

Community and Economic Development in Arctic Canada (CEDAC)
A qualitative study of resource development impacts on economic and social
systems in Pond Inlet, Nunavut

By

Roger Ritsema

Thesis submitted to
The Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Geography

Department of Geography
Faculty of Arts
University of Ottawa

Preface

Climate change and global commodity demands have increased access to and feasibility of extracting natural resources in Arctic regions. As a result, Nunavut is now poised to compete on the global market for oil, gas, minerals, and precious metals. The impacts of increasing resource exploration and development activities on nearby communities therefore require study. In particular, new methodologies are needed to explore how adjacent communities can harness the economic potential of resource extraction toward goals of self-sufficiency, sustainability, and cultural continuity while minimizing the associated risks. Using the predominantly Inuit community of Pond Inlet, Nunavut, as a case study, this thesis uses an article format to introduce the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development's 'nation building' conceptual framework, as well as a post-colonial theory to explore resource development in the Canadian Arctic context. The nation building framework is a well-established and validated approach to understanding economic development in Indigenous society that has been refined and used in hundreds of case studies over the past three decades. Based on interviews with residents and regional decision-makers, it was found that the community of Pond Inlet currently lacks the self-determination and effective institutions needed to implement local strategies for prosperity due to a number of complex factors, including educational and capacity deficiencies; infrastructure needs; as well as a centralized decision-making structure that poorly matches local culture and serves to alienate residents. As a result, the anticipated resource boom in Arctic Canada is

in danger of indirectly repeating the colonial legacy of assimilation, this time justified by contemporary economic reasons, instead of providing the region with an inclusive, balanced economic development approach in line with local ideas for development and cultural continuity.

This thesis follows the article format and is organized into four chapters: Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter. Chapter 2 is the first of two articles in the thesis titled: *Community and Economic Development in Arctic Canada (CEDAC) – Understanding factors that contribute toward self-determined sustainable community development*. Chapter 3 is the second of two articles in the thesis titled: *Community and Economic Development in Arctic Canada (CEDAC) – Mining in Nunavut: A new path to prosperity or re-paving old paths of colonial rule?* Chapter 4 concludes the thesis.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the support and guidance of many key people. My supervisor Jackie Dawson has been instrumental in all phases of the research process. I would especially like to express my appreciation to Jackie for the opportunity to gain the skills and experience that I have from this project. But most importantly I appreciate your tireless efforts, encouragement, and your infectious energy that kept me motivated, encouraged me, and kept me on track. I would also like to thank my committee members Brenda MacDougall and Miriam Jorgensen for offering timely advice and encouragement along with unique insight and perspectives, which helped enormously to strengthen the project.

I would like to acknowledge the community of Pond Inlet for sharing your knowledge and tolerating yet another southern researcher in your midst. Special thanks to Shelly Elverum for being a crucial community liaison throughout the project, and whose input was critical to shaping this project toward addressing current community needs. I hope that this research can be built upon and further benefit Pond Inlet residents.

Finally I would like to acknowledge all of the support from family, friends, and colleagues, I could not have made it through the last two years without your constant support and unshakeable positivity. Thank you all.

Table of Contents

Preface	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of contents	v
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Research objectives	7
1.3 Nation building framework	8
1.4 Organization of thesis	11
Chapter 2: Community and Economic Development in Arctic Canada (CEDAC) – Understanding factors that contribute toward self-determined sustainable community development	12
Abstract	13
2.1 Introduction	14
2.2 A new lens for understanding northern economic development	16
2.3 Methods	19
2.3.1 Case study location & community profile	19
2.3.2 Approach and sampling methodology	20
2.3.3 Data Analysis	22
2.4 Results and discussion	23
2.4.1 Self-determination	24
2.4.2 Effective institutions	27
2.4.3 Cultural match	31
2.4.4 Strategic vision	36
2.4.5 Leadership	39
2.5 Conclusion	41
References	47
Chapter 3: Community and Economic Development in Arctic Canada (CEDAC) – Mining in Nunavut: A new path to prosperity or re-paving old paths of colonial rule?	52
Abstract	53
3.1 Introduction	54
3.2 Methodology	60
3.3 Community vision for long-term prosperity	61
3.4 Challenges and barriers to development strategies	62
3.5 Discussion	69
3.6 Conclusion	72
References	74
Chapter 4: Conclusion	78
4.1 Conclusion	78
4.2 Summary of findings	79

4.2.1 Objective 1: Introduce ‘Nation Building’ framework to the Canadian Arctic context	79
4.2.2 Objective 2: Identify challenges and barriers to self-determined, sustainable, community development	80
4.2.3 Objective 3: Explore the coming resource development era in the context of cultural match, community vision, and the colonial past	80
4.2.4 Objective 4: Inform policy and advance theoretical understandings of resource development in Nunavut	81
4.3 Theoretical contributions	82
4.4 Substantive contributions	83
4.5 Limitations	84
4.6 Directions for future research	89
References	94

List of Figures

Figure 1. ‘Nation Building’ framework without context	10
Figure 1. ‘Nation Building’ framework without context	18
Figure 2. ‘Nation Building’ framework applied to Pond Inlet context	43

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

The Inuit of the eastern Canadian Arctic were autonomous and self-governing prior to contact with European society. Colonization at the hands of Europeans and EuroCanadians brought massive social, economic, and cultural changes to Inuit society, including imposed government systems and the loss of control over lands and resources (Coates, 1985; Coates and Powell, 1989; Hicks and White, 2000). The primary concern in the north for the European and later EuroCanadian colonial powers have always been natural resources. What is now the Canadian Territorial north was historically ruled as a colony – by far off and ideologically different powers first in Britain and later Ottawa after confederation - by exploiting resource booms in whaling, fur-trading, mining, and oil and gas among others over time and having little regard for the Indigenous people living in these regions (Coates and Powell, 1989).

In the far north, prior to the 1950's, mainly because of the difficulty of exploiting resources, the Canadian Government practiced a hands-off approach toward the self-sufficient Inuit. As a result, most Inuit were not subject to strong EuroCanadian influence on their society until the twentieth century, much later and less extensively than other Aboriginal peoples in the Canadian North (Hicks and White, 2000). This is in contrast to much of the post World War II period policies and decision-making by the Canadian Government, which was based on the flawed assumption that the best way to help Aboriginal people was through integration

into mainstream Canadian society as quickly as possible (Coates and Powell, 1989). The assimilationist legacy of the era includes residential schools, forced relocations, paternalistic policies, permanent settlements, and other attempts to stamp out Inuit culture and identity (Coates, 1985). The results were profoundly disastrous; the resulting cultural wounds and social upheaval remain and are implicated in the serious socio-economic problems observable in the Canadian north today (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples [RCAP], 1996).

Despite these challenges - and in an attempt to move on from the past - beginning in 1976 the resilient and determined Inuit fought for a decade and a half to see through the settlement of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) in 1993, which included the creation of the territory of Nunavut in 1999. In the agreement, Inuit exchanged Aboriginal title to all of their traditional lands in the Nunavut Settlement Area for the rights and benefits set out in the NLCA (NTI, 2004). These benefits include ownership of approximately 18% (356,000km²) of the land in Nunavut (known as Inuit owned lands) including mineral (sub-surface) rights to 2% (36,257km²) of these lands, and de facto self-government (NTI, 2004). Under the agreement, resources are managed jointly with the federal government and provisions for royalties and Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreements (IIBA's) with communities affected by resource development are encompassed (NTI, 2004). The overall goal of the agreement is to encourage Inuit self-reliance as well as cultural and social well-being (NTI, 2004).

Much as the era of global colonialism predicated on imperial expansion was declining in the 20th century, the signing of the NLCA helped herald the demise of

the overt assimilationist colonialism imposed by the federal government in Canada. However, colonialism has not disappeared but has evolved. Post-colonial theorists are occupied with understanding the factors that sustain colonialism in its contemporary forms. This critical perspective addresses the colonial principles and thought that continue to be present today in the post-colonial world, along with strategies for the colonized – in this case indigenous people – to resist modern tactics of settler domination and assimilation (Ashcroft et al., 1989; Fischer-Tiné, 2010). It has been argued that Indigenous societies now face an era of contemporary colonialism, through more subtle means and design – influenced by geopolitics, modern capitalism, and globalization – but with domination and erasure of Indigenous identity as the same imperative (Alfred and Corntassel, 2005). As it pertains to this case, the Inuit of Nunavut now must confront a new challenge that requires closer study – rapid resource development in the region holds potential for prosperity but could also usher a new colonial era to the north.

Nunavut is now poised for a resource boom due to several key factors. Firstly, changing climatic conditions are having the most pronounced effect on Canada's northern regions and are creating direct biophysical impacts such as thawing sea ice. As a result of changing environmental conditions, there has been a significant increase in navigable waterways and increased access to the abundant reserves of natural resources in the region (Lemmen et al., 2008; Gautier et al., 2009; Prowse et al., 2009). Secondly, strong demand from developing countries for natural resources coupled with high global commodity prices have enticed the resource industry even further (Rhéaume and Caron-Vuotari, 2013). As a result,

resource developers are moving quickly to take advantage of these increasingly favourable conditions and the Canadian Arctic is now poised to compete in the global market for oil, gas, minerals, and precious metals (Prowse et al., 2009; Rhéaume and Caron-Vuotari, 2013). Thirdly, the settling of the NLCA has created a strong foundation for economic success in the region. Policies such as “Canada’s Northern Strategy” (Government of Canada, 2009), Nunavut’s “Economic Development Strategy” (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated [NTI], 1997; Sivummut Economic Development Strategy Group [SEDSG], 2003; Government of Nunavut, 2007) are predicated on mining activity as the key driver for sustained economic activity and building prosperous Aboriginal communities in the north.

Nunavut’s newest mine, the Mary River iron ore project, is located on Baffin Island approximately 150 kilometers southwest of the community of Pond Inlet (72.6992° N, 77.9592° W). The mineral deposit itself sits on Inuit owned land, whereby Inuit hold both surface and subsurface rights. The mine is an example of the world-class northern mineral deposits that have become accessible for development (Government of Canada, 2009; Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada [AANDC], 2012; Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation [BIMC], 2012a). The focus of this case study, Pond Inlet is located in the Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin) region of Nunavut, the hamlet has a population of approximately 1,500, of which over 90% are Inuit, and is characterized by a booming young population (Statistics Canada, 2011). The local economy is largely service-based, with government being the largest employer along with businesses that serve the community (Statistics Canada, 2011). The traditional economy such as hunting, fishing, and production of

arts and crafts remains an important part of the overall economy (Statistics Canada, 2011). In Pond Inlet, unemployment is significantly higher than national averages and high school and post secondary graduation rates are much lower (Statistics Canada, 2011). As well, Nunavut typically has much higher rates of violent crime, suicide, and other socio-economic problems than other areas of the country.

The development of the Mary River mine, with an estimated 20-year lifespan, could provide important opportunities for regional communities and local residents through increased employment options, potential for economic self-sufficiency, an increase in infrastructure and services, and decreased rates of poverty and related effects of ill health (NTI, 1997; SEDSG, 2003; Government of Nunavut, 2007; Government of Canada, 2009, BIMC, 2012a; Nunavut Economic Forum [NEF], 2013). However, associated with these benefits are a number of potential social, cultural, and environmental risks. The sudden increase in wealth related to recent resource development in the region has, in some situations, led to negative social impacts. These include increased abuse of alcohol and drugs; increased rates of crime, violence and suicide; disruption of the traditional economy and loss of cultural tradition; unique impacts on women and families; changes to community dynamics; boom and bust cycles; and in some cases unfulfilled promises of employment and prosperity (Berger, 1988; Duhaime et al., 2003; Buell, 2006; Angell and Parkins, 2010; Bernauer, 2011; Peterson, 2012; Pauktuutit, 2014).

Because of these risks and Nunavut's commitment to developing a resource economy, careful study is needed to explore how Nunavut communities can minimize risks and take advantage of the economic opportunities from nearby

resource development to create long-term prosperity and cultural continuity. To date, much of the scholarly literature has focused on the implications of climate change on Arctic communities, studied through the lenses of vulnerability, adaptation, and resilience (see Berkes and Jolly, 2001; Ford and Smit, 2004; Smit and Wandel, 2006; Ford et al., 2007; Lemmen et al., 2008; Ford et al., 2012; Parlee and Furgal, 2012). However, as direct biophysical climate change impacts influence indirect secondary social and economic impacts on communities from nearby resource development projects emerge (Arctic Climate Impact Assessment [ACIA], 2004; Lemmen et al. 2008; International Panel on Climate Change [IPCC], 2014), new frameworks are needed to examine their effects on northern communities. In particular the implications of increased resource development on nearby communities and how they can prepare for and benefit from this activity are poorly understood (Ford 2012; Resources and Sustainable Development in the Arctic [RESDA] 2012; 2013; Canadian Polar Commission, 2014).

This research responds directly to these knowledge gaps in two ways. The primary focus of this research is to respond to the need for timely replicable research by applying the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development's (HPAIED's) 'nation building' conceptual framework to the case of Pond Inlet, Nunavut, the closest community to the Mary River Project. The framework tests proven Aboriginal economic development success factors – as outlined by the HPAIED – against the current development situation in Pond Inlet. The nation building framework has not yet been used in the Canadian Arctic but has had widespread use and success in Indigenous communities in southern regions as

well as Alaska (see Cornell and Kalt, 1992; Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Cornell and Kalt, 2007; Cornell et al., 2007). The scope of this project allowed for one Nuanvut community to be examined. In essence this research acted as a pilot for future research from the SSHRC funded five year CEDAC project that will apply the nation building framework to future case studies in the region in order to build on this project's findings and begin to offer a more complete understanding. Secondly, this research uses a post-colonial lens to comment critically on the cultural implications of a rapid resource development scenario on the Inuit community of Pond Inlet. This commentary explores the potential for implementing local strategies for sustainability and cultural continuity as a means of resisting a potential new indirect colonial era in the north.

1.2 Research objectives

This research applied the nation building framework and a post-colonial lens to a case study of Pond Inlet, Nunavut. Qualitative data from face-to-face interviews was used to examine how the community can create self-determined, sustainable development that supports local visions for future prosperity and cultural continuity from the economic opportunity of the Mary River mine. The primary objectives of this study are to:

1. Introduce the nation building lens to the Canadian Arctic context as a viable framework for analyzing community economic development;

2. Employ the nation building framework as a lens to examine the challenges and barriers to Pond Inlet creating self-determined, sustainable, community development from nearby mineral extraction;
3. Comment on the approaching resource development era in Nunavut in the context of contemporary colonialism, and the implications for cultural continuity, and sustainable development, using a post-colonial lens to:
4. Advance the theoretical understandings of resource development in Nunavut in order to inform decision-makers and policy-makers at multiple scales.

1.3 Nation building framework

Having read the HPAIED case studies extensively and the critiques in the literature previous to beginning this research, an opportunity was sensed that the nation building framework could be an effective way to study the complexities of economic development in the Canadian Arctic context where it has previously not been applied. Along with the breadth of the research, a major strength is the simplicity of the framework and the thematic breakdown allows for high-level theories and concepts to emerge, which can then be followed up upon and studied more in depth. Its straightforwardness makes it intuitive and commonsensical, as the principles are the same that would be needed to operate any successful organization. This also makes the framework and the outcomes relatively easy to understand in northern communities and among non-academics, which is important for recommendations to be operationalized by the community. Along with these reasons, the nation building conceptual framework was chosen for this research after consultation with

a key HPAIED researcher/author to discuss feasibility, for guidance in preparing the interview guide, and after preliminary analysis verified its appropriateness.

The HPAIED is based on the conviction that development lessons, both successes and failures, can be learned from, shared and used by other Indigenous groups (Jorgensen, 2007). Conducting hundreds of case studies over three decades primarily in the U.S.A but also in Canada and Australia, the HPAIED identified five necessary conditions consistently found that help create sustainable, self-determined, Indigenous community based economic development (Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Cornell and Kalt, 2007; Cornell et al., 2007; Jorgensen, 2007). Termed nation building, the five key inter-related conditions together have become a practical framework for assessing the potential for successful self-determined Aboriginal community economic development (Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Cornell and Kalt, 2007; Cornell et al., 2007). Although not strictly defined as a step-wise process due to the interconnected nature of the concepts, the framework was adapted visually in this research for the sake of clarity and ease of understanding (Figure 1).

Nation building typically begins with an evaluation of self-determination, defined as having practical decision-making power in the hands of the community (Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Cornell and Kalt, 2007; Cornell et al., 2007). Stable and effective governing institutions then must assert this self-determination while also matching and reinforcing modern Indigenous culture both in how they govern and in deciding the development agenda (Cornell and Kalt, 1992; Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Begay Jr. et al., 2007; Cornell and Kalt, 2007; Cornell et al., 2007). These foundations allow the ability to create a community-based vision for the future, which must then

be implemented to guide strategic decision-making (Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Cornell and Kalt, 2007; Cornell et al., 2007). Finally, formal and informal leaders mobilize and educate to bring about changes needed to establish the foundations for development success (Cornell and Kalt, 2007; Cornell et al., 2007).

The term nation may be perceived as out of place in the Nunavut context given its connotations with First Nations as well as nation states. To clarify, the term nation as used in this research refers to a socio-cultural entity, in other words a group of people unified by a shared culture and language. The scope and budget for this research allowed for one community to be studied, therefore for the purposes of this study, it is the community of Pond Inlet is engaged in nation building. However, it is ultimately up to each community to decide on the scope of their nation building initiative, and if other communities should be involved.

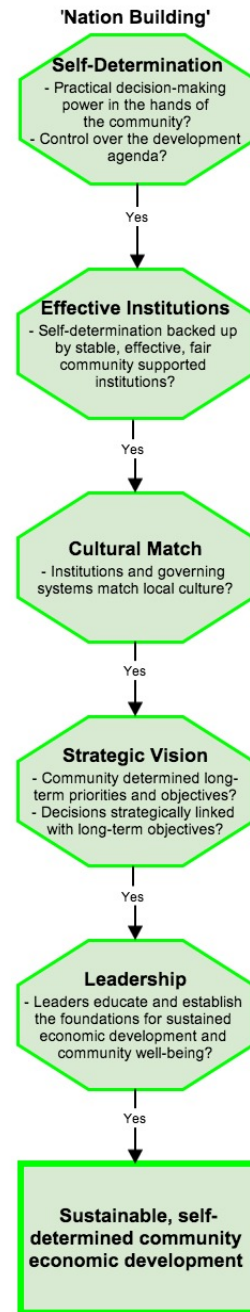


Figure 1. 'Nation Building' framework (adapted from Cornell and Kalt, 2007)

1.4 Organization of Thesis

This thesis follows the article format and is organized into four chapters, beginning with an introduction in Chapter 1. The second and third chapters consist of articles prepared for journal submission that address the research objectives. Chapter 2 employs a case study approach informed by qualitative interview data to examine Pond Inlet's potential for sustainable community led development using the five nation building concepts as themes and indicators to structure the article and inform conclusions (objectives 1, 2, 4). Chapter 3 uses qualitative interview data to further explore the nation building themes of cultural match and strategic vision. These themes are to shed light on the question of whether the new resource era in Nunavut can be a new path to prosperity and cultural continuity for local communities or if resource development heralds a new colonial era (objectives 3, 4). Chapter 4 concludes the thesis, summarizing the major findings of the study, theoretical and substantive contributions, outlines limitations and proposes directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

Community and Economic Development in Arctic Canada (CEDAC) – Understanding factors that contribute toward self-determined sustainable community development

R. Ritsema

Department of Geography, University of Ottawa, ON, Canada

Manuscript in preparation for submission to the journal *Arctic*

Abstract

The warming of Arctic regions due to climate change along with global demand for resources has facilitated an increase in natural resource development in the Canadian Arctic. In Nunavut, as the impacts from these developments increasingly affect nearby communities new methods of study are needed to understand how communities can take advantage of opportunities while minimizing negative impacts. Applying the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development's (HPAIED's) 'nation building' conceptual framework to a case study of Pond Inlet, Nunavut, face-to-face interviews (n=47) were conducted with Pond Inlet residents (n=31) and supported by interviews with regional decision-makers in Iqaluit (n=16). Analysis found that Pond Inlet is unable to implement its strategies for sustainable development and cultural continuity due to a lack practical decision-making power (self-determination) and governing institutions that are ineffective at solving long-standing development challenges (education, skills development, and infrastructure) and a poor match with local culture (uninformed community, lack of consensus based decision-making). This study contributes to our understanding of the challenges Nunavut communities face in trying to create self-determined sustainable development from the economic potential of resource projects and presents a viable framework for future studies to utilize.

Keywords: resource development; 'nation building'; self-determination; sustainable development; cultural continuity

2.1 Introduction

Climate change in Arctic regions has been influencing environmental systems for decades, but more recent and rapid changes experienced in the north have begun to significantly alter social and economic systems, creating new challenges for governance and Indigenous society (Arctic Climate Impact Assessment [ACIA], 2004; Birkman, 2011; Ford et al., 2012; International Panel on Climate Change [IPCC], 2014). In the Canadian Arctic, first-order environmental impacts such as melting sea ice and permafrost due to higher temperatures (ACIA, 2004; IPCC, 2014) have helped to open up previously inaccessible and economically unfeasible areas to resource development (Lemmen et al., 2008; Gauthier et al., 2009; Prowse et al., 2009). This in combination with high commodity prices and increasing global demand has created a new resource era in Arctic Canada (Prowse et al., 2009; Resources and Sustainable Development in the Arctic [RESDA], 2012; 2013). The secondary impacts on communities from these developments require careful study to ensure that opportunities are maximized and risks are minimized.

The Canadian Arctic is poised to compete in the global market for oil, gas, minerals, and precious metals (Prowse et al., 2009; Rhéaume and Caron-Vuotari, 2013). In the short term, the Government of Canada (2009), Government of Nunavut (2007), and the Inuit land claims organization Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) (1997) all see mining as the key to sustained economic activity that will build prosperous communities in Nunavut. The Mary River iron ore deposit located near the Inuit community of Pond Inlet, Nunavut (72.6992° N, 77.9592° W) is one example of the world-class mineral deposits that have become accessible for

development (Government of Canada, 2009; Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada [AANDC], 2012; Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation [BIMC], 2012a). The open pit mine has an estimated operational life of at least 20 years and is expected to provide thousands of jobs over its lifespan (BIMC, 2012a).

The opportunities from this development could be substantial for the coastal communities in the region, which have for decades been struggling with a myriad of social and economic issues such as high unemployment, cultural erosion as a result of historic colonialist policies, and elevated rates of ill health and poverty (Sivummut Economic Development Strategy Group [SEDSG], 2003; Angell and Parkins, 2009; North Sky Consulting Group [NSCG], 2009; Parlee and Furgal, 2012; Peterson, 2012; Nunavut Economic Forum [NEF], 2013; Canadian Polar Commission, 2014). Potential benefits of resource development include increased employment options; economic spin-offs; increased infrastructure and services; decreased poverty and associated health effects; and importantly, the potential for economic self-sufficiency (NTI, 1997; SEDGS, 2003; Government of Nunavut, 2007; Government of Canada, 2009, BIMC, 2012a; NEF, 2013). Decades of research have touted the importance of self-determined development in improving social conditions and health and well-being within Indigenous societies (Cornell and Kalt, 1992; Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Jorgensen and Taylor, 2000; Cornell et al., 2007; Cornell and Kalt, 2007).

Despite the opportunities of regional development in the Arctic, previous research has also identified the potential for negative outcomes such as boom and bust economies; increased drug and alcohol use; increased rates of crime, violence,

and suicide; cultural disturbance such as disruption of the traditional economy; the loss of cultural traditions; and the risk of substantial environmental degradation (Berger, 1988; Duhaime et al., 2003; Couch, 2002; Dreyer and Myers, 2004; Buell, 2006, Duhaime, 2008; Angell and Parkins, 2010; Bernauer, 2011; Peterson, 2012; Pauktuutit, 2014). In order to advance the theoretical understandings of economic and social development in Nunavut moving forward, this study identifies the necessary success factors and the corresponding challenges to achieving self-determined, community led sustainable economic development from resource development opportunities. The study examines the challenges Pond Inlet residents face in realizing their vision for prosperity from the Mary River iron ore mine. The research outlines multi-scale policy directions that can help lead to locally-defined development success and offers a replicable framework for other northern communities seeking to achieve their own vision for sustainable development from emerging resource development options. This case study is the first of several planned as part of a larger Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council funded multi-year project: 'Community and Economic Development in Arctic Canada' (CEDAC) (see www.espg.ca).

2.2 A new lens for understanding northern economic development

Scholarly literature on the implications of climate change in the Arctic has predominantly been studied through the lenses of vulnerability, adaptation, and resilience (see Berkes and Jolly, 2001; Ford and Smit, 2004; Smit and Wandel, 2006; Ford et al., 2007; Lemmen et al., 2008; Ford et al., 2012; Parlee and Furgal, 2012).

However, as the impacts of climate change have begun to more significantly affect social and economic systems, new frameworks are needed to more effectively examine the implications of these secondary impacts including the implications of increased resource development (Ford, 2012; RESDA 2012; 2013; Canadian Polar Commission, 2014).

This research responds directly to the urgent need for research on the secondary impacts and opportunities of climate change in the Arctic by applying a unique nation building methodological approach that has not yet been used in an Canadian Arctic setting but which has had wide spread use and success in more southern Indigenous communities. In the belief that economic development lessons from accomplishment and from failure can be learned, shared, and effectively used by other Indigenous peoples, the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development (HPAIED) has conducted hundreds of case studies over three decades of research predominantly in the USA, but also Canada, and Australia (Jorgensen, 2007). Eschewing a short-term job creation mindset toward creating the foundations for long-term success, the now prolific HPAIED research examines the necessary conditions for sustainable, self-determined, indigenous community-based economic development (Cornell and Kalt, 1998). Distilled from three decades of case study research, nation building has become a practical framework in which five key inter-related factors have consistently been found to contribute to successful self-determined Aboriginal community economic development (Cornell and Kalt, 1992; Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Jorgensen and Taylor, 2000; Cornell and Kalt, 2007).

The nation building framework acts as a progression that begins with the crucial requirement of self-determination, in other words, practical decision-making power in the hands of the community.

This decision-making power must then be seized and backed up by stable effective governing institutions that match and reinforce indigenous culture to ensure community buy-in (Cornell and Kalt, 1992; Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Jorgensen and Taylor, 2000; Cornell and Kalt, 2007). These foundational step-wise factors create the conditions for communities to create a strategic vision, which must be married to decision-making based on community-identified objectives (Cornell and Kalt, 1992; Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Jorgensen and Taylor, 2000; Cornell and Kalt, 2007). Finally formal and informal leaders act as 'nation builders', mobilizing, educating, and establishing the foundations for long-term development

success (Figure 1) (Cornell et al., 2007; Cornell and Kalt, 2007).

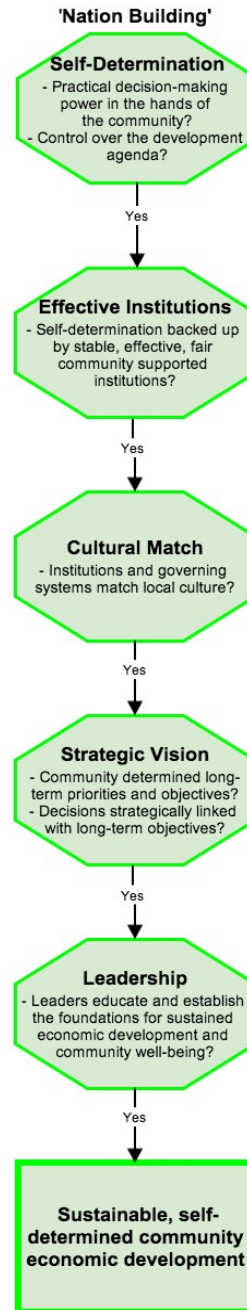


Figure 1. 'Nation Building' framework (adapted from Cornell and Kalt, 2007)

In this research the term nation is used to define the community of Pond Inlet, which is currently making significant local economic development decisions in light of the Mary River mine. A nation is defined a socio-political entity, in this case a group of people unified by culture and language. Ultimately it is up to each nation to decide the scope of their development effort, be it at a small or large scale. The scope of this research allows for the community of Pond Inlet to be examined as a starting point, but more case studies planned in future research may expand the scope of the nation building effort. Therefore, Pond Inlet is the nation of focus in the use of this conceptual framework.

The overarching aim of this research is to generate a greater understanding of the main factors that can contribute to northern communities' ability to leverage existing economic opportunities in order to develop self-determined sustainable development and greater economic self-sufficiency. More specifically it will introduce the nation building framework as a relevant new approach for understanding rapid environmental and economic change in the geographic and socio-cultural contexts of Arctic Canada.

2.3 Methods

2.3.1 Case study location & community profile

The community of Pond Inlet was chosen for this study due to its proximity (160 km) to Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation's (Baffinland) Mary River Project, and its location along the mine's current shipping route. Pond Inlet is located on northern Baffin Island (72.6992° N, 77.9592° W) in the Qikiqtaaluk region of Nunavut. It has a

population of just over 1,500 of which over 90% are Inuit (Statistics Canada, 2011). Pond Inlet has a service-based economy with government being the largest employer along with local businesses that serve the community (Statistics Canada, 2011). Many people also participate in the traditional economy through hunting, fishing, creating arts, crafts, and other traditional pursuits (Statistics Canada, 2011). Nevertheless, Pond Inlet is characterized by high levels of unemployment, low levels of education, and low graduation rates compared to national averages (Statistics Canada, 2011).

The mine will affect Pond Inlet in a number of ways. Firstly, the mine site and shipping route have the potential to disrupt terrestrial and marine mammal habitat and associated hunting practices, as well as tourism in the area. Secondly, there is a risk of a major shift toward wage labour livelihoods, which could negatively influence traditional livelihoods and cultural continuity. Thirdly, a number of negative social impacts are well known to accompany the increased wealth of mine workers in northern regions. Finally, there is a risk of a boom bust scenario if the economy is not diversified and a more balanced development path is not taken to anticipate the inevitable mine closure.

2.3.2 Approach and sampling methodology

The goal of qualitative research is to create understanding by balancing personal experiences with larger social structures and processes (Winchester and Rofe, 2010). Guided by this notion, this research uses human experience and expertise to examine how Pond Inlet residents can create desired sustainable community

development using the nation building lens. This was achieved using a case study approach drawing on semi-structured interviews with key informants in Pond Inlet and supplemented by interviews with regional decision-makers in Iqaluit. Case studies are used to study in-depth phenomena (in this case the process of community economic development) from a single instance with the goal of explaining the nuances and influences of that phenomenon (Baxter, 2010). Further, they are well suited to supporting existing theories as well as for developing new explanatory concepts (Baxter, 2010).

A purposive snowball sampling method (Patton, 2002) was used to recruit respondents with preliminary contacts providing effective entry points into relevant social and professional circles (Secor, 2010). Data were collected in August and September of 2013 to coincide with the return of most Pond Inlet residents from spending the summer months on the land, as well as when regional decision-makers in Iqaluit return from summer holidays. No pre-determined number of interviews was set; however, a total of 47 (n=47) interviews were personally conducted based on saturation rates – as defined by Krueger (1988). Semi-structured, one-hour, face-to-face interviews were conducted with local decision-makers and residents in Pond Inlet (n=31) and with regional decision-makers involved with economic development in Iqaluit (n=16). The response rate in this study was very high with only a few respondents declining an interview.

The main themes addressed in both sets of interviews were structured using the nation building framework's five principles: self-determination (i.e., control over development/development decisions); effective institutions (i.e., relationship

with/between relevant institutions and their general effectiveness); cultural match (i.e., degree of cultural match with institutions/development agenda); strategic vision (i.e., community/regional vision for the future); leadership (i.e., leadership potential/prospects for change) (Cornell and Kalt, 2007). Probes were also used to capture any additional factors that may influence effective development and that may be unique to the Canadian Arctic context and not fully captured within the nation building framework. This inclusion was intended to test both the robustness of the nation building approach in Arctic Canada and to extend findings where necessary. Interviews were conducted primarily in English; two interviews were conducted in Inuktitut using a local interpreter. As is customary in community-based research in the region, all respondents and interpreters were offered 'subject fees' for their time and were paid \$50.00 per interview regardless of duration.

2.3.3 Data Analysis

Interviews were recorded by hand using shorthand notation and transcribed directly after each interview for completeness and accuracy. The decision to forego audio recording was deemed to be the most culturally appropriate in this situation after consultation with northern researchers and a community liaison. This also made for a more relaxed interview setting allowing for a stronger rapport with respondents and more candid responses (Dooley, 1995; Dunn, 2010; Secor, 2010). Interviews were coded manually and NVivo software was used as a sorting and organizing tool. Analysis of the data was guided by a constant comparison methodology (see Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Data

analysis was iterative because the interviews took place in a relatively short period of time and each interview was transcribed directly after it took place thus allowing for reflection and preliminary analysis of emerging themes and concepts. Not only did this create a familiarity with the data early in the process but also it allowed for the early emergence of themes and concepts to be compared and integrated into subsequent interviews.

In the first phase of analysis the nation building framework was tested to gauge its appropriateness in the Canadian Arctic context and that the framework accurately reflected early analysis of results. After this was satisfied the second phase of analysis involved an in-depth examination of the data. Data were organized by the framework factors and constant comparisons were used to identify recurring observations, perceptions, experiences, and opinions. Ideas and concepts with the highest recurrence were identified and condensed into related categories, which formed the basis for theories within each nation building theme. General conclusions were then formed.

2.4 Results and Discussion

Results and discussion are presented in the sequence of the five nation building components. Each section is contextualized with data from respondents and corresponding discussion. A brief summary is presented at the end of the paper synthesizing the five components. Quotations are used throughout the section. In denoting quotations, the term respondents refers to the entire set of interviews, residents refers to Pond Inlet residents interviewed, and regional decision-makers

refers to the Iqaluit interviews. Iterative and early analysis of results indicated that the nation building framework was encompassing of respondent remarks and it was determined that the framework could be effective within Arctic Canada's unique cultural context. It was also determined that no additional or unique categories were emerging and therefore the original nation building framework was utilized as it was developed.

2.4.1 Self-determination

As a starting point, for successful nation building to occur, Indigenous communities have to assert the self-determination pledged by policy (Cornell and Kalt, 1992) or in this case a comprehensive land claims agreement. It is thought that practical decision making power (i.e., self-determination) and development strategies need to be in the hands of those that will have to deal with the consequences of decisions in order to ensure that development decisions reflect local residents' interests, beliefs, and concerns (Cornell and Kalt, 1992; Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Jorgensen and Taylor, 2000; Cornell and Kalt, 2007). From the data it is clear that residents of Pond Inlet do not feel that they have control over development and that their elected municipal body and civil servants lack the autonomy and capacity to ensure local needs and values are addressed by development. This has led to an apathetic attitude towards the formal development processes that are meant to be inclusive and give confidence that their voice is a factor in development decision making, as one resident: "it is unclear if the community has a voice or if decisions are made for them" (NF20). The apathy is further fuelled by a lack of communication and

education by regional institutions - that themselves hold a disproportionate share of decision-making power - to ensure the inclusion and understanding of key development issues and outcomes by the community. Furthermore, there is the sense that the municipal decision-makers lack autonomy and the ability to function at the level needed to deal effectively with important development issues. A Pond Inlet resident clarified: "Pond is not autonomous in making decisions because it must rely on federal and territorial (governments) for funding and other things" (NF2).

Considering the significant success Inuit in the region have had in recent decades, first signing the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) in 1993 and later the establishment of the territory of Nunavut in 1999, this finding is interesting. For instance, the NLCA gives Inuit important decision-making and land surface and sub-surface rights to regional resources. As a result Nunavummiut (collectively the Inuit living in Nunavut) in the region have gained a significant measure of control and potential self-determination over resource development at the regional and territorial level. However, the federal government retains strong measures of influence on resource development through province like decision-making power on non-renewable resource development on crown lands (i.e., those not covered under the land claim) (White, 2009). More importantly in this context, the federal minister of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC) retains final say on the approval and conditions of resource projects on Inuit owned land after they have gone through territorial environmental review (NTI, 2004).

This fact foreshadowed the findings in this research. Despite the potential for more effective self-determination and autonomy for communities intended through the NLCA, respondents in this study were nearly unanimous in feeling they have little to no control over development decisions. The current implementation of the NLCA has not resulted in real practical decision-making power at the community level, limiting the opportunity for implementing local visions for sustainable development and creating a situation where decision-making power largely remains in the hands of those who will not have to live with the consequences daily (i.e., regional, territorial and federal institutions). Notwithstanding this perceived lack of control, many residents noted that there are formal mechanisms such as community meetings and regulatory board hearings as a way to get involved and to help influence decisions. However, it was found that the apathy toward the formal process is a significant hindrance to utilizing the limited amount of local self-determination that does exist. As one regional decision-maker commented: “Inuit have been consulted to death” (NF31), more specifically concerning public meetings, a resident said: “only certain people seem to show up, the same eleven people” (NF20). Related was the general consensus by residents that there is poor communication between regional institutions involved with the mine and residents regarding updates about regulatory processes, impact and benefit agreement negotiations, hiring, and other information important to general community involvement. It was noted that this has contributed to a lack of understanding about key issues, progress, and the larger resource development picture. This has directly led to suspicions among a large portion of community respondents that local input

is not a factor in final development decisions. The perceived lack of decision-making power has also fueled widespread concern that mine jobs and contracts are going to better-trained workers and larger companies from the territorial capital and southern Canada.

It is worth noting that the feelings of exclusion – leading to apathy, mistrust, suspicion - on the part of residents from the decision-making process under the NLCA governance structure is similar to the criticisms of the pre-Nunavut governance structure of the Northwest Territories, in which Inuit felt that they did not have a voice in their own government (Coates and Powell, 1989). This suggests that the NLCA governance structure (still being relatively young) has yet to become effective at carrying out its mandate, or worse, has become a structure run by Nunavummiut but embodying many of the old characteristics of governance that the NLCA was meant to overcome.

2.4.2 Effective institutions

Self-determination alone is not enough to create successful economic development within Indigenous communities. For successful nation building to occur, it must be backed up by effective governing institutions (Cornell and Kalt, 1992; Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Jorgensen and Taylor, 2000; Cornell and Kalt, 2007). Institutions are effective when they harness self-determination to encourage community-defined economic development by having the rules and regulations in place to operate in an efficient, fair, stable, and reliable manner that serves to foster long-term economic activity (Cornell and Kalt, 1992; Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Jorgensen and Taylor, 2000;

Cornell and Kalt, 2007). In Nunavut Territory, the governance structure is complex. There are four layers of governing institutions: the federal government – which allocates transfer payments and program funding; the Government of Nunavut – is responsible for the day to day running of the territory; territorial regulatory boards – responsible for resource management and co-management agreements; territorial and regional Designated Inuit Organizations (DIOs) established under the NLCA – represent Inuit interests and ensure the NLCA articles are upheld; and elected municipal level governing bodies – responsible for day to day hamlet operations. In the context of development decision-making, respondents in this study described the complexity of this system as a “regulatory nightmare” (NF31), and explained this by noting that there are complicated inter-relationships and varying levels of trust between each institution, which has created a convoluted system of competing interests, perspectives, and goals.

In this case, at the municipal (i.e., hamlet) level, it was found that there is general support in the community for Hamlet decision makers, although they were criticized for lacking direction and stability, which has been negatively affected by turnover of elected officials in the past. The hamlet was also criticized for being reactionary on the development agenda, typified by the current feeling that “all eggs are in the mining basket” (NF20). Some pointed out that the focus on mining was leaving out artists and other cultural industries as well as tourism. There was also widespread concern that longer lasting mining related opportunities for locals, such as higher skilled and managerial positions might be squandered due to a lack of local training, skills development, and other educational opportunities. Helping to

put situation in perspective was the common view among respondents that the Hamlet is understaffed and under-resourced for dealing effectively with these complex issues, which is only compounded by a lack of autonomy from territorial and federal governments.

Within the municipal system in Nunavut, each community has a Community Economic Development Officer (CEDO). This has created a powerful role for these individuals in the context of community economic development. They act as economic development gatekeepers as they play a pivotal role in helping or hindering development in communities where alternative resources are scarce. In some cases a highly motivated and skilled CEDO can bring impressive results such as in the community of Arviat, Nunavut where the CEDO helped create a training program based on mining industry needs in the area that has been successful in getting local graduates skilled jobs (Rogers, 2013). In this case, it was found that politics, favoritism, and motivation were perceived factors in not getting a CEDOs support - critical for the success of entrepreneurial ideas given the lack of alternative support options - for local businesses vying for mining contracts as well as organizing training and other programs to prepare locals for mining opportunities. This shows that the effectiveness of local CEDOs is a critical component to fostering economic development and in particular helping communities take advantage of resource development opportunities.

At the regional (Qikiqtaaluk) level, respondents felt that a regional authority is unable to represent unique community interests and raised doubts about how much the community has a voice in that level of the decision making process. In

particular there were strong feelings of detachment and mistrust in the community toward the regional DIO regarding the Mary River Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement (IIBA) negotiated confidentially between the DIO and the mining company. This was attributed to a lack of communication: “They (DIOs) need to advertise more and need to have an office in town” (NF3); a lack of education: “They (DIOs) need to help build community capacity to understand complex issues, educate about the process and where they fit in” (NF20); and also lack of transparency: “They (DIOs) have created a lot of mistrust with the IIBA being confidential” (NF7). Given the IIBA’s crucial role in helping the community harness the economic potential of the mine and offset its negative effects – primarily through royalties, priority hiring, funds for training – the perceived ineffectiveness of the DIOs to this point as expressed by residents is disconcerting.

At the territorial level, it was found that there is general support for the Government of Nunavut (GN) from respondents but mixed feelings about its capacity to support Pond Inlet’s specific and unique development needs (i.e. both development and non-development related). Many felt that the GN is well aware of the main long-standing issues challenging Nunavut’s development - namely education/capacity, training, and infrastructure - but have been ineffective at solving them. These particular challenges were found to be present in nearly every aspect of economic development in Nunavut. There also seems to be a general sense that the GN is still young and learning, that “the GN needs to mature” (NF37), considering the territory was only established in 1999 (NTI, 2004). And relatedly, it was pointed out that partly due to education and capacity issues among Inuit, there

is a lack of Inuit at higher managerial positions at the GN. As one regional decision-maker commented: “people attracted from the south are less talented and motivated, which permeates the system and leads to inadequate planning, implementation, and effectiveness on all levels” (NF40). These comments suggest that the GN has yet to achieve its potential as the de facto self-government for Inuit by Inuit, and the GN has yet to achieve Article 23 of the NLCA of having proportional Inuit representation on government staff.

With multiple departments, roles and responsibilities, trying to assess the federal government in this case study was beyond the scope of this project. However, it is important to note that although the mining company in this case (Baffinland) is not considered an institution many respondents felt strongly that they have a role to play in supporting community development and helping to meet some of the main development challenges like education, training, and infrastructure that will help ensure long-term success. For its part, through its corporate sustainable development principles, Baffinland claims it will invest in education and infrastructure, as well as sponsor community events both directly and indirectly through the IIBA to support the sustainability and self-sufficiency of communities in the region (BIMC, 2012b).

2.4.3 Cultural match

For successful community-driven and supported economic development, communities must have self-determination backed up by effective institutions that act to establish development agendas that match with local cultural norms and

traditions (Cornell and Kalt, 1992; Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Cornell and Kalt, 2007). A higher degree of match with local culture increases community “buy in” with institutions, improves institutional legitimacy locally, and makes successful economic development more likely (Cornell and Kalt, 1992; Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Cornell and Kalt, 2007). With cultural match being an important factor in successful development, one of the major challenges for Pond Inlet that this research has identified is finding an acceptable balance for decision-making between two fundamentally different belief systems. On one hand traditional Inuit society was more or less organized on an inclusive, consensus based model, in which sharing and finding a role for each individual are important components. This is in contrast to the free market system that resource development is based upon which prizes individualism, and where power is concentrated at the top, making sharing and inclusion in decision-making more often exceptions. It is in between that a cultural match must be struck and where maintaining culture becomes a challenge for contemporary Inuit communities. Finding an acceptable balance between the two was at the heart of many responses in this study and revealed the complexity of the issue. It was found that the current centralized decision-making structure is neither inclusive nor communicative enough with the community and therefore blocks consensus. Further complicating the matter is that a demographic transition is happening concurrently with a cultural transition, which makes finding a balance even more challenging.

In this study the centralized decision-making process whereby regional and territorial institutions hold a disproportionate amount of practical decision-making

power contributed to the perception from residents that they do not have a strong voice in deciding their future. This the community unable to participate in the more locally preferred consensus based decision-making approach to development that is more in line with cultural traditions, and has led to apathy with the process. It was felt by a resident that “Consensus is the traditional and preferred way to make decisions, this should be kept in mind for development – consulting rather than dictating” (NF2) and regarding development decisions: “It should be a consensus of the whole community” (NF7). The current centralized institutional situation appears to be out of touch with historical practices where small relatively autonomous Inuit groups survived in a large sparsely populated region and relied on consensus to make decisions and decide on future plans. A community member helped summarize the situation: “Inuit recognize (the) possibilities for the future. The Inuit way is to work together for change, this is respectful and powerful” (NF20).

Additionally, the uncoordinated nature of mine training initiatives and the prioritizing of Mary River IIBA beneficiaries for hiring and contract tendering have set up the five high Baffin communities that are Mary River IIBA beneficiaries to essentially compete with each other in the race to secure jobs and mining contracts. This situation purports to be a poor match with the long history of the inclusive, sharing nature of Inuit culture in which on principle no one was left out and everyone had a role: “(the) mine could be good for Arctic Bay, Igloolik, Pond, all (communities) in the area not just Pond, we want them all to benefit” (NF30). Echoing the local respondents, nearly all regional and territorial decision makers

interviewed felt that it is important that development matches Inuit culture as “people won’t participate if it doesn’t” (NF37) and that for development to work; “culture needs to be integrated from the beginning” (NF39). While this sentiment may be genuine, it suggests that a disconnect exists between the intentions of regional institutions that have a high degree of decision-making power and the reality of how their decisions are being implemented and how people feel in communities like Pond Inlet.

With the mine currently dominating the development agenda, most Pond Inlet respondents had mixed feelings, noting that it will be “good and bad”. The ‘good’ is that the mine will provide much needed jobs, potential spin-off business, and other related careers. The ‘bad’ refers to deep concern about environmental damage (linked to cultural pursuits), fuelled by a perceived lack of environmental oversight, as well as concerns about education levels and employment training so that Inuit do not only occupy temporary and low-level positions. The tradeoff can be summarized by the general sense among residents that “It is hoped that the most impacted, the people living the closest will get the most benefit from the mine” (NF13). However, because the mine dominates the current development agenda, the centralized nature of decision-making threatens to leave out locally desired development strategies, such as the expressed desire for a diversified economy that includes cultural and other sustainable industries, and other alternatives to the mine. This includes the importance of maintaining Inuit language and culture in the development plan moving forward, which was strongly felt by most respondents. Some were concerned that regional institutions favour resource development and

that the financial incentive to support resource development may be overwhelming,. This brings into question the objectivity of the institutions and their ability to represent other Inuit interests and values. More generally it would appear that a strongly mine focused development agenda - which are inherently short-term in nature - is a poor match with the Inuit worldview that takes into account several generations when making decisions.

Complicating the goal of a balanced development agenda was the general feeling among respondents that young people are neither interested nor participating as much in traditional activities. Because of this, as a resident summarized, many feel that for youth the mine “is a great opportunity where there are currently very limited options” (NF28) and another community member agreed that Pond Inlet needs “more young people making money” (NF30). But some respondents who were concerned that a resource focused development plan might tilt the balance too much toward the mine also were hopeful that the wages earned at the mine would enable mine employees to buy equipment and pursue hunting and other traditional activities on their days off. This scenario suggests that a balance might be possible between the two seemingly competing livelihoods, although knowledge and experience on the land is the other prerequisite for this to be viable.

Related to the demographic change in Nunavut, the interviews also made it clear that there is a cultural transition happening among Inuit in Nunavut. Culture is not static, a point that would not be lost on a people who have lived through the transition from survival on the land to permanent settlements, the imposition of

destructive colonial policies, the introduction of the information age and the global economy, all within a few generations. Many respondents alluded to this transition as a challenge to economic development, as a local hunter and government employee mentioned; “Inuit are still in the infant stage of the southern economic model, which goes against traditional Inuit group mentality where everyone has a role, no one is left out” (NF4), and “Inuit had a survivor mentality traditionally but now have to change to a different mindset, it will take time” (NF7). The cultural transition explained by respondents helps strengthen the case for a diversified economy to help ensure a balance between traditional and modern livelihoods. This will help to ensure that Inuit cultural continuity - nearly unanimous by respondents as a key to well-being - is not threatened by a strongly resource focused development strategy. And that the contemporary form of Inuit culture is allowed an equal chance to transition and thrive with social and economic change.

2.4.4 Strategic vision

When indigenous communities have self-determination backed up with strong, effective, culturally matched institutions, decision-making then can and needs to become strategic (Cornell and Kalt, 1992; Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Cornell and Kalt, 2007). This requires that communities and community leaders determine long-term objectives and priorities, which become the criteria through which development options can be evaluated (Cornell and Kalt, 1992; Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Cornell and Kalt, 2007). Marrying strategic vision and decision-making then helps change local decision-making from a reactive mentality toward a pro-active and systemic

approach to development (Cornell and Kalt, 1992; Cornell and Kalt, 1998; Cornell and Kalt, 2007). In an attempt to understand the ideas that serve to guide the community's vision for future prosperity, a visioning exercise was conducted with respondents to ascertain how it can be realized through economic development. Using 25 years as an approximate time frame, respondents were asked to envision what they would like their community to be like as well as what was needed to achieve this vision. There were many innovative ideas on how to create sustainable development for the community and to identify the challenges and barriers to realizing this vision. However, as it has been shown, several nation building conditions have not been met. Firstly, Pond Inlet residents have not been able to express their self-determination (i.e., lack of practical decision-making power). Secondly, governing institutions have been ineffective at solving long-standing challenges to development. Thirdly, ineffective institutions have combined with a perceived mining focused development agenda and feelings of exclusion from the decision-making process in the community appear to be a poor match with contemporary local culture. Without solving these development pre-conditions (i.e., the first three concepts of the nation building framework) it will be difficult for the community to formalize its future vision and use it strategically as a deciding factor in economic development and other decision-making.

When asked about the future vision for Pond Inlet using 25 years as an approximate time frame, respondents had many innovative ideas and goals for the future. There was a persistent idea that by using its central geographic location Pond Inlet should become a North Baffin hub for supplying the mining industry,

emergency response, and research, creating potentially sustainable industries locally. Many saw potential for mining related development to be more balanced with culture like the potential for the local Hunters and Trappers Organization (HTO) to sell country food to the mine, establishing a commercial fishery, and more flexible work schedules at the mine that would enable seasonal hunting, fishing, and guiding. Many also felt that tourism and other industries that allow the ability to promote culture have strong potential and should be encouraged.

The vision expressed by respondents also included infrastructure such as improved housing options; transportation infrastructure improvements to airport facilities and the construction of a harbour; facilities for recreation, arts, youth and elders; sports fields and playgrounds. Improved educational, training, and skills development programs and delivery were also seen as integral to economic development and future prosperity. Also common from respondents were less tangible but more altruistic goals such as wishing to have more autonomy and community control and ownership over decision-making; having a healthy, active, engaged community; pride in Inuit identity; and deciding on the direction of the community without compromising culture. Residents were also very clear that fundamental to their future vision and well-being are that culture, language, and traditional values remain strongly intact. It was recognized by respondents that the most significant barriers to achieving this vision are infrastructure investment and improvements to education, training, and capacity. Respondents felt that they are currently reliant upon outside institutions beyond the control of the community for improving infrastructure and education but it was felt that the community has some

control over others such as skills and capacity development and could likely be improved overtime.

2.4.5 Leadership

For successful self-determined economic development, the final component in nation building is strong visionary leadership that can spearhead change (Cornell and Kalt, 2007; Cornell et al., 2007). Such leaders, both formal and informal, tie everything together; they educate, mobilize, and commit to establishing the institutional and strategic foundations necessary for long-term development and well-being (Cornell and Kalt, 2007; Cornell et al., 2007). This research found that that there is widespread support in Pond Inlet for current formal and informal leaders. Respondents also felt strongly that potential exists for community leaders to bring about the transformative change needed to ensure long-term self-sufficiency and well-being, especially from the younger generation. Currently however, persistent multi-level socio-economic challenges often overburden current leaders at a time when critical development decisions are being made. The self-determination and institutional challenges outlined in this research offer further challenges to current leaders and risk alienating future leaders, most notably the younger generation of aspiring leaders.

Pond Inlet residents felt that generally good leaders need to have strong educational backgrounds, communicate and listen well, and have cross-cultural perspectives. Most respondents support current leaders and feel that they have the aforementioned qualities but there is a general sense that the community “needs the

right leader at the right time” (NF1). This finding also extends to the members of the large cohort of young Inuit in Nunavut who respondents felt offer some hope of becoming the visionary leaders needed to overcome Nunavut’s considerable socio-economic issues and other development challenges: “There are many capable young leaders in Nunavut” (NF32); “(we) need more young people in leadership roles” (NF12); “More young people will run in the (territorial) election in four years, (this) brings hope” (NF38).

It is encouraging that there is faith in current leadership and that respondents were confident in their abilities as well as the potential of younger generations to create a better future. However, waiting for “the right leader at the right time” or for the younger generation to mature into visionary leaders appears to be a risky strategy for Pond Inlet, which, due to the mine, is currently facing crucial development decisions that will have wide-ranging and lasting effects on the community for decades to come. It was also found that many of the strongest and most capable leaders are overburdened as they are often looked upon to address the myriad social and other pressing day-to-day issues in town, leaving little time or energy for tackling foundational problems.

Using the nation building lens, at the community level it will be difficult for current and potential leaders identified by respondents to execute their visions for future success without firstly, having effective decision-making power (i.e., self-determination); secondly, the ability and desire to participate meaningfully in development decision-making (i.e., effective institutions and cultural match); and thirdly, the confidence that education, capacity, and infrastructure challenges will be

solved (i.e., effective institutions), necessary for community “buy in” and successful economic development. Furthermore, if youth hold the leadership potential for creating the foundational change needed to realize the community’s vision for long-term prosperity, then the challenges of low self-determination and ineffective institutions uncovered in this research risk alienating these prospective new leaders before their potential is fulfilled.

2.5 Conclusion

As a starting point to understanding economic development in Nunavut, the nation building framework has been an effective way to explore sustainable economic development in Nunavut at the community scale. Broadly, it allows a very complex topic to be organized thematically for more in-depth examination, and provides a commonsensical path toward development success. In particular two major strengths of the framework are its focus on local control over decision-making (i.e., self-determination) and the importance of matching indigenous culture with development decisions and directions, both of which were expressed as important for future success by respondents. However, as the framework is mainly predicated on southern (predominantly American) First Nations experiences, and responding to similar criticisms in the literature (see Dowling, 2005; Simeone, 2007) applying it in the unique situation of the Canadian Arctic has exposed some areas where it could be refined moving forward.

Firstly, in Nunavut and other areas of the Arctic where comprehensive land claims agreements have been signed, the resulting unique political, institutional, and

bureaucratic arrangements can be very complex and convoluted. This makes it difficult to assess their effectiveness, as the power, jurisdictions, and responsibilities of various actors often are unclear. This may require creating a another framework within this nation building concept to map out institutional actors and assess their overall effectiveness, cultural match, and more generally to account for unique political circumstances and situations. For instance, the role Inuit organizations created in land claims agreements - in this case DIO's created under the NLCA - require further attention as it pertains to the nation building conception of cultural match. Given their mandate of promoting Inuit rights and values, and their increasing involvement in resource development, as well as the complication that many of the employees (especially in managerial positions) working for DIO's are not Inuit, their willingness and ability to match with contemporary Inuit culture and values is unclear. Secondly, leadership acts as the last concept in the nation building framework. However, in the case of Nunavut it can be argued that visionary leadership may be necessary at all levels, not just the community, given the tremendous challenges to economic development the territory faces and the lack of success to date. For instance it may take visionary leadership for federal and territorial governments to transfer more self-determination to communities (the first step in nation building) and shift to a more supportive role. Therefore, some more thought should be given to the role of leadership in economic development in the Canadian Arctic and what priority it should be given within the framework moving forward.

Taken together this research has shown that the nation building pathways toward sustainable, self-determined economic development in Pond Inlet are being impeded in two key areas (Figure 2). The first is that a lack of self-determination (i.e., practical decision making ability) at the community level does not allow for Pond Inlet to have a strong voice in the development decision-making process nor control over the development agenda. In this situation, decision-making power is diffused through a complex hierarchy of institutional actors with different values, goals, and

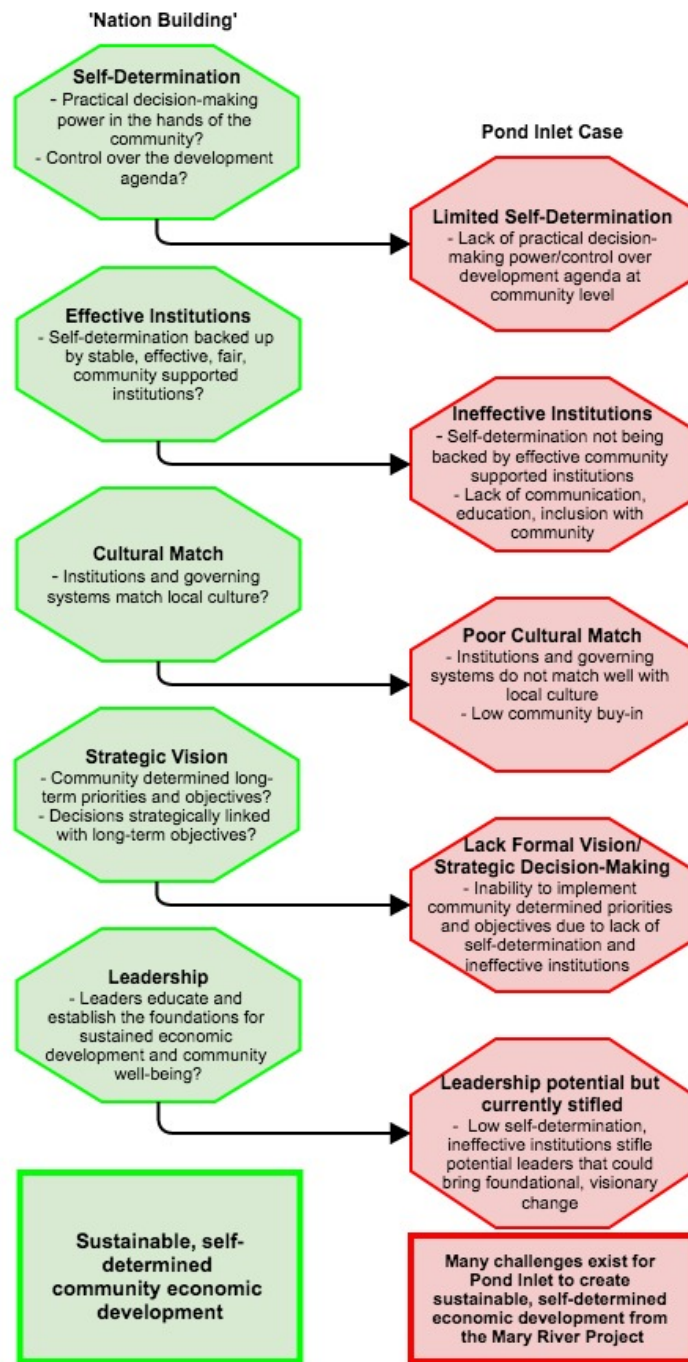


Figure 2. 'Nation Building' lens applied to the Pond Inlet case study (adapted from Cornell and Kalt, 2007)

interests, leaving decision-making power largely in the hands of those who will not have to live with the consequences day to day. The community is then unable to harness the potential self-determination from the NLCA and the economic potential from the mine to implement local development goals. Secondly, the institutions in this case have been ineffective at addressing major development barriers (i.e., education, skills, capacity, and infrastructure) and have been ineffective at communicating and educating residents about how and why development decisions are made along with their potential outcomes. This has exposed systemic and capacity problems at the institutional level, and has resulted in a poor match with local culture that prefers inclusive, consensus-based decision-making, which has contributed to suspicion, mistrust, apathy and low community buy-in. Low self-determination and institutional ineffectiveness in turn frustrate the ability to create a strategic vision and execute it with strategic decision-making. Finally, under these circumstances the formal and informal leadership needed to create the foundations for nation building is stifled. A lack of decision making power, ineffective institutions and poor cultural match are added to existing socio-economic and capacity issues that stand in the way of enabling visionary leaders to create the systemic changes needed to achieve the community's vision for long-term prosperity.

This study comes at a time when Nunavut is at a crucial stage in its development as a territory. Long dependent on federal transfers to support the territory, the spirit of the NLCA is to regain self-sufficiency for Nunavummiut and ensure cultural and social well-being (NTI, 2004). Currently resource development

in the territory offers strong potential for achieving this goal. With a warming Arctic increasing accessibility (Lemmen et al., 2008; Prowse et al., 2009) and strong global demand, many more resource projects are poised to proceed over the coming decades (Rhéaume and Caron-Vuotari, 2013). This anticipated expansion along with federal and territorial growth strategies based on resource development (NTI, 1997; Government of Nunavut, 2007; Government of Canada, 2009), make it an important time for how the territory chooses to develop and whether Nunavut and Nunavummiut will be able to break from the daunting socio-economic challenges experienced today and achieve self-sufficiency. The evidence so far in Nunavut is that resource development has increased the territorial GDP significantly over the past five years, but social issues like poverty, social cohesion, crime, and food security remain largely unchanged (NEF, 2013). This suggests a strategy that prioritizes economic growth over social development and casts doubt on prosperity goals for Nunavummiut (NEF, 2013). With this in mind, these findings offer guidance to policy makers on multiple scales to address this gap. This research has shown that communities like Pond Inlet have important strategies for development that encompass both economic sustainability and long term social well-being goals. Based on the nation building framework, the findings suggest that as a start communities need to be empowered with self-determination and supported with effective culturally matched institutions in order to implement local development strategies, create community buy-in, and improve the chances of achieving long-term social and economic goals. While each community is unique, the findings nonetheless offer some takeaways for decision-makers as resource development

both underpins planned future growth in the territory and has begun to take root in earnest. Further, for policy makers in Nunavut, this research builds on community economic development research from Baker Lake and the Meadowbank gold mine (see Bernauer, 2011; Peterson, 2012) to begin to form a more complete picture of community resource development challenges.

The respondents in this research were clear; firstly, communities that are the most impacted by development should benefit the most. Secondly, communities have important ideas and strategies for sustainable development. Thirdly, and just as significantly, balancing culture with development is viewed as fundamental to long-term success and well-being. However, after using the nation building framework as a lens for understanding this case study, it can only be concluded that substantial self-determination, institutional, educational capacity, and cultural match challenges exist for Pond Inlet to realize its social and economic development goals. This must be understood in the context of the Mary River mine beginning operation in 2015, which leaves little room for these challenges and barriers to be addressed. As a result, without solving the complex and deeply-rooted challenges outlined in this research, Pond Inlet can expect only modest short-term benefit from the mine, while the majority of benefits will likely accrue outside of the community, allowing a crucial sustainable development opportunity for Nunavut to pass by.

References

- Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC). (2012). *Mineral Exploration and Geoscience Overview*. Retrieved from: http://www.miningnorth.com/_rsc/site-content/library/publications/2012_NU_EXPLORATION_OVERVIEW.pdf
- Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA). (2004). *Impacts of a Warming Arctic. Summary report of the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment*. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press.
- Angell, A. C., & Parkins, J. R. (2010). Resource Development and Aboriginal Culture in the Canadian North. *Polar Record*, 47(1), 67-79.
- Baxter, J. (2010). Case Studies in Qualitative Research. In Gomez, B & Jones, J. P. III (Eds.), *Research Methods in Geography* (195-205). West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Begay Jr., M., Cornell, S., Jorgensen, M., & Pryor, N. (2007). Rebuilding Native Nations – What Do Leaders Do? In Jorgensen, M. (Ed.), *Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development* (3-33). Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- Berger, T. (1988). *Northern Frontier Northern Homeland*. Vancouver, BC: Douglas & MacIntyre Ltd.
- Berkes, F. & Jolly, D. (2001). Adapting to climate change: Social-ecological resilience in a Canadian Western Arctic community. *Conservation Ecology*, 5(2): 18, 1-15.
- Bernauer, W. (2011). Mining and the Social Economy in Baker Lake, Nunavut. *Linking Learning Leveraging: Social Enterprises, Knowledgeable Economies, and Sustainable Communities*. Research Report Series, No. 11-03.
- Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation (BIMC). (2012a, February). *Mary River Project: Final Environmental Impact Statement, Popular Summary*. Retrieved from <http://www.baffinland.com>.vs2.korax.net/wp-content/themes/baffinland/images/POP_Eng_sm.pdf
- Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation (BIMC). (2012b). *Sustainable Development*. Retrieved from: <http://www.baffinland.com/sustainable-development/investing-in-communities-and-people/philosophy/?lang=en>
- Birkman, J. (2011). First and second order adaptation to natural hazards and extreme events in the context of climate change. *Natural Hazards*, 58, 811-840.

- Buell, M. (2006). *Resource Extraction Development and Well-Being in the North: A scan of the unique challenges of development in Inuit communities*. T. O'Hearn & D. Rideout (Eds.). Ottawa, ON: National Aboriginal Health Organization.
- Canadian Polar Commission. (2014). *The State of Northern Knowledge in Canada*. Retrieved from: http://www.polarcom.gc.ca/sites/default/files/northern_knowledge_report_english.pdf
- Cornell, S., Jorgensen, M., Kalt, J. P., & Spilde Contreras, K. S. (2007). Seizing the Future: Why some native nations do and others don't. In Jorgensen, M. (Ed.), *Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development* (296-320). Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- Cornell, S., & Kalt, J. (1992). Reloading the Dice: Improving the Chances of Economic Development on American Indian Reservations. In Cornell, S., and Kalt, J. (Eds.), *What Can Tribes Do? Strategies and Institutions in American Indian Economic Development* (1-59). Los Angeles, CA: American Indian Studies Center, University of California.
- Cornell, S., & Kalt, J. (1998). Sovereignty and Nation-Building: The Development Challenge in Indian Country Today. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 22(3), 187-214.
- Cornell, S., & Kalt, J. (2007). Two Approaches to Economic Development on American Indian Reservations: One Works, the Other Doesn't. In Jorgensen, M. (Ed.), *Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development* (3-33). Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- Couch, W. (2002). Two-step Process: Strategic Resolution of Policy, Environmental and Socio-Economic Impacts in Canadian Arctic Diamond Mining: BHP's NWT diamond project. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 20(4), 265-278.
- Dowling, C. (2005). The Applied Theory of First Nations Economic Development: A Critique. *The Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*, 4(2), 120-128.
- Dreyer, D., & Myers, H. (2004). *Impact and Benefits Agreements: Do the Ross River Dena benefit from Mineral Projects?* Final report submitted to Northern Land Use Institute, University of Northern British Columbia.
- Duhaime, G. (2008). Theoretical foundations for the study of Arctic development models. *The Political Economy of Northern Regional Development – Yearbook 2008*, 42-54.

- Duhaime, G., Bernard, N., Fréchette, P., Maillé, M-A., Morin, A., & Caron, A. (2003). *The Mining Industry and the Social Stakes of Development in the Arctic*. Canada Research Chair in Aboriginal Comparative Condition.
- Ford, J. D., Bolton, K. C., Shirley, J., Pearce, T., Tremblay, M., & Westlake, M. (2012). Research on the Human Dimensions of Climate Change in Nunavut, Nunavik, and Nunatsiavut: A Literature Review and Gap Analysis. *Arctic*, 65(3), 289-304.
- Ford, J., Pearce, T., Smit, B., Wandel, J., Allurut, M., Shappa, K., Ittusujurat, H., & Qrunnut, K. (2007). Reducing vulnerability to climate change in the Arctic: The case of Nunavut Canada. *Arctic*, 60(2), 150-166.
- Ford, J. D., & Smit, B. (2004). A Framework for Assessing the Vulnerability of Communities in the Canadian Arctic to Risks Associated with Climate Change. *Arctic*, 57(4), 389-400.
- Gautier, D. L., Bird, K. J., Charpentier, R. R., Grantz, A., Houseknecht, D. W., Klett, T. R., & Wandrey, C. J. (2009). Assessment of Undiscovered Oil and Gas in the Arctic. *Science*, 324(5931), 1175-1179.
- Government of Canada. (2009). *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future*. Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada, Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians. Ottawa.
- Government of Nunavut. (2007). *Parnautit – A foundation for the future: Mineral and Mining Strategy*. Department of Economic Development and Transportation. Retrieved from: http://www.edt.gov.nu.ca/docs/parnautit_eng.pdf
- International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). (2014). Summary for Policymakers, In: *Climate Change 2014, Mitigation of Climate Change. Contribution of Working Group III to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*. Edenhofer, O., R. Pichs-Madruga, Y. Sokona, E. Farahani, S. Kadner, K. Seyboth, A. Adler, I. Baum, S. Brunner, P. Eickemeier, B. Kriemann, J. Savolainen, S. Schlömer, C. von Stechow, T. Zwickel and J.C. Minx (eds.). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA.
- Jorgensen, M. (2007). Editor's Introduction. In Jorgensen, M. (Ed.), *Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development* (xi). Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press
- Jorgensen, M., & Taylor, J. (2000). What Determines Indian Economic Success? Evidence from tribal and individual Indian enterprises. *Red Ink*, 8(2), 45-51.

- Lemmen, D. S., Warren, F. J., Lacroix, J., & Bush, E. (Eds.). (2008). *From Impacts to Adaptation: Canada in a Changing Climate*. Government of Canada, Ottawa, ON, 448.
- Nunavut Economic Forum (NEF). (2013). *2013 Nunavut Economic Outlook: Nunavut's Next Challenge: Turning Growth into Prosperity*. Retrieved from: [http://www.neds2.ca/documents/2013_Nunavut_Economic_\(FINAL\)_Jan_28_2014.pdf](http://www.neds2.ca/documents/2013_Nunavut_Economic_(FINAL)_Jan_28_2014.pdf)
- North Sky Consulting Group (NSCG). (2009). *Qanukkanniq? The GN report card*. Retrieved from: <http://www.tunngavik.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/gn-report-card-analysis-and-recomm-10-09.pdf>
- Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI). (1997). *Mining Policy*. Retrieved from <http://www.tunngavik.com/documents/publications/1997-12-00-Mining-Policy.pdf>
- Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI). (2004). *TUKISITTIARNIQSAUJUMAVIIT? A Plain Language Guide to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement*. Ottawa, ON: St. Joseph Print Group.
- Resources and Sustainable Development in the Arctic (RESDA). (2012). *ReSDA Newsletter*. Issue #1. Retrieved from: <http://yukonresearch.yukoncollege.yk.ca/resda/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2013/09/Final-ReSDA-newsletter-print-Oct2012.pdf>
- Resources and Sustainable Development in the Arctic (RESDA). (2013). *ReSDA Newsletter*. Issue #2. Retrieved from: <http://yukonresearch.yukoncollege.yk.ca/resda/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2013/09/ReSDA-Newsletter-Summer-Fall-2013-final-webv.pdf>
- Rh eaume, G., & Caron-Vuotari, M. (2013, January). *The Future of Mining in Canada's North*. Retrieved from: http://www.miningnorth.com/_rsc/site-content/library/Final-13-201_FutureofMining_CFN.pdf
- Rogers, S. (2010, October 27). Arviat Matches Community's Needs with Mining Jobs. *Nunatsiaq Online*. Retrieved from: http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674arviat_matches_communitys_needs_with_mining_jobs/
- Secor, J. (2010). Social Surveys, Interviews, and Focus Groups. In Gomez, B & Jones, J. P. III (Eds.), *Research Methods in Geography* (195-205). West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

- Sivummut Economic Development Strategy Group (SEDSG). (2003). Nunavut Economic Development Strategy: Building a Foundation for the Future. Retrieved from: <http://www.nunavuteconomicforum.ca/public/files/strategy/NUNAVUTE.PDF>
- Smit, B. & Wandel, J. (2006). Adaptation, Adaptive Capacity, and Vulnerability. *Global Environmental Change*, 16, 282-292.
- Statistics Canada. (2011). *NHS Profile, Pond Inlet, HAM, Nunavut, 2011*. Retrieved from: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=6204020&Data=Count&SearchText=Pond%20Inlet&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&A1=All&B1=All&TABID=1>
- Parlee, B., & Furgal, C. (2012). Well-Being and Environmental Change in the Arctic: A Synthesis of Selected Research from Canada's International Polar Year program. *Climatic Change*, Published online on 3 October 2012.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. 3rd Edition. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Pauktuutit (Inuit Women of Canada). (2014, January). *The Impacts of Resource Extraction on Inuit Women and Families in Qamani'tuaq, Nunavut Territory*. Prepared by: Czyzewski, K., Tester, F., Aaruaq, N., and Blangy, S. Retrieved from: <http://pauktuutit.ca/social-and-economic-development/resource-extraction/the-impact-of-resource-extraction-on-inuit-women-and-families-in-qamanituaq-nunavut-territory/>
- Peterson, K. (2012). *Community Experiences of Mining in Baker Lake, Nunavut*. Unpublished Masters Dissertation, University of Guelph, Guelph, Canada. Retrieved from <http://atrium.lib.uoguelph.ca:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10214/3548/KCRPetersonThesisFial.pdf?sequence=11/>
- Prowse, T. D., Furgal, C., Chouinard, R., Melling, H., Milburn, D., and Smith, S. L. (2009). Implications of Climate Change for Economic Development in Northern Canada: Energy, Resource, and Transportation Sectors. *Ambio*, 38(5), 272-280.
- Simeone, T. (2007). *The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development: Findings and Considerations*. Parliamentary Information and Research Service. Library of Parliament, Canada.
- White, G. (2009). Governance in Nunavut: Capacity vs. Culture? *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 43(2). 57-81.

CHAPTER 3

Community and Economic Development in Arctic Canada (CEDAC) – Mining in Nunavut: A new path to prosperity or re-paving old paths of colonial rule?

R. Ritsema

Department of Geography, University of Ottawa, ON, Canada

Manuscript in preparation for submission to the journal *Inuit Studies*

Abstract

Based on qualitative interview data this commentary examines the coming Arctic resource era and whether it can be a new path to prosperity and self-sufficiency for nearby communities or if it is a harbinger for a new colonial era based on post-colonial theories of contemporary colonialism. The perspective of Pond Inlet, Nunavut, the closest community to the Mary River mine is examined. The community's vision for long-term prosperity and cultural continuity is contrasted with current challenges and barriers to achieving this goal. It was found that with mine construction imminent, infrastructure needs, low education, skills and capacity deficits, and demographic changes remain as significant challenges to the community's growth strategies. It is concluded that if communities such as Pond Inlet are unable to implement their future visions, which incorporate sustainability, economic diversity, and cultural continuity, the coming resource era risks becoming a new colonial era justified by complex contemporary economic reasons but nonetheless indirectly dominating and deconstructing northern Indigenous identity..

Keywords: new colonial era; resource development; long-term prosperity; cultural continuity; assimilation

3.1 Introduction

The history of colonialism in the Canadian North - perpetrated initially by European powers beginning in the 16th century and continued by the Canadian Government after confederation - is inextricably linked with resource development. Canada's colonial relationship with its northern territories has been characterized as such precisely because it was treated as a colony - a storehouse of resources with little regard for the people living there - ruled from afar by an ideologically different, centralized power in Ottawa (Coates, 1985). In fact it has been argued that federal movement toward Aboriginal self-determination through treaties and land claims only came about when resource development was threatened (Coates and Powell, 1989).

Under this maxim, with resources in the far north expensive and out of reach for industry, the government's attitude until the 1940's was to leave the self-sufficient northern Aboriginal people alone (Coates, 1985). However, the post World War II period marked an abrupt change in the government's approach to the far north and its residents, with far reaching consequences. The racist, assimilative, paternalistic policies and practices by the Canadian government during this era were guided by an assimilationist mentality founded on the belief that Aboriginal well-being and prosperity was tied to rapid assimilation into Canadian settler society (Coates and Powell, 1989, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples [RCAP], 1996). The legacy of residential schools, permanent settlements, and dependency shattered families and culture. The legacy persists today and is implicated in many of the enduring socio-economic problems in the north (RCAP, 1996).

Out of these dark times emerged an awakening of the Inuit spirit and the quest for a better future. In the 1960's and 1970's, despite the massive difficulties in Inuit life, Aboriginal organizations in the north began to organize, frustrated that their voices were not being heard in Ottawa. Their demands for the settlement of land claims to ensure more benefit to northern communities and greater Aboriginal involvement in resource development was to be bolstered by the seminal Berger Inquiry, and became a turning point for the north (Coates, 1985; Coates and Powell, 1989). If the prevailing view by Ottawa and most southern Canadians of the north was that of a vast resource frontier, the Berger Inquiry and subsequent report on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline project in the 1970's helped change these perspectives. The comprehensive inquiry brought to the rest of Canada the sincere passion from residents that the north is an Aboriginal homeland, not just a resource frontier, and that the people who call it home must have a say in how it is developed and see real benefit (Coates and Powell, 1989).

Following Berger, no longer could Aboriginal rights and interests be ignored. There has since been a steady devolution of power from Ottawa to the territories and significant movement on northern land claims, including the Inuvialuit, Nunavut, Nunavik, and Nunatsiavut comprehensive land claims agreements. Most relevant to this case was the settlement of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) in 1993, which led to the creation of the Nunavut Territory and de facto self-government for the Inuit of Nunavut. This remarkable achievement symbolized the end of the direct colonial era between Inuit and the federal government.

Much as the global era of imperial colonialism by European powers suffered its demise in the latter half of the 20th century, and many of the previously colonized gained independence, the direct colonialism imposed on the north at the hands of the Canadian Government during the post World War II period also ended. However, it would be premature and perhaps naive to assume that colonialism in the world was stamped out. It has since endured and adapted, creating new challenges and threats to Indigenous culture and prosperity.

Post-colonial theory is an umbrella term for which to discuss the cultural repercussions of colonialism and imperialism on the people of colonized regions of the world (Ashcroft et al., 1989; Fischer-Tiné, 2010). Encompassed in the theory are analyses of the factors that sustain colonialism in its contemporary forms (Ashcroft et al., 1989; Fischer-Tiné, 2010). Post-colonialism takes a critical perspective to analyze the remnants of colonial principles and thought that continue to be present today in the post-colonial world and is used as a lens to explore the topic in this commentary.

More specifically for this case, in the Indigenous context, the contemporary colonial era is defined as more subtle, indirect in nature, influenced by geopolitics and modern capitalism, and rooted in globalization (Alfred and Corntassel, 2005). In this era, globalization has sped up and deepened existing empires but has also created new colonial powers and new methods and tools of domination (Alfred and Corntassel, 2005). However, resources remain the driver and the goal of domination remains, through the steady elimination of histories and culture that define the Indigenous sense of self (Alfred and Corntassel, 2005). In this political and cultural

reality Alfred and Corntassel (2005) argue that combating these influences, resisting domination, requires the creation of spaces of freedom from the contemporary colonial agenda. This starts with the recognition that the strongest power for Indigenous people begins with the individual and comes from the relationship with the land, family, language, and traditional activities (Alfred and Corntassel, 2005).

The post-colonial reality in Nunavut today is that, just as in the past, interest in the north continues to be driven by the potential for resource development. The early stages of a new era characterized by rapid resource development are upon resource rich Arctic Canada. Aided by changing environmental conditions such as thawing sea ice (Lemmen et al., 2008; International Panel on Climate Change [IPCC], 2014) and a strong demand for minerals, precious metals, and oil and gas from developing countries, multi-national mining corporations are investing in the north. As a result, natural resource development in Nunavut is expanding quickly and is expected to continue to do so (Prowse et al., 2009; Rhéaume and Caron-Vuotari, 2013). The anticipated boom is backed by federal and territorial economic development strategies that have staked the future on resource development as the foundation for growth and long-term well being for residents (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated [NTI], 1997; Government of Nunavut, 2007; Government of Canada, 2009).

While the post-colonial perspective would see the coming resource boom as just the latest form of colonialism faced by Inuit people and bent on domination, there are good reasons to believe that the new resource era in Nunavut holds potential for Inuit. This optimism is supported by reasons that significantly

differentiate it from previous northern resource development era's in Canada when Aboriginal peoples concerns were ignored, treated as an obstacles, and largely did not benefit from resource development (Coates, 1985; Berger, 1988; Coates and Powell, 1989; Duhaime et al., 2003; Buell, 2006; Angel and Parkins, 2009; Bowes-Lyon et al., 2010; Pauktuutit, 2014). Although the federal government still wields power in crucial areas, with the settlement of the NLCA the Inuit of Nunavut gained a large amount of control over their affairs, most notably in this case over resource development on Inuit owned lands (NTI, 2004). The overarching goal of the NLCA is to protect Inuit beneficiary rights and to encourage self-reliance and social and cultural well-being (NTI, 2004). The NLCA provides certainty for industry, Inuit involvement in the regulatory process, as well as provisions to ensure benefits through IIBA's - such as royalties, priority hiring, training dollars - for communities affected by resource development.

These measures form the foundation for why Nunavut communities near development projects - such as Pond Inlet and the nearby Mary River mine - see the coming northern resource boom as a potential opportunity. Not only as a viable way to leverage economic growth against existing socio-economic problems and financial dependency on the federal government, but more broadly to restore self-determination and self-sufficiency. Despite deep concern for the industry's effects on the surrounding environment and resulting cultural repercussions, the community of Pond Inlet believes that these impacts can be limited by carefully managing development risks. Furthermore, the community believes that the historical pitfalls of resource dependent economies in the north (i.e. boom bust

cycles, minimal local benefit, cultural erosion) can be avoided by implementing local strategies for development that link with sustainability and cultural continuity.

And yet, the optimism surrounding the current resource boom in Nunavut is not without precedent in northern Canadian history and should therefore be tempered. Boom and bust scenarios have accompanied many of the resource eras in Canada – whaling, fur trading, mining, oil and gas. Prosperity seemed assured when times were good and the short-term nature of industries such as mining along with the vagaries of international markets and the high cost of operation in the north were ignored (Coates and Powell, 1989). The busts were devastating on local people and communities that had become dependent on resource industries and could last decades (Coates and Powell, 1989). Historically, there is evidence of the benefits of resource development, such as increased revenue, improved infrastructure, and job/skills development (NTI, 1997; Duhaime et al., 2003; Government of Nunavut 2007; Gibson, 2008; Duhaime, 2008; Government of Canada, 2009; Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation [BIMC], 2012a). But the benefits have often been outweighed by lasting social impacts, such as increases in alcohol and substance abuse, crime, violence, suicide, changes to community dynamics, disruptions in the traditional economy, and an increased gender prosperity gap (Berger, 1988; Couch, 2002; Duhaime et al., 2003; Dreyer and Myers, 2004; Buell, 2006; Gibson, 2008; Angell and Parkins, 2010; Bernauer, 2011; Peterson, 2012; Pauktuutut, 2014). Therefore, despite the promise of prosperity for local Inuit from the latest round of resource development in the north, it is far from assured. Crucial coping and resistance strategies to post-colonial domination – such as connections to the land, language,

family, and traditions – may in fact be threatened by widespread resource expansion, endangering cultural continuity, Aboriginal identity, and long-term well-being.

This commentary uses a post-colonial lens to view the coming resource development era in Nunavut from the perspective of the community of Pond Inlet – the closest community to the Mary River iron ore project. Local development strategies that incorporate sustainability and cultural continuity (and are therefore crucial to countering post-colonial domination) are explored along with discussion of the challenges local people face in implementing them to answer the following research question: *Does northern resource development offer a new path toward prosperity, self-sufficiency, and cultural continuity for its residents? Or is it indirectly repeating the colonial history of domination and destruction of northern Indigenous identity people using contemporary colonial justifications?*

3.2 Methodology

Based on semi-structured qualitative interview data gathered in Pond Inlet and Iqaluit, Nunavut. Interviews were conducted with residents and local decision-makers (n=31) in Pond Inlet, supported by interviews with regional decision-makers (n=16) in Iqaluit. Data were gathered from interview questions based on a visioning exercise in which participants were asked to outline their development goals and strategies for the community and the region in light of the opportunity from the mine, using 25 years as an approximate time frame. Specific needs and objectives were discussed to achieve their visions along with major challenges and

barriers to achieving them. Also included in the visioning exercise was a cultural component in which respondents were asked about the importance of incorporating culture in development, both in terms of how necessary it may be for development success and future well-being, and thoughts about integrating culture into development. Data analysis was guided by constant comparison methodology (see Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Ideas and concepts were aggregated based on being present in the dataset and later organized into categories, which then were the basis for greater conclusions.

3.3 Community vision for long-term prosperity

If a new colonial era is to be avoided, local ideas and strategies for development that incorporate culture and diversify the economy offer important tools for resisting post-colonial domination. It is clear that mining development is a priority for local, federal, and territorial government in Nunavut based on economic policies have been enacted to prioritize mineral development in the region. In the community of Pond Inlet – the closest community to the Mary River iron ore project, currently under construction and set to being operating in 2015 – according to one resident, there is a feeling that “all (our) eggs are in the mining basket” (NF20) and taking a longer view, another resident cautioned that “Pond (Inlet) needs to think about what a booming mine and large scale employment will mean for retaining culture” (NF42). This summarizes what many local respondents feel; that the mine is getting too much economic development attention and that this threatens to leave out other needs, values, and livelihoods that link with culture such as hunting and

trapping, arts and crafts, and tourism. The following paragraphs offer insight into how the community envisions a more diverse and inclusive development strategy.

Generally respondents tended to see a dichotomy between the mine and other culturally linked livelihoods. However, many others see the potential for sustained linkages between traditional values and the mining industry. One of the most prevalent among respondents is a development strategy based on using Pond Inlet's geographic location strategically as a high Baffin hub for mine supply and cargo (for Mary River and future mines), emergency response, and research. This strategy would offer potentially sustainable industries (beyond the life of the mine) as well as potential links with Inuit culture (using land based skills in emergency response and traditional knowledge in research). Some also feel that there is potential for local artists to tap into the market that would likely exist at the mine site of southern workers looking for northern souvenirs. And many respondents speak of the idea that the local Hunter and Trappers Organization (HTO) should develop the capacity to butcher and sell country foods to the mine which will give hunters extra income and also serve a need at the mine to give Inuit employees the option of more country foods.

There is widespread recognition of the need for new jobs and livelihood opportunities where currently few exist, especially for the large contingent of young people: "it (the mine) will be good, will provide jobs for young people" (NF29); "(Pond Inlet) needs more young people making money" (NF30). With a rapidly growing young population (Statistics Canada, 2011), youth are a major concern in conversations about economic development and the future of Nunavut. Although

mining jobs are seen as a positive generally, a complicated reality was expressed by respondents that young people are struggling to find themselves as modern day Inuit and that for those that do choose to work at the mine, a strong education is necessary to get the skilled jobs that will translate into long-term prosperity. Explaining this further, many residents feel that young people are caught between the modern world and traditional livelihoods: “Young people are not very involved in traditional pursuits nor very involved in (the) modern economy and education, (they are) caught between.” (NF37); “Youth always feel torn between the two worlds, there doesn’t seem to be a balance [...] this makes Inuit youth feel unfinished or incomplete, that a middle ground has not been met, the story is unfinished” (NF10). Strongly linked is the concern by respondents that both a current lack of educational achievement by young people and a poor education system will hold them back from getting good jobs at the mine: “Currently (the) education (system) is failing kids, (it is) steadily declining” (NF20); “(Education is) not on par with the south, graduates (are) not getting (the) skill sets to deal with fast paced business environments” (NF23).

There is, however, optimism that income from the mine can give young people a stepping-stone toward traditional activities. For instance, some feel that working at the mine and making money can help balance wage employment with traditional practices by creating the ability to purchase equipment and other necessary supplies. It was also expressed that mine workers do not have to make a choice between one or the other: “Each individual can still learn traditional ways even while working at Baffinland it is up to them” (NF9).

Many residents also feel strongly that there should be options for those that don't want to work at the mine: "(You) can't expect that everyone wants to work at the mine" (NF37). Some suggest more support for artists such as carvers and performers as well as for industries such as tourism that link with culture can provide financial incentives to promote Inuit culture, and are potentially more sustainable: "Sustainability should be the goal, Pond needs to be left with something once the mine is finished, need sustainable benefits" (NF42). Relatedly, there are concerns that the mining activity and shipping is already affecting these industries as outfitters have had to avoid areas where industrial activity from the mine has increased and the general concern that industrialization in the area will harm the existing tourism niche: "People want wild and untouched places up here" (NF26). Others feel that it is important for the mining company – Baffinland - to understand Inuit culture, that Inuit have a different relationship with wage labour and efforts should be made to recognize this. For instance some mentioned the need for flexibility: "(Baffinland) could offer seasonal employment for those that still want to guide/hunt in the summer" (NF42).

Respondents are also hopeful that the wealth generated from the mine will help satisfy large-scale infrastructure needs such as chronic housing shortages, airport improvements, the construction of a harbour/breakwater, and service improvements as well as smaller scale community improvements such as a recreation centre for young people, an elders centre, and outdoor sports grounds. These needs were linked by many respondents as a prerequisite to, addressing

socio-economic issues, unlocking the economic potential in the area, and encouraging traditional activities, and community wellness.

3.4 Challenges and barriers to development strategies

The community's strategies and ideas for development with the mine offer important avenues for incorporating Inuit culture, diversifying the economy, and ensuring resource development doesn't overwhelm other important livelihoods. These development strategies offer strong ways to resist the current mine – and others in the future – from dominating livelihood and cultural opportunities, and by extension Inuit identity. Therefore, the challenges and barriers to local development strategies offer insight into how the coming resource boom will affect Inuit in Nunavut. From the interviews it became clear that the community faces many challenges and barriers to realizing their future vision, of which both large and small-scale infrastructure needs, education and skills development, and improved capacity were most commonly cited and are addressed in this section.

There is a well-reported housing crisis in Nunavut in which many houses are overcrowded and in disrepair (Nunavut Bureau of Statistics [NBS], 2011). Respondents feel strongly that the lack of adequate housing choices and resultant overcrowding are a major barrier to economic development and serves to exacerbate existing socio-economic problems. As one resident summarized; “(The) lack of housing leads to overcrowding (which) leads to other problems, (which) leads to less education (which) leads to less progress (which) leads to resentment” (NF22). Another resident expressed a difficult and frustrating situation for young

people and that don't have their own space to "get away from everything" (NF19). Many respondents also note that there is currently little infrastructure to support arts and crafts, tourism, recreation, and business and office space.

Similarly, the lack of major transportation infrastructure such as the need for a harbour/breakwater and airport runway improvements to allow jet capacity were commonly discussed as barriers to economic development and diversification. It is perceived that having jet capacity is key to making Pond Inlet a regional hub but also generally as a way to reduce the high cost of freight to the community, thereby helping reduce the high cost of living northerners face. The community has been lobbying the federal government for years to have a small harbour/breakwater built since currently the situation represents a major safety issue, and also a barrier to marine harvesting activity. Respondents affirmed this fact by noting that Inuit are a maritime people for which fishing and marine mammal harvesting not only hold cultural significance, but also are a significant part of the economy and a vital food source for Inuit: "the environment is still relied upon. Even those on social assistance must supplement (their) income with country foods" (NF4).

Nunavut's educational and human capacity struggles persist at all levels and have been well documented as major barriers to territorial development (SEDGS, 2003; NSCG, 2009; NEF, 2013). Despite strong efforts, progress to rectify the situation has been slow. There is widespread recognition in Pond Inlet that the education system is inadequate and failing Nunavummiut. In the community, it is well stated that for Inuit to benefit meaningfully from resource development they need to occupy skilled and managerial positions. It is also well understood in Pond

Inlet that education, skills training, and capacity building are needed to achieve this goal. Many feel that training initiatives related to the mine have been slow to materialize: “There is no employment training plan. (We) need more than just labourers being hired from town” (NF4), and that existing skills need to be recognized: “think about the skills required on a daily basis to run an outpost camp: small engine repair, construction skills, engineering skills, weather [...] we need to build upon these existing skills and convert them into employable skills” (NF4). This implies that Inuit have many skills from traditional activities that could be useful in the mining industry and that Baffinland and the institutions involved should recognize these advantages and build training programs that acknowledge, incorporate, and tailor to existing skillsets.

Respondents consistently bring up capacity issues as a barrier to economic development, which is rooted in Nunavut’s education struggles. Some feel that the municipal governing body and other institutions lack the capacity to effectively deal with existing challenges to development and are further burdened by the significant new challenges imposed by the mine. Many feel that individuals lack the capacity to access both jobs at the mine and available funding for other livelihood opportunities, noting the lack of support to help with this crucial link, for instance: “There used to be an employment officer to help with resumes, finding jobs, funding, getting benefits” (NF11). Although, residents feel generally that “(we) should be able to improve capacity over time” (NF20). But barriers like infrastructure were felt to lie out of the community’s hands: “Infrastructure (is) much more difficult to control (and) improve” (NF20), implying that outside parties such as the federal and

territorial governments must be relied upon, which make them more uncertain to be realized.

Related to capacity issues, respondents discussed challenges related to funding, which is an important resource to facilitate development strategies, especially alternatives to mining. Many respondents feel that there are ample funding options available that could facilitate economic alternatives such as spin-off businesses from the mine, and other funds that could facilitate traditional livelihoods: “The feds have enough financial resources to help communities like Pond take advantage (of resource development) [...] it is up to individuals to apply and get the funds” (NF40). From the interviews it is clear that capacity barriers to accessing these funds such as the difficulty and length of time the process takes are significant: “(There are) lots of funding opportunities but (the) process of achieving it is difficult, difficult logistics involved” (NF9); “There is funding out there but it is difficult to access” (NF2); and “(The) funding process takes a lot of time but there is ample funding available” (NF32). In many cases the lack of capacity and support has resulted in funds not being accessed. This appears to show a critical disconnect between the funders and potential applicants through capacity and accessibility challenges, resulting in an ineffective system that frustrates both sides. More recently new funding opportunities from the Mary River IIBA have become available in Pond Inlet but it has been felt that there is little communication or education about how to apply, deadlines for application, and the same human capacity and accessibility barriers exist.

3.5 Discussion

Alfred and Corntassel (2005) argue that in the post-colonial world, modern imperial forces seek to dominate and erase indigenous identity in order to meet their ends. In this case, the proliferation of resource development in the area represents a threat to Inuit identity and cultural continuity. If the community of Pond Inlet's strategies for development that encompass elements of sustainable development and cultural continuity offer resistance to potential domination (i.e., loss of culture and identity) from rapid resource development, then the respondents in this case have outlined complex challenges realizing their vision for the future. Infrastructure, human capacity, and demographic challenges permeate many of the strategies that could act as tools against colonial resistance. If these challenges are not overcome, the new resource era in Nunavut risks becoming a new colonial era.

Although the underlying goal of resource development in Nunavut is for the territory to become self-sufficient (NTI, 1997; Government of Nunavut, 2007; Government of Canada, 2009), the enormous cost reality – due mainly to its remoteness - means that currently major infrastructure, training, funding, and other development needs will require assistance from federal and territorial institutions in addition to public-private partnerships to be met. To date industry along with federal and territorial governments have trumpeted the promise of northern resource development (NTI, 1997; Government of Nunavut, 2007; Government of Canada, 2009, BIMC, 2012a). However, there has been little movement to ensure local readiness and preparation for long-term benefit by addressing long-standing infrastructure and human capacity needs despite the imminence of mining projects

like Mary River. With the notable exception of the signing of the Mary River Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement (IIBA), the development strategy appears to be similar to past northern resource development, which failed to prepare for boom and bust cycles, economic leakage, and largely did not benefit northerners in the long-term (Coates, 1985; Berger, 1988; Coates and Powell, 1989; Duhaime et al., 2003; Buell, 2006; Angel and Parkins, 2009; Bowes-Lyon et al., 2010; Pauktuutit, 2014). To avoid repeating this negative history and ensure that locally desired pathways to prosperity are being forged, governments and industry need to ensure a certain amount of investment in crucial infrastructure, accessible funding, and targeted training is in place prior to beginning development to form the building blocks for communities like Pond Inlet require to resist post-colonial domination.

Given the high cost for infrastructure in Nunavut, it is unlikely that all the associated needs of the community will be met, however, a few seem to be of the 'win-win' variety – key not only to long-term strategies for prosperity but for general well-being and cultural continuity – and should therefore be prioritized. For instance, in addition to addressing economic development barriers in the following examples, addressing chronic housing needs would begin to tackle the social problems the issue has been found to exacerbate; creating jet capacity at the airport would lower the cost of freight, cost of living in town and also help transform Pond Inlet into a regional hub; and a harbour/breakwater would improve safety and access to traditional pursuits. These are the foundational elements needed for the community to thrive – and the very basic infrastructure that should be in place irrespective of an imminent mine.

The human capacity struggles in Pond Inlet highlight what may be the territory's biggest challenge for development. The situation is complex but simply put, low human capacity rooted in a poor educational system and low educational attainment by residents negatively impacts the types of jobs locals can expect to get at the mine and in government, the ability to access funding crucial for mining alternatives, and the effectiveness of governments and institutions in the territory (Hicks and White, 2000). Human capacity will have to be improved for local Inuit to see meaningful benefit from the mine and to follow through on their diverse development goals. The time and effort needed to address the capacity challenges alone casts doubt on the coming resource era in Nunavut as a new path to prosperity, leading more likely a path of low skill jobs, short-term employment, and cultural vulnerability.

Capacity issues are of particular importance to the large cohort of young people in Pond Inlet who are struggling to find their place and identity between the modern world and traditional Inuit heritage (Hansen, 2003). With less young people interested in and practicing traditional activities, there is concern that if livelihood options are dominated by the mine this may tilt the balance further away from traditional livelihoods, putting cultural continuity at risk. Yet, without improved education and capacity, if young people do overwhelmingly choose the resource sector as a livelihood, it is likely that low skilled and shorter-term jobs await. This appears to be a risky strategy that prioritizes wage labour (likely low-skilled) over cultural continuity. Although there is optimism that the salaries for those working at the mine could enable a balance between work and traditional

activities, buying equipment is only one half of the equation; land skills and knowledge are also needed. This potential scenario raises concerns that a new colonial era could be established. In this case tilting an already shaky balance, with resource employment opportunities for a large cohort of young people overshadowing culturally linked livelihood opportunities.

3.6 Conclusion

The history of colonialism in the Canadian North is inextricably linked with resource development, in which more often than not Aboriginal communities did not meaningfully benefit (Berger, 1988; Duhaime et al., 2003; Buell, 2006; Angel and Parkins, 2009; Bowes-Lyon et al., 2010; Pauktuutit, 2014). History has also shown that in the boom times of resource development there has been a tendency to be optimistic and assume that prosperity is assured (Coates, 1985). While land claims agreements and other tools available to Aboriginal communities such as IIBAs offer communities optimism for the latest round of resource development, there also is a basis to support the post-colonial perspective, which argues that colonial history will repeat itself, only the means of domination have changed to become more subtle and indirect (Alfred and Corntassel, 2005).

As this research has shown, rather than simply collecting royalties and getting low level jobs, local communities like Pond Inlet have much more intricate ideas and plans for how to turn a potential once in a lifetime economic opportunity into sustainable development and a vehicle to ensure cultural continuity, both integral to long-term success in the community's eyes. However, it was found that

complex and formidable barriers such as infrastructure investment, improved education, skills and capacity development, and demographic transition exist to seeing this vision for prosperity through and crucially, providing the tools for resisting contemporary colonialism.

Not only do these findings put the community's goals in doubt, they give credence to argument that the Nunavut resource era may in fact be the beginning of a modern colonial era. This is not to say that a new colonial era is imminent, and that the challenges outlined in this study cannot be improved upon overtime. However, what has been observed in this case study is that a community in the early stages of the resource boom in Nunavut still face formidable barriers to their self-sufficiency and cultural continuity goals. The reasons are multi-scalar and complex, but if the scenario in this case study is repeated overtime, then there is a real risk of the coming resource development era in Nunavut establishing a contemporary colonial era through domination of Aboriginal peoples and erasure of identity.

References

- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (1989). *The Empire Writes Back. Theory and Practise in Post-Colonial Literatures*. Routledge, New York, NY.
- Angell, A. C., & Parkins, J. R. (2010). Resource Development and Aboriginal Culture in the Canadian North. *Polar Record*, 47(1), 67-79.
- Alfred, T. & Corntassel, J. (2005). Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism. *Government and Opposition*, 40(4), 597-614.
- Berger, T. (1988). *Northern Frontier Northern Homeland*. Vancouver, BC: Douglas & MacIntyre Ltd.
- Bernauer, W. (2011). Mining and the Social Economy in Baker Lake, Nunavut. *Linking Learning Leveraging: Social Enterprises, Knowledgeable Economies, and Sustainable Communities*. Research Report Series, No. 11-03.
- BIMC (Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation). (2012, February). *Mary River Project: Final Environmental Impact Statement, Popular Summary*. Retrieved from http://www.baffinland.com.vs2.korax.net/wp-content/themes/baffinland/images/POP_Eng_sm.pdf
- Bowes-Lyon, L-M., Richards, P., & McGee, T. (2010). Socio-Economic Impacts of the Nanisivik and Polaris Mines, Nunavut Canada. In J.P Richards (Ed.), *Mining, Society, and a Sustainable World*. Springer-Verlag: Berlin Heidelberg.
- Buell, M. (2006). *Resource Extraction Development and Well-Being in the North: A Scan of the Unique Challenges of Development in Inuit Communities*. T. O'Hearn & D. Rideout (Eds.). Ottawa, ON: National Aboriginal Health Organization.
- Couch, W. (2002). Two-Step Process: Strategic Resolution of Policy, Environmental and Socio-Economic Impacts in Canadian Arctic Diamond Mining: BHP's NWT Diamond Project. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 20(4), 265-278.
- Dreyer, D., & Myers, H. (2004). *Impact and Benefits Agreements: Do the Ross River Dena benefit from Mineral Projects?* Final report submitted to Northern Land Use Institute, University of Northern British Columbia.
- Coates, K. (1985). *Canada's Colonies: A history of the Yukon and Northwest Territories*. Toronto, Canada: James Lorimer & Company
- Coates, K. & Powell, J. (1989). *The Modern North: People, politics, and the rejection of colonialism*. Toronto, Canada: James Lorimer & Company

- Duhaime, G. (2008). Theoretical Foundations for the Study of Arctic Development Models. *The Political Economy of Northern Regional Development – Yearbook 2008*, 42-54.
- Duhaime, G., Bernard, N., Fréchette, P., Maillé, M-A., Morin, A., & Caron, A. (2003). *The Mining Industry and the Social Stakes of Development in the Arctic*. Canada Research Chair in Aboriginal Comparative Condition.
- Fischer-Tiné, H. (2010). Postcolonial Studies, in: *European History Online (EGO)*, published by the Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz.
- Gibson, V. (2008). *Negotiated Spaces: Work, Home and Relationships in the Dene Diamond Economy*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of British Columbia (Vancouver). Retrieved from: https://circle.ubc.ca/bitstream/id/3012/ubc_2008_spring_gibson_virginia.pdf
- Government of Canada. (2009). *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future*. Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada, Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians. Ottawa.
- Government of Nunavut. (2007). *Parnautit – A Foundation for the Future: Mineral and Mining Strategy*. Department of Economic Development and Transportation. Retrieved from: http://www.edt.gov.nu.ca/docs/parnautit_eng.pdf
- Hansen, M. (2003). *Inuit Youth and Ethnic Identity Change: The Nunavut Sivuniksavut Experience*. Retrieved from Proquest Dissertations and Theses Database.
- Hicks, J., & White, G. (2000). *Nunavut: Inuit Self-Determination Through a Land Claim and Public Government?* In Dahl, Hicks and Jull Eds., *Nunavut: Inuit Regain Control of Their Lands and Their Lives* (Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2000).
- IPCC (International Panel on Climate Change). (2014). Summary for Policymakers, In: *Climate Change 2014, Mitigation of Climate Change. Contribution of Working Group III to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*. Edenhofer, O., R. Pichs-Madruga, Y. Sokona, E. Farahani, S. Kadner, K. Seyboth, A. Adler, I. Baum, S. Brunner, P. Eickemeier, B. Kriemann, J. Savolainen, S. Schlömer, C. von Stechow, T. Zwickel & J.C. Minx (eds.). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA.
- Lemmen, D. S., Warren, F. J., Lacroix, J., & Bush, E. (Eds.). (2008). *From Impacts to Adaptation: Canada in a Changing Climate*. Government of Canada, Ottawa, ON, 448

- NBS (Nunavut Bureau of Statistics). (2011). *Nunavut Housing Needs Survey – Fact Sheet*. Accessed from:
<http://www.stats.gov.nu.ca/Publications/Housing/Fact%20Sheets/NHNS%20Fact%20Sheets%20-%20Nunavut%20and%20Regions.pdf>
- NEF (Nunavut Economic Forum). (2013). *2013 Nunavut Economic Outlook: Nunavut's Next Challenge: Turning Growth into Prosperity*. Retrieved from:
[http://www.neds2.ca/documents/2013_Nunavut_Economic_\(FINAL\)_Jan_28_2014.pdf](http://www.neds2.ca/documents/2013_Nunavut_Economic_(FINAL)_Jan_28_2014.pdf)
- NSCG (North Sky Consulting Group). (2009). *Qanukkanniq? The GN Report Card*. Retrieved from: <http://www.tunngavik.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/gn-report-card-analysis-and-recomm-10-09.pdf>
- NTI (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated). (1997). *Mining Policy*. Retrieved from <http://www.tunngavik.com/documents/publications/1997-12-00-Mining-Policy.pdf>
- NTI (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated). (2004). *TUKISITTIARNIQSAUJUMAVIIT? A Plain Language Guide to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement*. Ottawa, ON: St. Joseph Print Group.
- Pauktuutit (Inuit Women of Canada). (2014, January). *The Impacts of Resource Extraction on Inuit Women and Families in Qamani'tuaq, Nunavut Territory*. Prepared by: Czyzewski, K., Tester, F., Aaruaq, N., and Blangy, S. Retrieved from: <http://pauktuutit.ca/social-and-economic-development/resource-extraction/the-impact-of-resource-extraction-on-inuit-women-and-families-in-qamanituaq-nunavut-territory/>
- Peterson, K. (2012). *Community Experiences of Mining in Baker Lake, Nunavut*. Unpublished masters dissertation, University of Guelph, Guelph, Canada. Retrieved from <http://atrium.lib.uoguelph.ca:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10214/3548/KCRPetersonThesisFial.pdf?sequence=11/>
- Prowse, T. D., Furgal, C., Chouinard, R., Melling, H., Milburn, D., & Smith, S. L. (2009). Implications of Climate Change for Economic Development in Northern Canada: Energy, Resource, and Transportation Sectors. *Ambio*, 38(5), 272-280.
- RCAP (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples). (1996). *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Vol.1, Looking Forward Looking Back*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

Rh eaume, G., & Caron-Vuotari, M. (2013, January). *The Future of Mining in Canada's North*. Retrieved from: http://www.miningnorth.com/_rsc/site-content/library/Final-13-201_FutureofMining_CFN.pdf

SEDGS (Sivummut Economic Development Strategy Group). (2003). Nunavut Economic Development Strategy: Building a foundation for the future. Retrieved from: <http://www.nunavuteconomicforum.ca/public/files/strategy/NUNAVUTE.PDF>

CHAPTER 4

Conclusion

4.1 Conclusion

The issue of climate change continues to influence the subject of resource development in the north. As humankind continues to struggle to reign in global greenhouse gas emissions, warming trends in northern regions are likely to continue for some time (IPCC, 2014). This will translate to increased access and feasibility of resource development, which will likely continue to expand (Rhéaume and Caron-Vuotari, 2013). It follows that social and economic impacts on communities will increase along with development. This study is based on this anticipation and on the call in the scholarly literature for more research that attends to the human impacts of resource development, including new frameworks, and a focus on how communities can take advantage of this generational opportunity (Ford 2012; RESDA 2012; 2013; Canadian Polar Commission, 2014). To begin to address these gaps, this research was guided by the following objectives:

1. Introduce the nation building lens to the Canadian Arctic context as a viable framework for analyzing community economic development;
2. Employ the nation building framework as a lens to examine the challenges and barriers to Pond Inlet creating self-determined, sustainable, community development from nearby mineral extraction;
3. Comment on the approaching resource development era in Nunavut in the context of contemporary colonialism, and the implications for cultural continuity, and sustainable development, using a post-colonial lens to:

4. Advance the theoretical understandings of resource development in Nunavut in order to inform decision-makers and policy-makers at multiple scales.

4.2 Summary of findings

4.2.1 Objective 1: Introduce nation building framework to the Canadian Arctic context.

As the impacts of climate change and resource development have begun to significantly impact Arctic social and economic systems, the scholarly literature has identified the need for new frameworks that effectively examine its implications. Chapter 2 of this research demonstrated the feasibility of utilizing the nation building framework as a new lens to understand economic development in the Canadian Arctic. The framework was tested during preliminary analysis for appropriateness and feasibility in the Canadian Arctic context, followed by in depth examination of the data through the framework factors to identify ideas, concepts, theories, and conclusions. While it was recommended that some refinement to the framework may be needed to account for unique regional characteristics for future Arctic case studies, it is an effective way to begin to understand community economic development in Nunavut. It allows for a replicable assessment of complex processes and relationships using a commonsensical path to successful economic development. The themes can then be further studied on their own (Chapter 2) or in combination (Chapter 3) for more insight and analysis. In particular two major strengths of the framework as confirmed by respondents are the focus on self-

determination (i.e. practical decision-making power) at the community level, and the importance of matching local culture for development to successfully take hold.

4.2.2 Objective 2: Identify challenges and barriers to self-determined, sustainable, community development.

Using the nation building framework as a theoretical lens to explore the case study of Pond Inlet, this research examined how Pond Inlet residents can create lasting, self-determined community development from resource-driven economic potential. In the context of the economic potential from the Mary River mine, Chapter 2 of this thesis found that there is a lack of self-determination (i.e., practical decision making ability) at the community level that diminishes community members' participation in development decision-making processes and the ability to implement development goals. The institutions studied were found to be ineffective at solving major development challenges and a poor match with local culture that prefers an inclusive consensus approach. As a result, apathy toward the development decision-making process has complicated the ability to plan and implement community strategies for development. The visionary leadership needed to create change and establish the conditions needed for local development ideas rooted in local culture to take hold are also stifled in this situation.

4.2.3 Objective 3: Comment on the approaching resource development era in Nunavut in the context of contemporary colonialism, and the implications for cultural continuity, and sustainable development, using a post-colonial lens.

Although the imperial colonial era has been eradicated, contemporary colonialism has become subtler but nonetheless threaten Indigenous identity. For a variety of reasons, the coming resource development era in Nunavut offers the community of Pond Inlet a potential new path to locally defined prosperity, self-sufficiency, and cultural continuity. The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) provides the foundation for this with certainty over development and tools that will ensure some benefits flow to those impacted by resource development. It was found from the interviews (Chapter 3) that, rather than simply collecting royalties and getting low-level jobs, the community of Pond Inlet has much more ambitious ideas and strategies to ensure that this generational opportunity is capitalized upon to ensure self-sufficiency and cultural continuity. However, complex and formidable barriers to these strategies exist such as education, skills, and capacity deficits, along with large and small-scale infrastructure needed to grow and diversify with resource development. It was concluded that if challenges to diversify the economy are not overcome - which would ensure that the resource sector does not overwhelm other livelihood options especially given a booming young population - there is a risk of establishing a new post-colonial era in Nunavut justified by contemporary economic reasons but resulting in domination and destruction of Indigenous identity through large-scale resource development are a real risk.

4.2.4 Objective 4: Inform policy and advance theoretical understandings of resource development in Nunavut.

Chapters 2 and 3 were designed to address key knowledge gaps to provide timely information to both future researchers and current policy makers alike in the context of resource development in Nunavut. The nation building framework (Chapter 2) offers a replicable tool that can begin to build a baseline for understanding successful community based economic development. The findings (Chapters 2 and 3) could inform policy-makers and decision-makers at multiple scales by:

- 1) Providing context and insight into the challenges and barriers to sustainable community development at a crucial time in the territory's development.
- 2) Articulating community visions and expectations for growth and prosperity from the Mary River mine.
- 3) Building on community resource development research from Baker Lake to provide a different regional (i.e., Qikiqtaaluk) perspective and thus a more complete understanding.

4.3 Theoretical contributions

This research makes theoretical contributions to the literature on northern economic development through the application of a new framework in the Canadian Arctic context and through its timely focus on an important and understudied population currently experiencing resource development in their homeland. The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development's (HPAIED) nation building framework is founded upon hundreds of economic development case studies conducted over several decades in First Nations communities in the U.S.A

and to a lesser extent Canada and Australia. Applying this framework in the Canadian Arctic allowed this research to thematically analyze the complex tangle of actors, ideas, and opinions involved in the case study in more depth while being grounded in the larger goals of the study. The essence of the framework (i.e., the importance of self-determination, effective institutions, and cultural match in sustainable economic development) is supported by the overarching goals of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA), federal and territorial economic policies, and in the findings of this research, in which respondents reinforced the importance of these factors in their visions for future prosperity. Nation building offers a replicable framework that will be applied to future Arctic case studies by the Environment, Society, and Policy research Group (ESPG) through a five-year SSHRC-funded grant to continue to collect a baseline of community development data as resource development begins to expand in the region.

4.4 Substantive contributions

Important substantive contributions were made by this research. According to the Conference Board of Canada's (2014) report on the state of knowledge of Canadian polar regions, in order to help northerners prepare for large-scale resource development, further knowledge is needed about community needs that will help encourage culturally appropriate, community-based data to inform legislation, policies, and programs. By using a new lens to understand how northern communities can leverage the economic potential from resource development toward local visions for sustainability and cultural continuity, this research will help guide multi-

scale policy directions to ensure that northerners see meaningful long-term benefit from development on traditional lands. Based on the findings, there are a number of challenges and barriers that need to be addressed by policy makers. Firstly, community members (who possess unique and culturally-relevant ideas for sustainable development) are being alienated from development plans and decisions. Secondly, education, skills development, and infrastructure are currently significant challenges to fulfilling long-term prosperity both from the mine and from alternative livelihoods. Thirdly, cultural and generational shifts are currently happening in the north, adding a layer of complexity to decision-making that is currently not well understood. Finally, this study is the first of several planned case studies in the region that will employ similar methods in order to strengthen findings and recommendations.

4.5 Limitations

While the nation building framework was a useful tool for analyzing the Pond Inlet case there are inherent limitations in any framework that tries to simplify the complexities of Aboriginal economic development across borders and cultures. Therefore, some limitations are outlined and suggestions for modifying the framework for future application in the Canadian Arctic are offered. Firstly, in Nunavut and other areas of the Arctic where comprehensive land claims have been signed, the resulting unique political, institutional, and bureaucratic arrangements can be very complex and convoluted. This makes it difficult to assess their effectiveness and match with local culture, as the power jurisdictions, mandates,

and responsibilities of various actors often are unclear. It is recommended that a new framework within the 'effective initiations' concept of nation building be created to map out institutional actors within areas with settled land claims to aid in better assessing overall institutional effectiveness, and more generally to account for unique political circumstances and situations. This was made clear in this case by the role of regional Inuit organizations (DIOs) created under the NLCA. Understanding DIOs through the nation building conception of cultural match was particularly difficult given their mandate for promoting Inuit right and values and their increasingly important role in resource development, as well as the complicating factor that many positions within DIOs (including many managerial positions) are held by non-Inuit.

Finally, leadership is the last concept in the nation building framework and is needed to create the fundamental change at the community level to implement successful development. This point is well taken; however, the focus on community leadership may overlook the need for visionary leadership at all levels and in all stages of nation building, especially in this case given the massive social and economic challenges in Nunavut. For instance it may take visionary leadership for federal and territorial governments to spearhead the transfer of self-determination necessary for communities to being building or rebuilding their communities while shifting to a more supportive role. Therefore, some thought needs to be given to the role of leadership in the nation building framework and what priority it should be given moving forward in the Canadian Arctic context.

For the sake of clarity it is important to express my positionality and subjectivity in this research to the extent that they may have been limitations.. My position as a researcher and an outsider of a small tightly knit Inuit community may have limited the comfort and rapport with respondents, thereby potentially limiting the extent to which respondents were willing to fully express opinions and concerns. I attempted to reconcile this by recording interviews by hand, hosting interviews in comfortable settings, serving tea, and building rapport by having conversations before and after the interview about the community and personal activities, and in particular expressing my genuine desire to learn about Inuit culture.

Another limitation as an outsider was trying to understand the complexities of local politics and culture, and their related influences on relationships, power, and decision-making in the context of economic development. Being an outsider likely hampered to some degree my ability to understand the larger economic development picture. This was addressed by spending a solid amount of time in the community and by trying to immerse myself in the community to the best of my ability. This was done by attending public events, and council meetings, spending time around community meeting places like the co-op and community centre, and engaging with as many community members and social groups as possible while being cognizant to not be intrusive. A journal was also kept in order to allow reflection and inform future actions, tasks, and to modify my approach when necessary.

My position as a southern researcher also may have affected respondents' trust levels, thereby limiting the willingness of respondents to be fully expressive. It was made very clear by several community members that southern researchers had created mistrust in the community in the past by gathering information from Inuit for research without returning to the community to show what the information was used for or how it would benefit Inuit. The Inuit consider their knowledge as deeply important, therefore, this practice was seen as disrespectful and has caused frustration and mistrust toward southern researchers. This limitation was addressed by being aware of this prior to conducting field research, and consciously conducting myself in a respectful manner while in the community. At the time, I gave the community my word that I would show my respect for the knowledge gathered by returning to present my findings and create a community report of the findings for community members and decision-makers. This was completed in August/September 2014. Along with others before me, it is further hoped that this continues to be a minimum standard for future Arctic researchers from southern regions.

Finally as a southern researcher, I felt the weight of the colonial history in Canada and its implications still being felt by Inuit today. While respondents did not explicitly bring this up, I tried to keep an open mind and be vigilant against making assumptions and judgments when in the community. I consciously tried to learn about Inuit culture and traditions and to be cognizant that I was in Inuit territory with unique customs and traditions. In this way I tried to win trust by letting my actions speak for themselves. Efforts were also made to ensure this study was as

inclusive as possible, honorariums were paid for interviews, and recognizing that English is a second language in Nunavut, interpreters were provided for those that required. Furthermore, for cultural appropriateness, interviews were recorded by hand and transcribed soon after. This could be viewed as a limitation as the full breadth of the interviews may not have been captured in the transcription. However, I feel that to the extent that this was limitation it was minimized by developing a strong short-hand recording method and the quick transcription turnaround process allowed for reflection and pre-analysis. Furthermore, by foregoing audio recording equipment, it created a more relaxed atmosphere and allowed for stronger rapport and more candid responses.

In qualitative research it is important for the researcher to acknowledge personal subjectivity and potential bias (Winchester and Rofe, 2010). With a background in environmental studies and sustainability science, I acknowledge that mining is a particularly environmentally destructive industry and is a poor fit with the principles of sustainability. However within this research any overly simplistic assumptions were tempered with the complex realities of northern Aboriginal history and present day strategies for how to regain self-sufficiency following the difficult and lengthy settlement of land claims. Indeed, the challenge for this researcher was not to critique the resource industry or how Nunavummiut choose to develop their lands but rather to tackle the underlying issues and challenges to Inuit achieving self-sufficiency and cultural continuity on their terms, using resource development as a driver.

4.6 Directions for Future Research

While this research begins to address important knowledge gaps in our understanding of communities and resource development it is also evident that further research is needed. From the extensive review of scholarly literature on northern Aboriginal economic development in the context of natural resource extraction, there is a dearth of research both representative of the number of communities affected by resource development and for various stages (i.e., prior, during, follow-up) of engagement with resource development. Case studies and community profiles are important not only to establish baselines for understanding but also for the communities themselves to learn from one another. The Canadian Polar Commission (2014) reinforced this conviction in its most recent report on the state of knowledge in the Canadian north. The report called broadly for more engagement with local stakeholders and local knowledge for better understandings of how communities can prepare for large-scale resource development and increase local and regional sustainability (Canadian Polar Commission, 2014). This research builds on Bernauer (2011) and Peterson's (2012) research in Baker Lake, in the Kivalliq region of Nunavut on community experience with the Meadowbank gold mine. The collective research can then begin to form a reference for Nunavut and other circumpolar communities dealing with resource development.

This research has exposed that relatively quickly multiple communities can be subjected to the sphere of development. The Mary River Project alone will affect five north Baffin communities (Arctic Bay, Clyde River, Hall Beach, Igloolik, Pond Inlet) but as of this writing Pond Inlet is the only known community in which

community based research is being undertaken in the region on this topic. The scope of this project allowed for only one community to be investigated but it is recommended that case studies/community profiles be conducted in each of the five high Baffin communities affected by the Mary River Project using a replicable framework such as the one employed in this study. This would allow for comparative analysis and a more complete understanding of the unique barriers that communities within the region face in trying to turn resource development into sustainable development.

Also beyond the scope of this project but nonetheless beginning to gather research attention is the study of gender issues related to resource development in the north. Northern resource development remains a male dominated field and the effects on women and family are often overlooked in research but are uniquely affected by these industries in a number of ways. A recent study by Pauktuutit (Inuit Women of Canada) (2014) into the effects of the Meadowbank gold mine on Inuit women and families in Baker Lake found, among other things, family and relationship disruption, increased alcohol consumption leading to domestic incidents and increased violence, and inadequate shelter and mental health services (Pauktuutit, 2014). In addition, women's ability to participate in mine employment was hindered by a lack of childcare facilities, and family issues were more likely to lead to absenteeism among women working at the mine (Pauktuutit, 2014). Finally, women reported harassment and disrespectful treatment while working at the mine (Pauktuutit, 2014). Respondents in this study echoed some of the Pauktuutit (2014) findings when they discussed some of the ways that the Mary River Project will

adversely affect women in Pond Inlet. For instance it was thought that the fly-in-fly-out two week shifts at the mine would stress and disrupt families and put greater childcare burdens on women given that often men work at the mine site. As more women begin to work in the mining sector (Pauktuutit, 2014), gender issues are in need of more research attention to help alleviate the impacts that women disproportionately face.

The findings from this study along with the Pauktuutit (2014) report touch on an issue that requires more study moving forward, which is the role of IIBA funds and how they are accessed and used by communities. Mainly due to their confidentiality, IIBAs were a major source of suspicion and mistrust in this research as well as in Baker Lake (see Peterson, 2012), but were also a source of hope as a means to help solve long-standing social and economic issues in the community. The Pauktuutit (2014) report found that Meadowbank IIBA royalties and other funds from the mine earmarked for Baker Lake community wellness and community services were inaccessible and/or going unused despite clear needs caused by social issues themselves associated with mining effects. This finding highlights a problem likely to arise again as more resource development is undertaken in Nunavut, IIBA's are increasingly used as a means to secure community participation prior to development, but it remains unclear how effective these agreements are at addressing the very issues they are intended to address. A wealth of research has been conducted on IIBAs (see O'Faircheallaigh, 2005; 2007; 2008; 2012 and others) but few have looked at the unique case of Nunavut and their role in community economic development.

Looking forward, future researchers should keep in mind the potential evolution of resource development in the north, how it could potentially affect communities, and be mindful of the timelines involved. Oil and gas exploration has begun in the region, which many respondents in this study saw as the next wave of resource development. As well, current mining in Nunavut is happening on Inuit owned lands (agreed to under the NLCA) but as mining expands there is the possibility of new mining projects operating on crown lands (i.e., unlike the Inuit owned land under the NLCA) in Nunavut. It is unclear how Inuit would be consulted on or involved in such projects, as without a devolution agreement with the Government of Nunavut, the federal government would in effect be in control.

The demographic change (i.e., booming young population) currently happening in Nunavut was often raised in interviews. Young people were often the focus when speaking of the future, with much concern over their livelihood options and choices. More study is needed about this demographic that is crucial to Nunavut's future both in terms of cultural continuity and in the modern resource economy. In particular, more needs to be known about how this demographic is or is not taking up traditional pursuits and how it engages with the mining sector.

If the goal of human geography is to constantly strive for a more complete understanding of complex social systems and their interactions with space and place, then it is incumbent upon researchers to ensure that areas of the field are not ignored or under-represented. The Canadian Arctic is a difficult place to conduct research for many reasons: remoteness, cost, and cultural differences to name but a few. Nunavut in particular has a reputation as a difficult place to conduct research

for these reasons and others; however, if any of these are viable reasons that discourage research in this area then human geographers must take a long sober look at how and what they are contributing to society and especially Indigenous society. If persistent gaps exist, then they demand the same critical attention that any other part of the discipline deserves.

References

- Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC). (2012). *Mineral Exploration and Geoscience Overview*. Retrieved from: http://www.miningnorth.com/_rsc/site-content/library/publications/2012_NU_EXPLORATION_OVERVIEW.pdf
- Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA). (2004). *Impacts of a Warming Arctic. Summary Report of the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment*. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press.
- Angell, A. C., & Parkins, J. R. (2010). Resource Development and Aboriginal Culture in the Canadian North. *Polar Record*, 47(1), 67-79.
- Baxter, J. (2010). Case Studies in Qualitative Research. In Gomez, B & Jones, J. P. III (Eds.), *Research Methods in Geography* (195-205). West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Begay Jr., M., Cornell, S., Jorgensen, M., & Pryor, N. (2007). Rebuilding Native Nations – What Do Leaders Do? In Jorgensen, M. (Ed.), *Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development* (3-33). Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- Berger, T. (1988). *Northern Frontier Northern Homeland*. Vancouver, BC: Douglas & MacIntyre Ltd.
- Berkes, F. & Jolly, D. (2001). Adapting to Climate Change: Social-Ecological Resilience in a Canadian Western Arctic Community. *Conservation Ecology*, 5(2): 18, 1-15.
- Bernauer, W. (2011). Mining and the Social Economy in Baker Lake, Nunavut. *Linking Learning Leveraging: Social Enterprises, Knowledgeable Economies, and Sustainable Communities*. Research Report Series, No. 11-03.
- Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation (BIMC). (2012a, February). *Mary River Project: Final Environmental Impact Statement, Popular Summary*. Retrieved from <http://www.baffinland.com>.vs2.korax.net/wp-content/themes/baffinland/images/POP_Eng_sm.pdf
- Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation (BIMC). (2012b). *Sustainable Development*. Retrieved from: <http://www.baffinland.com/sustainable-development/investing-in-communities-and-people/philosophy/?lang=en>
- Birkman, J. (2011). First and Second Order Adaptation to Natural Hazards and Extreme Events in the Context of Climate Change. *Natural Hazards*, 58, 811-840.

- Bowes-Lyon, L-M., Richards, P., & McGee, T. (2010) Socio-Economic Impacts of the Nanisivik and Polaris Mines, Nunavut Canada. In J.P Richards (Ed.), *Mining, Society, and a Sustainable World*. Springer-Verlag: Berlin Heidelberg.
- Buell, M. (2006). *Resource Extraction Development and Well-Being in the North: A scan of the unique challenges of development in Inuit communities*. T. O'Hearn & D. Rideout (Eds.). Ottawa, ON: National Aboriginal Health Organization.
- Canadian Polar Commission. (2014). *The State of Northern Knowledge in Canada*. Retrieved from: http://www.polarcom.gc.ca/sites/default/files/northern_knowledge_report_english.pdf
- Coates, K. (1985). *Canada's Colonies: A history of the Yukon and Northwest Territories*. Toronto, Canada: James Lorimer & Company
- Coates, K. & Powell, J. (1989). *The Modern North: People, politics, and the rejection of colonialism*. Toronto, Canada: James Lorimer & Company
- Cornell, S., Jorgensen, M., Kalt, J. P., & Spilde Contreras, K. S. (2007). Seizing the Future: Why Some Native Nations Do and Others Don't. In Jorgensen, M (Ed.), *Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development* (296-320). Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- Cornell, S., & Kalt, J. (1992). Reloading the Dice: Improving the Chances of Economic Development on American Indian Reservations. In Cornell S, and Kalt, J (Eds.), *What Can Tribes Do? Strategies and Institutions in American Indian Economic Development* (1-59). Los Angeles, CA: American Indian Studies Center, University of California.
- Cornell, S., & Kalt, J. (1998). Sovereignty and Nation-Building: The Development Challenge in Indian Country Today. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 22(3): 187-214.
- Cornell, S., & Kalt, J. (2007). Two Approaches to Economic Development on American Indian Reservations: One Works, the Other Doesn't. In Jorgensen, M (Ed.), *Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development* (3-33). Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- Couch, W. (2002). Two-Step Process: Strategic Resolution of Policy, Environmental and Socio-Economic Impacts in Canadian Arctic Diamond Mining: BHP's NWT Diamond Project. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 20(4), 265-278.
- Dowling, C. (2005). The Applied Theory of First Nations Economic Development: A Critique. *The Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*, 4(2), 120-128.

- Dreyer, D., & Myers, H. (2004). *Impact and Benefits Agreements: Do the Ross River Dena Benefit from Mineral Projects?* Final report submitted to Northern Land Use Institute, University of Northern British Columbia.
- Duhaime, G. (2008). Theoretical Foundations for the Study of Arctic Development Models. *The Political Economy of Northern Regional Development – Yearbook 2008*, 42-54.
- Duhaime, G., Bernard, N., Fréchette, P., Maillé, M-A., Morin, A., & Caron, A. (2003). *The Mining Industry and the Social Stakes of Development in the Arctic*. Canada Research Chair in Aboriginal Comparative Condition.
- Fischer-Tiné, H. (2010). Postcolonial Studies, in: *European History Online (EGO)*, published by the Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz.
- Ford, J. D., Bolton, K. C., Shirley, J., Pearce, T., Tremblay, M., & Westlake, M. (2012). Research on the Human Dimensions of Climate Change in Nunavut, Nunavik, and Nunatsiavut: A Literature Review and Gap Analysis. *Arctic*, 65(3), 289-304.
- Ford, J., Pearce, T., Smit, B., Wandel, J., Allurut, M., Shappa, K., Ittusujurat, H., & Qrunnut, K. (2007). Reducing Vulnerability to Climate Change in the Arctic: The Case of Nunavut Canada. *Arctic*, 60(2), 150-166.
- Ford, J. D., & Smit, B. (2004). A Framework for Assessing the Vulnerability of Communities in the Canadian Arctic to Risks Associated with Climate Change. *Arctic*, 57(4), 389-400.
- Gautier, D. L., Bird, K. J., Charpentier, R. R., Grantz, A., Houseknecht, D. W., Klett, T. R., ... Wandrey, C. J. (2009). Assessment of Undiscovered Oil and Gas in the Arctic. *Science*, 324(5931), 1175-1179.
- Government of Canada. (2009). *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future*. Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada, Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians. Ottawa.
- Government of Nunavut. (2007). *Parnautit – A Foundation for the Future: Mineral and Mining Strategy*. Department of Economic Development and Transportation. Retrieved from: http://www.edt.gov.nu.ca/docs/parnautit_eng.pdf
- Hansen, M. (2003). *Inuit Youth and Ethnic Identity Change: The Nunavut Sivuniksavut Experience*. Retrieved from Proquest Dissertations and Theses Database.

- Hicks, J., & White, G. (2000). *Nunavut: Inuit Self-Determination Through a Land Claim and Public Government?* In Dahl, Hicks and Jull Eds., *Nunavut: Inuit Regain Control of Their Lands and Their Lives* (Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2000).
- International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). (2014). Summary for Policymakers, In: Climate Change 2014, Mitigation of Climate Change. *Contribution of Working Group III to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*. Edenhofer, O., R. Pichs-Madruga, Y. Sokona, E. Farahani, S. Kadner, K. Seyboth, A. Adler, I. Baum, S. Brunner, P. Eickemeier, B. Kriemann, J. Savolainen, S. Schlömer, C. von Stechow, T. Zwickel & J.C. Minx (eds.). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA.
- Jorgensen, M. (2007). Editor's Introduction. In Jorgensen, M (Ed.), *Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development* (xi). Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press
- Jorgensen, M., & Taylor, J. (2000). What Determines Indian Economic Success? Evidence from Tribal and Individual Indian enterprises. *Red Ink*, 8(2), 45-51.
- Lemmen, D. S., Warren, F. J., Lacroix, J., & Bush, E. (Eds.). (2008). *From Impacts to Adaptation: Canada in a Changing Climate*. Government of Canada, Ottawa, ON, 448.
- NBS (Nunavut Bureau of Statistics). (2011). *Nunavut Housing Needs Survey – Fact Sheet*. Accessed from:
<http://www.stats.gov.nu.ca/Publications/Housing/Fact%20Sheets/NHNS%20Fact%20Sheets%20-%20Nunavut%20and%20Regions.pdf>
- Nunavut Economic Forum (NEF). (2013). *2013 Nunavut Economic Outlook: Nunavut's Next Challenge: Turning Growth into Prosperity*. Retrieved from:
[http://www.neds2.ca/documents/2013_Nunavut_Economic_\(FINAL\)_Jan_28_2014.pdf](http://www.neds2.ca/documents/2013_Nunavut_Economic_(FINAL)_Jan_28_2014.pdf)
- North Sky Consulting Group (NSCG). (2009). *Qanukkanniq? The GN Report Card*. Retrieved from: <http://www.tunnngavik.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/gn-report-card-analysis-and-recomm-10-09.pdf>
- Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI). (1997). *Mining Policy*. Retrieved from
<http://www.tunnngavik.com/documents/publications/1997-12-00-Mining-Policy.pdf>
- Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI). (2004). *TUKISITTIARNIQSAUJUMAVIIT? A Plain Language Guide to the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement*. Ottawa, ON: St. Joseph Print Group.

- Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). (1996). *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*. Vol.1, Looking Forward Looking Back. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.
- Resources and Sustainable Development in the Arctic (RESDA). (2012). *ReSDA Newsletter*. Issue #1. Retrieved from: <http://yukonresearch.yukoncollege.yk.ca/resda/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2013/09/Final-ReSDA-newsletter-print-Oct2012.pdf>
- Resources and Sustainable Development in the Arctic (RESDA). (2013). *ReSDA Newsletter*. Issue #2. Retrieved from: <http://yukonresearch.yukoncollege.yk.ca/resda/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2013/09/ReSDA-Newsletter-Summer-Fall-2013-final-webv.pdf>
- Rh eaume, G., & Caron-Vuotari, M. (2013, January). *The Future of Mining in Canada's North*. Retrieved from: http://www.miningnorth.com/_rsc/site-content/library/Final-13-201_FutureofMining_CFN.pdf
- Rogers, S. (2010, October 27). Arviat Matches Community's Needs with Mining Jobs. *Nunatsiaq Online*. Retrieved from: http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674arviat_matches_communitys_needs_with_mining_jobs/
- Secor, J. (2010). Social Surveys, Interviews, and Focus Groups. In Gomez, B & Jones, J. P. III (Eds.), *Research Methods in Geography* (195-205). West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Sivummut Economic Development Strategy Group (SEDSG). (2003). Nunavut Economic Development Strategy: Building a Foundation for the Future. Retrieved from: <http://www.nunavuteconomicforum.ca/public/files/strategy/NUNAVUTE.PDF>
- Smit, B. & Wandel, J. (2006). Adaptation, Adaptive Capacity, and Vulnerability. *Global Environmental Change*, 16, 282-292.
- Statistics Canada. (2011). *NHS Profile, Pond Inlet, HAM, Nunavut, 2011*. Retrieved from: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=6204020&Data=Count&SearchText=Pond%20Inlet&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&A1=All&B1=All&TABID=1>

- Parlee, B., & Furgal, C. (2012). Well-Being and Environmental Change in the Arctic: A Synthesis of Selected Research from Canada's International Polar Year program. *Climatic Change*, Published online 3 October 2012.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. 3rd Edn. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Pauktuutit (Inuit Women of Canada). (2014, January). *The Impacts of Resource Extraction on Inuit Women and Families in Qamani'tuaq, Nunavut Territory*. Prepared by: Czyzewski, K., Tester, F., Aaruaq, N., and Blangy, S. Retrieved from: <http://pauktuutit.ca/social-and-economic-development/resource-extraction/the-impact-of-resource-extraction-on-inuit-women-and-families-in-qamanituaq-nunavut-territory/>
- Peterson, K. (2012). *Community Experiences of Mining in Baker Lake, Nunavut*. Unpublished masters dissertation, University of Guelph, Guelph, Canada. Retrieved from <http://atrium.lib.uoguelph.ca:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10214/3548/KCRPetersonThesisFial.pdf?sequence=11/>
- Prowse, T. D., Furgal, C., Chouinard, R., Melling, H., Milburn, D., & Smith, S. L. (2009). Implications of Climate Change for Economic Development in Northern Canada: Energy, Resource, and Transportation Sectors. *Ambio*, 38(5), 272-280.
- Simeone, T. (2007). *The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development: Findings and considerations*. Parliamentary Information and Research Service. Library of Parliament, Canada.
- White, G. (2009). Governance in Nunavut: Capacity vs. Culture? *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 43(2). 57-81.