

Nunavummi Sivumuuqpallianiq (Nunavut Moving Forward): Sustaining Northern Cultures in the Face of Progress

Dustin Fredlund

Jane Glassco Arctic Fellow



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The Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation is a private, philanthropic foundation based in Toronto, Canada. The Foundation undertakes research, leadership development and public dialogue so that public policies in Canada and internationally reflect a commitment to collaborative stewardship of our freshwater resources and to a people-driven, equitable and evolving Arctic. The Gordon Foundation has invested over \$17 million in a wide variety of Northern community initiatives over the past quarter century.



The Jane Glassco Arctic Fellowship Program is aimed at young Northerners, especially Aboriginal Northerners, aged 25-35, who want to build a strong North guided by Northerners. It is for those who, at this stage in their lives, are looking for additional support, networks and guidance from mentors and peers across the North and throughout Canada as they deepen their understanding of important issues facing their region and develop policy ideas to help address them. The program was named in honour of Jane L. Glassco, Gordon Foundation trustee and daughter of founders Walter and Elizabeth Gordon. It was through Jane's direct leadership that the Foundation became deeply interested in Northern and Arctic issues, and in supporting young Northerners.

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The significance that economic development and the environment play in the future for the North has been the catalyst that has seen Dustin Fredlund employed as a conservation officer, wildlife manager and currently as a director of economic development for the Nunavut Government. He has been fortunate to merge his personal interests in sustainable development with his professional career. Dustin works with various levels of government and non-governmental organizations dedicated to promoting economic viability while recognizing the importance of cultural and environmental sustainability.

Community

A third generation Nunavummiut, Dustin spent most of his younger years in Rankin Inlet. He currently resides in Kugluktuk, where he has been enjoying the beautiful Coronation Gulf for the past three years. Dustin has lived in the N.W.T., Finland and Iceland pursuing his post-graduate education, yet he continually returns to his roots in Nunavut. He aspires to apply his experiences in a meaningful and lasting manner that will benefit all northerners in this changing and dynamic era.

Fellowship Focus

Through this fellowship, Dustin has examined the complexity surrounding the balancing of progress and preservation in regards to the environment and economic development. He hopes this paper will shed light on the relationships between empowerment, sustainable development and the environment, and the impact it will have on the northern people who wish to retain their culture within an evolving lifestyle.

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Introduction

There are many challenges that threaten the fabric of resilience in northern communities. These challenges are acknowledged by those in power, yet too often the North is regarded only as a geographic anemology, and the inhabitants are viewed in a romantic, uncultivated light. These views are not in themselves detrimental to the North, but the implicit message of these perceptions should be clear; northerners must be the decision-makers and influencers of policy in and for the North. The prospect of continued policy development based on these outside perceptions should be motivation enough for any northern community. However, the complex path to empowering our communities to become the policy-makers is strewn with roadblocks: social and cultural detachment; substandard healthcare; extreme housing shortages; inadequate infrastructure; crime rates comparable to Third World countries¹; staggering unemployment (up to 35 per cent of labour force²), and dismal education prospects (roughly half of the adult population with no secondary or post-secondary education).

The historical relationship between the administrative colonizers and the people of the North has bred an atmosphere of distrust and a feeling of disconnect in modern society. The federal government was forewarned by researchers and communities that the methodology employed to “establish” the Arctic would have long-term consequences. In the late 1960s, social researchers were becoming attuned to the inaptness of the government in handling Inuit affairs. As researcher J. Lotz stated in 1968:

“We don’t develop the North, the North develops us. What has all the money, time, effort and nervous energy expended on the North so far brought about? Today, the northern Indians and Eskimos are still poor, depressed, and at the bottom of the heap of humanity.”³

This change in attitude and administration did not come about unchallenged, as noted by Erwin: “The domination of Southerners over Northerners is formidable, and is very likely to be so for a long time.”⁴ Erwin is referring to the fact that Ottawa (in the geophysical and metaphorical sense) would continue dictating policies and sending “southern transients” to administer the affairs of the North. Erwin also speculated indications were apparent that “local autonomy would be given to the Northwest Territories”, contingent upon northerners mitigating the influx of southern workers and ideas through self-realization and self-determination. The inward-looking strength, or self-empowerment phenomena, would be based on the ability of the Inuit to “rediscover the latent pride and confidence in themselves, realizing that they have the only realistic and permanent stake in the North”.⁵ Northerners must focus their gaze inwards and develop

¹ <http://m.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/nunavut/is-nunavut-a-failure-of-canadian-nation-building/article1967032/?service=mobile>

² <http://www.eia.gov.nu.ca/stats/census.html>

³ Lotz, J., Social Science Research and Northern Development. Arctic Vol.21 No.4 (1968):291-294.

⁴ Erwin, A., Conflicting Styles of Life in a Northern Canadian Town. Arctic Vol. 22 no.2 ,(1969):90-105

⁵ Erwin, A., Conflicting Styles of Life in a Northern Canadian Town. Arctic Vol. 22 no.2 (1969):104

institutions of learning: more so than just physical structures, but a mentality that fosters awareness and confidence.

Development

A foundation on which the Government of Nunavut has focused its vision is empowering the communities through developing a sustainable economy.⁶ This vision is sound and the intentions are good, yet the emphasis placed on developing the economy must not be reflected solely as a means to an end. It is in the process – the decisions and policies that are implemented to guide the development – that will determine the level of sustainability. The integrative approach to sustainability, rather than a balancing approach, is best described by the Public Policy Forum:

“Sustainable development means that economic, social and environmental goals can be — must be — pursued in tandem. It is not simply a question of “balancing” environment and economy as competing interests. Rather, sustainable development means finding ways in which they can be integrated so that our prosperity and a healthy environment go together.”⁷

Through this implicit relationship between progress and preservation, it can be concluded that sustainable development that incorporates northerners and their values to the fullest extent will strengthen communities, improve human and thus cultural health, and will ensure the perpetuation of northern cultures.

The prospective wealth in Nunavut’s land and seas is not disputed. However, there is a catch; Nunavut consists largely of an indigenous population inhabiting an exceptionally remote and vulnerable land. Inuit have also been exposed to a dismal history of colonialist measures aimed at assimilating Inuit into mainstream society.⁸ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami denoted “a legacy of economic underdevelopment/vulnerability and a backlog of social problems” and the “lack of mixed economies, and heavy reliance on public sector activities and subsidies” as key pressures in the Arctic.⁹ Inasmuch as Inuit communities have the potential to gain from resource development, there is also the risk of social repercussions from this shift into a primarily wage-generating economy.¹⁰

⁶ Government of Nunavut, Tamapta (2009)

⁷ Public Policy Forum, Progress Through Process: Achieving Sustainable Development Together. *National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy*, 4. (2010)

⁸ Throughout the mid to late 20th Century, Inuit were placed into residential schools and provided with English instruction (Pauktuutit 2006:8). This gradual movement to assimilate Inuit into mainstream society was also undertaken through endeavors such as “project surname”, the issuance of E-numbers, relocation (Bone 2009:234) and the implementation of social welfare programs (ITK, 2007, p.38; Graburn, 1969).

⁹ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *An Integrated Arctic Strategy [electronic version]* (2008) Retrieved 01 28, 2010, from Comprehensive Arctic Strategy Submitted to the Government of Canada: www.itk.ca/Comprehensive-Arctic-Strategy-Submitted-to-the-Government-of-Canada

¹⁰ Buell, M., *Resource Extraction Development and Wellbeing in the North [electronic version]*. Ottawa: Ajunnginiq Centre, National Aboriginal Health Organization (2006); Bone, R., *The Canadian North*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press (2009); Duhaime, G., Economic Systems. In *Arctic Human Development Repo* Akureyri: Steffanson Arctic Institute (2004):69-84

The Arctic Council's Working Group on Sustainable Development (SDWG) has identified the holistic management of circumpolar natural resources as a priority.¹¹ Building on the Sustainable Development Action Plan developed in Reykjavik in 2004, the SDWG identified gaps in knowledge for future development in "relation to cultural and language issues" in the Arctic.¹² The thematic relationship between sustainable economic development and social and cultural inclusion is an aspect this policy paper will attempt to demonstrate as being essential to the perpetuation of the Inuit culture. The dichotomy between local communities and large-scale economic development will become less problematic as Inuit continue to take greater control of their lives. This prospect can be achieved by increasing their socio-political awareness through self-governance regimes.¹³

In possible foresight of the new age of economic development in the Arctic, the national organization Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami submitted *An Integrated Arctic Strategy* to the federal government. It envisioned a plan for incorporating Inuit and their values in all aspects of arctic development.¹⁴ Subsequently, in March 2009, the federal government released *Canada's Northern Strategy*. The intention of these strategies was to establish a baseline for addressing impending opportunities and conflicts arising in the Arctic, and providing mechanisms for "Northerners to have a greater say in their own destiny".¹⁵ This focus of resources and attention to northern issues has cast a spotlight on the Inuit inhabitants as key stakeholders, and as vital contributors in Canada's sovereignty claim.¹⁶ Through the four pillars outlined in *The Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy*, the protection of Canada's environmental heritage and the promotion of economic and social development are the forefront issues for ensuring the interests of Canadians, and specifically for Nunavummiut, are protected and enriched.¹⁷ Griffiths notes that the "indigenous peoples and the natural environment which they depend" will undergo positive advancement in an "energized Arctic" if there is the opportunity for capacity building as identified in these strategies developed by governments.¹⁸

¹¹ Arctic Council, *Sustainable Development Working Group Work Plan 2009-2011 [electronic version]*. SDWG (2009)

¹² Arctic Council, *Sustainable Development Working Group Work Plan 2009-2011 [electronic version]*. SDWG (2009):4

¹³ Loukacheva, N., *The Arctic Promise*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press (2007)

¹⁴ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *An Integrated Arctic Strategy [electronic version]* (2008) Retrieved 01 28, 2010, from Comprehensive Arctic Strategy Submitted to the Government of Canada: www.itk.ca/Comprehensive-Arctic-Strategy-Submitted-to-the-Government-of-Canada

¹⁵ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future [Electronic Version]*. Ottawa (2009):Preamble, paragraph 3

¹⁶ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future [Electronic Version]*. Ottawa (2009):3

¹⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada *The Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy [electronic version]* (2009):2

¹⁸ Griffiths, F., *Towards a Canadian Arctic Strategy. Canadian International Council (Foreign Policy For Canadas Tomorrow No.1) [electronic version]* (2009):27

An Economy Based on Tradition

The Inuit culture is not static and has relied upon ingenuity and adaptive mechanisms for survival.¹⁹ There is however, the risk that that the culture is susceptible to erosion:

The Inuit of Nunavut are faced with the erosion of the Inuit language, knowledge and culture. Unless serious measures are taken, there will over time be a gradual extinction of Inuktitut, or at best, its attention as a curiosity, imperfectly preserved and irrelevant to the daily lives of its speakers.²⁰

Diamond Jenness made observations on the gradual divergence from the Inuit way of life and the ominous gap that was forming between the old and the new, noting “the dawning age of automation has widened the chasm, so the bridge it now needs must be longer and stronger”.²¹ Graburn also describes the Inuit culture undergoing change, but in a more pragmatic fashion, “...incorporating new materials and social conditions into their way of life in order to pursue those things dictated by their unchanged value system”.²² This is not the first experience that Inuit have had with concern for their cultural survival, as John Amagoalik makes reference to:

There was always agreement between them [non-Inuit] that the Inuit could not survive as a people... that Inuit culture and language will disappear and only be memories. If those same [non-Inuit] were to come to the Arctic today... They would discover that a stubborn culture still thrives. They would discover that our language is doing just fine.²³

From the aspect of both the former social scientist (Graburn) and the current Inuit leader (Amagoalik), there is consent that the Inuit culture has, and will, continue to survive if it organizes and incorporates mechanisms (or as Amagoalik states, remains “stubborn”) for integrating their “unchanged value system” in social and economic development.

¹⁹ Graburn, N., *Eskimos Without Igloos*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company (1969)

²⁰ Berger, T., *The Nunavut Project [electronic version]*. Conciliator's Final Report (2006):27

²¹ (1966):123 as cited in Graburn, N., *Eskimos Without Igloos*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company (1969):232

²² Graburn, N., *Eskimos Without Igloos*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company (1969):231

²³ Amagoalik, J., *Wastelands of Nobodies*. In P. Jull, J. Hicks, & J. Dahl, *Nunavut: Inuit Regain Control of Their Lands and Lives* International Work for Indigenous Affairs (2000):138

Sustainability

Two guiding principles of the Sivummut *Nunavut Economic Development Strategy* are the preservation of cultural integrity that is derived from *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit*, and a sustainable economy that will benefit future generations.²⁴ The interrelationship of these two guiding principles is paramount in ensuring the resilience of the Arctic, in both the sustainable economic and sustainable social context.²⁵ Sustainable development, as an overarching concept, is ambivalent and, at times, contentious.²⁶ Nonetheless, the most commonly accepted definition is the ability for society to meet the needs of the present without compromising the needs of the future.²⁷ Interpretations aside, at the root of the debate on sustainable development is the divergent theories of “progress” and “preservation”.²⁸ In exploring what this means to the Arctic, it is crucial to depart from the notion of finite resource extraction and focus in on infinite economic viability. Although the correlation between development (progress), and sustainability and cultural perpetuity (preservation), may present an analytical challenge, “clear priorities and an awareness of relationships among issues can help”.²⁹ The Brundtland Report makes reference to the relationship of indigenous societies and development as requiring special attention:

“...as the forces of economic development disrupt their traditional lifestyles – lifestyles that can offer modern societies many lessons in the management of resources...Their traditional rights should be recognized...and given a decisive voice in formulating policies”³⁰

According to Duhaime³¹ and Wilk and Cliggett³², economics is a “fundamental dimension of human development” and an integral part of our society. It is however, an aspect that the Arctic has undergone unique changes in, and will continue to experience challenges as societal interdependencies adapt. Inuit have for centuries developed a socio-economic system based on harvesting and gathering. After contact with

²⁴ Sivummut Economic Development Strategy Group, *Nunavut Economic Development Strategy: Building a Foundation for the Future [electronic version]* (2003) Retrieved 02 15, 2010, from Nunavut Economic Forum:

<http://www.nunavuteconomicforum.ca/public/files/strategy/NUNAVUTE.PDF>

²⁵ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future [Electronic Version]*. Ottawa (2009):1

²⁶ Nuttall, M., Global interdependence and Arctic Voices: capacity-building for sustainable livelihoods. *Polar Record*, 38 (206), (2002):194-202

²⁷ United Nations General Assembly, *Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development [Electronic Version]* (1987)

²⁸ Nuttall, M., Global interdependence and Arctic Voices: capacity-building for sustainable livelihoods. *Polar Record*, 38 (206), (2002):195

²⁹ Inuit Tapariit Kanatami, *ITK Strategic Plan 2007-2009 [electronic version]*. Ottawa: Inuit Tapariit Kanata (2007):3

³⁰ United Nations General Assembly, *Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development [Electronic Version]* (1987):27-28

³¹ Duhaime, G., *Economic Systems in Arctic Human Development Report*, Akureyri: Steffanson Arctic Institute (2004):69

³² Wilk, R., & Cliggett, L. (2007). *Economies and Cultures*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Europeans, there was a shift into a mixed economy, comprising of both wage employment (formal) and subsistence harvesting. As the economy advanced into the mid-20th Century, it took on the further tertiary characteristic of transfer and social payments³³ from federal to territorial governments and other institutions.³⁴

Formal economic development, as central to this policy paper, consists of mega-projects: undertakings on such a large scale as to overcome the geographic, financial, human capacity and bureaucratic obstacles³⁵ suggest that the majority of benefits accrued from current mega-projects results in decoupling via economic and labour leakage to outside regions. The lack of corporate knowledge retention is also a phenomenon that plagues northern development and is an overarching concern for both political and industry leaders.³⁶ In addition to leakage and knowledge loss, Bone argues that social repercussions arising from the “influx of workers without ties to the community” tends to lead to a disenfranchised and disillusioned indigenous community. These elements, combined with a narrow economic base, leave the potential economy susceptible to “boom and bust cycles”.³⁷

Although Inuit still participate in the traditional economy, the resulting influences of the formal economy and its developments fundamentally changed the Inuit society.³⁸ Nelson Graburn, an anthropologist who studied social and economic development in Inuit communities from the late 1950s, observed that Inuit had two forms of economy: the traditional economy and the *new* economy, “each with its own very different rules and content”.³⁹ Graburn identified the introduction of the wage economy as a development upon an innovation that Inuit people already employed: i.e. soapstone carving was a means for developing tools, but was then transformed into a means for income. The innovation of the Inuit economy is shown through Graburn’s research. An economy traditionally dominated by reciprocity had adapted with the advent of the wage economy.⁴⁰ However, living in the current economy does not necessarily indicate a decrease in the

³³ In 1939, The Supreme Court of Canada ruled that Inuit were technically Indians, and fell under the welfare jurisdiction of the federal government (Jenness, 1964, p.40, as cited in Graburn, 1969, p.139). Shortly after 1945, the federal government instituted a family allowance: subsequently declaring that Inuit were citizens of Canada and were to receive these social payments (Graburn, 1969)

³⁴ Duhaime, G., *Economic Systems in Arctic Human Development Report*, Akureyri: Steffanson Arctic Institute (2004):69-84; Bone, R., *The Canadian North*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press (2009); Graburn, N., *Eskimos Without Igloos*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company (1969)

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Bernhardt, B., (D. Fredlund, Interviewer) Kugluktuk, Nunavut (2010); Lyall, C., (D. Fredlund, Interviewer) Taloyoak, Nunavut (2010); Nuttall, M., *The Mackenzie Gas Project: Aboriginal Interests, The Environment and Northern Canada's Energy Frontier* [electronic version]. *Indigenous Affairs* (2006):20-29.

³⁷ Buell, M., *Resource Extraction Development and Wellbeing in the North* [electronic version]. Ottawa: Ajunnginiq Centre, National Aboriginal Health Organization (2006); Bone, R., *The Canadian North*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press (2009)

³⁸ Hicks, J., & White, G., *Nunavut: Inuit Self Determination Through a Land Claim and Public Government* [electronic version] (2000):23 Retrieved 01 26, 2010, from

http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr/system/files/Seminars/presentations/HicksJ_WhiteG_2000.pdf

³⁹ Graburn, N., *Eskimos Without Igloos*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company (1969):10

⁴⁰ Service (1966):9-26 as cited in Graburn, N., *Eskimos Without Igloos*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company (1969):10

importance of sustenance harvesting to the socioeconomic well-being of northern communities.⁴¹ It is recognized that “the traditional reliance on wildlife resources for food may need to be supplemented by other economic activities.”⁴² Traditional economies that inherently promote cultural resilience, such as hunting and fishing, is a key attribute that Inuit self-define as being a way of life and important to their identity.⁴³ On the other hand, the relationship with the global economy is becoming increasingly important and will require Inuit communities to diversify and become actively involved in resource exploitation.⁴⁴ Wilk and Cliggett observed that the economic relationship in a substantive sense “is not just a material world. It is a portion of our world where humans and cultures are tied to each other through their relationships [such as ownership]”⁴⁵ It is the choices we make that have inevitable costs that affect our lives, and the lives of our future generations. It is at this crossroads that Nunavut now stands, a “growing, diversified economic force”, with the goal of “building a strong economy for our future”.⁴⁶ Yet a cautious approach must be taken to ensure this growth does not corrode a culture that relies upon the very environment where development may occur.

With the slowdown of the world economic market, the territory of Nunavut has been given the opportunity to be at the starting line for a development boom – a position that cannot be taken for granted. In the face of dashed hopes in mine development, i.e. Tahera’s Jericho Diamond Mine⁴⁷ and the closure of existing mega-projects: i.e. Nanisivik, Lupin and Polaris,⁴⁸ Nunavut is poised to resuscitate its resource development potential.⁴⁹ It is estimated that there is between 100-260 trillion cubic feet of gas and 10-20 billion barrels of oil in Nunavut’s territorial jurisdiction.⁵⁰

In its summary to the Joint Review Panel of the Mackenzie Gas Project, the World Wildlife Fund supported the pursuit of a stronger economy in the North, but “not at any cost”.⁵¹ Accordingly, the *Nunavut Economic Strategy* states that the increased opportunities in mining will bring with it “the temptation to adopt the industrial values of the mainstream Canadian economy, values that are often in direct opposition to Inuit

⁴¹ Nuttall, M., *The Mackenzie Gas Project: Aboriginal Interests, The Environment and Northern Canada's Energy Frontier* [electronic version] *Indigenous Affairs* (2006):20-29

⁴² Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, *Mining Policy* [electronic version] (2008) Retrieved 01 28, 2010, from NTI Department of Lands: http://www.ntilands.com/mining_policy.html

⁴³ Inuit Tapariit Kanatami, *ITK Strategic Plan 2007-2009* [electronic version]. Ottawa: Inuit Tapariit Kanata (2007); Glomsrød, S., & Aslaksen, I., *The Economy of the North 2008* [electronic version]. Oslo: Statistics Norway (2008):70

⁴⁴ Duhaime, G., *Economic Systems in Arctic Human Development Report*, Akureyri: Steffanson Arctic Institute (2004):69-84

⁴⁵ Wilk, R., & Cliggett, L., *Economies and Culture*, Boulder: Westview Press (2007):36

⁴⁶ Simon, M., *Mary Simon at Northern Lights Trade Show, Part 1 and Part 2* (2008, February 1) Retrieved 02 15, 2010, from youtube: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7hN_bmUH-jQ

⁴⁷ Bone, R., *The Canadian North* Don Mills: Oxford University Press (2009):238

⁴⁸ Both Nanisivik (started production in 1976-77) and Polaris (started production in 1981) suspended operation in 2002, while Lupin (started production in 1982) suspended production in 2006

⁴⁹ Mack, C. March, 14, 2012, Nunatsiaq News “Canada’s North Poised to Cash in on Mining Boom”

⁵⁰ Department of Economic Development and Transportation Transportation, *Looking Forward: Translating Challenges to Opportunities* [electronic version] (2009, April 2). Retrieved 02 14, 2010, from Nunavut Mining Symposium: <http://www.nunavutminingsymposium.ca/wp-content/uploads/2009/06/nunavut-mining-alan-john-1030am.pdf>

⁵¹ World Wildlife Fund Canada, *Intervention to the Joint Review Panel for the Mackenzie Gas Project* [electronic version] (2006, February 10) Retrieved 02 15, 2010, from

http://assets.wwfca.panda.org/downloads/wwf_mackenzievalley_interventionsubmissiontojr.pdf

traditional wisdom about the land”.⁵² Inuit leaders have also advocated for social caution when it comes to future resource exploitation. During the 2008 Northern Lights trade show in Ottawa, Mary Simon, former president of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, illustrated the following view:

*In regards to economic development, this is of great importance to Inuit, especially in the current global and political business environment...But we must be cautious not to get so caught up in the promise of immense profits from Uranium, diamonds and natural gas that we compromise our fundamental environmental well-being.*⁵³

Charlie Lyall (2010), former president of the Kitikmeot Corporation and former Mayor of Taloyoak in Nunavut also stated that, “Mining is the way for sustainable economic development [in the Kitikmeot region]. It is good for us, but I don’t want it at any price”. The reference was made towards the largest proposed road development project in Nunavut and the Caribou migration that passes over the area.⁵⁴

Caribou will have the priority when it’s migration time... we [development] do not want to be in the calving grounds of caribou. It’s only right; it [caribou] is the breadbasket of the region. We need to look after it.⁵⁵ This desire to shift to a wage-earning economy to supplement the traditional economy is seen as means for expanding autonomy and self-sufficiency.⁵⁶ However, this aspiration must not compromise or undermine the traditional economy, an aspect crucial to maintaining a vibrant culture.

⁵² Nunavut Economic Forum, *Qanijjuq II: The Journey Continues, A Discussion on the Renewal of the Strategic Investments in Northern Economic Development Program for Nunavut (2008) [electronic version]* Government of Nunavut

⁵³ Simon, M., *Mary Simon at Northern Lights Trade Show, Part 1 and Part 2* (2008, February 1) Retrieved 02 15, 2010, from youtube: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7hN_bmUH-jQ

⁵⁴ The Bathurst Inlet Road and Port Project will connect various mines in the Kitikmeot region with a 280 km all-weather road link to the sea. For more information, refer to <http://www.kitikmeotcorp.ca/bathurst.htm>

⁵⁵ Personal Interview (2010)

⁵⁶ Buell, M., *Resource Extraction Development and Wellbeing in the North [electronic version]*. Ottawa: Ajunnginiq Centre, National Aboriginal Health Organization (2006); National Aboriginal Health Organization. (November 11-14, 2003). *Redefining Relationships: Learning from a Decade of Land Claims Implementation [electronic version]*. Ottawa: NAHO

Power Dynamics

The presence of arrogance in policy development in the North is visible. Since the Confederation of Canada, decision-makers have implemented policies aimed at the assimilation of northern cultures, with the intent of eradicating the independent way of life.

Economic development and human development is linked within the context of power and capacity of indigenous peoples.⁵⁷ In *The Economy of the North 2008*, the authors concluded that economic growth will have an effect on indigenous peoples, and may not always lead to social improvement. However, the involvement of indigenous peoples through the capacity of representative organizations (such as NTI and RWOs), will enable Inuit to “redirect economic development towards human development”.⁵⁸ The Inuit of Nunavut have secured this power position through the implementation of the constitutionally-protected Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA). With the signing of the NLCA in 1993, the Inuit of Nunavut negotiated the “surrender of any claims, rights, title and interests based on the assertion of their aboriginal title” anywhere in Canada. In exchange, the NLCA established certain mandates in regards to ownership and meaningful participation in decision-making.⁵⁹ This major aspect to the implementation of the NLCA was the means for Inuit to have more control over resource development.

There are also implicit social and cultural health benefits from the establishment of the Land Claims: a direct linkage to improving the health of Inuit communities by providing the opportunity to address their own requirements for enhancing their well-being.⁶⁰ The Protocol on Devolution for resource management from the federal government to the territorial level has also been developed to guide the devolution discussions into the next phase of negotiations.⁶¹ Currently, the Crown owns 80 per cent of Nunavut’s land and is managed by the federal government.⁶² Nunavut has many more hurdles to overcome in the process of implementing a final devolution agreement, and enticing the federal government to secure a negotiation mandate and appoint a chief negotiator is an essential first step.

This vision is a means for Nunavummiut to shape their territory and contribute to their own security in the political sphere.⁶³ Examples of innovative institutions for securing power in the private sector are also very

⁵⁷ Duhaime, G., & Caron, A., *The Economy of the Circumpolar Arctic* (2006:17-25) [electronic version]. In S. Glomsrød, & I. Aslaksen, *The Economy of the North* Oslo: Statistics Norway; Nuttall, M., *Global interdependence and Arctic Voices: capacity-building for sustainable livelihoods. Polar Record, 38 (206), (2002):194-202*

⁵⁸ Glomsrød, S., & Aslaksen, I., *The Economy of the North 2008 [electronic version]*. Oslo: Statistics Norway (2008):22

⁵⁹ Hicks, J., & White, G., *Nunavut: Inuit Self Determination Through a Land Claim and Public Government [electronic version] (2000)* Retrieved 01 26, 2010, from http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr/system/files/Seminars/presentations/HicksJ_WhiteG_2000.pdf

⁶⁰ National Aboriginal Health Organization. (November 11-14, 2003). *Redefining Relationships: Learning from a Decade of Land Claims Implementation [electronic version]*. Ottawa: NAHO

⁶¹ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Lands and Resources Devolution Negotiation Protocol* (2008) Retrieved 02 16, 2010, from <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/al/ldc/ccl/fagr/nuna/nti/nti-eng.asp>

⁶² *Devolution: The Next Step in Nunavut’s Journey*

⁶³ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Lands and Resources Devolution Negotiation Protocol* (2008) Retrieved 02 16, 2010, from <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/al/ldc/ccl/fagr/nuna/nti/nti-eng.asp>

important for positive economic development in Nunavut. The Nunavut Resource Corporation has been created to ensure that Inuit have equitable participation in resource development. The establishment of this corporation will address the top-down relationship that large-scale mining typically has with Inuit communities. It will empower Inuit to be partners in mega-projects, and not just service providers. This venture, financed through local governments and NGOs, is an opportunity for Inuit to take advantage of the self-determination priorities established in Canada's Northern Strategy.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Livingston, A, More control over future resources. *Nunavut News/North*, (2009, November 30): Business and Labour B1-B2

Good Governance

The [Inuit] have much to give to Canada, and I feel we should be able to look forward with confidence to the day when [the Inuit people] will be a strong, healthy, and significant segment of the Canadian population.⁶⁵

A valuable resource for advancing the cultural, social and economic well-being of northern communities is through benefits accrued from Impact and Benefit Agreements (IBA). The IBAs are agreements between the developers and those the development will affect, and consists of employment, training, financial and infrastructure incentives for the communities. However, IBAs are only tools that the communities can access, and are only effective if negotiated and implemented in a transparent and thoughtful process.

Baker Lake, with an unemployment rate of 20.9 per cent, welcomed 170 new jobs with the opening of the Meadowbank Gold mine, a \$700 million investment. Under the mine's Impact and Benefit Agreement, the goal for Inuit employment statistics is considerably higher than the actual figure – a goal the mine's human resource superintendent says is "unrealistic".⁶⁶ Impact and Benefit Agreements are not negotiated on the pretense of being unrealistic, and are constitutionally bound by the Nunavut land Claims Agreement. However, there are various aspects to IBA legislation that weaken the position for community empowerment through decision-making. Article 26.11.3/26.11.4 of the NLCA permits the proponent of a major development project to start their project prior to completing the IBA if (a) the parties agree; or (b) the delay would jeopardize the project (see Article 26.2.1, which states that no major project may commence until an IBA is finalized, subject to the prior mentioned exclusions). The concession for the community for this rushed start would include compensation.

In order to achieve credible good governance, the sincere and equitable participation by the public is required. Although there are many facets involved within the process of attaining good governance in an institution, the incorporation of views and aspirations of those who will feel the effects is significant. When stakeholders are involved in bureaucratic decision-making the, "public confidence in the fairness of the decision increases".⁶⁷ The relationship that this aspect has to the construction of an accountable and corruption-free governance regime is a valuable phenomenon to observe. In order to develop our understanding of the role public participation has to play in governance, it should be recognized that it is "fundamentally about values and philosophies".⁶⁸

The interchange of government and governance within the context of public participation also needs to be identified when constructing arguments for good governance. The bearing that this confusion may have is that improving governance is left to the government, a process that does not sit well with those outside the

⁶⁵ Nicholson, L., The Arctic Circular. The Arctic Circle Vol. XIII no.2 [electronic version] (1961, January)

⁶⁶ George, J., Baker Lake's Golden Ponds. *Nunatsiaq News* (August 10, 2009)

⁶⁷ World Bank, Building National Consensus through Effective Dialogue and Public Participation (2007):21 Retrieved 04 03, 2010 from siteresources.worldbank.org/INDIAEXTN/Resources/295583.../ch3.pdf

⁶⁸ Pring, G., The Law of Public Participation in Mining and Resource Development. England: International Institute for Environmental Development (2002):5

sphere of the public service organization.⁶⁹ Governance is a process that should involve varying actors in creating a more representative government. Government, however, is an institution and an entity that plays a part of governance, but is not in itself governance.⁷⁰

In order for the North to establish a successful regime imparted with preserving northern cultures while stimulating economic opportunities, the governments must take into account good governance theories. In effect, good governance recognizes the significance of relationships between these elected members, their respective administrations, and those that the policies will impact.⁷¹

Community participation in good governance – in this case at the regional level – is what Exiner sees as a relationship that will strengthen the community.⁷² The implication of participation reaches far past the acknowledgement of “good practice”, and moves it into the realm of “(legal) obligation”. According to the World Bank, communities are repositories for knowledge, and extracting this knowledge is crucial in developing and implementing policies.⁷³ In northern communities, community-based knowledge is a fundamental aspect to “knowing”, which magnifies the responsibility of the public service to extract this knowledge. These aspects can only be understood, and thus formulated into policies, through dialogue between those in power and those who will be affected. Examples of this can be seen in the educational institutionalization and assimilation initiatives of Inuit people in the Canadian Arctic during the mid-20th Century.⁷⁴ Inuit have always indicated they were never consulted prior to these developments. It was only assumed they were in compliance.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Osborne, S., & Brown, K., *Managing Change and Innovation in Public Service Organizations*. New York: Routledge (2005)

⁷⁰ Kjer & Kinnerup in Sano, H., & Alfredsson, G., *Human Rights and Good Governance*. Norwell: Kluwer Law International (2002):10

⁷¹ Exiner, R., *Good Governance Guide*. Victoria: Good Governance Advisory Group (2004):7

⁷² *Ibid*:17

⁷³ World Bank, *Building National Consensus through Effective Dialogue and Public Participation* (2007) Retrieved 04 03, 2010 from siteresources.worldbank.org/INDIAEXTN/Resources/295583.../ch3.pdf

⁷⁴ Oosten, J., & Remi, C. (1999). *Arctic Identities: continuity and change in Inuit and Sami societies*. Leiden: Research School CNWS.

⁷⁵ Suluk, T., & Blakney, S. (2008). *Land Claims and the Resistance to the Management of Harvester Activity in Nunavut*. *Arctic* VOL.61, pp. 62-70.

Quality of Life

An important aspect to human development is the health factor. There is a clear relationship between socio-economic status and health in indigenous communities.⁷⁶ “It is through the implementation of the economic measure included in land claims that the economic situation in, and subsequently the wellness of, many aboriginal communities in Canada will be improved”.⁷⁷ This viewpoint takes into consideration elements of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement that stipulate the sincere involvement by Inuit in resource exploitation within the settlement area. When discussing cultural perpetuity, the link between self-determination – supported through the NLCA – must be considered in relation to health and economic development. Thus, indices for determining the impact that economic development is having, or will have, on cultural health must be utilized to gauge mitigation requirements.

The quality of life for communities around the Circumpolar Arctic is based on the UN’s Human Development Index. This index does not take into consideration the full cultural and economic importance of the traditional economy, which may result in a misrepresentation of reality. The Stefansson Institution released a draft Arctic Social Indicators Project (ASI) in 2010 to assist the Arctic Council in developing an accurate baseline to gauge indigenous well-being. This work was done as a follow up to the Arctic Human Development Report (2004) to identify gaps in knowledge about where Inuit communities are situated in regard to human and economic development.⁷⁸ As important as it is to know how these societies compare in relation to the rest of the Arctic, it is imperative to understand the social, economic and cultural trends of individual indigenous populations. This knowledge will provide decision-makers with tools for identifying and addressing areas of socio-economic and cultural concerns in specific communities.

International institutions are also recognizing the relationships between economic and cultural health within indigenous societies, and are providing opportunities for cooperation through multilateral agreements. For example, the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169 (which Canada has yet to ratify), recognizes that the interrelationship between indigenous cultures and the environment needs to be respected. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIPS, 2007, Art.20) also stipulates that, “Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and develop their political, economic and social systems...and to engage freely in all their traditional and other economic activities”. Canada also ratified the Convention on Biodiversity, an agreement that has a focus on the involvement of traditional knowledge in sustainable development.⁷⁹

At the regional level, mechanisms for negotiating Impact and Benefit Agreements are laid out in the NLCA, ensuring Inuit communities mitigate the impact of economic leakage and environmental degradation.

⁷⁶ National Aboriginal Health Organization (November 11-14, 2003) *Redefining Relationships: Learning from a Decade of Land Claims Implementation* [electronic version] Ottawa: NAHO

⁷⁷ National Aboriginal Health Organization. (November 11-14, 2003):3 *Redefining Relationships: Learning from a Decade of Land Claims Implementation* [electronic version] Ottawa: NAHO

⁷⁸ To see the draft, please refer to <http://www.svs.is/ASI/Report%20Chapters/Report%20Chapters.htm>

⁷⁹ United Nations *Convention on Biological Diversity (1992:8j)* [electronic version] Rio de Janeiro

Regional Inuit organizations and institutions of public governments have also been created under the NLCA with the intent of providing Inuit with the responsibility of self-governance.⁸⁰ According to Nuttall⁸¹, the Arctic Council also has a role to play in mitigating the sustainability of both the economy and culture in the Arctic. The Arctic Council will need to encourage development that incorporates diversification where the economy consists of opportunities other than the “all the eggs in one basket” resource extraction regime. This will ensure indigenous communities participate in an economy that can withstand the socio-economic and cultural rollercoaster that is indicative of large-scale projects.

⁸⁰ Hicks, J., & White, G., *Nunavut: Inuit Self Determination Through a Land Claim and Public Government [electronic version]* (2000) Retrieved 01 26, 2010, from http://www.anu.edu.au/caepr/system/files/Seminars/presentations/HicksJ_WhiteG_2000.pdf

⁸¹ Nuttall, M., Global interdependence and Arctic Voices: capacity-building for sustainable livelihoods. *Polar Record*, 38 (206), (2002):194-202

Cultural Values

We Eskimos can ask ourselves these questions and wonder about our future, but we can think even further ahead. What part will we take in the government of the North? What part will we take in the government of Canada? What language will our descendants speak? Will they remember the language of their fathers? ...Will we write stories and be able to tell the world about ourselves? ... Will Eskimos fly their own airplanes and drive their own cars? ... Will our descendants all go to universities and do the same work as white people? Will more of our people live in the South than in the North?

The values that are the canvas of the North, and more specifically the Inuit culture, are laid out in a format of Guiding Principles developed by the Government of Nunavut. Although there is a perceived nullification by putting intrinsic values to paper, these documented principles permit the integration of traditional social norms into modern public policies and practice. *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit*, as a theory, focuses on the philosophy of reciprocation, not explicitly in a tangible and material gift exchange sense, but as a means for strengthening relationships and improving the communal quality of life. *Inuuqatigiitsiarniq* is based on respect; *ajjiqatigiinni* describes the value of consensus and discussion; *piliriqatigiinni* values the combining of resources and skills as a communal effort; and *avatimik kamatsiarniq* illustrates the imperative respect for the environment and all that is within (Government of Nunavut, unknown). These key values are not idealistic concepts that were suggestions for a fulfilling life; they were the foundation for survival. In transition, the explicit and tangible shift from the hunter-gatherer to the traditional economy to the wage-based economy has altered the *means* for sustaining life, yet the *method* – or the ideals and values – is strongly rooted in tradition.⁸² Essentially, the emphasis is on the value structure for maintaining existence, regardless of how food is put on the table, or how shelter is provided. Understanding the relationship between economic prosperity and cultural survival of the Inuit should not be centered on the aspects of a traditional vs. wage-based economy. Society must incubate and disseminate the system of values that ensured, and will continue to ensure, the survival of a culture.

⁸² Graburn, N., *Eskimos Without Igloos*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company (1969)

Conclusions

When researching cultural vulnerability and economic sustainability, one must consider the elements of climate change. It is an accepted fact that climate change will have an impact on industry in the North and the Inuit way of life. Greater access to shipping routes combined with longer shipping seasons, and the expanding innovation in technology, is increasing Nunavut's resource economic potential. There is also the potential for unfamiliar environmental changes, such as an influx of invasive flora and fauna, threats to migration patterns of Arctic mammals, and the population decrease or disappearance of some species altogether.⁸³ As the environment and Inuit culture cannot be divorced, these changes will only magnify the impacts of resource development: "Environment and development are not separate challenges: they are inexorably linked..."⁸⁴ The effects of climate change will be a battle on two fronts for northern people: the first will be securing their place as leaders in a global economy, which is quickly becoming accessible to development; and second, northerners will need to continue to rapidly adapt their daily lives to parallel the changes occurring in the environment.

The juxtaposition of progress and preservation in sustainable development can be paralleled to the relationship of economic development and the perpetuation of the Inuit culture. There exists an intricate relationship between the Inuit culture and the environment, economic and human development and power and capacity of indigenous people, socioeconomic status and health in Inuit communities, effective education and human development, and the adaptive capacity of the Inuit culture through innovation without compromising traditional values. The definitive desire to maintain a strong Inuit culture through utilizing its adaptive capacity to compliment inclusive resource development in Nunavut is apparent.

With the prospects of economic success, the fundamental theory of economics must be considered. For every choice made and opportunity taken, there will be costs. It will be the duty of the federal and territorial governments and NGOs (such as Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated and the Arctic Council) to establish mitigation measures for ensuring that these costs do not translate to social, environmental or cultural degradation. It will also be their mandate to ensure that mistakes from the past are not repeated. The Russian ambassador to Denmark, Teymuraz Ramishvili, cautioned against the development of "any new form of colonialism" with respect to protecting Inuit identity in the face of resource exploitation.⁸⁵

A reoccurring theme throughout this research is the significance that education will have on self-governed sustainable economic development, and the survivability of the Inuit culture. Not to diminish the importance of other key factors such as increasing human capacity; improving infrastructure; furthering devolution initiatives; respecting Land Claims and benefit agreements; ratifying national and international agreements; or researching economic and social impact measurements, but to distinguish that knowledge, innovation,

⁸³ Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada (COSEWIC) attributes climate change as a factor in the decline of the arctic sub-population of Polar Bears in the Western Hudson Bay.

⁸⁴ United Nations General Assembly, *Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development [Electronic Version] (1987)*

⁸⁵ Sermitsiaq Newspaper. *Russia Calls for Increased Arctic Cooperation* (2009, June 25) Retrieved 02 10, 2011 from <http://sermitsiaq.gl/politik/article88390.ece?service=print&lang=EN>

adaptation, and knowledge transfer as fundamental to realizing the potential for Inuit to excel in the global economy. Take for example, the Nunavut Economic Forum (NEF), comprised of industry and government leaders, which has ranked education first in their priorities setting. The federal government's Strategic Investment in Northern Economic Development (SINED) has also targeted 56 per cent of investments into developing the knowledge-based resource in Nunavut.⁸⁶ Mary Simon expressed that, "an educated population, ready to take up new jobs and economic opportunities in the North, is the backbone of successful economic development" (2008). However, education must be meaningful and valuable to the people of Nunavut, and will require a "getting back to the basics" of learning sciences and math.⁸⁷ This confirms the necessity for young people to be graduating high school with the capacity to pursue post-secondary training. The notion that completing a high school diploma does not necessarily indicate a complete and valid education is an aspect that Nunavut's educational system should pay more attention to.

On a positive note, the Nunavut Government is strategically implementing a new Education Act and Adult Learning Strategy that will combine *Inuit Qaujimaqatuqangit* and contemporary curricula. It will also include an understanding of economic systems in Nunavut.⁸⁸ This move to incorporate relevant values is extremely important to cultural survivability and should be used as a model for other educational initiatives in Nunavut.

⁸⁶Nunavut Economic Forum, *Qanijjuq II: The Journey Continues, A Discussion on the Renewal of the Strategic Investments in Northern Economic Development Program for Nunavut (2008)* [electronic version] Government of Nunavut

⁸⁷ Lyall, C., (D. Fredlund, Interviewer) Taloyoak, Nunavut (2010); Bernhardt, B., (D. Fredlund, Interviewer) Kugluktuk, Nunavut (2010); Hicks, J., Education in the Canadian Arctic: What Difference has the Nunavut Government Made? (2005):14 [electronic version] *Indigenous Affairs*

⁸⁸Government of Nunavut *Education Act (2008:S. 8.4)* [electronic version]; Government of Nunavut, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (2006:5) *Nunavut Adult Learning Strategy* [electronic version]

Where Do We Grow From Here? Policy Recommendations

A primary step to realizing a healthy culture thriving within a healthy society is to meet the basic physical needs of the community. Maslow's hierarchy of needs stresses food and shelter as crucial to human development. Northern governments are working in conjunction with the federal government to develop poverty-reduction policies including food security and affordable housing. Once these physical needs are met, northerners will be more apt to advance in academia and become industry leaders.

1. Attitude I: Addressing Apathy

The phenomenon of apathy is apparent in northern society. This may have resulted from historical misdirection and the perceived dichotomy between decision-makers and the communities. Regardless of the reasons, apathy in policy development will hinder movements towards self-empowerment. *Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit* points to respect, consensus decision-making, and communal efforts as key societal values, and recognizes that apathy is not constructive. Jimmy Onalik, an accomplished Inuit commercial airline owner stated that "our government will only be open if young people throw off the blanket of apathy and demand to see inside it. Our government will only be ours if we are constantly laying claim to it".⁸⁹ Although an anti-apathy policy may not in itself be feasible, the concept should be recognized and fundamentally fused in all future policy development. This could be accomplished through policies focused on encouraging government transparency, Designated Inuit Organization accountability, and increasing community capacity.

2. Attitude II: Ignorance and Arrogance

I remember reading in a southern magazine a photo caption of a hunter travelling by snowmobile while pulling a boat on a sled. It cited the hunter was pulling the boat on his qamutik because the ice conditions were unpredictable due to climate change. This example strengthens the position that many conceptions from southern Canada are based reactively and presumptuously: in actuality, the hunter was pulling a floe-edge boat to hunt seals at the meeting of water and sea ice at the floe-edge. Ignorance of the issues will only perpetuate bad policy development. To mitigate the impact of ignorance on policy development there are two solutions: first, the policies should be developed by those the policy will affect and who are aware first-hand of the social atmosphere; second, when those outside of the culture develop any policy that will affect the North, sincere consultation must be made with those the policy will affect.

Inuit societal values are structured on communal success and demand to be recognized as a formative bureaucratic system. The argument that traditional knowledge and contemporary politics are too different to merge into a co-operative function is digressive and unproductive. Although the content of northern society has changed, the context of societal values is inherent, and can be fashioned to any policy.

⁸⁹ www.nunavut.com/nunavut99/english/next.html

Strengthen and Legitimize Impact Benefit Agreements

Impact and Benefit Agreements should always be in place prior to any project commencement. Breaches of any Impact and Benefit Agreement should be enforceable by clearer legislation. In article 26.9.1, the NLCA makes reference to enforcement of the IBA under common law of contract and “in any deliberation as to the remedy of specific performance, due regard shall be given at all times to the desirability of protecting Inuit lifestyle and culture and providing Inuit with opportunities for economic advancement”. The notion of incorporating “due regard to protecting Inuit lifestyle and culture” should be changed to the “protection of Inuit lifestyle and culture is paramount”.

IBAs have real potential for being veiled in secrecy. On many occasions there is no mechanism for transparency in these agreements, and only the privileged elect or senior officials are privy to the contents. The rationale for this lack of transparency is confidentiality. Companies do not want to reveal negotiating tactics and benefits to competitors; and regional organizations want to have each IBA stand on its own merits and not be influenced by precedence. Although these are both sound justifications, transparency and communication with the communities affected should be of greater importance. The confidentiality clauses in IBAs promote little or no sharing of information between northern groups, which may lead to long-term problems with the community and the sustainability of mega projects.⁹⁰

The Raglan mine in Northern Quebec is an example where IBAs were negotiated in favour of community empowerment by the experienced Makivik Corporation. The negotiated benefits include \$65.4 million⁹¹ which have been “dedicated to the welfare and economic advancement of the Inuit”.⁹² Inuit employment quotas were not set as Makivik “believes goodwill on the part of the company is probably the best guarantee of fair treatment” and it is recognized that the attitudes on both sides is a decisive factor.⁹³ The financial returns from industry have had a direct impact on meeting the basic physical needs of Nunavimmiut, which can result in long-term positive implications. Social problems that are related to the opportunities of working in the mine are being addressed in a solution-based manner. Mitigating the impacts of the new-found wealth and stressors placed on the family/community unit are being mitigated through social programs funded through the IBA.

According to O’Reilly and Eacott (1998), there is the fear that governments may use IBAs and locally-based revenues from mega projects as justification for “reducing grants or eliminating eligibility for program funding”. This is an area where policy improvements can be made, however, the absolute solution should not ride solely on open and public scrutinization, but require a well-balanced approach through oversight. One method could be to introduce legislation prohibiting governments from capitalizing on IBAs as a means for withdrawing resources from the Designated Inuit Organizations. Policy could also be implemented as a means for encouraging transparency through better use of implementation committees.

⁹⁰ O’Reilly, K., & Eacott, E., *Aboriginal Peoples and Impact and Benefit Agreements: Report of a National Workshop. Northern Minerals Program Working Paper No.7.* Yellowknife: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee (1998)

⁹¹ 2008 figures

⁹² Lewis, M., *Aboriginal Mining Guide: How to negotiate lasting benefits for your community*, Port Alberni, BC: Canadian Centre for Community Renewal (2009)

⁹³ *Ibid*:27

Implementation committees are a crucial resource for ensuring IBAs are negotiated and fulfilled accordingly. Providing the implementation committee with real oversight on the negotiations and enforcement of IBAs should be implemented through policy rather than just overseeing the distribution of financial resources. These committees should contain joint representation from all parties impacted by the project, including government, local and elected representatives.

These recommendations for strengthening and legitimizing IBAs will provide long-term benefits to the communities. In the short-term, communities will have the resources through revenue-sharing and developed infrastructure to encourage and support local formal and vocational education.

3. Education

Currently, the Department of Economic Development and Transportation is working in conjunction with industry and the Arctic College to develop specific curriculum for high school students. Developing a solid foundation of business leaders and entrepreneurs from within the North is crucial to self-empowerment.

Nunavut Sivuniksavut, a post-secondary preparatory opportunity for Inuit youth, is an eight-month program funded through various government and NGOs, and enables students from Nunavut to live in Ottawa and develop leadership skills. The program provides instruction on land claims, history, contemporary issues and politics.⁹⁴ To implement successful partnerships in sustainable economic initiatives in Nunavut, it would be of great benefit to add a course dedicated to both large-scale industrial management and developing entrepreneurial expertise to benefit from the spin-off economy from mega-projects. This would require financial and human resource contributions from northern governments.

Another potential institution of learning that could introduce communities to economic possibilities is Clyde River's Piqqusilirivvik Cultural School. It is a formal institution with the means for preserving language and culture: which according to Nunavut Premier Eva Aariak, the survival of either is interdependent (Above & Beyond, 2008). The recently opened school was founded on the principles of *Inuit Qaujimaqatuqangit* with a focus on preserving Inuit traditions. Recognizing the importance that comprehensive economic skills will have on maintaining an empowered and resilient Inuit culture, it would be incisive to implement courses dedicated to the promotion of these skills for Nunavummiut. Implemented language protection policies will also safeguard a critical aspect to cultural resilience amidst the influx of technologies and development.

Former governor general of Canada Michaëlle Jean also perceived that the development of a University in Canada's Arctic would accrue benefits for northern people. An institution of this calibre would have the capacity to train homegrown engineers, and further the North's participation in development. After all, Canada's claim to sovereignty would be an "empty shell" without the North's contribution.⁹⁵ This long-term goal could be strengthened by offering courses on economic development in the existing Arctic College. Currently, the college has partnerships with various universities offering undergraduate and postgraduate

⁹⁴ For more information on Nunavut Sivuniksavut courses, please refer to: <http://www.nstraining.ca/courses.php>

⁹⁵ CBC News *Governor General Kicks off Visit to Nunavut with Seal Snack* (2009, 05 29) Retrieved 2010/2011, from <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/north/story/2009/05/25/gg-nunavut-visit.html>

degrees in education and nursing. This type of relationship could also be applied to commerce degrees; enabling northerners the opportunity to be the leaders of development.

Empower through Exposure

Being an Inuk is; what did you learn from school, university, college, other communities, provinces, other countries, what did you learn from them? What can you use from them, and mould it and bind it with your [own knowledge], because that makes you stronger.⁹⁶

Exposure to cultures other than their own is a means for young people to branch out and build a solid educational foundation and subsequently have the ability to contribute to the development of their sustainable economy. There are currently some programs geared towards exposing Nunavut youth to the rest of Canada and the world: the International Institute for Sustainable Development, Northern Youth Abroad, Katimavik and Students on Ice provide opportunities for Inuit to seek out and learn from different ways of living. This type of exposure is what Charlie Lyall (2010) sees as being positively empowering for young Inuit, “convincing young people [through national and international exposure] that there is more to life”, and will ultimately lead to a more productive and energetic youth.⁹⁷

The three main programs designed specifically for northern youth are the Jane Glassco Arctic Fellowship, Nunavut Sivuniksavut and Northern Youth Abroad. These programs accept up to a combined number of 76 applicants each year. Taking into account that there are 6,073 youth between the ages of 15-24 in Nunavut, it would mean that only one per cent of Nunavut youth have the opportunity to participate in these three exposure programs dedicated to positive development. A policy that recognizes exposure as being crucial to youth development should be created to promote interterritorial, intranational and international exchange. This policy should be a co-operative policy between education and social services departments, understanding that these two facets are interlinked in youth development. Bill 21, the *Nunavut Education Act*, should include a section recognizing the importance of exposure to youth education, and encourage learning institutions to implement plans to incorporate exposure programs into curriculum.

4. Co-operation

Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated [NTI] has already been celebrating the prospective benefits for Inuit from future resource development. Over the next few decades, billions of dollars in revenue sharing agreements will enable the entity overseeing Inuit welfare to have the financial resources to “pay direct monetary benefits to Inuit”. NTI approved a policy stipulating that all companies which generate revenue on Inuit-Owned Land will have to pay \$12 out of every \$100 in profit to NTI (See NTI Resource Revenue Policy). This policy was enacted half-a-year after the Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Resource Development Principles in Inuit Nunaat [DRDPIN] was released. Article 6.5 (DRDPIN) states that healthy communities require improved infrastructure, housing, health care, education and social services, yet NTI has specifically stated in their resource policy that unless there are exceptional circumstances, “allocations and expenditures shall not be

⁹⁶ B. Bernhardt, Personal interview (2010)

⁹⁷ Lyall, C. 2010 Personal Interview, Taloyoak, NU

made by NTI...in areas where government has primary responsibility (7.4 RRP). In essence, Inuit leadership has identified areas in our communities that are substandard, but will not contribute resources to solutions.

Policies on partnerships between the Government of Nunavut and NTI have already been developed: The Clyde River Protocol in 1999 and Iqqanaijagatigiit in 2004 are both aimed at “identifying areas of mutual interest, and opportunities to address those areas”, and to “acknowledge respective and overlapping roles and interest”. In contrast, the president of the Kitikmeot Inuit Association (a Designated Inuit Organization under the NLCA) recently stated in response to questions of social disparity in the region, “I don’t have the answers because they’re someone else’s responsibility”.⁹⁸

A review of the current co-operation policy should be undertaken, and communities should be involved in fashioning a more explicit relationship between the Government of Nunavut and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated. Almost certainly, a grassroots movement will arise to ensure that both significant organizations combine resources, both human and financial, to address current and real issues facing the North.

⁹⁸ George, J. *Inuit orgs can't solve all social, economic woes alone: KIA* (2011, October 20) Retrieved from Nunatsiaq Online: http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674inuit_orgs_cant_solve_all_social_economic_woes_kia

Conclusion

Through this policy paper, I have attempted to demonstrate that the relationships between sustainable economic development and inclusive mechanisms, empowered through self-determination, are key elements in the perpetuation of northern cultures. However, cultural and economic sustainability are multifaceted and will require further action on many fronts by many actors. The North is unique in the pragmatic fashion it approaches problem-solving. As communities undergo an impending power-shift, emerging northern leaders must recognize that the relationship between progress and preservation requires astute consideration, and develop and implement policies that respect this relationship. In the face of an uncertain global market, and inevitable socio-economic change, these principles are certain. Cultivating northern leadership is vital to ensuring the sustainability of their cultures in the face of economic development; building relationships is crucial for empowering northerners to define and integrate their cultural and economic aspirations; and with the infusion of northern cultural values into all aspects of policy development, the perpetuation of northern cultures will be secured.

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