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ARCTIC SECURITY AND THE HUMAN DIMENSION: CHALLENGES OF THE INUIT

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JCSP 36

Master of Defence Studies

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OF THE INUIT**

Cdr D.J. Benoit

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“Arctic Security and the Human Dimension: Challenges of the Inuit”

Abstract:

Within the context of the Arctic inhabitants, this paper explores the definition of security and human security; the major challenges faced by the Inuit; the opportunities for northern development, and examines how the use of a security framework helps or hinders the continued improvement of inhabitant living conditions. In addition, the perceptions of those living in the north and south of Canada are compared to examine any divergent points of views or priorities. This paper also proposes several initiatives that if pursued would provide direct support to the Inuit as they develop solutions for their social challenges. Finally, the paper argues that in addressing or lessening the impact of these challenges, human security would be improved; nation building encouraged, our sovereignty strengthened while improving living conditions for the Inuit and other northern inhabitants. All of this activity would result in a measurable positive overall impact on northern security.

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Part I – Human Security in the Arctic?

CHAPTER ONE

How did we get here?

Threats to our complex and volatile world are constantly evolving, requiring ingenuity and an extraordinary effort on the part of senior leaders and government to ensure that the institutional organizations under their control remain flexible, responsive and pro-active. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Canadian Arctic, which is considered by many as our last frontier.¹ The northern discussion, replete with all of its complexities, remains unresolved or evolved primarily since the area was predominantly covered over by ice all year.² With the continuation of the global warming phenomenon and the potential of the Arctic to open to regular commercial traffic all year long, this debate has started to take centre stage.

In this debate, the concept of security and human security is commonly used in framing and discussing the challenges and dangers of the Arctic. These terms may not be adequate or provide the most accurate understanding of the challenges faced by Canada's northern inhabitants and indigenous people. The Inuit have a long and proud tradition of surviving in this vast and harsh region. They have experienced "the north's forbidding beauty, its harsh tyrannies and extremes of climate, remoteness and austerity³" and have survived it since "time immemorial."⁴ They have shown to be adaptive, resourceful and resilient. This paper examines the contemporary agendas associated with the north and compares them with the current needs of the Inuit to see

¹ Loukacheva, Natalia. "Nunavut and Canadian Arctic Sovereignty". , p6

² Ibid.

³ McFadden, Dean, Vice-Admiral. "Security on a changing Frontier.", p8

⁴ Inuit Circumpolar Council. "Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty.", p2

how closely the agenda meets or fails to meet the needs of these northern peoples. During this exploration, this paper also examines how well the challenges of the Arctic fit within a security framework from the point of view of the traditional or classical security definitions.

In doing so, the aim is to explore the definition of security and human security; the major challenges faced by the Inuit; the opportunities for northern development and determine if the security framework helps or hinders the evolution of the discussion within the context of the needs, desires and wants of the Inuit. In addition, the concepts and perception of those living in the north and south of Canada will be compared to understand if there are divergent points of views or priorities. This paper also proposes several initiatives that should help promote a discussion that could be pursued to support the Inuit in their continued development and address the daily threats faced by their culture and way of life. Furthermore if these initiatives are pursued by the government they would provide direct support to the Inuit as they develop solutions for their social challenges. In resolving or lessening the impact of these challenges, it could be argued that human security would be improved; it would continue to encourage nation building in the north and reduce the number, style and possibility of threats to people's rights, safety or lives. In other words, addressing these tangible social challenges would have the effect of strengthening our sovereignty, improving living conditions and having a measurable positive overall impact on northern security.

Human security is a topical issue that has captured the imagination and emotion of people all over the globe. Indeed, the term is used in all sorts of forums to discuss a wide range of issues affecting the individual. Since the term and its definition appears

to have been purposely left vague⁵, this single topic has been used to discuss such items as health security, food security, physical security, community security and environmental security⁶ to name only a few. The issue in using this single label to cover all of these aspects, some of which are hard pressed to be considered security threats at all, is the dilution of the importance of the meaning of security. Moreover, in its dilution, it is possible that the net effect will give rise to assessing all security threats with overall less importance rather than the intended outcome of more importance. It is in this overuse and the significant proliferation of the term “security or human security threat” that the danger exists that other equally important issues will not get the attention they deserve. In addition, since this term is all encompassing, “it is difficult to determine what, if anything might be excluded from human security.”⁷ In addressing the concerns of the Canadian Arctic and all of its associated challenges within a security framework or using the human security label, it has the potential for the dilution of other security threats and will lead to its overuse. Franklyn Griffiths argues that such a “restrictive understanding of human security cannot readily be applied in the Arctic.”⁸ While there are many who would like to attach the human security label to the challenges faced by the inhabitants of the north, it is proposed that this label would be misplaced, ultimately lead to inaction and only further complicate the discussion on security. Furthermore, in complicating the security discussion, the needs of the northern inhabitants, their concerns and in effect their well-being would suffer as a result. In this missed opportunity, security, sovereignty and the overall fragility of the

⁵ Paris, Roland. “Human Security Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?”, p88

⁶ Ibid. p90

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Griffiths, Franklyn. “Not that Good a Fit? “Human Security and the Arctic”, p57

north, may inadvertently be extended into danger instead of the intended outcome of improving security or the ability to safeguard. Therefore, while there are issues that affect the inhabitants of the north, for the government to discuss these challenges from a human security perspective does not give adequate recognition of the essential needs, wants or the demands of the inhabitants.⁹

By contrast the prominent discussion within the south in regards to the Arctic revolves around the sovereignty and security issues in a classical sense. As a result the dialogue remains such that the state is given the responsibility to act over individuals or communities and military solutions remain central to the resolution of “threats” real or perceived.

The Federal government has historically played a central role in shaping the understanding and context of how the north is understood among the majority of the electorate living in the south. It follows that what is discussed in the south becomes action, policy and guidance for the government. Reviewing some of the major initiatives launched or planned by the government, especially within the realm of defence reveals that the majority could be considered classical responses to classical security threats. These initiatives include:

- a) Acquisition of 6-8 Arctic Offshore Patrol Vessels;
- b) The Arctic Berthing and Refuelling Facility;
- c) The Canadian Forces Arctic Training Centre;

⁹ Griffiths, Franklyn. “Not that Good a Fit? “Human Security and the Arctic”, p57

- d) The use of RADARSAT II for surveillance; and
- e) The desired expansion of the Canadian Rangers.

It is not the intention of this paper to indicate that these strategies are not required or important. On the contrary, these responses may be required in their own right and it is an implicit belief that the government will act in a manner that is responsible and appropriate in view of our collective values, ethics and beliefs and in accordance with what it sees as priorities for Canadians. Therefore it is not surprising that when it comes to the discussion on the Arctic, the main theme is about security and as a result major security related initiatives are being undertaken. This paper reflects on the fact that the reason why the discussion is around security and not some of the social ills defined earlier in this paper, is because the main message from the government (successive governments that decided to comment on the Arctic) has been about security threats.

It is proposed that if Canadians want to start to address some of the more pressing “threats” or the social challenges to the north, there needs to be a “sea change” in the overall language, intent and understanding of the Arctic. In short Canadians need to change their “*weltanschauung*¹⁰” or the German term for how we see our world. This concept is understood to encompass our “framework of ideas, systems of knowledge and beliefs¹¹” that we use every day to understand and interact with the greater world around us. In short, it is the very essence through which we come to understand the

¹⁰ Meharg, Sarah. “Trade-Offs and Playing Spaces”, Ch 1, p27

¹¹ Ibid.

events of our world and make sense of those events. By extension, it comes to help us form our opinions on political, economic and social matters and helps us to prioritize issues for resolution. The use of this concept is not held solely for individuals, as it can apply to “cultures, subcultures, religions, communities, political groups¹²” to name a few. Therefore a government, then, has a world view and seeks to share its view with that of its constituents, to confirm they have the correct view and by extension helps shape the view of their electorate. Therefore before meaningful action can occur with respect to the Arctic and its challenges, our collective world view has to better understand the demands, issues and needs of the Inuit. This improved understanding needs to start with the government to help inform the electorate and facilitate an open and honest discussion to better understand the nuances of the unique challenges faced by northern inhabitants. In making this transition in our understanding of the Arctic, it is further proposed that through strengthening the communities and improving the quality of life for the indigenous people, we would embark on a journey that would ultimately strengthen our sovereignty and security in the region. Furthermore, by investing in the Inuit, as proud Canadians who are living in the region since before recorded history,¹³ the Canadian Government would have demonstrated proof, if such proof was even required, from a world perspective, of claiming, enforcing and maintaining sovereignty in, over and under the Canadian Arctic region.

¹² Meharg, Sarah. “Trade-Offs and Playing Spaces”, Ch 1, p27

¹³ Inuit Circumpolar Council. “Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty.”, p2

The UN's definition of human security seems to be the most widely used and accepted definition¹⁴ and it has two principal aspects: the first aspect is the concept of being safe from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression; the second aspect is the concept of being protected from hurtful disruptions in daily life.¹⁵ This definition is extremely vague and implies that any unexpected or irregular disruption could be labelled as a threat to human security. For its part, the Canadian Government has tried to narrow this definition and has described human security as "freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, safety or lives."¹⁶ Even this more narrowed version still seems to leave significant room to include almost any impact to human life. Regardless of the definition of human security applied, it does not seem to adequately support or improve on the actual needs of the north. Furthermore there are actions that the government could pursue to empower the Inuit thus helping them develop solutions for their challenges. The cost in pursuing these tasks might be considered by some, to be significant in terms of money, people and time but would likely be relatively speaking, a fraction when compared with the other initiatives that are currently being contemplated or pursued by the federal government. These other initiatives have as one of their goals, to improve security in the Arctic. However, as will be discussed in this paper, security can be improved while also improving the social conditions for the inhabitants. It is through achieving both of these goals that the best use of resources will be delivered on behalf of Canadians. Improving on these significant social challenges, challenges that exist in every corner of the globe could also be considered near impossible or too idealistic. Even with the sheer enormity of the task and the significant

¹⁴ Paris, Roland. "Human Security Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?", p90

¹⁵ Commission on Human Security. "Human Security now.", p4

¹⁶ Paris, Roland. "Human Security Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?", p90

time it will take to achieve noticeable, sustainable results, neither of these factors should deter the will to start on the path to implementation. In deed, the inhabitants themselves are interested, willing and able as was related by the Commissioner of the Territory during her address to Serial 36 of the Joint Command and Staff Course in 2009 when she indicated that they would like to move from a territory receiving transfer payments to a “have province, contributing to the economic engine of the country.”¹⁷ In deed the potential social, economic and long term stability of the region are key elements to the shared future prosperity of Canada.

Methodology

Through an exploration of the various Government initiatives in the north contrasted with an examination of various challenges of northern inhabitants it will be shown that human security as a basis on which to view and discuss the Arctic, impedes, not strengthens the ability to resolve the challenges. To further complicate the matter, it is critical to understand that the arctic environment and the landscape are inter-woven into the fabric of the north and northern inhabitant. In addressing the social challenges, climate change is both part of the challenge and must play a role in the solution. The inhabitants who have survived for thousands of years¹⁸ in the Arctic region must be the central focus for problem resolution and not these potential security threats. To paraphrase one regiment serving in Afghanistan, when discussing the whole of government approach to resolving some of the social challenges in that country and taking their phrase to apply it to the arctic “every solution must have an Inuit face.” Until these basic

¹⁷ Speech from Commissioner during Serial 36 JCSP Student Visit in Iqaluit on 3 Nov 2009

¹⁸ Kokan, Jane. “Guardians of the North.”, p32

principles are recognized and solutions are developed in a consultative approach that empowers the Inuit to help realize their self actualization, very little will be achieved to advance the understanding and knowledge of how to help improve conditions for the northerners. In general this paper's research approach reviews the concept of security and human security; determines the current political environment and dialogue on the north, explores the broad social challenges faced daily by the inhabitants and provides recommendations to advance the understanding and improve the quality of life for northern peoples.¹⁹

This paper demonstrates how applying a security or human security label to the challenges of the north will ultimately result in inactivity, impede the resolution of the underlining or root causes and produce limited, if any, progress. It is expected that through these reviews, this paper will either help support or contradict the current thoughts, perceptions, understanding and Government funded programmes being undertaken to improve security in the north.

Methodologically, this paper uses two sources of information. The first is published literature available in the public domain on human security, Canada's north and its people, and related Canadian Forces security topics. The second is a narrative and iterative approach to northern experience as well as briefs provided to the Joint Command and Staff College Serial 36 (JCSP) during a visit to Iqaluit in 2009 by the author. A literature review on security and human security will be included in the first sections of the paper. This provides a foundation to understand this paper's review of

¹⁹ This approach was reviewed and approved by the Canadian Forces College on 16 Nov 11.

the current political environment and dialogue on the north as well as the broad social challenges faced daily by the inhabitants. Finally, five recommendations are made, that if pursued would hopefully advance the understanding and improve the quality of life for northern peoples.

Part II: Human Security Agenda

CHAPTER TWO

What does Human Security mean?

The human security agenda is a subset of the larger security agenda. It focuses security “centered on people – not states²⁰” as in the classical sense of security. The concept was developed in response to the “decades of political liberalization²¹” which has propelled countries around the globe, not previously considered democracies, towards the ideals of democracy. As these burgeoning countries developed different modes and variants of democracy the process “opened new opportunities for people but also new fault lines.²²” In many cases these shifts resulted in political, economic and social instabilities leaving their citizens suddenly vulnerable and living in significant conditions of insecurity. In response to these changing conditions, the United Nations wanted to slow and / or reverse the damage caused through these forces and called on all institutions around the globe “to respond in new ways to protect individuals and communities and to empower them to thrive.²³” The United Nations holds that any response “cannot be effective if it comes fragmented²⁴” with differing or non-integrated support from those dealing with rights, security, humanitarian concerns or development. It is within this framework and holistic approach that the United Nations believes will result in “a stronger and more integrated response from communities and states²⁵” around the world. In effect the United Nations believes that the concept of human

²⁰ Commission on Human Security. “Human Security now.”, p2

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

security is a world wide concern, something that touches everyone and everything and demands a global coordinated and integrated response.

The United Nations further contends that “human security complements state security, enhances human rights and strengthens human development.²⁶” It is therefore a concept that empowers individuals and by extension their associated states to develop in peace and improve their quality of life, thus enriching the global community’s quality of life. It is interesting to note that the foundation of this concept remains as a duty and obligation of the state to provide the security needed to improve and enhance human security. The second aspect of the concept is that it is the responsibility of the global community²⁷ to provide the conditions for and foster security and human security. Finally the third aspect of this concept incorporates the idea of a universally approved and recognized set of human rights²⁸ which both derive from and spur on the development of human security. The universal human rights that are associated or used as the standard are those developed in 1948 by the United Nations including all the “legally binding conventions and protocols²⁹” that derive from that declaration. In short, human security encompasses, supports, and develops “political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that gives people the building blocks of survival.³⁰” The mandate of human security from a United Nations perspective appears to be a panacea of an effort whose hope is that through its development, will eradicate many of the social ills that plague the world. Furthermore it

²⁶ Commission on Human Security. “Human Security now.”, p2

²⁷ Commission on Human Security. “Human Security now.”, p4

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Commission on Human Security. “Human Security now.”, p10

³⁰ Commission on Human Security. “Human Security now.”, p4

charges the sovereign state to provide the conditions that will enable the accomplishment of the human security agenda.

However the United Nations notes that the actors for human security are not solely limited to sovereign states, although they remain the principle actors. The other actors include “regional and international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, civil society³¹” and even global transnational companies. Therefore setting the conditions for human security is everyone’s responsibility. It is also a requirement that a unified integrated approach is taken among and between these many differing actors. It espouses that regardless of boundaries or the sovereignty of states, or arms length organizations, all must work together to build, maintain and improve human security around the world.

The mandate provided and the mechanism for implementation of the human security agenda and the achievement of some standard of human security in this fashion is meant to motivate actors into action to develop “security of borders to the lives of people and communities inside and across those borders.³²” In effect it is to empower communities, states and all actors and promote their working cooperatively with each other. For this cooperative effort to succeed, these actors have to have a common view of the problem, agree on priorities, develop working relationships based on mutual respect and trust and be willing to share risk, resources (both financial and human), recognition and rewards. The requirement for alignment of effect alone

³¹ Commission on Human Security. “Human Security now.”, p6

³² Ibid.

presents a significant risk to achieving any degree of human security. Since the human security agenda is developed in this manner, it is difficult to understand how this framework, while noble in its origins, is a practical tool to advance or improve the human condition.

Human security, as previously indicated, is a vast and expansive field of study. Likewise, the number of definitions for Human Security is almost as large as the field of study itself. In addition to those definitions already provided, human security is defined as “a condition, a feeling, of being without the great fear and danger to the self.”³³ Equally human security could be defined as any violence that poses a major threat to humans³⁴ or in its most basic form, the term could be defined simply as “encompassing everything from physical to psychological well-being.”³⁵ Regardless of the definition, each of these possibilities maintains the same central theme: there is a known or unknown danger to the individual, perceived or real, that affects the well-being of the individual either physically or mentally or both.

As previously noted, the most widely used definition of human security is that provided by the United Nations. However with this definition comes all the vagueness and possibility for misinterpretation, abuse and overuse. The Canadian Government has tried to be more restrictive in its definition, by defining it as the “freedom from

³³ Griffiths, Franklyn. “Not that Good a Fit? “Human Security and the Arctic”, p55

³⁴ Greaves, Wilfred. “Adrift: Complex threats to Human security in the Arctic.”, p3

³⁵ Paris, Roland. “Human Security Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?”, Roland. p88

pervasive threats to people's rights, safety or lives.³⁶ even this definition leaves a great deal that could be assessed as a human security or general security threat.

Using any particular definition of human security by which to measure, view or attempt to resolve the challenges of the Inuit, falls significantly short of actually addressing their concerns while in the same measure permitting the possibility of diluting the importance of the label and the issues themselves. Likewise, when a security framework is used to understand, discuss and address these types of concerns, it has the potential to lead those in positions of power or those expected to take action to a pre-determined response, one that automatically connotes a state of emergency requiring prompt action.³⁷ This sense of urgency, leads to the conclusion that action is required immediately and begins to measure this action in terms of swiftness to resolve, time to initiate and to the extent to which the responsible organization is being proactive. Measuring the response time is largely based on perception of various stakeholders and not necessarily on the actual action taken. Within the context of the north, unfortunately, many of these issues are too wide, broad or profound for any person, let alone a government, to address in any period of time that would be considered "prompt". In addition, in not being seen to respond in a prompt fashion, the government could be misconstrued as having "failed" to address these threats resulting in the perception of a security breach to have developed.

The second fundamental tenet of the security and human security paradigm is that these labels preference the state as the principal actor for mediation and places

³⁶ DFAIT 2002., p3

³⁷ Griffiths, Franklyn. "Not that Good a Fit? "Human Security and the Arctic", p55

military action central to its resolution.³⁸ This fact has the potential to place an unbalanced emphasis on military action in turn possibly putting the armed forces in a difficult position of being seen to fail if the threats do not subside. Finally, security can sometimes inhibit “transformative approaches, discussions or practices³⁹” and can unintentionally result in focusing on only violent threats, leaving other equally compelling threats and vulnerabilities unexamined, resolved or diminished.⁴⁰ As a result of these factors, overall the community and the individual may unexpectedly or unintentionally be disadvantaged through the use of a security perspective. One possible disadvantage of the use of a security label is that the community could actually become less secure from the perspective of applying the elements of any definition. Another way to consider the desired effect is in terms of Johan Galtung’s definition of positive peace. Johan Galtung, often considered the “father of peace studies⁴¹” developed the theory of negative and positive peace. He defined negative peace as “the absence of violence⁴²” or when “something undesirable stopped happening⁴³” whereas positive peace is defined as a situation that is “filled with positive content such as restoration of relationships, the creation of social systems that serve the needs of the whole population.⁴⁴” While his definition of negative peace really does not apply within the context of the Arctic situation, certainly the image provided through his definition of a positive peace is exactly the ideal way to address the concerns of the Inuit. The idea of

³⁸ Griffiths, Franklyn. “Not that Good a Fit? “Human Security and the Arctic”, p55

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Greaves, Wilfred. “Adrift: Complex threats to Human security in the Arctic.”, p1

⁴¹ Irenees “Resources for Peace” as accessed at <http://www.irenees.net/en/fiches/notions/fiche-notions-186.html> on 9 Apr 2012.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Irenees “Resources for Peace” as accessed at <http://www.irenees.net/en/fiches/notions/fiche-notions-186.html> on 9 Apr 2012.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

collaboration, partnerships, the development of social systems and the restoration of relationships between the federal, territorial governments and that of the indigenous population is the foundation for any lasting arrangement in the north. Since positive peace, can be achieved without the use or need for a security framework, therefore this framework would not be considered a critical element in developing a plan of action.

On the other hand, the UN advocates the use of the human security label as it “complements state security, enhancing human rights and strengthens human development.⁴⁵” The UN argues that the protection of the individual from all threats improves general awareness, motivates the global community and forces improved institutional policies within governments.⁴⁶ In essence, world opinion forces governments to act on these threats and do their utmost in resolving them as quickly and as best as possible. Perhaps paradoxically, this very awareness and pressure could also cause a government to hide these conditions so as to avoid world scrutiny. There are also those that would contend that the UN’s advocating for the use of this definition is to help support their mandate on maintaining, upholding and growing the concept and evolution of human rights worldwide. Within the human rights context, this definition is aimed mainly to “prioritize the most heinous instance of human insecurity such as gross human rights abuses, war crimes and genocide.⁴⁷” The UN’s definition also recognizes that the state is the most effective instrument for safeguarding human rights, even if it can be its worse offender.⁴⁸ Despite this assertion by the UN, the fact

⁴⁵ Commission on Human Security. “Human Security now.”, p2

⁴⁶ Ibid. p4

⁴⁷ Greaves, Wilfred. “Adrift: Complex threats to Human security in the Arctic.”, p3

⁴⁸ Ibid. p4

remains that by only focusing on the most terrible occurrences or instances of human rights abuses results in other less terrible but equally threatening instances to persist or even to be ignored by the global community.

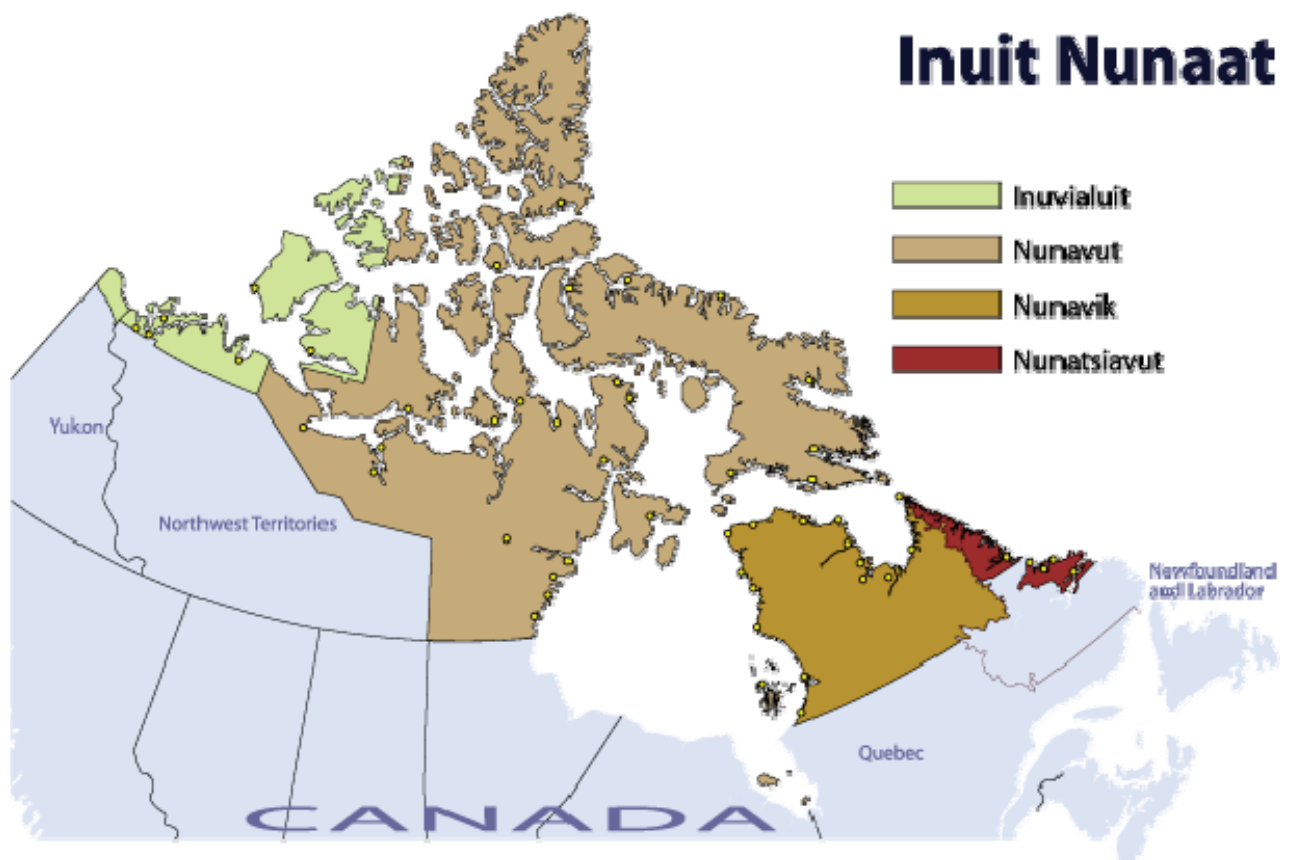
In the final analysis, the question of how to best address the concerns of both the inhabitants and the Canadian government is central to the discussion. Is the human security label the best framework to be used in trying to resolve these complex, interconnected and difficult socio-economic challenges? Is there value in attaching a human security label to the challenges faced by the northern inhabitants where some of these challenges have not changed since time immemorial? How does this label support the objectives, goals and desires of the Inuit or the Canadian Government? These are complicated and profound questions, that depending on the vantage point of the individual trying to resolve them, will have vastly differing outcomes. Human security labels and perceived threats do help Governments get the attention of their own departments and constituents to align and develop a consolidated economy of effort. It also helps free funding for other corollary programmes and makes it more easily explained to their electorate. It does unfortunately also have the potential to miss the needs of the people that these programmes were intended to help. It could also unintentionally sidetrack other honest efforts to empower those same people to resolve their own problems causing them to abandon their efforts in favour of someone else solving the issue. Human security and its associated threats, certainly does have its place, but it is not evident that it is the best tool to be used for or applied to the challenges, opportunities and future development of northern Canada.

CHAPTER THREE

Strategic Challenges and Current Political Environment

The arctic, as seen in Figure 1, represents a 4 million square kilometer area and it includes 40% of Canada's land mass and 75% of Canada's coastline.

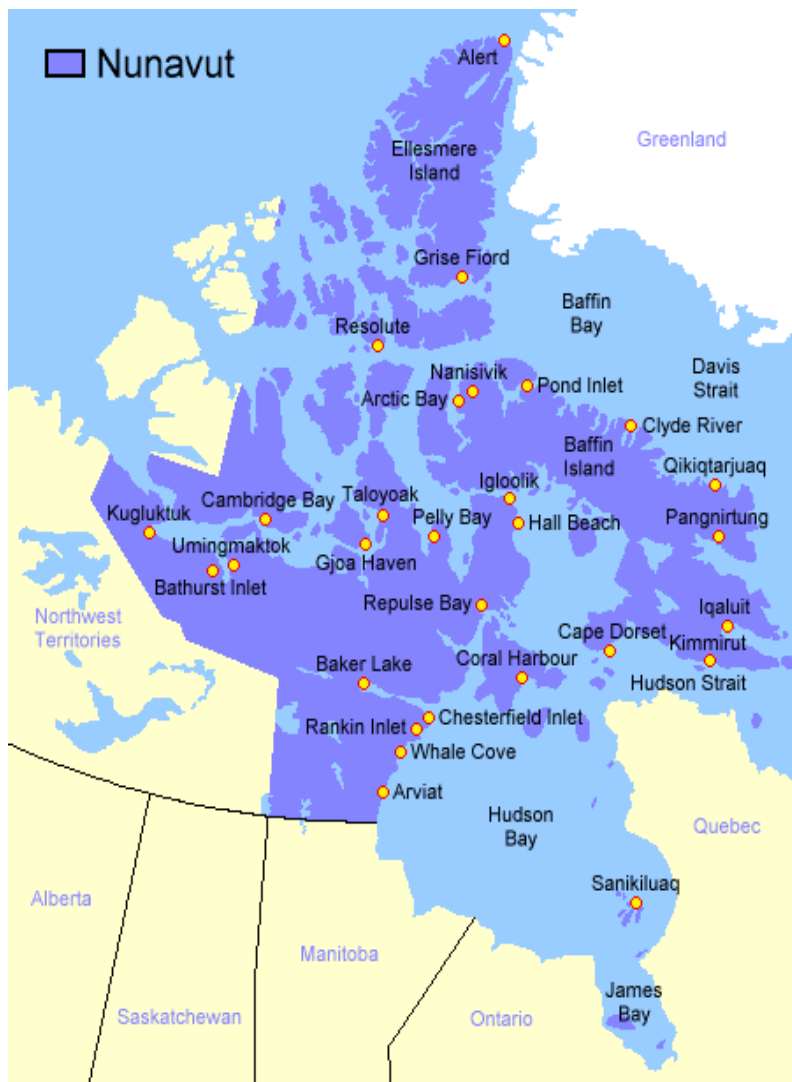
Figure 1: Canadian Arctic Region⁴⁹



⁴⁹ d'Argencourt, Guy. "Territory and Its people"

The population is approximately 108 000⁵⁰ people, of which, 45 000⁵¹ represent Canada's Inuit peoples. Within the territory of Nunavut, as seen in Figure 2, there is a population density of 0.016 people per square km;⁵² it is divided into primarily 25 “urbanized areas” with a total population of approximately 31 000 people.

Figure 2 Nunavut Territory and some prominent locations⁵³



⁵⁰ Cosstick, Ted, Lieutenant-Colonel. “Joint Task Force (North) Brief.”, p1

⁵¹ Griffiths, Franklyn. “Not that Good a Fit? “Human Security and the Arctic”, p57

⁵² Presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 3 Nov 2009 by the Nunavut Government, Department of Environment

⁵³ Presentation to JCSP Serial 36 during course visit to Iqaluit “Nunavut 101 *An Introduction to the Territory*”. 4 Nov 2009.

Each of these built-up areas have their own airport, power production and distribution facilities, waste management facilities, general store, and all the associated numerous infrastructure challenges. To put these facts into perspective, in effect, this vast area has the population equivalent of a small “southern” city but with the responsibility to maintain “25 water and sewage systems; 25 solid waste sites; 44 schools; 1 hospital, 2 health centres, 22 nursing centres; and 25 sets of community and recreational facilities.⁵⁴” All of this infrastructure would be a challenge for any city to manage, let alone those that are working in what could be argued as one of the harshest environments in the world. It should be noted that during the 1950s,⁵⁵ the Canadian Government established these communities and the resultant infrastructure demands.

There is no doubt that the north has its own unique challenges, triumphs and tribulations which manifest themselves in interesting and unexpected ways. The landscape and the environment both are inextricably linked to the customs, culture and attitudes of the northern inhabitants.⁵⁶ As stated in the Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty, the “Inuit live in the vast, circumpolar region of land, sea and ice known as the Arctic. [Their] unique knowledge, experience of the Arctic and language are the foundation of [their] way of life and culture.⁵⁷” For the Inuit, the arctic is not simply a location on a map or a place to be explored. They consider it their home since

⁵⁴ Presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 3 Nov 2009 by the Nunuvut Government

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Inuit Circumpolar Council. “Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty.”, p1

⁵⁷ Ibid.

time immemorial⁵⁸ and they take their rights as a people for “self-determination, economic growth and sustainable communities⁵⁹” extremely seriously. The Inuit “aspire to be an integral part of the national and international developments that affect their Arctic lands.⁶⁰” They want healthy communities and will “appropriately balance [their] rights and responsibilities⁶¹” as the indigenous people of the Arctic. Through healthy sustainable communities, they believe they will achieve “the economic and social well-being of Inuit [peoples], safeguard [their] environmental security⁶²” while simultaneously strengthening their individual and regional sovereignty.⁶³

On the topic of arctic sovereignty, in 2007, Prime Minister Harper declared that Canada must “use it or lose it⁶⁴” suggesting that Canada’s sovereignty in the arctic is in jeopardy of being lost. This mantra in turns implies that Canadians need to be fearful of some unknown entity coming to take the land and all of its potential resources with it. The media in turn highlights the numerous “unauthorized excursions” by everything from foreign flagged state vessels, warships and submarines, to commercial traffic, seemingly supporting this mantra and substantiating this otherwise unfounded fear.

Indeed, two Prime Ministers, Lester Pearson and Stephen Harper both indicated that it is in “Canada’s national interest to defend and assert its sovereignty over the

⁵⁸ Inuit Circumpolar Council. “Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty.”, p1

⁵⁹ Ibid. p6

⁶⁰ Loukacheva, Natalia. “Nunavut and Canadian Arctic Sovereignty”., p4

⁶¹ Inuit Circumpolar Council. “Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty.”, p4

⁶² Ibid. p5

⁶³ Ibid. p6

⁶⁴ Loukacheva, Natalia. “Nunavut and Canadian Arctic Sovereignty”., p3

Arctic.⁶⁵” Through the use of this type of language, the government informs the major part of its electorate, that part living in the south, that there are threats to Canada and its Arctic that must be addressed. In addition it implies that the use of the security or sovereignty labels is the best way to address these threats resulting in a preference for a military solution.

Overall, this type of language and rhetoric places the other “social threats” to the Arctic and the Inuit at a disadvantage as compared to the external or foreign threats alluded by the government. This places the Inuit in a difficult position in that they “are not eager to undermine the Government of Canada, its actions or strategies that advance the Government’s claims on the Arctic.⁶⁶” On the other hand, they “want involvement in political decision-making processes including the right to be informed and participate in the discussion about any military, security or sovereignty activities in their homeland.⁶⁷” They also want to advance their own desires to create, maintain and develop the Arctic in a responsible fashion, focused on contributing to the overall improvement of the Canadian economy through long term sustainable economic growth.

As such, the bulk of the government discourse is mainly focused on sovereignty and as a result “Canada’s legal challenges in the Arctic are centred on concerns over Canada’s sovereignty.⁶⁸” Specifically some of the main concerns of Canada’s sovereignty in the Arctic are: dispute over the status of the Northwest passage (Figures

⁶⁵ Loukacheva, Natalia. “Nunavut and Canadian Arctic Sovereignty”, p3

⁶⁶ Ibid.

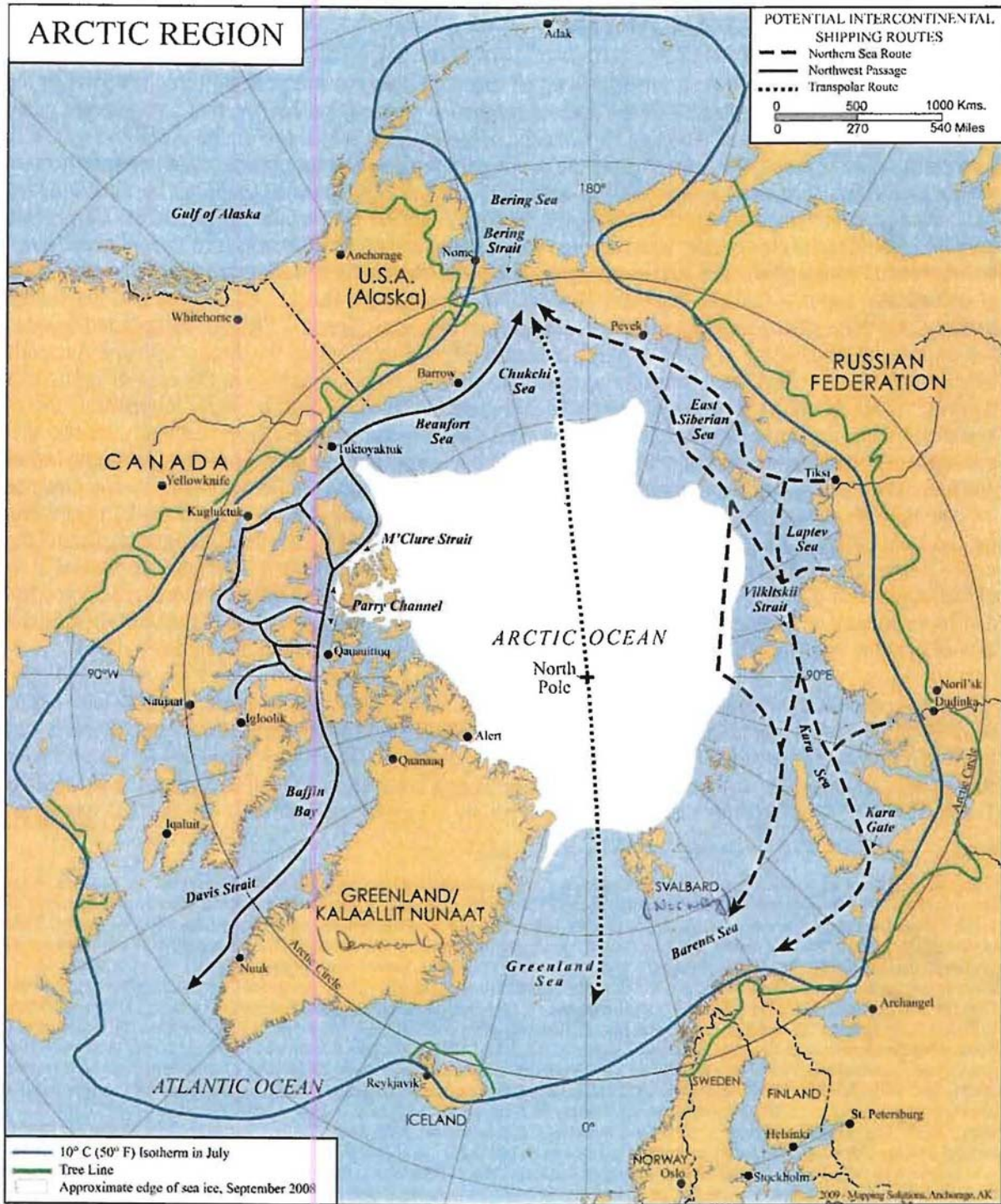
⁶⁷ Ibid. p4

⁶⁸ Ibid. p5

3 and 4) “the dispute over Hans Island with Denmark (as seen in Figure 5); the boundary disagreement with the United States (as seen in Figure 6); and the repeated instances of polar bear poaching by Greenlanders.⁶⁹”

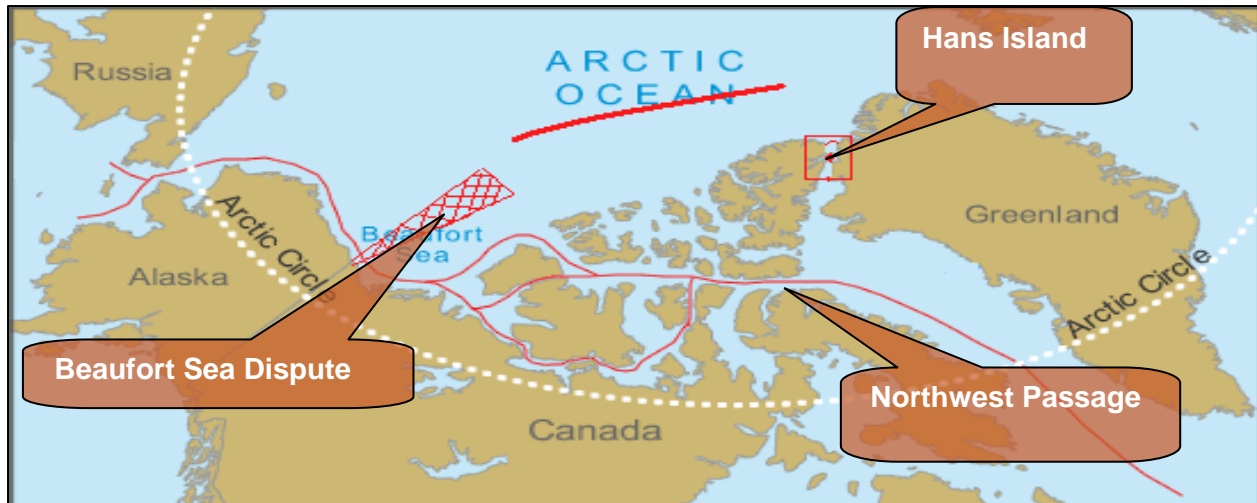
⁶⁹ Loukacheva, Natalia. “Nunavut and Canadian Arctic Sovereignty”, p5

Figure 3: Arctic Map including likely Polar Navigation Routes⁷⁰



⁷⁰ CIC, Map of Arctic Region dated September 2008

Figure 4: Disputes in the Canadian Northern Region⁷¹



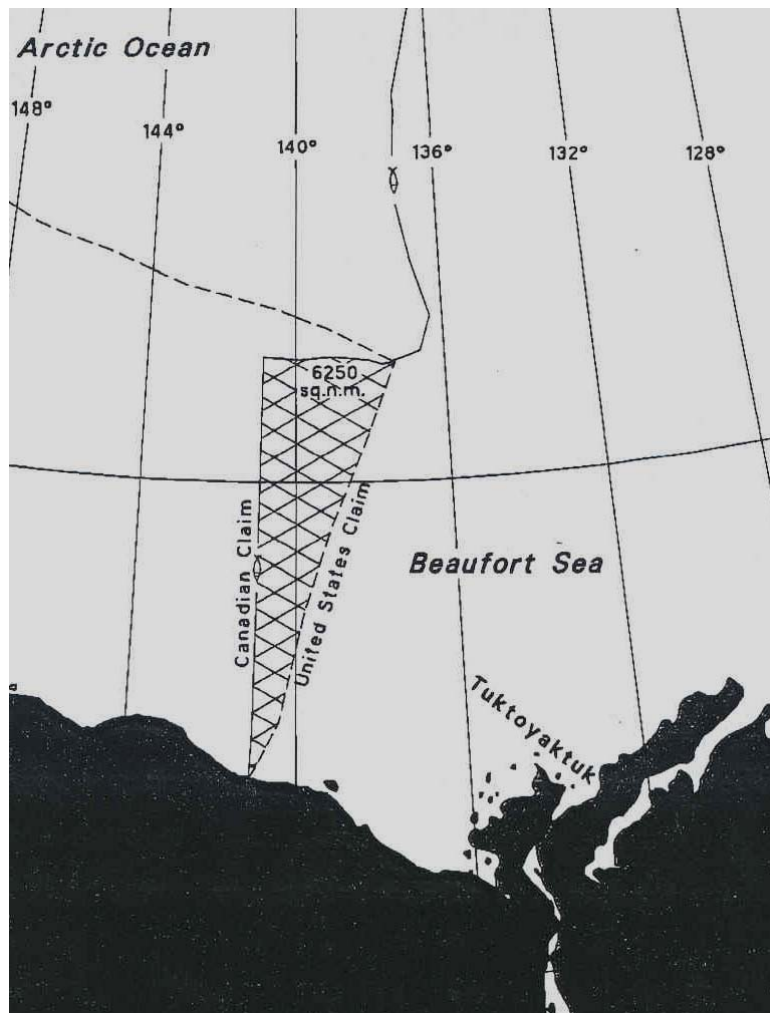
⁷¹ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 2 Nov 2009 by the Canadian Forces Representative, Joint Task Force on 2 Nov 2009.

Figure 5: Dispute over Hans Island⁷²



⁷² Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 2 Nov 2009 by the Canadian Forces Representative, Joint Task Force on 2 Nov 2009.

Figure 6: Dispute over Beaufort Sea Boundary with United States⁷³



All of these items, while having varying degrees of importance, will likely be solved through continued international Arctic cooperation,⁷⁴ discourse and cooperative efforts though established committees and councils.

⁷³ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 2 Nov 2009 by the Canadian Forces Representative, Joint Task Force on 2 Nov 2009.

⁷⁴ Loukacheva, Natalia. "Nunavut and Canadian Arctic Sovereignty", p5

Highlighting these issues while it appears too resonate with the bulk of the electorate in the south prevents the discourse of the equally important social conditions espoused by the Inuit. In fact the Inuit believe that strengthening sovereignty comes from “building human capacity and improving the socio-economic wellness of the Arctic communities.”⁷⁵ Unfortunately with the continued proliferation of the Arctic issues in terms of human security and security in general, the energy, effort and focus are at the expense or avoidance of these more difficult issues; these same social issues that exist everywhere, but may need special solutions for the north. As a result, the focus on the Arctic becomes synonymous with security threats and resolution starts to lead to those options that include some form of military involvement. This continued way of thinking especially in terms of solutions will move the focus away from some of the more direct threats to human survival and community longevity while shaping the types of government spending programmes and commitments. When the security dialogue is supported with reports of numerous instances of perceived security infractions or incursions into the Canadian Arctic, these lend additional weight to the presence of security threats. All of these actions, in turn cause a further clouding of the social issues which results in confusion in the bulk of the population in the south of Canada over the central or key issues of the north.

Reviewing some of the government initiatives and plans for the north includes: producing new ice breakers; building Arctic Offshore Patrol vessels; creating and installing surveillance systems; geological mapping; the establishment of a deep water port facility, a defence station and the development of a Canadian Army arctic warfare

⁷⁵ Loukacheva, Natalia. “Nunavut and Canadian Arctic Sovereignty”, p6

training centre only to name a few. Every one of these projects represents, in most instances a physical and in some cases, a military posturing response. These types of responses can be directly linked to the current discussion and dialogue about the north.

It is not the intention of this paper to suggest that these types of responses are misplaced, unimportant, or unnecessary. On the contrary, these responses may be required in their own right. These responses alone will not address some of the more underlining or fundamental challenges, which will remain even after the measures mentioned above are implemented. Paradoxically, if these more fundamental challenges are addressed or even ameliorated, the net result may well be to improve that which is desired through the implementation of the physical or military posturing initiatives. Unfortunately there are finite resources and people to address all of these issues and as a result energy and effort focused in one area will always be at the expense of others. Interestingly the “connection between the enforcement of Arctic sovereignty and the endemic social problems reveals a difference between the northern community orientated approach and that of a legal-state centred one⁷⁶” especially as it applies to the question of northern sovereignty. The differences seem to be at completely different ends of the spectrum; and yet, perhaps there is a subtle connection that will enable a holistic approach resulting in human capital development, modern policies, community well- being, political autonomy and improved security and sovereignty.

⁷⁶ Loukacheva, Natalia. “Nunavut and Canadian Arctic Sovereignty”, p10

Part III: Human Challenges in the North

CHAPTER FOUR

The challenges are the same everywhere

The social issues faced in the north, like climate change, are noticeably and continually eroding and threatening the very core of the Inuit. The social issues of suicide, high school drop outs, substance abuse, environmental change, development of mineral resources and the erosion of a culture can be found elsewhere in the world and many have persisted as long as humans have been alive. No matter where these social issues are found, there are efforts, at every level of government to eradicate, reduce and improve the quality of live for those caught in them. These efforts in some specific cases can be considered heroic, are always collaborative and sometimes are on an international scale. They consume vast quantities of time, energy and money and appear to be seemingly ceaseless in their demands. In deed, the activities implemented to combat these threats can be measured in years and decades with a net result of seemingly nothing to show in terms of the reduction of the need or a corresponding improvement of the lives of the individuals. Despite all of these observations, it is possible to combat these threats, but a new approach must be taken; one that empowers the individual and causes them to want to improve their own quality of life. Therefore cooperation and motivation by the individual or the communities are central in the ability to be successful.

Perhaps surprisingly when these same social problems are recognized within northern Canada they seem to take on an almost mystical quality. In addition there tends to be a collective demand from the average Canadian for the government to have an immediate and special or perhaps guilt-motivated response. The manifestation of this collective will is played out routinely in the media and in House of Commons debates. It forces governments to act or to be seen to act swiftly without significant consideration of the unique nature of the region. Often such activity is followed by the promise of more money, some formal inquiry or investigation or the launch of a new spending initiative. However, rarely, if ever, do these activities lead to lasting sustainable change, improvement or development.

Be that as it may, the most prominent northern community social issues include: high male suicide rate; the erosion of the Inuit culture; early drop out rate; substance abuse; climate change and its effects on the environment and animals and mineral resource exploitation. All of these issues could easily be scrutinized and securitized under a “human security” paradigm as they threaten the individual’s “physical and psychological well-being.”⁷⁷ Each of these issues is certainly central to the discussion, but there remains no tangible concrete discussion on how best to resolve them. The bulk of the population in southern Canada are likely aware of some of them, but not their deep impact, profound influence or the potential to significantly affect the longevity of a sustainable and useable north. These issues are inter-related and have impacts on the social and economic well being of the inhabitants and the region. If it is the belief that the north is Canada’s future, it could be extrapolated that these impacts will have

⁷⁷ Paris, Roland. “Human Security Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?”, p88

an effect on the well-being of all of Canada. What, if anything, would be obtained or what advantage would be gained in framing these topics within a security context? In deed, none of these types of issues are considered “human security” issues when they occur in southern communities of Canada. Therefore it is likely that it does not make sense to label them within a security framework when they occur in northern Canada. However, that doesn’t necessarily preclude a nuanced or different response to these same challenges when they occur in the north vice in the south or elsewhere around the globe. Perhaps a new response is required, one that incorporates the desires and needs of the Inuit, since the Inuit themselves are very interested in eliminating or at the very least lowering the number of people that are affected by each of them. A review of each of these challenges should help provide a context of the particular issue within the north.

High Suicide Rate:

The majority of the Inuit population lives in the Nunavut territory with an overall population of 31 000 out of the 45 000 inhabitants and of this 31 000 people about 85% are Inuit. Within the Inuit population, the median average age is 23.1 years old, compared with the Canadian average of 39.4 years, where 38% is between the ages of 0-14 and almost 60% are below the age of 24 years. Comparatively speaking, the Canadian statistics for these same age groups were 16.8% for 0-14 years of age and 31% under the age of 24 years. In addition, Nunavut saw a population increase of 20% over the years of 1996-2006, while the Canadian population at large only grew 8.9% for

the same period.⁷⁸ Finally the life span of an average Inuit is 10 years⁷⁹ shorter than that of the average Canadian.

Regardless if there is any controversy over the specific numerical values, there is agreement on the trends and the impact of these types of statistics on regional and national demographics. Clearly, the Inuit population is increasing more rapidly than the Canadian average; that it is becoming younger versus the trend in the remainder of the country which is growing older and that the younger generation wants to remain in the north and have a decent quality of life and build a better future. The result is that this situation poses both opportunity and significant risks. Opportunity for the country and the regional to empower the youth to achieve an improved quality of life, contribute to the economic prosperity for the region and country and help reverse a growing trend of an aging population. Risks of course include cynicism within the younger population of the ability to deliver on economic prosperity, failure to engage them early enough to build collaborative relationships and failure to build the foundation on which to launch a secure, vital and vibrant Arctic.

The suicide rate within Nunavut is 11 times⁸⁰ the national average where 99%⁸¹ of these suicides are drug or alcohol related. As stated by one of the inhabitants “many

⁷⁸ All statistics in this paragraph, except as otherwise noted, were provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 3 Nov 2009 by the Nunuvut Government

⁷⁹ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 4 Nov 2009 by the Federal Gov't Inter-governmental Representative

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 4 Nov 2009 by the Commanding Officer of RCMP Division “V”

young men in the communities take the easy way out. You know, they take their own lives.⁸²”

The reasons one would commit suicide are difficult to specifically know or track. Furthermore, it would likely represent wasted effort to track the individual and specific reasons, since they could vary and seemingly have no relationship to each other. There is a significant amount of work conducted on suicide and suicide prevention, discovered mainly through the counseling of those that have attempted suicide, which has yielded some productive and useful insights. In large part, suicide is often seen by the individual contemplating it, as the only possible way out of what is perceived as a terrible, hopeless or never ending situation. In other words, it usually speaks to a lack or loss of hope in the future or things changing dramatically or significantly enough to change the outlook. In that, somewhat surprisingly, many of those who have attempted to commit suicide are the happiest after they have made the decision but before they commit the act. In some strange way, it seems that the decision to deliver oneself from this perceived tragic situation restores hope for the future, even if it means the ultimate demise of the individual. What is more is that if an intervention can occur between the point of decision and action, most often the problem can be placed in another framework, providing another avenue to explore for the individual to resolve the problem, thus preventing the suicide. Again, this other option, must provide some degree of hope or a significant enough change which allows the individual to restore their hope and desires for a future. Therefore emphasis on awareness, training and prevention seems to be the best course of action against the issue of suicide.

⁸² Kokan, Jane. “Guardians of the North.”, p32

To that end, through a series of briefs provided by senior Federal and Territorial Government leaders and servants of the Crown during my visit as part of the Joint Command and Staff Course in 2009, it is clear that this issue resonates at the highest levels. It is also clear that they see the challenge, want to take action and have some unique and specific ideas about how to address and combat it. The RCMP for example “have established a series of priorities which will help combat the criminal and social problems and aid the social recovery⁸³” of the northern communities. Their focus and the cornerstone of their efforts are on the youth. The RCMP’s efforts, specifically as they relate to suicide, are focussed on prevention through “increased awareness, training and enforcement of the Territorial Mental Health Act as well as working with Territorial and community agencies who are engaged in trying to halt this trend.⁸⁴” The RCMP has an omni-presence in the north having representation in every community within Nunavut. They are seen as more than simply the legal enforcers and based from a historical perspective; they were called on to “look after the people in their areas to the best of their abilities and meagre resources. They have pulled teeth, delivered babies, mended broken bones and occasionally investigated criminal activity.⁸⁵” They were, and are still considered members of this community interwoven into its fabric. This example⁸⁶ provided the context that this issue, while it might be seen as a suicide problem, like any other in the world, it is somewhat unique. The fact that the overall

⁸³ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 4 Nov 2009 by the Commanding Officer of RCMP Division “V”

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ This example is meant to provide a glimpse of the importance of this issue and to relate that it has the attention of the very senior leadership found within the territory.

population is getting younger means that the criticality of addressing this social ill is paramount for the long term viability of the north.

To frame this issue as a human security issue would rob the Inuit from their role in its resolution. The fact that security falls within the purview of the state, it would lead to a solution or image of the “southerners” coming to rescue the “northerners” from themselves, focusing on the symptom, vice the underlying problems. This issue is more than simply a high suicide rate. It could represent an expression of a loss of collective hope for the future, a failure to provide the basic necessities of life or empower the inhabitants to provide for their own quality of life. This issue certainly needs to be addressed, and addressed in the short term; but it must be done in a consultative and collaborative approach, helping to improve some of the underlying problems and improving the future outlook of the Inuit youth while addressing it within the context of the Inuit culture.

Erosion of the Inuit Culture:

While it is widely known that the Inuit live in the Arctic, unfortunately this simple statement does not provide for the image, the depth or the importance that it is meant to convey that which the Inuit themselves attach to this region. In the Circumpolar Inuit Declaration they state that the “Inuit live in the vast, circumpolar region of land, sea and ice known as the Arctic.⁸⁷” Within the declaration it goes on further to describe that they depend on the marine and terrestrial plants and animals in the region but ends with a

⁸⁷ Inuit Circumpolar Council. “Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty.”, p2

simple but powerful message, which is “The Arctic is our home.⁸⁸” This statement singularly transforms the Arctic from some remote, harsh, vast and empty area on a map, to a tangible, real and fragile place. A place that with all of its hardships still remains inhabitable and inhabited by a unique, humble but resolute group of indigenous peoples. A peoples that are proud to publicly and undeniably call this formidable and unforgiving place their home. It is also significant to note that they, as it was previously highlighted earlier in this paper, have made this region their home, unbroken in time, since time immemorial.

The Inuit culture is one that is inextricably linked to the land and their environment. These two aspects are indistinguishable and inseparable from their culture as highlighted in the statement “our unique knowledge, experience of the Arctic and language are the foundation of our way of life and culture.⁸⁹” Their very survival was directly inescapable from their ability to live in concert with the land, sea and ice and being able to master or at least understand its associated dangers, bounty, protection and punishment.

Therefore, from a historical perspective, aspects of their culture must include enduring hardships, hard work (mainly focused on survival), using every piece of the resources (animals etc) found on the land, being agile enough to carve out an existence, build shelters, develop protective measures and obtain some degree of comfort in the region. At the risk of being accused of being too stereotypical, the

⁸⁸ Inuit Circumpolar Council. “Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty.”, p2

⁸⁹ Ibid.

culture included the division of labour and as was explained during my visit to the Iqaluit, the men were tasked to gather the food while the women were focused on domestic affairs and developing social and community order. Like many similar cultures, those that had learned through their experiences were expected to pass on their skills through example, stories and legends. The young and inexperienced were meant to learn from those who had gone before and apply their lessons, learning new ones and passing them from generation to generation. The Inuit were nomadic in nature, following the animals living in small clusters of about three families. Once or twice annually the clusters would gather together in large groups to exchange stories, materiel, and knowledge and to find marriage partners.

In the 1950s the Canadian Government undertook an initiative, executed through the RCMP, to bring these nomadic peoples off the land and into urbanized centres. Unfortunately, the centres were not ready to receive these people at the outset and based on the current conditions, have not had a chance to catch up. In addition, the younger Inuit were sent to receive their formal education in the south. This paper is not meant to dwell on this period or try to suggest that it was these actions which have caused the social issues. That argument is left for others and frankly, is non-productive in terms of going forward. Indeed, the Inuit children who received their education in the south, many have returned to Nunavut and are now the leaders trying to address these social concerns. It is not uniformly their view that these actions are the root cause. They recognize the importance of addressing the social concerns and would rather focus on the future to protect the Inuit youth.

This example serves to reinforce the idea that a group of people, who lose their culture or cultural identity, usually have difficulty in transitioning to a new culture or way of life, especially if this erosion happens very quickly or unexpectedly. The result of this inability to transition manifests itself in numerous social ills including many that are being faced by the Inuit today. Comparably speaking since the length of time the Inuit have inhabited the northern region as compared to the length of time since they were brought together in “urbanized” settings is extremely miniscule, these social ills may reflect that tension developed through the transition. In other words, perhaps we are seeing a culture in transition, struggling to meet the difference between the old and new.

The Inuit themselves along with the RCMP have found ways to help these struggling youths who are themselves, trying to bridge the cultural barriers. The justice system in Nunavut has incorporated “Inuit traditions to help meld the old ways with the modern justice system.⁹⁰” In their effort to recognize the importance of culture “the Senior Judge uses a panel of Inuit elders to assist in determining appropriate sentences and cultural insertion into the court process. This adds credibility to the process as well as cultural sensitivity.⁹¹” In essence, the Inuit leadership in partnership with the Federal government authorities have developed a way to lessen the impact of these cultural divides thus improving the quality of life for all involved. In addition, to these measures, they described a process where some of the most troubled and troublesome youths have been “sentenced” to work with the elders and better understand their

⁹⁰ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 4 Nov 2009 by the Commanding Officer of RCMP Division “V”

⁹¹ Ibid.

culture through experiencing what it means to live off the land. It was found that time spent with these elders, learning how to survive, learning to understand their land and environment has yielded a very high success rate in ensuring these youth do not re-offend.

Perhaps not surprisingly, many of the elders have joined a Canadian Forces unit called the Canadian Rangers. This is not surprising since the majority of Rangers' training and effectiveness is carried out on the land and in the environment. This programme started in 1942 to watch for Japanese incursions during World War II and was formally stood up by an Order-in-Council in 1947. Since their humble beginnings and as seen in Figure 7, it is not surprising that Defence Minister McKay stated that they are "the eyes and ears of the north."⁹²

⁹² Kokan, Jane. "Guardians of the North.", p29

Figure 7 : Patrol locations of the 1st Canadian Ranger Patrol Group⁹³



From the Canadian Forces perspective, as stated by General Hamel, Commander of Joint Task Force North, “the Rangers are an integral part of our sovereignty exercises and how we [CF units and personnel] operate in the north.”⁹⁴ In fact there are others who would go so far as to suggest that without the Inuit and the Ranger programme, the CF would have a very difficult, if not impossible, time operating

⁹³ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 4 Nov 2009 by the Canadian Forces Representative, 1st Canadian Ranger Patrol Group.

⁹⁴ Kokan, Jane. “Guardians of the North.”, p30

in the north. During the exercise, the Rangers are assigned to “provide for predator protection, cultural advisors, guides, and language assistants⁹⁵” as well as acting as mentors and experts in northern survival.

From the perspective of the one of the Rangers, Ranger Corporal Gary Kalluk as quoted by Jane Kokan in her article, “Guardians of the north” he would never consider moving south since “This is my home. This is where I belong and this is where I am needed.⁹⁶” When talking about his culture he takes great pride in being able to harpoon a whale, live off the land and learning the survival skills learned by his grandparents when they were living off the land. In his words “...we [Inuit] were able to adapt to this cold and unpredictable climate. If anyone can outsmart or diagnose a proposed threat to our county, we can.⁹⁷” Finally he states that the Rangers “are an important source of Inuit employment and provides a sense of self.⁹⁸” This programme seems to be working not only for those that form part of the rangers, but for other youths who are assigned, through the innovative and creative justice system, to work with the Rangers. Perhaps another creative solution to an age-old problem.

Interestingly enough, while the Inuit want to maintain their own culture, they are cognizant of and recognize the division of their Arctic by different European countries. In their Arctic declaration they acknowledge that while they are the indigenous people of

⁹⁵ Kokan, Jane. “Guardians of the North.”,p30..

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid. p31

⁹⁸ Ibid. p32

the Arctic; they are also “citizens of Arctic states.”⁹⁹ In essence they acknowledge that they are willing to work with different governments and cultures, respecting the fact that the Arctic was carved up as the end product of European discovery and conquest, but they still want to retain their “right for self determination.”¹⁰⁰

Again taking this issue as a human security issue would only permit discussion on how to avoid the symptoms and lead to programmes to combat these symptoms. While programmes designed to address the physical manifestations of the struggle of changing cultural norms are a stop-gap measure and important, perhaps having the culture embraced and allow it the time to change naturally, and as the indigenous people need it to change would be a more stable option, although it would be slower and take longer. However, if seen within the human security context, this option would be discarded as it does not provide for the prompt action usually required of security threats. In addition, while the government may have a role to play, the Inuit have the most central role and therefore, a security framework is not likely the best method.

Early drop out rate:

Nunavut has the lowest high school graduation rate in the country.¹⁰¹ A full 60% of the working-age population does not have a high school diploma and 63% of adults are assessed as holding a literacy ability of less than level 1 and a full 88% of the adults

⁹⁹ Inuit Circumpolar Council. “Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Arctic Sovereignty.”, p3

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p2

¹⁰¹ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 4 Nov 2009 by the Federal Gov’t Inter-governmental Representative

are assessed as holding a literacy ability of less than a level 3.¹⁰² Literacy is defined as “the ability to understand and then use information¹⁰³” and the *adult literacy* indicator “measures the proportion of the Canadian population 16 years of age and older that is able to understand and use printed information.¹⁰⁴” Furthermore, it is measured on a scale of 1-5, where 1 is the lowest and 5 is the highest. According to the Federal Government, “a person should have at least Level 3 literacy to function well in Canadian society.¹⁰⁵”

The adult literacy indicator is a very basic method to measure an adult’s ability to be given or find information and then use that information to their advantage. The fact that 88% of the adult Inuit population is below what is considered the minimum standard to function well in Canada is not only shocking but provides some understanding as to why this might lead to a high drop out rate. If given the cultural context of youth looking up to their adults as examples, than the example they see is not one that would lead to high school graduation. Even in southern society there is evidence that children will perform as good as their parents in terms of formal academic education. In other words, generally speaking if parents hold a university degree, it is more likely that their children will obtain one as well. It would be reasonable that the corollary to this trend is that if the parents do not have a high school diploma, the children would not bother either. More over, if they did complete high school, what are the future opportunities that await them in the north to use their new found education?

¹⁰² Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 4 Nov 2009 by the Federal Gov’t Inter-governmental Representative.

¹⁰³ HRSDC website at <http://www4.hrsdc.gc.ca/.3ndic.1t.4r@-eng.jsp?iid=31> accessed on 18 Feb 2012

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

Sometimes there are barriers to education such as tuition, distance or other similar circumstances. Unfortunately within the high school context, these are not readily apparent. In addition, the Inuit, using the money provided during the land-claim agreements with the Federal Government, have developed a fund that will guarantee all Inuit an all expenses paid education up to and including under-graduate studies. Moreover, the Inuit have developed the Arctic College for those that don't want to leave the north to pursue higher education.

While I was visiting Iqaluit, I had the unique opportunity to interact and interface with the children in the high school, the administrators of the education system and the students and professors in the Arctic College. The principal of the high school in Iqaluit told me that they had 400 students enrolled, but on any given day, they would only have 200 or less present. When I asked why the difference the reasons were typical: lack of interest, lack of support, needed at home to care for parents, needed to work to support families, etc. When I asked what the high school did when people did not show up, the answer was that for the most part they were understaffed to properly track each case. During my discussion with the children, they reaffirmed these same reasons for absences on any given day. In fact some of the students present in class that day had missed the entire preceding month. The ones that were most interested and had the best attendance had a goal of joining the Rangers or going to college. Interestingly, most wanted to remain in the north even though they did not seem to feel there was much of a future for them.

Similarly during the discussions with students in the Arctic college they too were finding it difficult to maintain their studies in terms of future prospects. The educational staffs are developing innovative solutions to bring education to the remote parts of Nunavut through distance learning and creative solutions. The staff indicated that since they started that approach, they have representation in every community and someone in each community is attending courses through the college. The key from their perspective was getting high school students interested and able to remain in the education system long enough to attend the college.

There is a direct link between basic education and quality of life. Education enables people to adapt to changes and unexpected challenges, making them versatile and agile throughout their adult lives. The lack of education can also directly contribute to other social ills and manifestations many of which are currently being faced by the Inuit. These issues are interlinked and therefore need a comprehensive and holistic view. Working on one at the expense or in isolation from others would be over the long term counterproductive. For example, spending enormous resources, money, time energy and effort, trying to convince everyone to attend college, but having nothing for them to do once they graduated would represent a wasted effort. Focusing solely on the youth, while ignoring their parents, would be doomed to fail before it actually started. Parents are a huge influence on the lives, aspiration and goals and success of their children and without the “home support” the child will eventually determine the futility of the exercise.

Likewise, viewing this issue in the domain of human security would also be equally out of place. The issue of high school drop out is experienced everywhere including in southern Canada and in these instances the discourse does not revolve around human security. While this factor could be viewed within a human security context there would not be a practical advantage in doing so since it would lead again to operationalizing some kind of response at great expense with little value at the end state. Since this issue is linked to the well-being of the community and is related to the other social ills that are most prevalent in the north the response should “start with the community and social group.”¹⁰⁶ In starting the process and discussion from this point of view, could help strengthen the cultural aspects of education and find a better fit between the former traditional educational model and that of the modern educational model.

Substance Abuse:

Nunavut like many other places faces significant levels of substance abuse mainly in the form of either alcohol and/or drugs. As noted earlier, 99% of suicides are related to one of these two substances and so this issue is interlinked to all of the factors. As noted by the RCMP, “almost all crime in Nunavut is tied to either liquor or drugs”¹⁰⁷ and “the territory suffers from a very high addiction rate.”¹⁰⁸ Substance abuse is most prevalent among youth within the territory as noted by the RCMP that “we [all

¹⁰⁶ Griffiths, Franklyn. “Not that Good a Fit? “Human Security and the Arctic”, p60

¹⁰⁷ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 4 Nov 2009 by the Commanding Officer of RCMP Division “V”

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

Federal and Territorial organizations] must institute programs which target the youth and show them the alternatives to substance abuse.¹⁰⁹ In addition, it was related during a brief in Iqaluit that they have once again developed an innovative programme for the most prolific offenders. The programme is known as the “prolific offenders programme” which is showing great promise as a restorative justice programme because it is “very successful in offender rehabilitation and in the healing process the offence caused for all parties.¹¹⁰” This programme is administered by a Justice committee that has as members, Inuit leadership, and takes into account cultural sensitivities and appropriate cultural sentences. Once again, it appears that some of the greatest success is seen when the Inuit are empowered to work in managing this transition between old and new realities.

One of the obvious results to substance abuse is violent crimes and abuse within the family. Unfortunately, as already noted, the source is either drugs or liquor, with “liquor being the lion’s share.¹¹¹” In fact the “effects of liquor consumption on the Inuit population is extreme and violent outcomes often result.¹¹²” Those on the front lines of law enforcement see the effects daily as “Nunavut has the highest rate of violence per capita in Canada. The average call that our members [RCMP officers] respond to is an assault,¹¹³” and of those calls, they usually involve the spouse who had suffered very serious injury. Violence in the home leads to abuse of all types and lowers the level of hope that might otherwise be found within those subjected to this destructive behaviour.

¹⁰⁹ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 4 Nov 2009 by the Commanding Officer of RCMP Division “V”

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

In effect, it undermines everything that education is trying to achieve and causes others to follow in its path or “take the easy way out”. Violence is a serious problem everywhere, but when it occurs in a group that is relatively isolated and in the middle or still trying to transition between cultural realities, it could be considered even more dire. Unfortunately without additional resources, this situation is unlikely to change, especially as the north becomes more accessible in the future. Already police on the front lines are seeing signs that “the north is an untapped resource for organized crime and they [organized crime] are starting to grasp that fact.”¹¹⁴ There seems to be a growing demand in the north for these substances and the profit margins are significantly larger than in the south of Canada, mainly owing to the scarcity of the product. Combine these facts with the fact that the Inuit population as a whole has had such a short period of exposure to these substances, means that the reaction to these substances is much more unpredictable in Inuit behaviour and outcomes.

There are some successes being reported by the RCMP and others in this regard, although compared to the growing problem, these successes seem woefully inadequate. The first success is as a result of programmes that are focussed on youth prevention and comes from one of the “urbanized” areas. For example, in a place called Kuglugtuk, the youth actually forced the adults to change their behaviour, by pressuring the community and its leadership to prohibit the open purchase and possession of liquor. As noted by the RCMP, “this [removal of alcohol] has seen a

¹¹⁴ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 4 Nov 2009 by the Commanding Officer of RCMP Division “V”

significant drop in calls for service [policing] and crimes in that community.¹¹⁵ The youth, using the community and cultural constructs were able to make a significant, tangible, quantifiable change without the need or desire for government intervention. It is likely reasonable to assume that the prevention programme did play a role in their ability to pressure the community to change its way. A rather inexpensive way, to have, in effect, improved quality of life and extrapolating from this improvement, it could be argued that they have improved security, at least from the perspective of countering a possible incursion from organized crime. The second success is the implementation of the Family Abuse Intervention Act. This Act attempts to address the wide spread family violence and focuses its effort on the healing of the individuals and the communities that are scarred due to this type of violence. In essence, the Act calls for “protection orders and monitoring of offenders¹¹⁶” as the basis used to resolve and stabilize family issues in the home. While the description of the Act does not sound ground-breaking or innovative, for the RCMP and the Justice system, it has helped to direct the responsibility for these violent acts back into the communities. Through this refocussing, it forces the individuals and communities to take ownership of the problem and seek to resolve it, while addressing the damage that these type of situations cause to the community as a whole.

Substance abuse and its associated problems is a very serious threat to any civilization or society. When it occurs widespread throughout small and isolated populations it can take on a perception and impact far outweighing its direct or real

¹¹⁵ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 4 Nov 2009 by the Commanding Officer of RCMP Division “V”

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

occurrence. For the north, these instances are growing and as a result of the limited exposure of the Inuit people to these substances, the reaction is unpredictable and violent. In addition, there seems to be an element of potential for organized crime to exploit this situation causing a very real security threat. However, to place even this challenge within the context or purview of security is to minimize the efforts and results already realized by the Inuit. It has connections with the other social ills and it could be surmised that this particular ill enables other abuses and social detriments to the communities and individuals living in the north. In addition, since this is a common problem in the south, it is likely that in a rush to solve this situation it would be suggested that the programmes that work “well” in the south should be implemented in the north. Unfortunately, what works well in the south, may not always be practical or suited to the north as the physical environment which is ever present and challenges everything and this single factor is completely incomparable between the two regions. Therefore another serious threat to the indigenous population that does not fit well into a security context. This issue is being taken seriously by the inhabitants as it is their desire to resolve it but in partnership with other government organizations in the region. Enabling the replication of this type of collaboration will yield significant positive results.

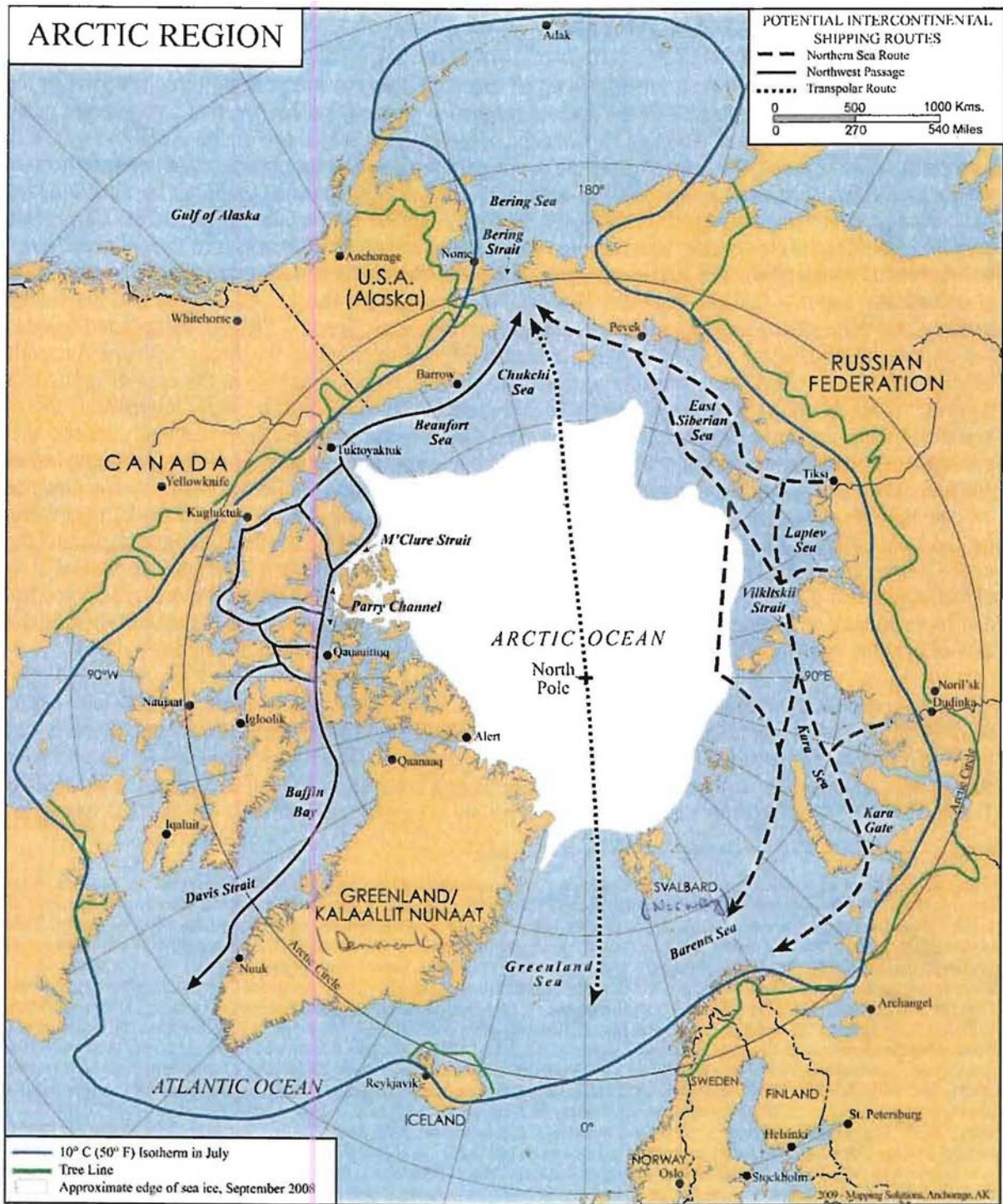
Environmental Change:

Global warming is a highly discussed and disputed topic all over the world. Scientists are split in their understanding of the reasons for global warming but what seems to be widely accepted is that the earth’s ambient temperature is increasing. This phenomenon has led the world to look north to see the effects of global warming in the

region and use these observations as indicators to the larger global issue. Likewise, within Canada, this event has sparked debate and discussion leading to the concern of increased transpolar commercial traffic around and through the Arctic including our famous Northwest Passage. Some of the concerns with global temperature changes include: the opening of the Arctic waters as a direct and shorter route from Europe to Asia; the possibility to develop untapped natural resources and its associated economic benefits and finally the warming of the polar ice cap and its associated global impact. The potential of vast mineral resources and the development of these resources is a topic that, because of its enormity will be explored separately.

It is accepted that due to changes in the global temperature as it relates to the north traffic routes, produces three principal passages through the Arctic region as previously seen in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Arctic Map including likely Polar Navigation Routes¹¹⁷



¹¹⁷ CIC, Map of Arctic Region dated September 2008

The first is the Northern Sea Route, which follows the Arctic coast of Russia. The second is straight across the Arctic pole called the transpolar route, and the third is the use of the Northwest Passage. It should be noted that when discussing the use of the Northwest Passage, there are actually two distinct routes through the Arctic Archipelago. Using any of these three principal routes, the distance between Europe and Asia is significantly shorter through the Arctic and would result in the potential for huge savings in terms of the transportation costs, fuel and the like. To provide a comparative example, currently a ship travelling from Rotterdam, Netherland to Shanghai, China, would have to travel approximately 13 468 nm through the Panama Canal. For that same voyage using the Northern Sea Route it would be 5 027 nm shorter; the trans-polar route would be 5 707 nm shorter while the Northwest Passage routes would be between 4 516 nm or 4 034 nm shorter depending on which one was available for use. Overall it is estimated that the savings per trip could be \$1 000 000¹¹⁸.

Predictions were established as to determine when each of these three routes would be considered “open” for use by commercial and touristic traffic. The first to be opened was determined to be the Northern route, followed by one of the Northwest Passage routes (the most southern) followed finally by the trans-polar route.

Interestingly enough, while the transpolar route would be the final one (once all the ice

¹¹⁸ The comparative example and the resultant savings were provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 2 Nov 2009 by the Canadian Forces Representative, Joint Task Force on 2 Nov 2009.

melts) it is held that while the ice was breaking up from the pole, the prevailing winds and currents would likely push broken ice floes into the Northwest passage causing it to be difficult to navigate, even though it would be “open.”

The rate at which the climate is seen to be changing seems to be either accelerating or initially based on poorly derived predictions. On 7 September 2010, a snapshot of the Arctic region revealed that the Northern Sea Route was free of ice about 2 decades earlier than predicted.¹¹⁹ This discovery caused a concern in the scientific world that their predictions were faulty or that some unknown or previously discarded factor or combination of factors was causing a very large and sudden acceleration. In addition, the algorithm that was used to determine these predictions was widely accepted as accurate and was thought to be considered a robust and aggressive model. Unfortunately when the prediction is compared against the tangible and obvious physical changes, the evidence reveals that perhaps the prediction could be considered unreliable.

While much of this discussion takes centre stage in the world and in southern Canada, the Inuit “are divided in their understanding of, and response to, climate change.¹²⁰” The division within the Inuit is due in part to the fact that some believe that this change is all part of the cyclic nature of the earth, others believe in the resourcefulness of the Inuit to adapt and survive these changes and others believe that

¹¹⁹ Cosstick, Ted, Lieutenant-Colonel. “Joint Task Force (North) Brief.”

¹²⁰ Griffiths, Franklyn. “Not that Good a Fit? “Human Security and the Arctic”, p58

“it [climate change] is a southern distraction¹²¹” to force exploitation of the north. In part, while they see and feel the effects, they are divided as to its meaning or the reasons why it is occurring.

However, they are “uniform in their respect and care for animals¹²²” and have seen an impact on the marine and terrestrial animals in their behaviour, quantity, migration and breeding patterns. Likewise, the Inuit culture and identity which is deeply rooted in the environment, the animals and the plants of the north is also becoming affected as a result of global warming. Therefore, while they are uncertain of the cause, they are certain of the effect and its associated impact on their culture and cultural identity.

The other concern from a southern perspective is that with the “opening” of the Arctic comes the potential for illegal activities, illegal immigration, environmental mishaps, major disasters and traditional military threats of unauthorized passages, spying and espionage. Of course, with the “opening” of the water ways, the land mass, the dangers of ice floes and the natural dangers in the region continue to persist, if not increase and so many of these “threats” remain in the realm of the perceived vice real ‘threats.” In the words of Ranger Kalluk, “melting ice is a danger for Inuit hunters getting stranded or falling through the thin ice¹²³” and so it would be the same situation for anyone operating or working in the north, especially those that may not have any experience, exposure or understanding of their physical environment. In addition, the

¹²¹ Griffiths, Franklyn. “Not that Good a Fit? “Human Security and the Arctic”, p58.

¹²² Ibid..

¹²³ Kokan, Jane. “Guardians of the North.”, p31

Rangers, as already described, are the best defence against any such threats given their vast and great deal of experience operating in the north. Perhaps a real threat could be the exploitation of the Inuit by criminal organizations to perpetrate illegal activities in the north. This could be an area to explore in strengthening the resolve of individual Inuit and providing an alternative to ensure an improved quality of life that does not depend on the influence of organized crime. What is interesting is that despite the longevity of the Inuit in the region, before Canada was a country, many of the Inuit “feel Canadian first and Inuit second that they are fiercely proud of being Canadian.”¹²⁴ It is likely then that with a little investment in ensuring a decent quality of life, the dividends in terms of strengthening sovereignty, improving security and alienating criminal elements would be significantly greater than the investment.

What is clearly pressing on the Inuit today is the impact on the wildlife and faunae in the region. The Nunavut Government understands the importance of this wildlife and its management, not only in terms of economic development and cultural identity, but as well as to the survival of remote communities. It is estimated that as much as 70% of the food for these communities comes from the land.¹²⁵ As a result the government has launched several successful initiatives. The initiatives were started in consultation with hunters, elders, community leaders and the federal government and resulted in many excellent outcomes including one of the best polar bear management

¹²⁴ Kokan, Jane. “Guardians of the North.”, p31 & 32

¹²⁵ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 4 Nov 2009 by the Federal Gov’t Inter-governmental Representative

programmes in the world.¹²⁶ Despite this success, the Nunavut government also conceded that “jurisdiction between the federal government and Nunavut can sometimes be complicated¹²⁷” which can lead to the appearance of inactivity, unresponsiveness, poorly developed solutions and missed opportunities.

“Climate change is difficult enough to understand without also framing it in the language of human security.¹²⁸” Therefore very little would be gained from seeing this challenge as a human security threat, despite its significant impact on the Arctic environment and corresponding impact on the Inuit culture. Since the Inuit has expressed a desire for increased control over their arctic environment and to implement strategies for the management of the same, it would not be in their best interest to link this challenge and its resultant effects to human security to gain the attention of the south. If not, what would be the best course of action for them to gain the support, acceptance and action of the south in support of their concerns and to expand their initiatives? Here again, perhaps there are unexplored approaches that would protect the indigenous wildlife while addressing some of the specific concerns of the federal government and by extension those of the world.

Mineral Resources:

Global warming, besides causing havoc with the environment and starting to open traffic routes in the north, is uncovering another possibility for global economic growth and development. Mineral and natural resources that could be lying under the

¹²⁶ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 3 Nov 2009 by the Nunavut Department of the Environment Representative

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Griffiths, Franklyn. “Not that Good a Fit? “Human Security and the Arctic”, p58

surface of this frozen tundra and ice are, for the first time, starting to become within the realm of the possible for extraction and development. The magnitude of the potential is not fully understood, known or proven but “it is estimated that about one-quarter of the world’s undiscovered energy resources are in the Arctic and include untapped oil and gas reserves.¹²⁹” Therefore it is expected that as a result of climate change and in conjunction with “improvements in extraction technologies will make the Arctic seabed resources commercially exploitable, potentially much sooner than predicted¹³⁰” and thereby making the “economic stakes enormous.¹³¹” Given the vastness of the area “distance challenges everything¹³²” as “Nunavut is Canada’s least-developed territory¹³³” and there are no roads or permanent infrastructure for vehicle traffic so access is by air and water only. In addition, the creation of roads at this point, is a huge challenge given the inhospitable environment, shortage of skilled labour, the permafrost and the cost to maintain any infrastructure. Therefore it is in Canada’s best interest to start to understand this potential and how best to address, protect, manage and develop it in a reasonable manner and in partnership with the indigenous population.

The resources that are present or expected to be present in the north include high value commodities such as gold, diamonds, and rich and pure deposits such as zinc or iron. The value of these deposits is estimated to be at least “\$23B over 4 sites

¹²⁹ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 3 Nov 2009 by the Nunavut Government of Economic Development & Transportation Representative

¹³⁰ McFadden, Dean, Vice-Admiral. “Security on a changing Frontier.”, p9

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 3 Nov 2009 by the Nunavut Government of Economic Development & Transportation Representative

¹³³ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 4 Nov 2009 by the Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency Representative

making it the 4th largest in Canada.¹³⁴” In addition to these 4 sites there are an additional 6 sites that have yet to be properly evaluated. To add to the mineral deposits, the potential for energy exploration is also significant in terms of natural gas reserves and potential to find large uranium deposits. The potential for oil, in terms of the number of barrels, represents approximately 11%¹³⁵ of the total of Canada’s reserves although not all of the oil basins have been evaluated. The potential for gas reserves is pegged at 20%¹³⁶ of Canada’s known reserves. Finally mining companies and consortiums are taking an interest in exploring the Arctic to determine, identify and secure rights for future development. Since 1999 exploration has steadily increased resulting in \$450M¹³⁷ being spent in 2007 alone on this type of activity.

Besides the mineral or natural resources deposits that can be extracted, there is a growing Baffin Island Fishery, which is Inuit-owned; and a growing tourism section which provides small business opportunities for the various associated “urbanized” areas. In addition there is a developing arts and cultural industry, which is providing localized employment within a small business framework. All of these areas are producing positive results for the inhabitants and providing a sense of purpose, hope and prosperity. In the case of tourism, this form of prosperity, especially as it continues to increase in frequency and number, will bring with it, its own challenges. Not only will there be increased human activity in the area, but an increased risk for the potential for man-made disasters, disruption of the natural environment and the difficulty in providing

¹³⁴ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 2 Nov 2009 by the Canadian Forces Representative

¹³⁵ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 3 Nov 2009 by the Nunavut Government of Economic Development & Transportation Representative

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 4 Nov 2009 by the Nunavut Government of Natural Resources and Economy Representative

for the needs and amenities of these tourists. While additional tourists will bring increased revenue into the region, the fact is that in order to adequately provide for all the needs of these same tourists will further tax an already fragile, complex and difficult domestic reprovisionment system. Currently 43% of Inuit already live in over-crowded conditions and have the highest food costs in Canada. Tourists will challenge this situation in terms of accommodations and local and domestic re-supply will be further complicated from this new form of attention.

In summary:

All of these factors provide a backdrop to the potential success of the north and if properly managed, should improve the quality of life of the northern inhabitant. The rights for the exploration and exploitation of these potential reserves are, within the domain of responsibility of the Federal Government. While the Nunavut Government is still negotiating the details with the Federal Government on the establishment of some kind of a framework to share in the potential wealth and prosperity of the region, they are having limited success in these efforts. Besides the obvious reasons why the Nunavut Government would want to share in this prosperity one of the main driving forces is their vision to develop Nunavut into an economic powerhouse. A region that contributes to the national economy moving it from a territory heavily reliant on government transfers to a “have province” status. In conjunction with this vision, they are also deeply concerned about the environmental impacts that may result from the full development, including the associated cultural impacts due to environmental changes

and finally developing a sustainable, responsible and permanent regional job growth for northerners.

Human security is not a readily apparent solution for any of these factors; and yet security still seems to dominate the perceptions, thoughts and actions of the Canadian Government as it tries to assert its authority over the region. It is widely held by defence analysts that they “do not envision a conventional military threat¹³⁸” but believe that “Arctic disputes will be regulated by laws, cooperation and diplomacy.¹³⁹” Even with this assurance there is likely a cause for some concern as the global community moves forward into this otherwise unexplored region. It is proposed that if partnerships are developed now and in cooperation with those who, themselves, are considered by the world as the recognized legitimate inhabitants of the region, this effort would only strengthen Canada’s sovereignty claim over these potential reserves. If the Federal Government makes serious efforts to work with the Nunavut Government and the Inuit, to develop protocols, frameworks and boundaries for cooperative agreements, these would give the best chance to develop the region in a responsible way. Furthermore, it would provide a degree of proof of “ownership” while advancing the development and improvement in the quality of life in a manner that works with and for the Inuit. In addition, in striving to develop the north in this manner or as others have stated, “Canada’s future”, we start the dialogue to find a better way to manage the north, improving communities while benefitting the entire country. Given Canada’s federated approach to politics and wealth distribution, when one province or area experiences

¹³⁸ McFadden, Dean, Vice-Admiral. “Security on a changing Frontier.”, p9

¹³⁹ Ibid.

growth, this windfall is shared across the country such that all Canadians benefit and improve our collective standard of living. In trying to establish common standards of social services such as health care for all Canadians regardless of the region of habitation, such an economic windfall would help the north become self-sufficient while providing a much needed infusion into the Canadian economy.

Part IV: What does it all mean?

CHAPTER FIVE

That's not what I've been told

The social issues faced in the north are not dissimilar from those issues found elsewhere in the world and certainly there is a correlation and direct linkage between each of them. Each interacts with the others in complex and difficult ways, yet each factor in and of itself brings with it its own unique challenges. While these factors are not unique to the north, the solutions that have the best chance of success may have to be tailored to the Inuit and “home-made” for the north.

These factors seem to be some of the most serious “threats” to the inhabitants of the north and except for the occasional media report on the general social challenges faced by many of Canada’s indigenous people, they remain in large measure obscured by other perceived “threats”. The Arctic “plays a major role in Canada’s national psyche and sense of identity¹⁴⁰” as described by the words “True North strong and free” which are contained within our national anthem and these words “resonate as much for Canadians as the “rockets red glare” for Americans.¹⁴¹ It is interesting that “most Canadians imagine the Arctic as an almost entirely vast and empty expanse of ice and snow¹⁴²” and yet it is a central part to our national identity. The Canadian Government’s historical dialogue of the north has helped shape some of this thinking as a nostalgic, formidable frontier, untamed by humans and relentless in its punishment for those that

¹⁴⁰ McFadden, Dean, Vice-Admiral. “Security on a changing Frontier.”, p8

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² EKOS Research Associates “Rethinking the top of the World.”, Executive Summary p iv

would dare place foot in the region. It is a place intended for those that want to make history; for the adventurer or risk taker who is willing to bet it all for infamy. In addition, the government's message has overtones of an elusive but real threat. A threat that is constantly lurking, but never described, which leaves it to the imaginations of the average citizen to determine what, if any, threat exists in the north. Media reports of submarine sightings, illegal military incursions and Russian observation centres are used as the tangible proof of this threat.

This type of imagery and understanding leads governments to make statements similar to Prime Minister Harper's statement in 2009 when discussing Arctic sovereignty that we must "use it or lose it, adding that a national government's foremost responsibility is to protect the integrity of its country's borders.¹⁴³" In short Prime Minister Harper is urging Canadians that Canada must act; else its sovereignty in the Arctic is in jeopardy of being lost. All of this type of discussion, innuendo and rhetoric is largely un-evolved, un-imaginative and full of emotion. In short, it may lead the bulk of the population living in the south very few of whom "have directly witnessed the High north's forbidding beauty¹⁴⁴" to arrive at an incorrect or overstated conclusion. One that will ultimately affect the direction and action of the government as this population collectively represents the electorate.

In 2011, EKOS Research Associates conducted a public opinion survey about Arctic Security. They asked identical questions of two distinct research groups: those

¹⁴³ CBC internet site: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2009/08/19/harper-nanook-arctic-north-sovereignty414.html> accessed on 24 Feb 2012

¹⁴⁴ McFadden, Dean, Vice-Admiral. "Security on a changing Frontier.", p8

that currently live in what would be considered “the north” and those that live in what would be considered “the south” of our country. Among several objectives two were to understand how the public frames Arctic issues and what they would emphasize for consideration in policy making.¹⁴⁵ One of the significant findings of the survey was “just how important the Arctic is to Canadians’ conception of themselves and their future.”¹⁴⁶ In addition, it was determined through this survey that the public believes that the “Arctic contains an abundance of natural resources¹⁴⁷” that must be protected in this fragile region.

The bulk of Canada’s population lives approximately 200 km from the US/Canada border and therefore, would be considered living in the south in terms of this survey’s delineation. The consequence of this fact is that since the bulk of the population is living in these geographical locations it is logical that they would have the greatest influence on governments and elected officials.

The major themes or results for southern respondents included:

- a) security and sovereignty are the most important issues facing Canada's north.
- b) the first thing that comes to mind when it comes to Arctic security is “protecting Canada’s borders from international threats.”¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ EKOS Research Associates “Rethinking the top of the World.”, Executive Summary piii

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., Executive Summary p iv

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p13

- c) Southerners held a more traditional concept and definition for security which translates into traditional responses to prevent and react to these types of classical threats.
- d) In terms of military involvement in the Arctic, many believe that the military should be establishing more ‘bases’ in the Arctic, to protect sovereignty.
- e) Northern infrastructure concerns were ranked as very low, preferring to concentrate on security issues.
- f) There was a low response rate on expanding the Ranger programme, suggesting very little knowledge of this group or their purpose.

The major themes or results for the northern respondents included:

- a) adequate housing, infrastructure, and economic development are the most important issues facing Canada’s north.
- b) A high percentage of respondents thought that maintaining and preserving a traditional way of life is important to the continued well-being of the north.
- c) Northerners were more likely to hold that security was obtained through addressing domestic issues such as the social, economic, and cultural challenges.
- d) Within the north, people living in the Yukon, 84% believe they have a good quality of life compared to only 65% living in Nunavut. It is interesting to note that when Nunavut was created as a Territory, much of the government support in that region was recalled to the Yukon or North-West Territory, leaving the newly formed Nunavut to develop many of their own processes, procedures or having to provide for social and community services such as policing and the maintenance of

infrastructure as some examples with little to no resources to undertake these tasks.

- e) From a military presence perspective, northerners preferred alternate solutions such as custom officers or other similar government officials being established in the north.
- f) Northerners were emphatic in their support to expand, strengthen and develop the Ranger programme and corresponding Junior Ranger programme.
- g) Finally a number of northern participants “did not feel that the current issues, debates and policies related to Arctic sovereignty and security were being consistently or adequately explained.”¹⁴⁹

To provide a sense of some of the fundamental distinctions between the opinions of north and south respondents on the matter of security, can be summarized through the following statements provided by individual respondents:

- a) From the south: “I think that in a sense – security – in a broad way, we want to protect ourselves.”¹⁵⁰
- b) From the north: “Security in the Arctic, for me that would be like, that my culture is still being alive and being able to stay alive.”¹⁵¹

Surprisingly perhaps, when asked about the priority for financial resources, even if the south wanted more military bases, both groups would actually prefer shifting resources away from the military with the south preferring to see investment in the non-military aspects of security and the north in developing healthy communities thus

¹⁴⁹ EKOS Research Associates “Rethinking the top of the World.”, p10

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. p14

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

reinforcing the idea of pursuing options that develop a positive peace-like situation. In addition and likely not as surprising, both ranked environmental change as a key priority for the north. Both groups also agreed that all Canadians regardless of residence should have access to the same quality of health services and similar quality of life. Both groups also agreed that the best way to “protect Canada’s interests in the Arctic is to have people living there.”¹⁵²

Currently the infrastructure in the north is considered “highly inadequate”¹⁵³ and the overcrowding issue is considered extremely unacceptable as currently “43% of Inuit live in over-crowded conditions vs. 5% in Canada.”¹⁵⁴ In addition, there was relatively low response to the question of how the Arctic should rate in terms of priorities for foreign policy, and the survey concluded that “the high level of non-response ...may reflect the conflicting messages that Canadians are receiving about the threat level in the Arctic.”¹⁵⁵

The survey presents some distinct differences in the needs, understanding and threats to the north. It also demonstrates that the message that is coming through to the large majority of Canadians is the message about security, sovereignty and the need for action. Likewise, and while it is not the direct result of the message, talking about the Arctic within the security context or framework is leading individuals to understand these security and sovereignty threats in terms of the classical definition

¹⁵² EKOS Research Associates “Rethinking the top of the World.”, Executive Summary p xv

¹⁵³ Ibid. , Executive Summary p xvi

¹⁵⁴ Provided during a presentation to JCSP Serial 36 in Iqaluit on 4 Nov 2009 by the Federal Gov’t Inter-governmental Representative

¹⁵⁵ EKOS Research Associates “Rethinking the top of the World.”, p19

and responses. In turn this drives the behaviour and belief that to address these concerns is within the mandate, purview and sole responsibility of the state, and must be addressed in the most economical and efficient manner as possible. Likewise, solutions based on these principles and in response to classical security threats engender a priority or preference for a military solution over other possible alternatives. In essence, the population naturally assumes that the government will address these threats and therefore need not largely concern themselves with these threats, unless there is some significant indicator to the contrary. It is interesting, that should financial resources become available, the desire by both north and south is to divert money from the military, but here again, there is a split on what to do with such a windfall – for the south still invest in security related field - for the north, invest in the well-being of communities and traditional cultural survival. Lastly, the final observation identified that discussed the confusion in the population on Arctic threats is interesting and likely leads the population to dismiss the concern in favour of the state determining the best path forward. In other words, the lack of clarity actually aids in the belief that either there is no threat or that the threat will be addressed by the government and therefore there is no reason to be too concerned.

In all democracies, governments have to prove to their electorate that they are providing for them. In terms of the Arctic, since the conversation is largely about security and sovereignty in the classical terms, the government has included five new

significant Canada First Defence Strategies aimed to address these prominent concerns in the north. These five strategies¹⁵⁶ include:

- a) Acquisition of 6-8 Arctic/Offshore Patrol ships. The main purpose of these vessels is to ensure endurance in the north with sea-keeping ability of the North Atlantic.
- b) Arctic Berthing and Refuelling Facility. This facility will be established on Baffin Island to allow for sustained operations in the north.
- c) Canadian Forces Arctic Training Centre. This centre will focus on training Canadian Forces units for operations in this challenging environment.
- d) RADARSAT II. Use this satellite capability to provide wide-area surveillance.
- e) Canadian Rangers. The expansion and modernization of this programme.

Reviewing all of these major initiatives, each with a differing scope, cost and demands for the Canadian Forces provides the classical security responses for classical security threats. The possible exception is the expansion of the Canadian Ranger programme. While it is being expanded to address the surveillance and first response portions of the classical security response, it will actually provide a different but equally important and tangible benefit to the Inuit. This programme has been central to the Inuit in helping to preserve their traditional way of life. It has also reduced employment, encouraged youth, provided a sense of purpose and identity and seems to help reverse the trends and effects of many of the social ills that are occurring in the

¹⁵⁶ McFadden, Dean, Vice-Admiral. "Security on a changing Frontier.", p10

north as the indigenous population transitions between the cultures of urbanization and their traditional way of life. In addition, they will provide support to the Canadian Forces that enables the Canadian Forces to operate and maintain a presence in the north.

The list provided is not considered an exhaustive list of all government initiatives for the north. In fact there are many smaller initiatives that are developing between different Federal government departments and those of the Nunavut Territorial government. The overall impact, visibility and cost of many of these other programmes are far less than the five strategies announced in defence. It is not the intention of this paper to indicate that these strategies are not required or important. In deed it is held that our government will act in a manner that is responsible and appropriate in view of our collective values, ethics and beliefs and in accordance with what it sees as priorities for Canadians. The fact is that when it comes to the Arctic, the main discussion is about security and as a result major security related initiatives are being undertaken. This paper reflects on the fact that the reason why the discussion is around security and not some of the social ills defined earlier in this paper, is because the main message from the government (successive governments that decided to comment on the Arctic) has been about security threats. For example, during the Cold War, the “Canadian government became very concerned about its Arctic security¹⁵⁷” in relation to the “Soviets developing nuclear-tipped weapon systems.¹⁵⁸” Again the government went into action after a significant oil reserve was discovered off Alaska in 1968 and the Americans believed they could transit the Northwest Passage without Canadian

¹⁵⁷ Shelagh, Grant. *Sovereignty or Security: Government Policy in the Canadian North 1936-1950*.

¹⁵⁸ Huebert, Robert. “Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security in a transforming circumpolar World”, July 2009.

permission.¹⁵⁹ In this case Prime Minister Trudeau legislated the “Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act and embarked upon an international campaign to gain acceptance for its position.¹⁶⁰” The next “security crisis” occurred in 1985 “when an American icebreaker transited the Northwest Passage without asking for Canadian permission.¹⁶¹” The details of this transit was as a result of a series of unrelated but interactive chain of events, that ended in the vessel requiring to transit this passage. It occurred when the Americans were in the middle of providing icebreaker support to a NATO exercise in Thule, Greenland and their originally designated vessel was unable to make the transit to Greenland. The American Government requested the support of the Canadian Government to provide this icebreaker support and after it was determined that Canada was unable to accommodate, another American vessel was chosen. On completion of the exercise, this new vessel had to return to Alaska as quickly as possible, necessitating it to transit the passage. The Canadian Government did allow the passage, even though the American Government did not request permission to conduct it. All of these incidents were very public matters and demonstrates that the Canadian government only seems interested in action in the Arctic when such an event is occurring. It is therefore not surprising that the central theme to the bulk of the electorate, located in the south, with no or limited first hand knowledge of the north, is about security. The question of the security framework in any form, human security or otherwise, as an appropriate framework in which to discuss Arctic challenges remains a central point to the discussion and for consideration.

¹⁵⁹ Dosman, Edgar. “The Northern Sovereignty Crisis 1968-70”.

¹⁶⁰ McRae, Don., “The Negotiation of Article 234” in Politics of the Northwest Passage.

¹⁶¹ Huebert, Rob. “Polar Vision or Tunnel Vision: The Making of Canadian Arctic Waters Policy.

It is proposed that if we want to start to address some of the more pressing “threats” to the north, mainly those in the forms of the social challenges, there needs to be a “sea change” in the overall language, intent and understanding of the Arctic. It needs to start with the government to help inform the electorate and facilitate an open and honest discussion to better understand the nuances of the unique challenges faced by northern inhabitants. In making this transition in our understanding of the Arctic, it is further proposed that through strengthening the communities and improving the quality of life for the indigenous people, we would embark on a journey that would ultimately strengthen our sovereignty and security in the region. Furthermore, by investing in the Inuit, as proud Canadians who have been living in the region forever, Canada would have demonstrated proof, if such proof was even required, from a world perspective, of claiming, enforcing and maintaining sovereignty in, over and under the Canadian Arctic region. This proof would be accomplished without ever having to send a permanent or semi-permanent military presence or response in the region. Again, from a military perspective, Canada would still need to have the capability to deploy and operate in the region, but that could be accomplished through the use of the Canadian Ranger programme in conjunction with the current annual Canadian Forces exercises. Lastly, wide area surveillance programmes would also still need to be required, but with the use of RADARSAT II, which is used for many other purposes than solely Arctic surveillance, this key element would also be accomplished.

In summary, while the message is resonating with the population that dwells in the south, the message is unfortunately the wrong message, one that seems to be

confusing and partly misleading. The message is missing the key element of the needs, desires and wants of the indigenous people in the north. The indigenous people, who want to be part of the solution, and who want to find their own unique solution to resolve their challenges. However, they know they need the help and guidance of the federal government, not to find the solution but work with the regional and local leaders to find a solution; in effect to put an “Inuit face on every solution.” As was described earlier in this paper, when collaboration is the cornerstone of progress, the progress is great, tangible and lasting.

Part V: Where can we go from here?

CHAPTER SIX

There is too much going on, how can it be helped?

While there are numerous possible recommendations to put forward to reduce the effect of these social issues and improve the quality of life of the Inuit, this paper will focus on five distinct, achievable and immediate recommendations. Throughout this paper, there were several examples used that highlighted the effectiveness of Inuit involvement, cooperation and collaboration. It is considered that any recommendation must take into account the key fundamentals of indigenous people engagement in its development and the importance of elder acceptance to ensure a culturally sensitive and appropriate solution. In addition, it was noted that there are other programmes and initiatives being undertaken by the government, being explored by local authorities or being developed by the Nunavut government that will help remedy and ameliorate to a certain extent, the social ills described in this paper. Some examples include: the Family Abuse Act already in force; the planned expansion of the Ranger programme; the inclusion of the elders in the justice process; the development of the prolific offenders programme and the developing prevention programmes to name a few. In addition to the Ranger programme, one other suggestion is to expand the Junior Ranger programme, which is based on the same principles but focussed on youth. Interestingly, in Iqaluit, in addition to the Junior Ranger programme, they have a traditional Air Cadet Squadron, similar to one found in the south. I observed their

training and parade night during my visit, and it struck me that I needed to understand the difference between the aims of the Junior Ranger programme and that of the Cadet movement. Having been a Cadet in my youth and volunteering with different Corps across the country, it was not intuitively obvious. On further discussion, it became apparent that the Cadet Corps was seen as a “southern importation” where as the Junior Ranger programme was a “home-made” solution. Despite similar objectives and similarly demonstrated results between the programmes, the “home-made” solution was more easily embraced than the one considered imported from the south.

Therefore five recommendations and possible areas to investigate further, not in any particular order, include:

Economic Development:

Clearly there is potential in the Arctic for significant economic development in terms of natural resources, tourism and Inuit culture exportation. Unfortunately along with this potential for prosperity, there comes an equal possibility of great environmental destruction in the exploitation and development of these resources. In addition, there is a distinct possibility that neither the north nor Canada could realize the full economic potential of the region as there is a risk that the north could be drained of its resources with no lasting economic improvement or stability. Equally with a largely under-educated population there is potential for exploitation of individuals and relegation to menial labour orientated tasks and short term jobs. To avoid these possibilities, the Federal government needs to understand the importance of these resources, not just

from a financial perspective, but from the perspective of the potential to create a long term, stable, environmentally responsible northern economy, and one that will be the powerhouse of Canada for many years to come. In effect they need to start working with the Inuit to get the labour force ready to assume the challenges of development, exploration and exploitation, developing a path in consultation with Inuit leaders. They also need to determine the cost / risk sharing relationship such that the Inuit can realize their desires and fill their needs. The Inuit leadership has shown great fore thought in its administration of their negotiated financial component as a result of the Lands claim agreements. In essence, they deposited all the funds in an interest earning account such that only the interest can be used thus safeguarding the principal. To add to this measure they established excellent regulations that clearly describe how, when and who can draw from the interest and the plan must expect to create and sustain job growth. Developing the right balance is a key component to the success or failure of the north and its habitants.

Education:

Another fundamental cornerstone is education. As simple as this statement is to write, within a northern context it means a significantly great deal more. Through the arrangement previously described with respect to the land claims fund, every indigenous person is entitled to a completely subsidized education. However, as noted, many do not make it past high school and fewer go on to college or university despite the relative ease of access to either type of education. The problem is that this type of formal education is not seen as a valuable component to life. Therefore a campaign

needs to be developed that re-inspires the youth to attend and commit to following through on education. Hand-in-hand with this campaign, the message must resonate with the parents to encourage their children to regularly attend school. Education will be central to the avoidance of labour exploitation and help guard against the possibility of additional or aggravated social problems. The types of social problems already described but could be significantly more numerous as a result of a largely under-educated population, which suddenly has easy access to a large amount of temporary wealth, the kind that would be expected during the height of the natural resources development. Another key area to investigate is the development of an Inuit education system. Currently they based their educational model on that of Alberta, which, according to the educators is a top-notch system. It should be noted that this course of study does not address the cultural concerns expressed many times, and through the inclusion of these cultural aspects into the educational system, it may promote attendance. The Federal government may be able to help the beleaguered Nunavut government, one that is struggling under its own weight because of the newness of the territory to make significant, tangible and positive gain in this area.

Infrastructure Support:

The infrastructure concerns are immense even if global warming was not having an effect. The enormous and complex infrastructure that needs to be supported to maintain 25 urbanized centres in the north would be daunting for any government, let alone a newly formed and created one. The infrastructure was maintained by the Federal government prior to the creation of Nunavut. Almost immediately following its

creation all of it was handed over to the Nunavut government, all in differing states of materiel fitness and operability. The Nunavut government immediately set out to ensure the continued operation as failure would have dire consequences on the urbanized centres and the population. The cost alone for maintaining this amount of infrastructure in the south would be staggering without the harsh demands of the environment. In short, without the economic development briefly discussed earlier, they will not be able to maintain it over the long term, resulting in a constant liability for both the Nunavut and Federal governments. In not being able to maintain or improve this critical infrastructure they will continue to suffer from over crowding and the social sicknesses that result from this type of situation. In turn these conditions will limit the amount of optimism or hope for the future and make any efforts to demonstrate progress or changes extremely difficult. Global warming has the distinct impact to softening the ground in the north resulting in the likelihood of having to improve all infrastructures in the very near future at huge potential cost. Here again, the Federal government could have a role in providing much needed cash specific to infrastructure improvement with the expectation that they would recover their investment as economic growth starts to develop in the north.

Prevention Programmes:

In support of education, the prevention programmes already underway are showing some promise in terms of lasting and permanent improvement. One of the concerns expressed is the lack of people to continue to develop these programmes and implement them in the communities. From a southern perspective, it is widely

understood that prevention programmes, while difficult to measure the direct impact and effect, are a successful way to reduce many of the social challenges cited in this paper. Prevention programmes are the cornerstone and should be incorporated into youth organizations such as Junior Rangers, Cadets, schools and community groups. Of course to implement these types of programmes properly, requires an investment of both financial and human capital. It is likely that the programmes developed for the south could be used as a starting point for a similar programme to be developed in the north, thus possibly saving time and effort. Here I think the best support is to develop a programme that uses specialists in these fields to work with Elders and community leaders to empower the Inuit to develop these programmes and the awareness among adults and youth in the communities to enforce and maintain them.

Change the Conversation:

One of the biggest efforts that could be pursued by the Federal government is to change the conversation such that the south can develop a new “weltanschauung¹⁶²” or world view about the Arctic. The immediate benefits of this change would be to support the Inuit and northern inhabitants in their effort to develop “home-made” solutions in response to many of these challenges. Changing the conversation would enable the southerners to become better aware of some of the prominent and tangible “threats” while empowering the Inuit to act. In addition, we would acknowledge the Inuit’s role and responsibility to develop the solutions and bring greater focus to address the enablers that will unlock any of the economic prosperity in the north for the northern inhabitants

¹⁶² Meharg, Sarah. “Trade-Offs and Playing Spaces”, Ch 1, p27

and Canada. In addition, it would, over the longer term, support and strengthen Canada's sovereignty and security in the north, if indeed there is any need to be concerned with this aspect. Historically, the Federal government is responsible for shaping the dialogue, framework and context that is used to discuss and understand the Arctic. Coincidentally, in this particular instance, partnering with the Inuit may spur activity in this domain and result in the Inuit taking on the responsibility to become the principal spokespersons for their home.

These are too easy

These five strategies are not considered exhaustive or trivial. They are meant as illustrative examples of how effort could be applied, very differently from current collective thought with an equal confidence that it would achieve a similar end state. They are meant to provide a different perspective on age-old problems and to promote a renewed discussion. These discussions may give way to new and innovative solutions that are formed through collaborative endeavours with the habitants of the north. It is also envisioned that they would have relatively lower costs than some of the initiatives currently being pursued or announced by the federal government. Lastly, changing the conversation, language and rhetoric, will alter our perception and understanding of this complex and fragile region. Changing the conversation would not be easy, but if the desire is to have an evolved discussion with creative solutions, the dialogue must change.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Let's start talking

Human security is a complex issue that has captured the imagination and emotion of people around the globe, however, the term is used to discuss a wide range of issues and seems to have been purposely left vague.¹⁶³ Neither human security in particular, nor security in general, are useful frameworks to discuss the Arctic and its challenges. The issue in using this single label contributes to the dilution of the importance of the term and in its dilution, has the potential to assess all security threats with overall less importance rather than the intended outcome of more importance. In addition, in its overuse, there exists another danger that equally important issues will not get the attention these deserve. While there are legitimate security related concerns, addressing them in the classical convention will not likely work since the north is such a drastic and extreme environment. Likewise there are many initiatives that could be pursued to improve the quality of life of the inhabitants while arguably strengthening Canada's sovereignty and security in the region. This paper also specifically discussed five strategies that could be pursued to help strengthen the Arctic, potentially reduce the social ills and promote cooperation and collaboration among key stakeholders. These five strategies included:

- a) developing a mechanism to ensure the continued and responsible economic development of the north.

¹⁶³ Paris, Roland. "Human Security Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?", p88

- b) Developing a “home-made” educational system that would encourage the youth to remain in school and pursue higher education.
- c) Provide immediate support and relief for the huge infrastructure burden that currently exists in the north, with the expectation that as economic growth occurs, the investment would be repaid.
- d) Continue to improve, enhance and develop prevention programmes focussed on the youth and communities at large.
- e) Start to change the collective understanding of the Arctic through changing the conversation about the Arctic to reflect many of these factors.

While there are many who might like to see the Arctic in terms of human security threats, as stated by Franklyn Griffiths such a “restrictive understanding of human security cannot readily be applied in the Arctic.”¹⁶⁴ The Inuit have shown great resolve in both their survival in this climate long before recorded history and in their ingenuity in trying to address the social concerns that are ever present as a result of the sudden and dramatic change in culture and lifestyle over the 1950s. Empowering the Inuit through collaborative measures is the best hope for Canada and the Inuit in developing economically responsible, long term sustainable growth and improvements to quality of life. Before any action that is lasting is possible our collective “weltanschauung”¹⁶⁵ or world view has to change in order to change the way we talk and think about the Arctic. The federal government has a role to play in developing this new world view and in reaching out to the Inuit to develop these partnerships. The Inuit leadership indicate they are ready to move forward and become a “powerhouse” province. They clearly have the vision; perhaps we have a role and a responsibility to support their vision and

¹⁶⁴ Griffiths, Franklyn. “Not that Good a Fit? “Human Security and the Arctic.”, p57

¹⁶⁵ Meharg, Sarah. “Trade-Offs and Playing Spaces”, Ch 1, p27

the time is now to enable the Inuit and Canada to fully achieve our collective future potential.

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