

Arctic Winter Games 2023. Observations Summary

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Theme 1: Event organization and atmosphere

A) Site organization: site identification, site layout, welcome and information for participants and the public.

The sites have been identified, but without excessive detail. Many of the practice sites are integrated into existing infrastructures, so the activity open to the public continues. On the other hand, the sites are well staffed with volunteers, easily identifiable by their uniforms.

Site identification is simple, even minimal, often indicated by the presence of a sign in the game colors. No excessive signage or point-of-sale advertising; generally speaking, we're more in the business of information than communication.

B) Logistics: accommodation, transport, catering

The logistics of accommodation, transport and catering are key points in the AWGs. Long distances between practice sites, HQ and accommodation (45 min from MIP). The athletes are all grouped together in a common site rented for over 1 million dollars CAD for the games. This configuration imposes very substantial transport requirements, which were clearly not sufficient at the start of the event (a subject that came up regularly at the daily meeting of the chefs de mission). On the other hand, the athletes sincerely appreciate the fact that they are all together in the evening, as it really contributes to the atmosphere of the AWGs and their social and identity function. That said, logistical issues are a specific feature of AWGs: host cities are potentially few and far between, as the full range of accommodation and sports facilities is rarely found in the northern territories. What's more, logistical issues are linked to environmental questions and the challenges of sustainability for an event that aims to be cleaner in the future (energy costs of travel in particular).

C) Identification of AWGs in the area: signage, banners, flags, posters, signage, events, mediation, media coverage, etc. Which activities (sporting and cultural) are the most visible? Are truth and reconciliation policies promoted?

Generally speaking, the games are present in the institutional communication at the airport, then on the road leading to FMM, mainly through signage. Use of existing signage, with no additional resources. So communication is present but not really ostentatious. The road leading from the airport to FMM is lined with territorial marketing panels whose content is built around the relationship with nature and the APPNs that FMM claims for itself, while at the same time, we pass the trucks of the oil sands extraction companies and drive alongside commercial and technical zones, and even the Oil Sand Museum.

We also observed the fairly regular presence of national and territorial flags: including those brought by the athletes, apparently to express their pride in representing their people, their nation, their territory. At various venues and ceremonies, there was the Alaska state flag, Canadian territorial and provincial flags, the Canadian national flag (Maple Leaf), the Greenland national flag (Erfalasorput) and the Sápmi regional flag.

Finally, there are references to restorative actions in favor of the First Peoples, even if the spaces reserved for them (the village on the Snye, for example) are criticized by the Cree representatives, as the organization of the village is haphazard and the cultural activities are sometimes paradoxical (pop-music atmosphere at the same time as traditional singing and storytelling activities).

And still on the subject of formal recognition of indigenous rights and cultures: there were land recognitions at all the Chefs de Mission meetings (+ at the opening + closing ceremonies), except for the Chefs de Mission meeting on January 30: this was a meeting where the Chefs de Mission were going to 'get down to business'. The atmosphere was different at this first "real" meeting on practical issues. It's worth noting that there was also an exhibition on missing and murdered aboriginal women during one period of the games.

To conclude on the place of cultural and aboriginal minorities in the organization of the games, our observations show that mission leaders are almost all non-aboriginal (except Greenland and Sapmi) and mostly women. Some contingents were highly multicultural in nature, such as the Black Asians in the Nunavut contingent and the many visible (non-aboriginal) minorities in general in the North American contingents. We also observed that the rare expressions of dissatisfaction among athletes stemmed from a perceived lack of consideration for aboriginal cultures in the very organization of sporting activities. For example, during the Pol push events, a member of the research team, identified as the only obviously non-aboriginal person on site, was eyed with suspicion. Some were openly looking at his pass, which accidentally led to a conversation with an athlete from the Northwest Territories. The investigator explained the research to him and he replied, "*You should tell them [the organizers] to put culture back into the games! I mean, we're doing this on a soccer field! The other day we were doing snow snake on plastic turf – where's the culture in that?!"*

D) Appropriation of AWGs by local players (shops, offices, residents, etc.): posters, flags, flyers, communication media in shops, homes, personal vehicles, related events, etc.

No spontaneous appropriation observed by local players at the start of the week. In shops and restaurants, there don't seem to be any posters, flyers or communication materials. In pubs and cafés, customers are seen wearing AWG hats and scarves, some of whom appear to be locals. Generally speaking, local ownership is discreet, but it becomes more pronounced as the week progresses (distribution of merchandising, presence of locals at the Gala, T-shirts for sale in the restaurant). Finally, there seem to be many families at the games who come to support their youngsters, particularly for the Alberta North team (e.g. in alpine skiing, one athlete had her brother in cross-country skiing, her sister in another sport, her father was an official and her grandparents came to support her, in archery one athlete was accompanied by her father who volunteered for the games...). As a result, the games seem to have taken root only minimally among local players, and there is no evidence of active appropriation by the population. On the other hand, as with any international competition, there is a commitment on the part of families. It's also worth noting the importance of local volunteers in raising awareness of the games: they are the ones who recommend the program to their friends and family.

E) Visibility and identification of organizers, hosts, audiences, participants: group circulation, identifying clothing, extrovert/introvert behaviour, interactions/exchanges with the local population?

Volunteers and officials are clearly identifiable, and contact is generally very easy. They tend to circulate in groups, and when we head for a sports venue, volunteers are at the entrance, informing visitors and checking access badges. Even when checking passes or wristbands, they were very polite

and almost apologetic. Black and green ATCO jackets were seen everywhere. Note that the ATCO logo was very visible, even more visible, in fact, than the AWG logo.

Participants often wear their delegation's uniform, whether for practice or for public outings. Venues remain open to the public for the duration of the games, allowing participants and the local population to mix and mingle, and avoiding any compartmentalization or exclusive appropriation of the space by the event. If the sports venues are fee-paying, the public can catch a glimpse of certain competitions, given the configuration of the venues (e.g. Dene Games and Arctic sports). However, there are no significant interactions or exchanges between the local population and the participants.

In this sense, local children were not directly solicited by the organization of the games, even though the speeches and arguments used by those in charge claimed a strong link with the local youth population. For example, we observed drawings of schoolchildren in the dining hall of the accommodation center, welcoming the delegations, sometimes in the Inuit language. However, unlike the Nuuk games (2016), there was no significant presence of local children, schools or leisure centers during the games. We believe that this intention must have existed at the outset, but that it clearly did not materialize. This observation may reveal both a structural difficulty for Awg to mobilize local children at each edition, or a cyclical difficulty linked to organizational problems in 2023. In any case, one high school teacher explained that while some young people volunteer, there are no plans for the schools to travel to the Games with their classes. The Games are something she relies on to teach (as a religion teacher, she insists on the Games as a place for sharing and serving others), but not a priority in the week: the timetable remains normal, leaving no room for travel to the venues or joint projects.

Theme 2: Opening and closing ceremonies and other official events

A) General process: location and duration of ceremony, level of scenarization and formalization, main content, ritualization of the event

Opening ceremony. Sunday 30/01. Speeches by officials, organizers and public partners. Parade of delegations. Relative scripting and formalization in the order and handover of speeches. Note the importance of references to the symbols of Olympism: parade of delegations by region, referees' oath, athletes' oath, arrival of the flame. Added to this symbolism was the place accorded to recognition of the First Nations (prayer by a Cree elder and fumigation stick for all Games participants). The main themes addressed by various representatives (President of the AWG International Committee, Minister of Sport, Minister of Culture, Mayor of the Municipality of Wood Buffalo, etc.) were: "recognition of the land" (ancestral and traditional land of the Cree, Dene and Métis peoples), thanks (to the organizers, volunteers, coaches, etc.), words of welcome (to participants, the public, etc.). Note also the regular reference to the values of sharing, cooperation, encounters... Anything to do with competition and confrontation is excluded from the speeches. At the end of the speeches, at around 8 p.m., a woman from the Fort McKay First Nation lit the "cauldron" to officially launch the Wood Buffalo 2023 Arctic Winter Games, escorted by a team of sled dogs.

Before the official ceremony, the delegations gathered in a large gymnasium to watch the parade: a lot of spontaneity, fun and interaction among the athletes. The music provided by a small hip-hop group was complemented by handgames, photo-taking, delegation slogans and more.

Closing ceremony: less formal and symbolic than the opening ceremony. All participants stand in front of the stage, in the same place as the opening ceremony. As with that ceremony, a Cree first nation woman offers a prayer while waving a fumigation stick in thanksgiving for the past week, then a group of dancers perform in the heart of the athletes, in front of the stage, to Queen's "We are the champions" (taken up and transformed by the athletes into We are the champions of the North). The Hodgson Trophy (framed photograph of trophy) is awarded by the International Arctic Winter Games Committee to Greenland, the contingent whose participants best embody the spirit of fair play during Games week. It's worth noting that they only talk about this trophy and don't mention the ranking of the contingents by number of medals won (Yukon in first place with 61 gold, 57 silver and 51 bronze medals, and Sapmi in last place with 5 gold, 12 silver and 9 bronze medals), which may underline the low importance attached to performance in the minds of the organizers. That said, there does seem to be some ambiguity about the AWG's purpose. Are they for fun, socialization, cultural exchange/celebration or some other competitive sporting event? Note that the medal table is constantly updated online, but at the same time, the organization claims a strong attachment to the Fair Play pins and the Hodgson Trophy. At the 2nd CoM meeting, for example, one coordinator felt compelled to stress that for him, the fair-play pins and the Hodgson Trophy were "the most important part of the Games!

Ulu medal ceremonies: Ulu ceremonies are very similar to any other non-native sports medal ceremony. The organization uses the same type of podium (places 1, 2 and 3) and the same procedures, including national anthems and medal presentations, as during conventional sporting competitions.

National anthems: in futsal matches (e.g. Alaska vs. Yukon), athletes stood for national anthems, such as the Star Spangled Banner and O Canada. At various ceremonies, there was a strange mix of anthems: national anthems like Canada's and the U.S.'s - but not each other's. One wonders what the protocol is for the Arctic Winter Games in this respect?

B) Audience composition: number of people, audience typology (age, origin, gender), residents, guests, media, delegations, officials, personalities, private partners participating in AWGs, etc.?

Opening ceremony. Sunday 30/01. Public of locals, volunteers, teams accompanying sports delegations. The bleachers at the baseball stadium are 80% full (500/600 people). The ceremony reaches its climax when all the delegations come together.

Closing ceremony: the audience is similar to the opening ceremony, but there are fewer spectators in the stands.

C) Flags, costumes, decorations: graphic charter (?), compositions, colors, level of homogeneity, costumes/clothes for hosts and hostesses, participants and organizers.

Opening ceremony. AWG graphics to dominate the ceremony (green, blue, purple). Goodies and bright gadgets in AWG colors. Strong homogeneity of colors in the ceremony: hosts and hostesses, volunteers' outfits. Speaker in "traditional" dress. Delegations are recognizable by their outfits, some of which make clear reference to the colors of their region's flag (as in the case of Nunavut). At the closing ceremony, the logic of identification is less present: fewer flags, much exchange of outfits.

D) Music and song: the place of music and song, live or recorded music, type(s) of music, languages, status and identity of musicians.

Opening ceremony. Music played throughout. The national anthems are played as the various delegations arrive. A DJ/general soundtrack, and a rap/hip-hop and dance group inspired by local culture (Cree). Hybridization of cultural and musical references (musicians' dress, native drums, but rap/hip-hop rhythm and influence).

Closing ceremony: pop music with a cover of We are the champions, but reappropriated by the participants!

E) Behavior of attendees: formal, serious, happy, indifferent... Scenarization/formalization/encouragement of audience reaction, spontaneous engagement, nature of emotions expressed, interactions between participants, organizers and audience? Which moments of the ceremony provoke the most reaction from the audience? Do these moments differ according to the people present, their status and identity?

The opening ceremony was formal, institutional, solemn and heavy on ritual, but left room for a certain spontaneity, even approximation (a few minor errors in the proceedings). The moments that provoked the most reactions from the audience were those that involved the rites of Olympism (arrival of delegations with flag bearers, oaths taken by athletes and officials, arrival of the flame, lighting of the flame). Generally speaking, reactions are joyful and spontaneous, before the cold paralyzes us and/or boredom with the sequence of official speeches causes the delegations to leave... Among the participants, the general atmosphere of the ceremony is very cheerful: we hear shouts of joy, see smiles on faces, participants wave flags, dance and jump. In some delegations, such as Greenland,

athletes proudly proclaim their territorial belonging by shouting "Kalaallit Nunaat!" and waving their flags.

Closing ceremony: Many athletes came to MacDonald Island 2-3 hours before the ceremony. They ate, chatted and had fun. Participants were busy exchanging badges. They showed each other their pins and medals. Overall, the closing ceremony was less formal than the opening, with more room for spontaneous exchange and interaction on the ceremony site itself.

On speeches and symbols during the ceremonies: the protocol for the opening and closing ceremonies mobilized a lot of Aboriginal symbols, land recognitions and videos featuring land recognitions and Elders' speeches. Elders in the audience were also recognized and nominated. Finally, the ceremony didn't seem to focus much on competition, but rather on indigeneity, cultural heritage and cultural exchange. On the other hand, there was not a word about the oil/oil sands economy, nor about multinational corporate sponsors.

Theme 3. Sports activities, competitions, meetings

A) Activities observed: type and context of activity, location and duration, weather conditions, etc.

Up to 10 activities observed: curling, volleyball, field hockey, dene games, arctic sports, futsal, badminton, downhill skiing and snowboarding, archery, figure skating. With the exception of skiing, snowboarding and some Dene games, most activities take place indoors. They correspond to what young people can do in community centers during the winter. As such, the organizer relies mainly on existing facilities at the MIP, Kyano College, schools and local sports establishments. The absence of purpose-built facilities is certainly virtuous from a financial point of view, but poses logistical problems, as some sites are more than 45 minutes from the city (e.g. badminton in Anzac).

B) Audience: attendance levels, typology, distribution, placements. Identification of participants/officials/coaches/escorts. Interaction between participants, audience and participants. Proximity of participants/public, rules, conditions of circulation/accessibility within sites (formalized, informal, absent).

The number of spectators and their status (spectators, families, coaches, other athletes, schoolchildren, etc.) at the competitions varied widely from one discipline to another. Among the sports observed, curling was not very well attended, unlike field hockey, which drew large numbers of spectators, fans (with a strong Nunavut presence, identifiable by their uniforms and flags), families who had come especially for the occasion, and other athletes. Some sports, such as DG, AS, Futsal and badminton, drew irregular and very mixed crowds, with other participants coming to cheer on their delegations (e.g. Futsal and Volleyball).

In this context, the identification of those present is uncertain: some athletes wear the uniform of their delegation, while others are dressed "in civilian clothes", making it difficult to "identify" them (when referees are systematically in official dress). This observation indicates that distinctive logics are not systematic among athletes, pointing to another recurring observation: most of the time, access to practice sites is left free, and the different statuses mix spontaneously, both in the stands and on the activity fields themselves (as in the case of DGs and ASs, where accredited persons move around quite freely, and can get as close as possible to the athletes: the competition space is very little formalized). We also observed that, for practices such as Skiing, but also all those organized at the MIP, participants mixed with the public using the facilities for their own activities. Interactions are therefore potentially facilitated by the proximity and mixing authorized by the organization and the rules of free movement on the sites (at least for a large part of the games).

The general atmosphere, especially in the less involved practices (physically and symbolically, unlike field hockey), is one of conviviality, encouragement and benevolence, between athletes, between the public and participants, between adults and young people.

C) Information available on the site: signage, programs, posters, flyers, audio/video material. Information objects, content and themes?

Whatever the sport, discipline or physical activity (curling, field hockey, futsal, AS and Dene games, cultural pop-ups), AWG venues offer little information for the general public. The day's program is sometimes displayed at the entrance to the buildings, but the main feature is the presence of signs indicating the competition in progress in front of the halls or meeting areas. These signs are designed in line with the AWG graphic charter, with the dominant colors black, blue and green. Generally speaking, the sites are identified and delimited, but there is no system of guidance or signposting to enable spectators to get easily from one site to another (or to produce "marketing" of the sites, aimed at the general public and enabling the event to be clearly identified in the practice areas.

In competition halls, the visual imprint of the games is even more discreet, if not non-existent. The signage, for example, is that of the permanent clubs when they exist (as in figure skating). The information available is in fact almost totally linked to the competition, displaying the score and time.

We also note the absence or near-absence of flyers or individual programs for the public. We can assume that this was an environmental choice on the part of the organization, to limit printed formats in favor of digital networks. But while the website was very comprehensive, it was not constantly kept up to date, and important information, such as the actual venue or schedule of meetings, was in fact circulated via the accounts of delegations or athletes.

The dominant feature of the relationship between information and the games program is that it is close to the logic of sports amateurism: the sites are not reserved for the games, and as far as possible continue to be used by local residents for their usual leisure, sports and cultural activities. The visual marking of the games is limited to its simplest function, that of providing information for participants and those accompanying them. There is no particular staging of the practice sites to clearly identify the games, their highlights, their main spaces, or the values they wish to convey through the organization of the event.

D) On-site entertainment: announcer, music, para-sport activities (initiations, demonstrations). Target audience, content, languages, etc.?

As a preamble: we did not observe any introductory sessions or sports activities organized in parallel with the official events. The entire organization of the games is focused on the events (the young athletes and their activities are at the heart of the games).

Generally speaking, the presence of a speaker to introduce and animate the competition is not systematic (the Arctic Games have a speaker, for example, but volleyball does not). And when a speaker is scheduled, he or she is not always present, or not always mobilized when expected. In fact, the organization relies on existing resources: the field hockey stadium or ice rink are very well equipped, because it's part of the logic and culture of these PGS to have a good sound system.

In areas where there is no public address system, the organizers have come up with solutions that are sometimes a little incongruous for an event of this size: the national anthems for the futsal events are broadcast through a small portable speaker, so that very little of the music can be heard. The same situation was observed at the curling final: a breakdown in the public address system forced the organizers to broadcast the national anthems via a cell phone. The patriotic symbolism that reflects the international and Olympic character of the Games is called into question by the lack of suitable technical resources. However, this does not call into question the commitment of the athletes or the

perception of the public, which is made up in part of parents and those accompanying the delegations. Part of the atmosphere of the games is based on this duality of references and codes for sporting events and organizational means, which is closer to a local amateur competition, or even a school meeting (in terms of level, atmosphere and organization), with all the simplicity and benevolence associated with this type of meeting. During the arctic sports events, for example, the speaker did give a few explanations, but these were sporadic and non-standard, covering the origins and rules of the various sports. In general, the announcements were very informal: "We're going to take a 20-25 minute break, so that everyone can have something to eat". Or, "I hear there's a birthday boy in the house! And the announcer started singing "Happy Birthday" to Angela and Coach Kim from Greenland.

In terms of music, the AWG anthem is not played during the events, only the national anthems. There is also a very special sound atmosphere produced by the Déné game drums, which can be heard throughout the MIP. Arctic sports are particularly affected by this ambience, as the two halls are adjacent to each other, at the risk of disrupting the progress of competitions and the concentration of athletes (it would appear that the omnipresence of the drums ultimately disrupted the Arctic sports competitions, and that the officials sought to reduce the sound impact of the Dene Games on the site). As far as the choice of music is concerned, the games seem to be attached to the presence of current youth music, certainly close to what young people listen to and expect. This choice is not unanimously shared: a Dene woman and her daughter, belonging to a local Dene family and present at the "Shine on the snye" village, complained about the musical choices of a DJ who played mainly pop music, when in their view it should be cultural and indigenous music, not pop and English.

To conclude: with the exception of the opening and closing ceremonies, music has no particular place during the event. It does not contribute to the general atmosphere of the competition, and even tends to remind us of the sometimes amateurish dimensions of the event in terms of organization. Finally, it is not used as a vector of identity or identification for the athletes, at a time when discourses on the rights of indigenous peoples are more often recalled.

E) General atmosphere: formal/informal organization, importance of competition/sportivization, expression of emotions/feelings, type of prevailing atmosphere (indifferent, peaceful, confrontational, committed, supportive, good-natured/complicit, etc.).

Generally speaking, the atmosphere is linked to the stakes of sporting competition, but it is also particularly marked by the informal and benevolent nature of interactions. There are, however, significant differences by discipline. Field hockey, obviously a very popular sport, is followed by a knowledgeable and supportive public who interact with the facts of a spectacular and highly ritualized game, committed and rich in emotions and sensations (impact of collisions, sounds and noises specific to field hockey, music, encouragement, expressions of feelings, high intensity). Indoor team sports such as futsal, volleyball and basketball are less popular with the public, who are mainly delegation members, accompanying adults and a few parents. Despite the intensity of some matches, interaction with the public is rarer, but remains in line with the logic of supporterism, with shouts, cheers and applause. Finally, for certain sports such as curling or archery, the atmosphere is solely that of the sporting activity, with the public virtually absent. The athletes are concentrated, committed and at different levels. We note that, depending on age, technical adjustments are possible (wedges for throwers).

Dene Games and Arctic Games differ from traditional sports in the atmosphere they create. Athletes, coaches, referees and support staff circulate freely in the halls, and in terms of atmosphere, the practice area is ultimately more a place for gathering and sharing than for competition. The Déné

games, for their part, are at times totally invaded by the power of the drums, shouts and instructions used in the Handgames. The atmosphere is very intense, the emotions linked to the game are strong, especially for the coaches who are glued to their teams, but there is also a sporting stakes involved if you want to win.

The importance of sporting competition and agonistic logics in the atmosphere of events differs significantly from one practice to another. They are particularly present during field hockey matches, leading some chefs de mission to call for better regulation of aggressive behavior during games. In fact, with the exception of field hockey, most activities take place in a calm, respectful, benevolent, good-natured and cheerful atmosphere, and it's not uncommon for self-refereeing to be the rule, as in curling, for example. In Arctic and Dene practices, encouragement is very much in evidence, even between direct competitors, creating an atmosphere far removed from purely agonistic logics. In some disciplines, such as badminton and table tennis, the low technical level of the athletes is accompanied by a lesser investment in competitive logic and attitudes (in badminton, some participants walk during the exchanges). For these participants, it's all about having fun, making the most of the experience and meeting other people. The atmosphere thus reflects an important dimension of the games: fair play, exchange and encounter, and it's worth noting that the organization is careful to ensure that purely competitive logics do not become dominant.

F) Participant identification: outfits that show a sense of belonging to a sport/nation? Are they the same every time? Are they different for athletes on the same team? Special sports accessories/equipment? Presence of banners or flags indicating a particular affiliation? Are they the same every time?

Each delegation has an official uniform, and athletes are provided with equipment appropriate to their discipline (specific outfits for field hockey, skiing, figure skating or curling, more generic outfits for indoor team sports with shorts and synthetic tee-shirts in the delegation's colors). As is so often the case in international competitions, the outfits are an opportunity to assert the territorial roots of the delegations, even if they have no institutional or political existence, such as Northern Alberta or even Nunavik, which is the Arctic part of the province of Quebec.

For Canada's Inuit delegations, the graphics of the logos or coats of arms refer to geographical and cultural elements emblematic of the territory represented: an Arctic owl for Nunavik, and for Nunavut an Inuit hunting and letters of the Inuktitut alphabet. Nunavut is the delegation whose outfits most assert its Inuit origins, culture, language and natural environment. It's possible that this affirmation is linked to the territory's more autonomous status, having become a full member of the Canadian confederation since its separation from the Northwest Territories in 1999. Indeed, the colors and patterns of the outfits refer directly to the territory's official flag. The Greenlandic delegation's outfit also refers to the colors of the "national" flag (Greenland being a dependent territory of Denmark), red and white, but unlike the other two Inuit delegations, aboriginal culture is not as explicitly featured.

The use of official outfits to assert a delegation's territorial identity is a fairly standard feature of international competitions, and a good number of contingents have adopted this approach (even if, as in the case of the Yukon, this assertion is rather discreet and limited to a small red maple leaf flocked to the outfits). However, some teams, such as Northern Alberta, have designed their outfits, motifs and logos to incorporate cultural elements specific to the games, the spirit and the values claimed by the organization and the contingents. Athletes wear white and blue jackets with blue "Team Alberta North" flocking and a mountainous "A" icon. This icon represents "the new heights the athletes will reach" and also evokes the coniferous treetops found in abundance in Alberta, with a lightning bolt

referring to "Alberta's renowned thunderstorms and the excitement in the air" (ref Team Alberta North Brand Guidelines).

As in all classic sporting competitions, most athletes wear their official uniforms during events. But Arctic sports and Dene Games differ in this respect: during Arctic sports, not all athletes wear official or even identifiable competition clothing. In fact, many participants wear individual outfits that could be considered training gear. From this point of view, sportivization is very relative, and we have more the feeling of attending a serious training session. Nor are there any banners or flags. What counts is practice and sharing.

During the Dene Games, participants' outfits are not uniform among participants and do not all reflect a particular allegiance: for example, in the men's team from the Northwest Territories, some participants wear a t-shirt or sweater with the inscription "team NT", but others wear simple personal clothing, which is also the case for the Alberta delegation. It's worth noting that during the Handgames events, some participants wear make-up bearing the colors or symbols of their delegations. While this practice seems to refer to the game's Aboriginal origins, some young Alberta participants are in fact inspired by the film *Braveheart* to create their make-up. This practice doesn't seem to pose a problem for the adults who supervise the activity.

Finally, we note that the presence of flags and banners is relatively frequent, but not ubiquitous, and that it is mainly linked to the organization's paving of practice sites and venues. Thus, with the exception of certain finals, we did not observe any specific relationship between participants and their delegations' flags.

G) Participant behavior (1). Environmental choices: do participants stay alone/grouped (athletes, family, community, coaches, others), do they place themselves in the practice areas or outside? Organization/planning: how do athletes organize their sporting activities? Do they warm up a lot? Do they practice a lot outside competition time? Are they guided by coaches or not?

Generally speaking, participants' behavior in terms of environmental choices is the same as that observed in classic sporting competitions. Athletes stay in teams or close to their delegation, especially during the first days of the games. The logic of the contingent is strong, and children keep to themselves, especially when they're on the practice sites. When asked, participants tell us that many have been selected for the teams they represent in different parts of their territory. This means they're just getting to know each other on the same team - most have never actually met before. This means they're trying to get to know the kids on their own team before they get to know the kids on other teams. That said, the exchange of pins is frequent and a good way of encouraging interaction between participants from different delegations. This practice is widespread within the games and affects both youngsters and adults, participants, officials and organizers.

In terms of the organization or planning of practices and warm-ups, participants mostly follow the framework imposed by the games and their coaches' instructions, with very little spontaneous, ancillary practice.

Arctic sports differ from other disciplines in that there is a great deal of exchange, advice, encouragement and congratulations between athletes from different delegations. There are no sharp boundaries within the site itself, and participants move around easily and freely. Team effects and inter-activity are observable, but there's also a lot of mixing and mingling. For athletes, the hall is

simultaneously a place to live, to prepare for competition (warm-ups) and to compete. This lesser division of competition times and social spaces brings Arctic sports closer to the logic of play. For example, during a break in the Arctic Sports/Inuit Games, five Greenlandic boys began juggling a small soccer ball. They were then joined by two girls from the Northwest Territories and one from Nunavut. This soon turned into a real game of "makeshift" soccer - and others joined in. They all communicated in very few words in Inuktitut and Greenlandic. Another example: two boys from Nunavut (participants) threw a rubber ball at each other during a break. They were then joined by a girl from the Yukon and a girl from Nunavik. Again, not many words were exchanged, but they seemed a lot of fun – physical activity/exercise skills being the common "language".

The behavior of Dénés Games participants is sometimes similar to that of Arctic sports, especially when it comes to individual practices, but differs when it comes to collective practices such as Handgames. Here, participants prepare and stay in groups, and there is less movement and exchange than in Arctic sports. The group is also bound by its preparation: make-up, hairstyle.

H) Behaviors (2). Atmosphere: performance-oriented/competitive behavior? Importance of medals/results/rankings? Importance of interactions? Stakeholders and objects of interactions? Encouragement/support: do parents/family/teammates/coaches/other adults encourage or send words of confidence regarding sport or exercise? Attention and comments on the athlete's performance? In general, do athletes and the environment behave differently in different activities (classic, arctic and native sports)?

Our observations show that the relationship between performance and competitiveness differs from one practice to another, and is also nuanced by the importance of respect for fair play and benevolence between athletes (two dimensions that are part and parcel of the spirit and purpose of the games, and which the organization is careful to maintain throughout the events).

Thus, among the sports observed, curling, field hockey, futsal, volleyball, figure skating and archery are characterized by a strong competitive commitment on the part of the participants, to which the public responds when present, as in the case of field hockey, and which is part of the support register (encouragement, applause, shouts, interactions linked to the facts of the game). Competition, sportsmanship and the importance attached to the final result are very much in evidence, and there is no ostentatious demonstration of fair play or adaptation of the level of play in the event of very significant discrepancies (as observed in curling, for example). As a result, the losing teams clearly show their disappointment at the end of the matches. However, we did not observe any aggressiveness between teams or participants, or even intense antagonism. Participants seem genuinely aware of the need for fair play, acceptance of refereeing decisions and the vagaries of competition. In fact, aggression or the expression of excessive frustration are not part of the culture of Arctic games.

Other "classic" sports, such as alpine skiing, snowboarding, badminton and table tennis, are divided between the quest for performance and a calm, collaborative and caring atmosphere among athletes, who encourage and advise each other. In skiing, officials explain that they see the AWGs as a more participative than competitive event, and that many athletes come "for the fun of it". In this sense, AWGs are different from other competitions, with much more conviviality and a spirit of fair play. Badminton and table tennis, for their part, take place in a generally calm atmosphere. In the case of the latter two sports, we can hypothesize that the participants' low level of sporting and competitive commitment is partly due to a still very fragile level of practice, which also limits the inculcation of a culture of performance and antagonism.

Arctic Sports and the Dene Games are in a class of their own when it comes to atmosphere. Arctic Sports' various jumping competitions resemble normal sports competitions in terms of the officials, the measurement of performance, the running of the events, the presence of the public and the tension produced by the athletes' performances. Arctic Sports are therefore performance-oriented, but without excessive competitiveness, and even less aggression or antagonism. On the contrary, encouragement comes first from the athletes themselves and from the circles of practitioners. Then, encouragement comes from the public, but more towards the very last rounds and the final of each category. This collaborative and participatory atmosphere is a very specific feature of Arctic sports, which sets them apart from other sports. There's a kind of shared construction of sporting performance, despite the fact that the podium remains individual.

The Dénés Games are similar to arctic sports in terms of the positive interaction, benevolence and encouragement frequently expressed between athletes, whatever the activities observed (hand-pull, Pull-push, Handgames). However, they are distinguished from other practices by the cultural and playful dimension of their activities, even if we shall see that the notion of performance is not absent. Handgames, for example, leave plenty of room for play, playful and mischievous confrontation, chance and guesswork. The immediate circle encourages, supports and interacts. The audience observes and cannot interact, because the rules are not known and not easily identifiable. It's a spectacle, thanks to the soundscape, the intensity of the commitments and the body language. It's worth noting that men have a more committed and demonstrative attitude and body expression than women. The judges control the game, observing the expressions of the participants, some of whom jump to the rhythm of the drums, and awarding points by handing out small sticks in front of the winning team. The judges are thus directly involved in the atmosphere of the activity. Among the officials called upon (from indigenous cultures), the Dene Games stem from traditional Dene practices (fishing, hunting, hand games for betting objects, etc.). For them, whoever is the best at the games is the best in traditional practice, so "performance" is also an important objective for the participants, even if it is not directly sporting.

1) Behaviors (3). Are we proud of the athlete? Do coaches or athletes talk to other delegations? Are these interventions prepared or spontaneous? Visibility: do participants take photos? Do they share their exploits on networks?

Interactions between athletes and coaches are really linked to the culture of each discipline, rather than to a state of mind specific to the games (except perhaps in the case of skiing, an activity which very actively promotes the notion of fair play with the presentation of a Fair Play Award at the end of the competition day. We heard from one athlete who said that, despite a disappointing result, the competition was first and foremost *"a game! Sometimes you win, sometimes you lose! We're here to participate!"*) We did not observe any significant interactions, interventions or relationships between athletes and coaches (or between athletes themselves) in curling, field hockey, figure skating, badminton or archery. This finding is certainly linked to the cultural practices specific to these sports, and to the fact that interventions are reserved for a time-space different from the actual moment of performance. In Futsal, Volleyball and Basketball, for example, there are more interactions, instructions and encouragement addressed directly to the athletes, reflecting sporting cultures that leave more room for direct and frequent intervention by coaches in the progress of the match (time-outs, tactical changes, instructions and encouragement, etc.). For example, during a basketball match, the coach removed an athlete from the team after she shouted at one of her teammates.

Finally, as we've already mentioned on several occasions, Arctic sports and the Dénés Games are distinguished by the richness and frequency of interactions between all the people present on the site, over and above classic sporting statuses. Coaches (of the teams involved, but also of other teams), referees and the athletes themselves interact very regularly to help participants achieve the best possible performance. There's plenty of encouragement and solidarity before trials, and comfort when a participant fails. Without necessarily observing ostentatious pride, there is a sense of shared satisfaction between coach and athlete after a successful trial.

As far as photos were concerned, it seemed to us that the participants were rather concentrated on their sporting activities and that the presence of the phone was not something very visible. However, we did observe a few instances of participants taking photos or making videos of their friends, other games and cultural performances. On arriving at the games site, some participants also took photos with the mascot, AWG banner and delegation flags.

- J) Participants' emotions. Negative: negative affect in response to undesirable results in a sports role and space? Does the participant appear upset if something prevents planned sports/exercises? Does he appear depressed when he performs poorly in sports? Positive: positive affect in response to favorable results in a sports role and space? Does the participant show joy? Does he appear enthusiastic or at least satisfied? Do emotional expressions differ according to activity (classic, arctic and native sports)?**

Participants' emotions are directly linked to the facts of the game and the vagaries of encounters, events and competitions. Generally speaking, we found that athletes were rather measured in expressing their feelings when they won a match or passed a qualifying round. The way in which they celebrated a victory, a point scored or a successful try was reminiscent of classic sporting gestures: clenched fist, outstretched arm, joy and smile on the face, positive exclamation. Conversely, failure or defeat are visible in lowered heads, inhibited movements, sometimes a little prostration and tears. Victory, however, remains a moment when emotions are controlled and the opponent is respected and saluted without ostentatious "jubilation". It's worth noting, however, that we mainly attended matches in the preliminary or qualifying rounds, and that the positive emotions of the finals were more visible. Having said that, we observed that negative emotions, although again fairly measured, were more readily observable from the start of the games. In curling, for example, the significant differences in level led to a certain fatalism among the younger teams. The same was true of field hockey (qualification match on 01/29), where emotions were perceptible in the Alberta players, who were clearly dominated by Nunavut (the effect was most obvious in the behavior of the goalkeepers, who seemed discouraged). For Nunavut, points scored were the occasion for spontaneous celebration and the ritual greeting of substitutes on the bench (serial hand cheks).

Other "modern" practices, such as Arctic sports and the Dene Games, are part of the same emotional register for participants: measurement is the rule, but positive or negative emotions are expressed and thus observed according to the facts of the game. In certain cases, such as badminton or table tennis, we can hypothesize that the low level of the participants limits the affective stakes and therefore the expression of emotions. It's worth noting that Arctic sports and the Dene Games are similar to other disciplines in their relationship to emotions. There are few ostentatious displays of emotion towards referees or other participants, and while there is occasional discouragement at the failure of the third attempt, there is only a single demonstration of sustained frustration/dissent. Joy is also measured, but it's visible and, above all, it's shared with the other participants/competitors: very often, opponents congratulate each other and clap their hands after a successful attempt. In the

event of failure, it's not only your coach but also the other participants who offer comfort and encouragement, a way of putting failure into perspective. Finally, arctic sports, like the Dene Games, are conducive to the regulation of emotions through the intervention of referees with the disappointed athlete: for example, during a Sledge Jump, when a referee tells someone that he has done something wrong, that he has failed and that he is excluded, there is no discussion. Just smiles and acceptance. Referees often explain to an athlete why he failed and give him instructions on how to improve. At Arctic Sports and the Inuit Games, a referee functions almost like an elder: he guides, advises and sanctions.

Finally, we observed that positive emotions, pride and a sense of achievement were very much in evidence when the Ulus were awarded to the top three finishers in each discipline and age group. If competition, in its agonistic and antagonistic dimensions, only marginally integrates the register of emotions in the participants, the codes and cultural references of Olympism are on the contrary frequently mobilized to produce positive emotions.

K) Audience emotions. Does the audience contribute to the overall atmosphere and show its presence and support? Does the audience interact with the sporting performances, either positively or negatively? Does the audience encourage all participants equally? Does the audience express expert opinions? Does the public use the "classic" registers of sports support? If not, what modes of expression are used? Do emotional expressions differ according to activity (classic sports, arctic sports and native sports)?

Audience emotions vary according to the practice and the level reached during the competition. There is little negative emotion and even less aggression. The public often supports the team it prefers, but sometimes the other athletes or teams are also supported, which contributes to the benevolent and "fair-play" spirit claimed by the games.

Generally speaking, activities such as curling, badminton, table tennis or archery arouse little emotion in the public. In fact, spectators are relatively few in number, and are often drawn from the sports delegations or other athletes waiting for their turn to compete. Support is therefore relatively discreet, and emotions remain measured.

Other sports, such as futsal, skiing, volleyball and basketball, mobilize more spectators, often close to the teams involved (family, friends, delegation members), and while support remains low-key, there are still reactions and interactions linked to the facts of the game: great actions, points scored, physical shocks, technical gestures, etc. When expressing their support, spectators use the classic register for each of these sports: slogans, team names, cheers, bells and foghorns, etc. When expressing their support, the public present mobilize the classic register for each of these different sports: slogans, team names, cheers, bells and foghorns, etc.

There has also been an evolution in the atmosphere of certain sports, such as arctic sports. In the early rounds of the competition, the public's emotions remain measured and discreet, but a greater intensity can be observed as the level rises and the gaps close. There is more interaction between the public and the athletes, with an atmosphere akin to that of an athletics meeting, with participants urging spectators to support them before attempting a jump. Depending on the success or failure of the athletes, the public expresses its emotions more spontaneously through applause or, on the contrary, cries of disappointment. The Dene Games, on the other hand, are less conducive to the public's expression of emotions, as their organization and the cultural logics that are difficult to master limit interaction. For example, during the Handgames, the officials had to organize the playing area so that

the public could watch the competition from the stands, as the participants and hosts tended to completely surround the teams involved.

Finally, field hockey is distinguished from other sports by the intensity of the emotions it arouses in the public. More than in any other discipline, the public participates in the general atmosphere and shows its presence and support: when a team scores, shouts of joy can be heard and members of the public can be seen standing on the bleachers and raising their arms to the sky. All the references, codes and customs of sports fanism are mobilized: flags, slogans, exclamations, encouragement, applause, expression of disagreement or disapproval of the facts of play or refereeing decisions contrary to the supported team, and so on. This commitment can be seen from the very first rounds of the competition, and it's clear that field hockey has a very important symbolic place in the culture of the Nordic and Arctic regions.

Theme 4. Cultural activities and offerings

A) Organization of cultural activities. Type of activity observed: exhibitions, galas, performances, meetings, conferences, ceremonies, awards/distinctions, etc.? General context of the activity: location, duration, accessibility, target audience. Resources mobilized: personnel, equipment and infrastructure, technical resources (sound, lighting, stage management, etc.). Do cultural activities require specific resources and equipment?

To sum up, the cultural activities present at the games were essentially organized around three features or events:

Pop-ups, small, simple forms of traveling artistic, musical and cultural exhibitions or demonstrations scheduled throughout the games. The pop-ups were to be held at different times and places throughout the week. However, we found that these events were often poorly advertised, or simply cancelled without prior notice. What's more, these very light arrangements were often "self-managed" by the artists and their delegation, with no technical or human resources made available by the organization. For example, during the Pop-Up by singer Sapmi and Cirque Nunavik, which took place directly in the MIP aisles, opposite the arctic sports hall, there were no specific human or technical resources, just a mobile sound system for the soundtrack. Moreover, the outfits worn by the performers, young native boys and girls, were derived from traditional costume but sometimes had a folkloric allure. It's worth noting that the performances had no real guiding thread, and no defined stage space (the audience passed right through the middle).

The second cultural feature was the "Shine of the Snye" Village. This village, set up for the occasion, featured cultural events on the banks of the Snye, the river that runs through the town: Made up of Tipi, white plastic tents and bivouac tents (trapper type), the village featured sled dog entertainment, traditional Dene entertainment (songs, storytelling, drumming, smudging with a smoke stick, campfires, moose hide and horn stalls, traditional tea stalls), children's entertainment (making small objects, frescoes, drawings, hot chocolates). Access to the village is free, but it's a long way from MIP, the heart of the games, and from the city. The site is natural, but a little out of the way and poorly identified. The event requires the installation of diesel-powered heaters, lights, posters and a general sound system playing pop music. Note: the white tents are heated with diesel-powered construction heaters.

The third highlight of the cultural program was the Cultural Gala held on the evening of 02/01. This was clearly the most important moment in the cultural program, and the one most invested in by the organization, both materially and symbolically. The gala was made up of cultural and artistic performances by the delegations present at the games, with the exception of Greenland, plus the Fort Mac Murray Moccasin Club, a local troupe. The show was ticketed and open to the general public, and we noted the presence in the room of AWG committee officials. The show was staged at the Keyano Theater, Keyano College's cultural facility, perfectly equipped with technical and human resources (sound and light control, reception staff, box office, etc.). As a ticketed show, involving almost all the delegations and held in a fully-equipped theater, the Gala was the main event in the Games' cultural program.

Finally, we observed other cultural initiatives and activities, but more ad hoc and sometimes limited or reserved for participants, local aboriginal communities or local schoolchildren. The games program announced the organization of aboriginal community celebrations at the start of the games, both in

the city's aboriginal center and in the surrounding villages. Not being directly aimed at the public, we hypothesize that these activities were intended to include local communities in the games programming. In the same vein, and with the aim of encouraging encounters and interaction between the aboriginal communities and participants in the games, we attended an evening of "Celebration of Dene and Cree culture", organized directly at the athletes' accommodation center. A group of 8 percussionists and as many dancers performed a series of dances, songs and traditional music, in traditional costumes. The performance took place directly in the refectory hall, where there were also stalls selling local products. Around 80 people turned out to watch, most of them adults, seated opposite the performers. As for the youngsters, they stayed at their tables and ate, without paying much attention to the show or the entertainment on offer.

Finally, we observed the organization of an exhibition on residential schools (aimed at local people) on the MIP site. Designed around mediation tools for spectators and participants, the exhibition is important and well placed, but it is not promoted by the organization. Public indifference and low attendance. Does this say something about how, in the end, the history of indigenous peoples doesn't fully touch people's consciences?

B) Identifying, promoting, mediating and publicizing the program. What role do cultural activities play in the Games program ? What visibility: communication by the organization, institutional discourse and visibility, media coverage, mobilization of local players ? Is there as much talk of cultural activities as of sporting activities among the delegations, the organization, the public, local residents and players ?

Pop-ups are announced, but there are many changes in their programming (cancelled at Anzac, with no communication). They are relatively discreet in the communication of the games (minimally identified in the official program). This says something about the lesser importance of culture compared to sport in the conception of the event.

In the case of the Snye village, the event is announced and scheduled, but not particularly promoted. Media coverage is very relative, even though this event is part of the "cultural activities and exhibits" in the games program, along with the opening and closing ceremonies.

Last but not least, the Gala is the activity with the highest profile in the event program. It stands out from the other cultural activities in that it is given greater prominence in the organization's communication tools (radio spots announce that it is taking place, and certain official media report on the cultural activities). That said, the other (sporting) participants don't seem to be asked to attend the show, as the Gala is organized in parallel and out of step with the sporting activities. It's not easy for the various participants to talk to each other about the Gala and how the performances went, as many sportsmen and women told us that they talk first to participants from their own sport. So, even though cultural activities were one of the components of the AWG, the focus was on sporting activities, and people talked mainly about the sport and the teams' performances.

C) Information available on the site: signage, programs, posters, flyers, audio/video material. Information objects, content and themes ?

Generally speaking, the information available on the site or signage for cultural activities is discreet, or even absent (this is the case for the Pop-up in particular). On the other hand, the website provides

a wealth of information on the cultural aspects of the games, including the program of cultural events, their content, and the performers, time and place of performance.

In the Snye village, there are signs in front of each tent or tipi presenting the activities on offer: for example, "Moose calls & moose horn craft", "Furs & artifacts", "Traditional tea, bannock on a stick" (with the AWG2023 logo). A speaker also announces the events, demonstrations and activities planned. The signage respects the graphic charter of the games, as for the sporting activities.

Finally, the Gala is announced in the games program, but we did not observe any additional communication on the various sites during the week, apart from radio spots. As for the sports activities, there is no information announcing the day's program other than on the website or social networks.

D) Composition of audience, actors, participants. Composition and distribution of audience (general public, participating artists, officials, delegation members, partners, etc.). Conditions of public access (free/paid, free/invitation, reserved for delegations, etc.). Attendance levels, socio-cultural typology of audience (age, gender, status, nationality).

For Pop-Up Sapmi and cirque Nunavik, at the MIP, access is free, in the spirit of street art. The audience is made up almost exclusively of passers-by and MIP users on their way to the swimming pool, skating rink, library and so on. So, on the face of it, they're casual spectators. There's interest and curiosity, but little or no interaction, and the quality of the performances is sometimes very uneven.

For the Shine of the snye Village: access is free and open to the general public, who tend to be families and intergenerational. It's difficult to know whether members of the delegations are present in the village, but there are a fair number of volunteers. As far as general attendance is concerned, there are few visitors, which is certainly due to the remoteness of the village and its low profile in the games' communications.

For the Gala: it's open to the general public, but admission is charged (\$37), even for some of the special guests. The hall was packed, and the audience was family-oriented, with a predominance of adults between 45 and 6 years of age, and a fairly balanced gender representation. Representatives of the host company and the local organizing committee were also present. There were a few delegation members, such as the Sapmi Chef de Mission, but few if any other participants, just as there were no clearly identified economic or institutional partners. The Gala seems to have taken on the function of a prestige evening bringing together local notables and gaming executives. There was also a significant presence of locals in the audience, providing strong support for the artistic groups from Fort Mac Murray and the Alberta delegation.

E) Cultural productions and practices (theater, music, dance, crafts, plastic arts, etc.), arguments and imaginaries mobilized (relationship with indigenous cultures, relationship with memory, relationship with transmission, etc.), values expressed, possible political objectives ? Is the activity in line with the values espoused by the Games organization ? Does the activity refer to calls to action ?

Generally (but not systematically), cultural activities aligned with the values expressed by the AWG organization, particularly in terms of recognition of indigenous cultures: presenting indigenous peoples and the importance of respecting this nation, showing different cultures, presenting different languages, presenting traditional instruments, presenting cultural clothing, recognition of the land, showing the importance of the Arctic and the land.

For the Pop-Ups organized at MIP: the Sapmi performance refers directly to traditional culture in song, but with an "electro" accompaniment. The approach is more world music than ethnomusicology. The singer is dressed in "traditional" garb, and it's also through her vocal technique that we identify her connection with a native tradition. The Nunavik artists' circus performance makes no explicit reference to a traditional culture. Only the costumes refer to Inuit cultural references.

For the Village of the Snye: organized around various tents and tipis, the village offers exhibitions, demonstrations and entertainment inspired by traditional local cultures. The aim of this event is to both entertain and educate visitors with indigenous cultural activities. The event also enables cultural practices, objects, etc. to be made visible and passed on. For example, in a teepee, Dene and Cree drummers and singers tell the story of the songs, demonstrate the practice of "smudging" (purification by smoke) with burnt medicinal herbs forming a smoke that is spread over the face and body, and have the audience try it out. The 1st Nations are involved in the village's animation, but they deplore a lack of integration in the preparation of the programming, which leads to noticeable contradictions (sound system, DJ who overwhelms the atmosphere of the site and contradicts the idea that the village would be dedicated to indigenous cultures). Similarly, it seemed to us that the village activities were insufficiently organized, or at least not organized in time, and were not a quality showcase for local cultures in relation to the other cultural elements of the program.

For the Cultural Gala: dance performances for NT, FMM, Yukon, Alberta. Singing for Sapmi. Circus and dance for Nunavik. Singing and percussion for Nunavut. Percussion, song and dance for Alaska. The show opens with a prayer for the missing and a speech by a representative of the NT First Nations (she also speaks at the end to close the gala). The institutional speech that opens the gala refers to the values and actions of the Truth and Reconciliation program, while emphasizing the faith and hope represented by the younger generations. (Young people as levers of mobilization for changing relations and balances between Canada's socio-cultural entities?) As we shall see, the show is only partially capable of valorizing aboriginal cultures.

- Nunavik: circus show with some dance, recorded music and throat singing. Technically, the level is rather low, but the performers are generally well invested in the show. The audience is very sympathetic, cheering on the performers even when they fail (circus benchmark?). While the show uses traditional circus numbers (stilts, juggling, acrobatics, diabolo), it also draws on Inuit references: throat singing (two young girls) and outfits. The show isn't very scripted, and consists mainly of a series of acts.
- Alberta: modern dance show, recorded music, contemporary music. Choreographed show, but without extensive storytelling. A dance troupe that follows the canons of Western dance schools, with technical and physical references from classical, modern and contemporary dance. The technical and artistic level is of a high standard, but does not, at first glance, reflect any indigenous cultural inspiration.
- FMM's "Moccasins" show: a folk-style show featuring three children demonstrating folk dance from Northern Canada. Folk and country influences with "local" costumes blending references to First Peoples and Western assimilation. Beginner/intermediate level, recorded music, very short performance, no scripting, end-of-year school show atmosphere: encouragement, interactivity, benevolence.
- Nunavut: song/percussion show, led by a teacher on stage with piano and djembe percussion (the only example in Gala). The costumes and drums are references to native cultures, and the songs are more in the classical mode (tone and semitone), with some throat-singing as well. The show is scripted, and the troupe has mastered its performance (quality of singing, mastery of movement and scenography, mastery

of rhythm and drumming, general ease on stage), which suggests that this is a troupe with a long-term activity, or that the show has benefited from real preparation resources for the games. All in all, a hybrid show, between representations of native cultures and Western technical, scenographic and musical dimensions.

- Alaska and NT: traditional song and dance show. Quartet (two singers including a drummer, two dancers). Song/tale of gesture and dance that choreographs the song. A First Nation elder, three young accompanists including a young girl in costume and a young man with bird feather gloves. Performance based entirely on Aboriginal cultural references and practices. Importance of the elder's place.
- Northwest territories: folk dance with acoustic guitar and fiddle accompaniment. A troupe of folk dances adapted by natives, based on country/revival music and dance. Typical representation of folk groups in the youth category: uneven and immature technique, choreography assimilated but sometimes not completely mastered. Relative ease on stage. A show that certainly reflects a widespread NT practice.
- Yukon: modern dance troupe with a strong hip-hop and breakdance dimension. Recorded music, advanced choreography and scripting. A troupe that is certainly regular and of good, even very good level for their category. No obvious references to aboriginal cultures, but a strong influence of North American practices and references, in music, movement, technique, choreography and symbolism.
- Final show: group choreography to recorded contemporary music. The participants are all on stage, greeting the audience with a choreography that puts them all in the spotlight in equal measure. Levels of choreographic, bodily and technical mastery, and ease on stage are disparate, but the collective and intercultural symbolism reflects the values asserted by the games.

F) General atmosphere: formal/informal organization, level of scripting, types of animation, etc. Expression of emotions/feelings, type of prevailing mood (indifferent, peaceful, committed, passionate, good-natured/complicit, etc.).

Pop-Up MIP: pop-ups are not very formalized or scripted. They're very much like spontaneous street art performances, very simply organized. Emotions are rarely expressed, as the show is not given much emphasis.

Village of the Snye. The general atmosphere is cheerful, friendly and participative: people dance to electro-pop music and the staff manning the stands/tipis are benevolent and seem happy to pass on their culture. However, there's also a paradox between indigenous and Western cultural dimensions: wood-fired tipis vs. diesel-fired white tents, local arts and traditions vs. the general sound system. And above all, there is a contradiction between the games' sales pitch, the staging of deference to indigenous memories and the relative importance of initiatives in their favor in the organization and communication of the games.

Gala: the organization is very formal, and the general flow of the gala is highly scripted. The atmosphere is rather benevolent: for example, Nunavik presented circus-like performances with stilts, ball juggling and diabolo, which were not always successful, but the audience encouraged the artists with applause and exclamations. Generally speaking, the public supported the artists and interacted with them, but this depended on the quality of the performances. For their part, the young artists who took part in the shows seemed to be passionate, giving it their all 100%.

G) Participant behavior (1). Environmental choices: do participants stay on their own/group (artists, family, community, supervisors, others), are they more likely to be at the practice site or outside? Organization/planning: are there rehearsal times, are artists involved in preparing galas, exhibitions, concerts, etc.? Are they autonomous or guided by supervisors? Are there spontaneous practice times and shared practices (intra- and/or inter-community)?

For Pop-Up Sapmi and Circus Nunavik at MIP: mixing, meeting and interaction between artists are not observable. The participants remain between delegations, under the guidance of their supervisor, and perform directly on site.

For the Shyne of the Snye Village: participant behavior is not really observable. Local (Dene and Cree) and socio-cultural speakers and partners were called in, and the latter had "roadmaps" to follow throughout their intervention (a program based on the animations).

For the gala: at the start of AWG2023 week, participants practiced during gala rehearsals. Performances were orchestrated by choreographers who came to greet the audience at the end, during the gala's collective closing performance. We weren't able to note any interaction between the participants, as we weren't able to access the backstage and dressing rooms during the performance. However, after the gala, we did see some of the artists taking photos with the audience and chatting with friends and family.

H) Behaviors (2). Importance of interactions? Stakeholders and objects of interactions? Encouragement/support: do parents/families/other adults and other participants intervene during cultural performances? What are the attentions and comments related to cultural activities? In general, does the behavior of participants and the environment differ depending on the activity? Visibility: do participants take photos? Do they share their performances or productions on networks?

Generally speaking, people enjoyed watching native performances such as singing, music and dancing. Many people took photos and videos during the performances. However, participants' behavior varied according to the activity, their level and the context of the performance. In some performances, young people were happy and energetic, while in others, they seemed more indifferent. Finally, on some occasions, such as during the Dene activities at Snye village, participants expressed disagreement about the lives of indigenous peoples and the way their culture was not sufficiently integrated into the game design.

For the Pop-Ups: interactions were only observable for singer Sapmi's performance: the chef de mission proudly filmed the young artist's performance.

For the Snye village, it was primarily a place of demonstration, initiation and cultural mediation. There were no performances by the delegations. The public took plenty of photos and videos, and the aim of the village seemed to be to raise awareness of indigenous cultures.

For the gala, interaction and encouragement within the delegations were not observable: roles and statuses were those of an official show, with highly ritualized interactions, no interventions or comments during the performances. The only form of encouragement was applause at the end of the performance, which varied in intensity depending on the quality of the show.

Theme 5. Social and environmental sustainability

- A) Sales pitches and mediation (1). Institutional communication: documentation, speeches, press releases, etc. Content, axes, themes, rhetoric and semantic field mobilized in institutional discourse (climate change, carbon impacts, waste, environmental impacts, resources, transport, etc.). Are the values claimed by the AWG and the Arctic identity mobilized in the communication of sustainability issues: notions of respect, interculturality, solidarity, courage, humility, wisdom, etc.?**

In the first instance, social sustainability emerges in a series of official speeches during the opening and closing ceremonies of the games, or during the inauguration of major artistic performances such as the cultural gala. Very often, the question of the social sustainability of the games is linked to the recognition of rights and access to redress for injustices suffered by indigenous people. During official ceremonies, for example, speeches often speak of "recognition of ancestral lands" and highlight policies of redress for indigenous communities. It's also worth noting that, although the speeches are mainly in English, we can also hear aboriginal languages and French, which supports the internationality of the event and the recognition of the diversity of languages spoken in the contingents. The front page of the 8 editions of "Ulu News", the AWG's official newspaper, features the "Treaty and Land Acknowledgment" written in English, Dene and Cree. It explains that the Arctic Winter Games Host Society recognizes the territory of Treaty 8, the ancestral and traditional homeland of the Cree, Dene and Métis peoples. And it ends with the phrase *"As long as the sun shines, the river flows and the grass grows, we will honor these lands"*. This phrase, also uttered many times during the AWG (notably at the ceremonies, during the snowboard awards ceremony, during the cultural gala, etc.) highlights the importance of nature's living environment and contributes to the desire for sustainability of the traditions of recognition of ancestral lands.

Secondly, social sustainability is expressed by the general aims of the games and by an organization that seeks to encourage interaction, encounters and exchanges between participants in all their diversity. Thus, the event is an opportunity to see and bring together many different customs, different languages and traditional sports specific to the North and the Arctic. In this sense, it seems to us that the event helps children and teenagers living in isolated and specific environments to be part of teams and to compete in a setting that is both exceptional and reassuring. For young people, it's also an opportunity to visit another country and discover a new culture. In addition, AWGs try to bring certain benefits to the host society, such as economic and social advantages. So it's not just a game! It's a fantastic socio-cultural event that contributes to social sustainability. And speaking of economics, there's a lot of "pin" trading going on. This "trade" seems to contribute to the social sustainability of the Games: all participants (athletes, volunteers, officials, members of delegations) get involved without necessarily speaking the same language, and there's a kind of competition and game that clearly refers to a non-market economy of giving (it's up to the person who gets the most beautiful, the rarest, the oldest, etc.).

While social sustainability emerges in both discourse and practice during the games, it is more difficult to observe the same dynamic with regard to environmental sustainability. Very often, this dimension is confused with the recognition of indigenous cultures and traditional practices, the latter being intimately linked to their natural environment. For example, the AWG 2023 song evokes elements of nature ("We're gonna fly like the Eagle, Soar over the valley", "Like the mighty river, Under the Shimmering skies",...). Thus, the notion of the environment appears above all in terms of respect for

native lands, while respect for nature (carbon impacts, waste, environmental impacts, resources, etc.) does not seem to appear.

B) Argumentation and mediation (2). Visibility and accessibility of sustainability objectives to the public and participants: booklets, guides, infographics, audio/video supports, conferences, speakers and mediators on site, displays and incentives? Sustainable distinction, certification/labeling systems for participants, partners and Games service providers (sponsors, local institutions, suppliers)?

If we look at the social sustainability of the Games through the prism of Aboriginal identity, we see that the latter was regularly promoted, both during the official ceremonies and through the Games' communication tools. For example, various speakers and hosts at the opening ceremony were from First Nations: a woman from the Fort McKay First Nation lit the cauldron of flame for the games, the group "Nation Halluci" integrated Aboriginal songs into their electro music, and finally, the group "Stephanie Harpe experience" included an Aboriginal singer. In addition, the games' host company states on the AWG 2023 website that it has responded to calls for action on "*truth and reconciliation*" by "*infusing culture everywhere*" and ensuring "*that the territorial protocols of indigenous peoples are respected and that local indigenous communities are involved in all aspects of the planning and staging of these events*", all by presenting "*the seven sacred teachings*" (traditional indigenous sacred teachings honoring the virtues necessary to live a full, healthy, happy and balanced life). Factually, at the games sites, various elements support this visibility of aboriginal memorial issues: an aboriginal sports gallery, the making of pins in honour of truth and reconciliation and posters presenting the history of truth and reconciliation at the MIP, the organization of cultural events such as "Shine on the snee" with cultural practices visible and transmitted to the public.

Conversely, we did not observe any documentation or communication specifically dedicated to environmental issues, either in print or on the games' website and social networks.

C) Implementing environmental sustainability (1). Depending on the sites, events and activities, what are the observable elements of sustainability: waste management and sorting, resource management, energy savings, use of "clean" energies, facilities to protect biodiversity, limiting the impact of the public on the environment, optimization of transport and logistics flows, origin of supplies, reduction of non-degradable materials (bottles, bags, goodies, etc.), etc.?

In terms of environmental sustainability, the most striking feature is the installation of waste sorting garbage cans at almost all the Games sites (some sites did not have them, such as the alpine skiing site, which suggests that they were not systematically imposed). The equipment was probably made for the event, as the AWG 2023 logo and date can be seen on it. We can also see that the buildings are well insulated and that the cold protection mechanisms are tried and tested and respected by the participants (which is quite normal insofar as this is part of their way of life in northern and arctic territory). Drinking water management also seems to be well integrated, with numerous accessible fountains and a limited number of plastic bottles.

That said, we also observed many practices that could certainly be improved in terms of environmental sustainability:

- The many goodies and equipment prizes offered by the games are made from non-recyclable materials and are not manufactured locally.

- Food is almost entirely imported, and over-packaging is systematic.
- The logistics and general organization of the event required considerable means of transport. Athletes' lodgings were far from the sports facilities, and the dispersal of the sites necessitated numerous shuttles.
- We also observed the frequent use of fuel-intensive generators and heaters throughout the event (particularly during the Village on the Snye activities).

These observations are not intended to be prescriptive or moralistic. The question of environmental sustainability cannot be understood without integrating the climatic, geographical, economic and cultural context of Northern Alberta and, more broadly, of the North and the Arctic. The technical and logistical solutions selected are those that meet the technical and logistical challenges imposed by the remoteness of practice and accommodation sites in an isolated territory that does not have a network of sports and community infrastructures as dense as in the south of the country. In other words, before integrating environmental issues, the Arctic Games must guarantee their own organizational sustainability.

D) Environmental sustainability and behavior. Concrete, visible commitments by delegations (i.e. waste reduction, rational equipment, environmental referents, etc.)? Individual audience behavior: commitment, interest, indifference, hostility to environmental issues? Different behaviors according to status, gender, age, nation, etc.? Relationships with the organization's systems (if any): spontaneous commitment, response to official and organizational incentives, indifference?

We did not observe any major environmental concerns related to the athletes.

E) Social sustainability. Initiatives and systems that promote the logic of transmission and support, links and interactions between young participants and with volunteers and supervisors? Specific and observable position of former athletes? Systems guaranteeing community recognition and cultural security (languages spoken, identified contacts, reserved areas).

Another dimension of the social sustainability of the Games is the intergenerational transmission of practices and practitioners. Canadian freestyle snowboarder Brooke Voigt, who has taken part in two editions of the Olympic Games, is the official ambassador of the 2023 Arctic Winter Games. As a former AWG athlete, she hands out medals to snowboarding athletes.

More broadly, we often observed positive, caring interactions between athletes, mission staff and volunteers. Volunteers seemed aware of their responsibilities, and very often tried to guide and help participants. Similarly, it seemed to us that respect between athletes, mission staff and officials was quite natural and part of the spirit of the games. Finally, we met many former athletes returning to take part in the games: some of them, natives of the region, were volunteers helping the participants, manning stands for the AWGs and assisting the organizers. Others signed up as officials to work as coaches and referees for the delegations. Finally, some former athletes returned as parents of participants to cheer on their children.

F) Institutional recognition: encouragement and formal awards (prizes, pins, medals, speeches, etc.) from organizers to volunteers, supervisors, some participants?

Institutional recognition: official ceremonies include speeches by representatives of the Government of Canada (e.g. Minister of Sport, Minister of Culture, Minister of Northern Affairs), the Province of

Alberta (e.g. Mayor of the City of Wood Buffalo) and AWG representatives (e.g. AWG International Committee Chairman, who opens and closes the ceremony). Their speeches include thanks (to organizers, volunteers, coaches, etc.), words of welcome (to participants, to the public) and congratulations to participants from all delegations for the past week.

Sporting recognition: throughout the games, Ulus are awarded to the top three athletes in each event. But we also regularly observe the notion of fair play coming to the fore: for example, at the snowboard medal ceremony, "fairplay awards" are presented to athletes who have shown "amazing sportsmanship", and the Greenland team was awarded the Hodgson trophy for its fair-play attitude throughout the games.

G) During sporting and cultural activities: euphemism of competition and ranking logics to preserve logics of participation and cooperation? Specific strategies and mechanisms to promote cultural and sporting activities (Hodgson Trophy, native sports gallery, etc.)?

During the ceremonies, there seems to be an euphemism of competition and ranking logics to preserve the logics of participation and cooperation:

- In the athletes' oaths and speeches, the notion of fair play and cultural exchange seems to outweigh the "performance" aspect, which could highlight the importance of the social aspect.
- During the closing ceremony, the Hodgson Trophy is awarded by the International Arctic Winter Games Committee to Greenland, the contingent whose participants best embodied the spirit of fair play during the week of the Games. However, they only talk about this trophy and do not mention the ranking of the contingents by number of medals won.
- Arctic sports encourage the involvement of other athletes, coaches and even officials with other competitors.
- During a meeting of heads of mission, the issue of the sometimes excessive physical commitment during field hockey matches was raised, and it was requested that referees better regulate this dimension.