared with 81 per cent of non-Indigenous respondents. Compared to the other territories, Indigenous respondents in Nunavut are the least positive about their quality of life and health. They are also marginally less positive than non-Indigenous respondents about the likely trend over the next 10 years. The gap in rated quality of life is even wider in Alaska where 48 per cent of Indigenous respondents and 70 per cent of non-Indigenous respondents are positive.
- Rated health follows the same pattern as quality of life, with Indigenous respondents less apt to rate themselves positively (52 per cent) compared with non-Indigenous respondents (70 per cent). This is also true in Alaska (49 per cent versus 65 per cent among non-Indigenous respondents).
- Indigenous (and non-Aboriginal) respondents in Nunavut are more likely to think that their local government represents their interests, while Indigenous respondents of the other two territories are more likely to consider Indigenous governments or organizations to represent their interests.

7.2.2 Priorities, Security and Threats

- Indigenous respondents in Nunavut consider the high cost of living to be one of the most important issues facing the Arctic, whereas non-Indigenous respondents talk more about food security (e.g., access to fresh foods). Housing is an issue for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous respondents of Nunavut. In the other jurisdictions, the environment and global warming are at the top of the list. In Yukon, Indigenous and non-Indigenous respondents cite global warming more often, and Indigenous and non-Indigenous respondents in the Northwest Territories are more likely to cite “environment” as an important issue.
- Indigenous respondents are more likely than others in the Canadian North to see having strong security services to respond to international threats and assert Canada’s interests as an important issue, particularly in Nunavut and the Northwest Territories.
- In terms of defining security, Indigenous respondents in the territories are more likely to rate national security as well as culture and language strongly compared with non-Indigenous respondents. National security is a more critical element of security in Nunavut in particular, as is language and culture. The latter is also rated strongly among Indigenous respondents in Yukon. Environmental and cultural security are each more prominently rated among Indigenous residents of Alaska compared with non-Indigenous respondents. Strong policies to preserve traditional culture are also more prominently supported among Alaskans of Indigenous descent.
- Indigenous respondents in the territories are more likely to believe that there should be an increase in military presence to protect against international threats compared to non-Indigenous respondents (59 per cent compared with 39 per cent). This pattern is also present in Alaska (64 per cent versus 48 per cent).
- While Canadians living in the Arctic are highly supportive of a nuclear weapons-free zone, this view is even more strongly held among Indigenous respondents (87 per cent compared with 75 per cent among non-Indigenous respondents).

7.2.3 Arctic Council and International Disputes

- Awareness of the Arctic Council is lower among Indigenous respondents of the territories (23 per cent clearly and 21 per cent vaguely, compared with 37 and 30 per cent respectively among non-Indigenous residents). Similarly, there is less awareness of Canada's role as Chair (32 per cent compared with 44 per cent among non-Indigenous respondents in the territories).
- On the other hand, following an explanation of the Arctic Council, over half of Indigenous respondents believed that there is an Indigenous seat at the Arctic Council table (55 per cent compared with 42 per cent among non-Indigenous respondents).
- As in other areas of the research, Indigenous people are more supportive than non-Indigenous territorial residents of military security. Two in three (68 per cent) believe that the Council mandate should be expanded to cover areas like military security, particularly in Yukon. The same pattern is found in Alaska (67 per cent versus 52 per cent among non-Indigenous residents).
- Although a majority of Northern Canadians and Alaskans share the belief that Russian involvement in Arctic co-operation should not be suspended due to recent conflict in Ukraine, more Indigenous respondents of the North support suspension of co-operation (49 per cent compared with 34 per cent saying it should not be and 16 per cent saying they are not sure). This view is even more strongly held among Indigenous respondents in the Northwest Territories. The pattern is the same among Alaskans, where 46 per cent of Indigenous respondents, but only 34 per cent of non-Indigenous Alaskans support suspension.
- While the inclusion of non-Arctic states having a say in Arctic affairs is supported by only one in four non-Indigenous respondents of the Canadian North, this rises to 43 per cent of Indigenous respondents.
- Indigenous residents of the Canadian Arctic are more likely than non-Indigenous respondents to see the Northwest Passage as an international waterway (26 per cent compared with 10 per cent of non-Indigenous respondents). Although 56 per cent see it as being within Canadians waters, this view is shared by 78 per cent of non-Indigenous respondents in the three territories.
- In terms of approaches to the border dispute in the Beaufort Sea, Northern Canadians who identify as Indigenous are more apt to say that Canadians should assert full sovereignty rights (53 per cent), particularly among residents of Nunavut (63 per cent), whereas only four in 10 non-Indigenous respondents agree with this approach. They are also marginally more likely than other respondents in the territories to support a firm line in boundary or resource disputes.
- With regard to dealing with certain countries on Arctic issues, Northern Canadians identifying as Indigenous are split in their comfort with the United States (33 per cent) and Scandinavian countries (31 per cent), whereas non-Indigenous respondents are more comfortable in dealing with Scandinavian countries (62 per cent). This comfort with the United States is more strongly held in the Northwest Territories. In terms of discomfort, Indigenous people are not as cautious about dealing with Russia as non-Indigenous respondents are.



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Reindeer
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